THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF GENTRIFICATION IN LAGOS STATE, NIGERIA

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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the glory of Almighty Allah and His beloved servant Prophet Muhammad may peace and blessings of Almighty Allah be upon him.

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ABSTRACT

Gentrification, a process of displacement of low-income households and businesses by high-income class, is a disconcerting feature of development in Lagos State. Previous studies on gentrification focused on physical transformations of built environment with little attention paid to its sociological processes. This study, therefore, adopted a sociological approach to investigate the social history, processes, drivers, patterns, costs, adaptive strategies and social relations of gentrification in Lagos State, Nigeria.

Gentrification Interpretive Theory provided the framework, while the descriptive research design was adopted. Agege, Alimosho, Oshodi, Eti-Osa, Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island Local Government Areas (LGAs) were purposively selected due to their pervasiveness in gentrification. Primary data were collected using quantitative and qualitative instrumentations, while secondary data were obtained from official documents. Using systematic sampling technique, a total of 894 copies of questionnaire were administered to residents of gentrifying areas based on Cochran's (1977) formula; 24 In-depth Interviews (four per LGA) were conducted among longtime and new residents, voluntarily displaced landlords and tenants; 24 Key Informant Interviews (four per LGA) were conducted with developers (one per LGA), estate agents (one per LGA), one official of Lagos State Urban Renewal Authority, and another from Lagos State Building Control Agency; six Focus Group Discussions (one per LGA) were held among religious leaders, and six Life Histories (one per LGA) were done among community leaders. The processes and patterns of gentrification were observed through non-participant observation. Quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics, Chi-Square and Multiple linear regressions at p≤0.05, while qualitative data were content-analysed.

The respondents' age was 42.41±15.64 years; of whom 62.0% were males and 50.1% earned >N100,000 monthly. Gentrification was traced to the colonial era. It manifested in displacements of low income households and businesses by governments and wealthy individuals through private and government driven processes. The private processes entailed persuasion of poor landlords by gentrifiers through agents, and this was jointly predicted by education, age and income (Adj.R^2 = 0.19, $F_{(3, 891)}$ = 73.29). The government-driven processes were characterised by disregard for court injunctions on the legality of occupancy of gentrifying areas. Influx and expansion of businesses (23.6%) and profit-seeking behaviour (34.0%) were generic and specific drivers of gentrification respectively, and these were significantly related to respondents' income ($\chi2$ =202.42), education ($\chi2$ =237.78) and occupation ($\chi2$ =234.32). While political and criminal gentrifications were new patterns of gentrification in Lagos, homelessness (10.3%) and high cost of living (27.2%) were the social and economic costs. Reliance on family and friends' networks for support (41.2%) and use of refurbished containers (24.8%) were adaptive strategies adopted by displaced families and businesses. Remaining indigent original occupants of the gentrifying areas felt threatened by the arrival of gentry, causing deep sense of alienation.

Gentrification processes adversely influenced social relations between low-income residents who have stayed long and the gentry, with grave implications for sustainable peace and development of urban Lagos. Inclusive social and economic policies that would alleviate poverty and meet housing needs in low-income areas of Lagos State should be formulated.

Key words: Gentrification in Lagos State, Interpretive action, Urban poverty
Word count: 496

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Study

Gentrification – a process of displacing low-income earners by relatively affluent private individuals, corporate real estate developers and public authorities through substantial investment of capital and construction of infrastructure – is both a latent and manifest function of urbanisation. As a phenomenon that is largely associated with urban life, gentrification is often seen as a by-product of urbanisation. Hence, it is relatively a new global phenomenon that stems from the explosion of urban population in the twentieth century - a century marked by influx of people from hinterlands to the urban areas (Akhmat and Bochun, 2010). According to the United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs (UNDESA, 2018), the global urban population in 1950 was just 29.6% but by 2015, this percentage rose to 53.9%, and it is projected to be 68.4% by 2050. Thus, apart from swelling the size of cities to unprecedented proportions, urbanisation brings with it a number of significant changes in the morphology and characters of cities with some socioeconomic consequences (Arkaraprasertkul, 2016; Rerat, Soderstrom and Piguet, 2009) through a process and complex phenomenon technically known as gentrification.

Since its coinage over five decades ago, gentrification has assumed a variety of definitions (Zuk, Bierbaum, Chapple, Gorska, Loukaitou-sideris, Ong and Thomas, 2015), each definition reflecting particular effects of the concept. Hence, Svaldo (2016) describes gentrification as a double-edged sword. Thus, two divergent viewpoints among researchers and even policy makers as to what gentrification is and what it is not, have dominated the gentrification discourse. While some researchers and policy makers see gentrification as a positive change that promotes social mix through revitalisation or renewal of the rundown areas of cities, several others conceive it as a negative process which brings with it huge harmful social and economic consequences. For instance, on one hand, Christafore and

Leguizamon (2012); Zuk *et al.* (2015); Huning and Schuster, 2015; Godswill and Ukachukwu (2018) describe gentrification as a process of upgrading and revitalising rundown housing in the cities with new and more attractive facilities. On the other hand, Aka (2010), Sheppard (2012) and Fitzgerald (2017) amplify the negative consequences of gentrification on the low income households who often get priced out and/or displaced of the improved housing market due to their inability to afford the higher rents of the revitalised buildings. These divergent views of gentrification have continued to generate intensive controversy among researchers, policy makers as well as public and private stakeholders (Mailler, 2014; Massey, 2015). As a process of low income displacement, gentrification has, therefore, significantly occurred in both developed and developing countries overtime.

Africa is not an exception to the processes of gentrification, hence the growing interest in the phenomenon by academics, researchers and policy makers (Sibiya, 2012; Monare, Kotze and McKey, 2014; Fitzgerald, 2017). Like in other African countries, Nigeria has had a few studies on gentrification such as Nwanna (2012), Ezema, Opoko and Oluwatayo (2016), among few others conducted in Lagos state with fewer studies such as Godswill and Ukachukwu (2018) in other Nigerian cities. The focus of most of these studies, however, was on the physical characteristics of gentrification with very few concentrating on the social, economic and political issues of the process. Meanwhile, the phenomenon is observed to be pervasive across several major Nigerian cities such as Lagos, Port Harcourt, Enugu, Kano, Kaduna, Aba and Abuja, among others, with urbanisation being its driving force (Godswill and Ukachukwu, 2018).

In particular, gentrification-induced displacement is very pervasive in Lagos (Nwanna, 2012). With an estimated population of 21 million (World Population Review, 2019), and its place as the commercial nerve centre of Nigeria, Lagos experiences the highest level of urbanisation in Nigeria and consequently reaps the most severe effects of urbanisation leading to gentrification-induced displacements (Ezema *et al.*, 2016). The concerns about these displacements are reflections of the physical transformations taking place in the city which may have resulted from individual actions, market forces as well as government intervention. The government's intervention is often in the form of public investments and/or provision of infrastructure with a view to motivating and promoting urban living so as to enhance the global

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competitiveness of the city. However, in Lagos, like many other developing countries, the intervention and even the market forces and the individual actions come with social and economic costs which are often borne by the urban poor.

There is unison of empirical evidences that these categories of actions occurring in major Nigerian cities, particularly the city of Lagos, are gentrification processes (Ezema *et al*., 2016; Nwanna, 2012). Experiences of the original inhabitants of Maroko community in the 90s and the recent evictions of poor communities of Otodo-Gbame, Ilubirin, Surulere, Oshodi etc. (Lawanson and Omoegun, 2018), speak volumes about the occurrence of gentrification processes in Lagos State. This study, therefore, aims at investigating the social context of gentrification thereby examining its history, drivers, costs, patterns as well as the social relations among the diverse people of gentrifying areas of Lagos state.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

As an urban phenomenon, gentrification has attracted quite a great deal of attention from researchers, academics and policy makers, particularly in the developed countries. However, it is one of the most under researched areas of urban and development studies particularly in developing countries like Nigeria. Since the British urban sociologist, Glass (1964) coined the term, a large body of literature has piled up through rigorous empirical researches on the social history, patterns and processes of the phenomenon in several developed societies. However, little studies have been conducted to investigate these social issues particularly in developing countries like Nigeria. Most of the available studies are in engineering, town planning and urban and environmental studies which, by virtue of their backgrounds, focus only on the physical or spatial transformations of the built environment.

Lagos state is one of few cities in Nigeria where little available studies on gentrification have been conducted. This is perhaps not unconnected to the rate of its urban population growth – a rate adjudged to be one of the highest in the world. Similarly, the desire of the public authorities to transform Lagos into a world class city and a tourist attraction may be the likely cause of the large scale and unprecedented displacements of low-income households and businesses being witnessed in the state. Yet, few studies have so far either documented the drivers or the social and economic costs of these gentrification-induced processes in the state.

Meanwhile, documented literary evidences have revealed how areas predominantly inhabited by low-income households and businesses have been consistently demolished and replaced with modern condominiums, amusement parks, luxurious residential and commercial apartments among other elitist gigantic projects. These processes have made shelter and urban living quite unaffordable not only for the urban poor who constitute majority of the city residents but also for the middle class. However, there are few or no studies on adaptive strategies adopted by these urban poor to gentrification in Lagos state.

Another important demographic observed through a pilot study conducted involves an emerging trend of low-income displacements whereby young wealthy private individuals move into low-income residential areas to acquire old houses belonging to the poor and convert them into ultra-modern residential and/or commercial apartments. This process eventually changes the social character and/or the demographic configurations of the areas. The implications this process poses on social relations of members in the gentrifying areas have gained little contributions in the literature particularly in developing countries like Nigeria. Thus, this study explored the social context of gentrification by unravelling its social history, drivers; various forms it takes; its processes; its costs; the strategies adopted by its victims as well as how it has affected social relations between long-time and new residents (gentry) in Lagos State, Nigeria.

1.3 Research Questions

This section consists of research questions raised to address the research objectives. These are as follows:

  i.   What is the social history of gentrification in Lagos state?
 ii.   What are the processes of gentrification in Lagos state?
iii.   What are the patterns of gentrification in Lagos state?
 iv.   What are the drivers of gentrification in Lagos state?
  v.   What are the costs of gentrification in Lagos state?
 vi.   What are the adaptive strategies of urban poor to gentrification in Lagos state?
vii.   What are the social relations of gentrification in Lagos state?

1.4 Research Objectives

The overall objective of this research was to study the social context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. The specific objectives were to:

i. examine the social history of gentrification in Lagos state
ii. describe the processes of gentrification in Lagos state
iii. explore the patterns of gentrification in Lagos state
iv. identify the drivers of gentrification processes in Lagos state
v. discuss the costs of gentrification in Lagos state
vi. investigate the adaptive strategies of urban poor to gentrification in Lagos state
vii. analyse the social relations of gentrification in Lagos state

1.5 Scope of the Study

This study covered actors in the gentrification processes, including the old and new landlords, tenants, property developers in Lagos state, Nigeria. Similarly, social relations among the residents as well as the adaptive strategies adopted by the long-time residents of the gentrifying areas were studied and analysed. Geographically, the study covered gentrifying areas in six (6) selected local government areas of Lagos state (Agege, Alimosho, Oshodi, Eti-Osa, Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island). The choice of these areas was informed by the pervasiveness of the gentrification processes in them. Lagos is not only populous but also one of the most economically vibrant cities in Africa. In addition, the limited ability of the State for physical expansion due to the Atlantic Ocean in the face of high influx of people is another geographical factor that makes Lagos a classic city for gentrification study.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study is so far one of the few sociological approaches that attempted a holistic study of the phenomenon of gentrification as an urban sociological issue in Lagos, Nigeria. Most previous studies on gentrification in Lagos and Nigeria at large came from the perspective of professionals in urban and regional planning, environmental designs, and engineering among other physical science related disciplines. Thus, the study examined gentrification as a core urban sociological phenomenon as identified and coined by an urban Sociologist Ruth Glass (1964). Thus, core sociological issues which border on social history, drivers and processes of gentrification in the city of Lagos were critically examined. Also, the patterns, costs and

adaptive strategies of members of gentrifying areas as well as social relations among the diverse people of the city were ascertained. Again, the study explored and established the typology of gentrification processes – hitherto understudied – which occur in Lagos city.

Thus, the study expands the frontier of knowledge in addressing the phenomenon of gentrification in Nigerian cities. Also, it assists in broadening the understanding of the concepts of modernisation and development thereby increasing the stock of knowledge in the areas of research and teaching. In other words, it adds to the stock of knowledge, particularly in the academic community where the findings serve as guide or at least, provide some literature for future researches. Also, the social relations of gentrification among residents of gentrifying areas was a hitherto an unexploited area of study due to the relative newness and inadequate focus on the phenomenon by social scientists particularly in developing countries like Nigeria.

1.7   Operational Definitions

Some concepts that were employed frequently in the course of this study were mentioned and defined here.

- Gentrification: This is the displacement of low income earners by relatively affluent private individuals, corporate real estate developers and public authorities through substantial investment of capital and construction of infrastructure.
- Household: This is an entity made up of one or two persons who share the same apartment. It also may be defined as a unit of family or other grouping of persons.
- Neighbourhood: This is a district or community within a town or city. It is a community with considerable face-to-face interaction among members.
- Property developer: A property developer is a business person who engages in the renovation and lease of existing buildings. He/she also engages in the purchase of raw land and the sale of developed land or parcels to others.
- State-led gentrification: This is a situation where national and local governmental policy actively seeks to promote and support gentrification, usually in collaboration with developers. Even though the state-led gentrification is not the first known form of

gentrification in urban societies, it has assumed wider application by public authorities across both developed and developing countries.

- Social relations: This refers to the patterns of interactions between and among individual members of gentrifying communities; between individuals and corporate entities in gentrifying areas; or between individuals and public authorities in gentrifying areas.

- Private gentrifiers: These are wealthy individuals who engage in the acquisition of properties located in predominantly low-income areas and which belong to the poor landlords or landladies.

- Gentry: This refers to wealthy individuals who acquire properties in low-income areas from poor property owners.

- Gentrifier: This refers to an individual or a corporate or government agency that engages in the acquisition of houses belonging to the poor homeowners thereby voluntarily or involuntarily displacing their original owners.

- Urban landlord/landlady: This is a person who own a property, usually a house, in which they often let out some part of it and often live on the monthly or yearly rental they collect from the tenants.

- Urban poor: These are persons who live in gentrifying areas either as landlords/landladies who depend on the rent to survive; or as tenants whose only type of affordable houses is the rooming type, popularly known as face-me-I-face you.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

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2.0   Chapter Overview

This chapter consists of review of the concept of gentrification, and an empirical review of literature in line with the stated objectives of the study.

2.1   Conceptual Review of Gentrification

Gentrification is no longer limited to the most developed western cities of particularly the United States and the United Kingdom; it is now a global phenomenon (Slater, 2011). Yet, it has defied a universally accepted definition (Gallagher, 2014). Different scholars have postulated different definitions of the term, each reflecting, naturally, their fields of study (Strongin, 2017). In most cases, each definition tends to focus on one or more effects of gentrification, thereby making it extremely difficult to determine which effects are the defining ones (Holland, 2016). For instance, while some definitions focus on displacement of original residents, thus, engendering change in the social character of the area, others conceive it as a process of regeneration, renewal, revitalisation and an increase in the values of property. Hence, Svaldo (2016) sees it as a sword with double edges, while others like Holland (2016) advocate definitions that seem neutral and simply focus on neighbourhood change. An attempt to review the various conceptions of the term from different perspectives shall be made in this section, notwithstanding the intensity of the debate on the conceptual meaning of the term.

Gentrification was first introduced by a British urban sociologist, Ruth Glass in 1964 to describe the then trending process of displacement of low-income households by high-income earners in the inner city of central London (Ezema *et al*., 2016). Glass' conception of gentrification provides a classic description of a process of neighbourhood change from low-class residential units into higher class residential spaces via reinvestment, laced with nuances of class character and its attendant negative consequences (Lehrer and Wieditz, 2009). Describing the process of gentrification in London city, Glass (1964) averred that gentrification is a gradual process whereby the middle and upper class people take over areas occupied by working class low-income. She further avowed that the process of gentrification

entails a deliberate or intentional rehabilitation or revitalisation of downgraded houses hitherto used as lodges or other multiple uses by poor urban residents. The transformation of these hitherto 'shabby, modest mews and cottages' into elegant and expensive residences bring with it a displacement of original occupants due to higher rental costs. According to Glass (1964) once the process of gentrification begins in an area, it continues rapidly until all or most of the original occupants are displaced thereby changing the social character of the area.

Implicit in the definition above is the idea that gentrification connotes class relations as it describes a process of 'invasion' and 'succession' where wealthy class (gentry) displace working class in their original low-income habitats. Thus, soon after this seminal description of gentrification by Glass, researchers began to explore and dissect the concept by examining various variables that qualify a process as gentrification. Slater (2011) describes gentrification as a process whereby houses in blighted areas of the city are being renovated or redeveloped by the upper class for profit making or residential purposes while enjoying the support of the policy makers at the detriment of the poor urban residents who are often affected by work instability, unemployment and stigmatisation. Similarly, in his conception of gentrification, Smith (1982) states that the process of gentrification entails the rehabilitation of derelict residential apartments of the low-income class by wealthy homebuyers, young professional developers and landlords. He further distinguishes between redevelopment, which according to him, entails putting up structures on a land that was formerly developed, and rehabilitation which is simply the improvement on old buildings. Drawing from this conception, Monare, *et al.,* (2014) describe gentrification as a process connected with the residential displacement of low-income people by relatively wealthy individuals with the sole intent of investing resources to transform the area by converting the acquired houses into upmarket accommodation.

However, there is an argument that the term gentrification should not be conceived beyond its original meaning of residential displacement as documented by Ruth Glass (Boddy, 2007). Disagreeing with this notion, Slater (2011) made reference to Smith and Williams' assertions over two decades ago which are contrary to the earlier conception of the scope and context of gentrification as manifested in the various definitions. It is quite evident that residential rehabilitation is just an aspect of the term as the process of gentrification, a visible spatial

component of this social transformation, has expanded over time. It is a highly dynamic process that is not open to excessively restrictive definitions (Slater, 2011). Slater (2011) further argues that the use of sugar-coated terms such as 'revitalisation' or 'regeneration' and not gentrification to describe a process of building expensive housing on previous low-income work spaces meant for use by young professionals or rehabilitating low-income residences in favour of the wealthy class is logically incorrect and politically unadventurous.

Still on the meaning of gentrification and its expansion to encompass several aspects of production of urban space, Shaw (2008) describes the term as a process involving a total physical transformation of an entire low-income residential area by the upper-middle class. She further argues that gentrification is no longer restricted to 'renovation' of residences but rather a process involving the construction of new expensive houses. She states that the scope of gentrification has gone beyond inner city residential displacement, it extends to other forms such as retail and commercial gentrification, rural gentrification, 'state-led gentrification' etc. Shaw's (2008) view on the expansion of the meaning of gentrification only reiterated Sassen's (2001) conception of gentrification as the renovation of run-down households in the inner city by relatively wealthy individuals. He further maintains that in its first two decades of emergence, the concept of gentrification had evolved and expanded beyond its original conception to include processes of socioeconomic and spatial restructuring. Similarly, Doucet (2014) and (2009) argues that gentrification has broadened to encompass several other forms of urban changes beyond its traditional meaning. It has broadened to explain an upper class transformation and the creation of rich areas in the decaying areas of cities. In consequence, decaying areas have transformed into affluent neighbourhoods thereby attracting services, amenities, shops, and other commercial activities.

From the forgoing, one can, therefore, deduce that the concept of gentrification has expanded from its initial meaning to accommodate new urban changes. Ezema *et al*. (2016) identified three (3) key features or facets of the character of gentrification: 1) gentrification and its attendant effects have become a universal phenomenon; 2) its scope has widened to cover not only residential units, but also commercial buildings; 3) the key players in the gentrification field have expanded from private individual homebuyers to corporate real estate buyers and public authorities. These arguments for the expansion of the concept of gentrification point to

the dynamism and growing scope of the phenomenon of gentrification in urban spaces across the world. Hence, the different forms and dynamics of gentrification are responsible for the confusion about what forms or effects of the phenomenon are the defining ones. For instance, the original conception of gentrification by Glass as the process whereby lower income households are being pushed out by the wealthy individuals, usually in the inner city areas, which connotes residential displacement, has over time been expanded to include other forms of displacements such as commercial gentrification (gentrification driven by businesses or profit making motives), state-led gentrification (gentrification orchestrated by state actors), studentification, rural gentrification, tourism gentrification et cetera (Rerat *et al.*, 2009). It is also worth noting that all the various definitions of gentrification reviewed are in agreement with the fact that the process primarily entails the invasion of low-income class by a wealthy upper and middle income class. Hence, Holland's (2016) claim that gentrification has continued to connote social injustice manifested in different but related ideas such as class, migration, social change and wealth.

A critical look at the definitions above reveals how the meaning of gentrification has evolved and broadened over time to encompass other forms of changes in urban areas. Yet, the term has not lost its original essence – the class connotation. It is, therefore, evident and safe to state that the concept of gentrification is expansive and dynamic due to the dynamic nature of urban life. However, for the purpose of this study, gentrification is defined as a process of displacement of low-income earners by relatively affluent private individuals, corporate real estate developers and public authorities through substantial investment of capital and construction of infrastructure.

2.2   Social History of Gentrification

The term gentrification was first coined by the British urban sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 to explain how central areas of London were being transformed from low-income earners' areas to the spaces of the wealthy (Briney, 2010). London is generally regarded as the birthplace of gentrification scholarship. As a Marxist, Glass always analysed class relations and societal conflicts through a materialist interpretation to study social change. Her belief in using sociological research to influence the British government's policies in bringing about social change was reflected in her works (Baker, n.d). Glass' investigations into the

transformations she noticed were occurring in the London Borough of Islington, where a new high class, made up of young wealthy professionals were acquiring and rehabilitating the Georgian terraces for their residential use, led to the emergence of gentrification as a field of study (Thompson, 2014).

However, this historical account of the London Borough of Islington does only reveal when the scholarship of gentrification began; but it does not indicate when gentrification as an urban phenomenon started. As a matter of fact, researchers such as Fleites (n.d), Gallagher (2014) among others traced some earliest instances of gentrification long before even the coinage of the term. For instance, Fleites (n.d) maintains that the destruction of residential areas in which low-income people lived in central Paris from 1853 and 1870 was an instance of gentrification. As far back as then, the low-income residential areas of the central Paris were destroyed by a member of Napoleon III's Court, in person of Baron Haussmann, thereby displacing the residents to make room for the city's now famous tree-lined streets, which display the well-known memorials of the city. In agreement with this view, Gallagher (2014) also argues that the practice of gentrification had been identified and even published few years before Glass. He further states that the process was documented by activist Jane Jacob in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities,* exposing the insensitive decisions and destructive approaches public authorities adopted in planning modern cities where aesthetics and revitalisation were prioritised over human lives.

Barnsbury in London provides another historical account of gentrification process in the post-World War II era. Barnsbury was reported to have experienced a huge population deficit due to the relocation of wealthy residents to the suburbs of the London Central Business District (CBD) shortly after the World War II (Monare *et al*., 2014). This flight led to a sharp decline in rental prices and eventually attracted a pool of low-income working class whose poor maintenance culture led to the decay of the overcrowded houses. This decay was regarded as a factor responsible for the eventual back-to-the city movement of the young and wealthy professionals in the late 1950s, marking the beginning of gentrification process in the inner city of London (Monare *et al*., 2014).

Park Slope of the New York City in the U.S. is another site where early forces of gentrification were observed in the dawn of the 20th century due to the suburbanisation of the high-income

residents. The deterioration of Park Slope attributed to the flight of the upper class from the area and its subsequent occupancy by the low-income households culminated into its official classification as a slum in the 1930s, following the great depression. Thus, by early 1970s, gentrification had already set in the Park Slope and was facilitated by the U.S. government's intervention through legislations supporting the 'pioneer gentrifiers' to reinvest in the run-down areas (Rerat *et al*., 2009). Gentrification processes have since then continued to increase, yielding positive and negative results for the upper class and low-income households respectively.

It has also been argued that the role played by governments through housing legislations such as tax credit is one of the key factors that promoted gentrification processes over the years (Buntin, 2015). These policies are often formulated in the guise of promoting urban renewal projects but they have, over the years, been a source of marginalisation and untoward hardships to the low-income households. The Federal Historic Preservation Tax Credit was an American law enacted to encourage real estate agents to apply to the government for a tax credit equivalent to 10% of the cost of rehabilitation of the dilapidated structure. Through this programme, the renovation of old industrial structures was not only made possible but also lucrative for developers (The Next City, 2018). Another legislation that historically gave gentrification expression in the U.S. is the Ellis Act 1985 which is a Californian law that permits landlords to force their tenants out of their rented apartments and then either destroy the buildings or rehabilitate them into condominiums. Explicitly, the Act was meant to favour landlords who were tired of the pressure of owning apartment buildings, sell their properties to earn little more profits without fear of being sued by their tenants. However, Gonzalez (2016) criticised the Act arguing that it was a major force behind mass evictions in gentrifying San Francisco who were buying solely to evict the tenants and turn their buildings into condominiums.

Furthermore, in accounting for the historical forces of gentrification, the New York City State legislators were reported to have passed into law a bill that fuelled the processes of gentrification in the city. The laws made it possible for landlords to systematically evict their tenants from their houses through gradual increment in the cost of the rent whenever a tenant quits until the rent reaches some limit when the building fails rent-stabilised status (The Next

City, 2018). This systematic eviction led to the loss of over 152,000 rent-stabilised buildings in just a fifteen-year period (The Next City, 2018).

2.3 Processes of Gentrification

The way and manner gentrification occurs tend to follow the same trend across societies particularly in the developing countries where poverty and high level of unemployment is pervasive. It is also instructive to note that the processes involved in gentrification are dependent on the actors engaged in it. However, regardless of the actors the fallouts of the processes tend to be similar in terms of impact and magnitude. One of the early incidents of gentrification in Nigeria, for instance, involved the forceful eviction of inhabitants of Maroko community in 1990. Nwanna (2012) in her study found that out of 41,776 displaced landlords, only 2,933 were officially relocated. This occurred despite pleas for time and adequate resettlement lands by the victims and every concerned citizen including human rights organisations such as the Amnesty International, Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC) among others. This incident, which was orchestrated by the then military government of the state under the headship of Colonel Raji Rasaki, rendered thousands of the victims jobless and homeless. The residents of the community were given just one week notice upon the expiration of which bulldozers were used at the orders of the state government to clear all the structures. The evictions were done without following due process, neither the victims were compensated nor resettled to another place (Adekola, Allen and Tinuola, 2017).

Several other communities have also had experiences similar to that of Maroko in the State. The processes of evicting the residents of Ilubirin water front community were also similar to those of Maroko community (Lawanson and Omoegun, 2018). In 2016, the fishing community was served a seven-day eviction notice upon the expiration of which the entire community was wiped out without compensation or resettlement plan. Another recent demolition was that of the popular Oshodi market where a significant part of the market was demolished and replaced with ultra-modern bus terminal without compensation for the victims. This process led to the destruction of goods worth millions of naira (Adekola *et al.,* 2017). Despite the new shopping structures popularly known as 'the Arena' dedicated to the traders, it cannot be regarded as adequate compensation as only few could afford the costs of rent and shops maintenance in the complex. Furthermore, one main feature of the

displacement processes of low income people is the fact that the government seldom makes any relocation arrangements for the victims prior to the eviction exercise. Worse still, the forceful evictions are usually carried out off camera, apparently to escape the uproar of human rights and civil rights organisations. Odinaka (2016) described the process of demolition of shops in Oshodi as a forceful eviction that was carried out by the government through the deployment of police who were mandated to apprehend reporters taking pictures of the process as the traders were denied access to their shops to evacuate or retrieve their goods in the course of the demolition. These impromptu demolitions and forceful evictions of low income businesses and household further worsen the already deteriorated economic conditions of the masses due to the unintended consequences of the process (Adekola *et al.,* 2017).

While the scenarios above, on the one hand, depict the processes of gentrification orchestrated by the state, on the other hand, the gentrification induced by private individuals has also gained momentum and has been extensively described in the literature. Atkinson, Wulff, Reynolds and Spinney (2011), for instance, argue that landlords who often displace low-income tenants through different kinds of harassments and eviction have been accused of orchestrating gentrification. They further explain that the tenants are in most cases evicted through illegal means. Consequently, the displaced low-income households are forced to find a more affordable area which implies moving far away from their work place and thereby incurring higher commuting costs. However, generally the processes of tenant eviction in gentrifying neighbourhoods, whether forceful or otherwise, are determined by the government through various legislations or Acts. A case in point is the Ellis Act 1985 which allows landlords to evict their tenants and do whatever they choose to do with their properties. This Act saw a rise in massive displacement of poor tenants by their landlords and the eventual conversion of their apartments into high rise condominiums thus, favouring the landlords at the detriment of the masses. Thus, government policy which tends to lend support to the landlords has often been seen as a major force and determinant of mass evictions in gentrifying areas (Gonzalez, 2016).

2.4   Patterns of Gentrification

The concept of gentrification has over time been conceived to mean different things as its processes become evident in various cities of both developed and developing countries

(Mathema, 2013). The differences in the meaning of the term are largely attributed to the social and morphological changes of urban societies (Ezema *et al*., 2016). The early conception of gentrification by the pioneer of gentrification studies, Ruth Glass, has been expanded considerably by contemporary scholars in the field. This expansion necessitated the emergence of various forms of gentrification in the literature. It is instructive to note that the early conception of gentrification portrays it as a process of neighbourhood transformation whereby the low-income working class households in the inner city centres were displaced by the middle-class home buyers. These middle-class home buyers were described as young and wealthy professionals whose sole aim of capital reinvestment was informed by a change in their lifestyle (Hyra, 2016). However, this early conception of gentrification seems too narrow and tends to be restrictive, thereby inhibiting a comprehensive understanding of gentrification as a dynamic urban process. Therefore, the contemporary gentrification literature has revealed a huge extension in the meaning of the term. Rerat *et al.,* (2009), Sibiya (2012), Monare *et al*., (2014), Doucet (2009) are some of the contemporary gentrification scholars who identified the broad nature of gentrification and its expansion to include some new forms that were hitherto unknown to early scholars of the phenomenon.

It is also pertinent to note, as part of the dynamism of the concept of gentrification, that the early phase of gentrification occurred in the early 60s and it is popularly referred to as the first wave of gentrification (Sibiya, 2012). This wave was characterised by the emergence and restriction of gentrification in some of the most developed countries of the world such as the United Kingdom and North America (Monare *et al*., 2014). However, this idea of tracing the root of every development strand (even though whether gentrification is beneficial or harmful is still a subject of extensive debate) to the British or American societies is rather Eurocentric as evidences abound on the manifestation of its indicators in other non-English speaking countries (Monare *et al*., 2014). Notwithstanding, the occurrence of gentrification in countries other than the UK and North America is regarded as the first alteration in the classical conception of gentrification, the second being the change in the meaning and processes of gentrification over time (Sibiya, 2012). Similarly, some scholars such as Rerat *et al*., (2009) have described the re-gentrification of the high-income earners' residential areas in inner city as the third wave of gentrification. Importantly, this wave of gentrification is regarded as a complex stage of the gentrification process; hence, it is described using a number of different

terms such as 're-gentrification', 'new-build gentrification', 'super gentrification', 'financification' (referring to the gentrification processes occurring in areas that had previously experienced gentrification), 'studentification' (describing gentrification in university towns) and tourism gentrification (Lehrer and Wietditz, 2009). Despite the plethora of terms describing the third wave of gentrification, Davidson and Lees (2009) argue that it can still be of the traditional or classic form.

Contemporary studies have also revealed that gentrification has not only started occurring in the fringes of major cities but also in rural areas (Rerat *et al*., 2009). This movement, apart from the inner city centres to the outskirts of cities, has been made possible by the forces of urbanisation through the physical expansion of cities by public authorities through a type of gentrification known as state-led gentrification (Ayinde, 2013). This further indicates that the conceptualisation of gentrification has gone beyond its original scope to encompass other forms of urban changes.

2.4.1   Forms of Gentrification

The extension of the scope of gentrification processes to include other forms than the original characteristics of the term is an outcome of intensive scholarly investigations conducted by a number of researchers in the field of gentrification. Some of these studies which include Rerat *et al*., (2009); Doucet (2014); Sheppard (2012) among others were considered to be critical due to their essence to human communities. Although residential gentrification is regarded as the classical type of gentrification, other types such as commercial gentrification, state-led gentrification have equally been identified and studied in the literature.

a.   Commercial Gentrification

This type of gentrification, as the name implies, is a process of spatial transformation which entails conversion of residential spaces into commercial ones so as to attract business activities in an area with the aim of maximising profit (Doucet, 2014). Thus, Rerat *et al*., (2009) also describe the transformation of public spaces through physical restructuring of the built form as a catalyst of social filtering and the exclusion of social groups which had earlier dominated these spaces. Supporting this view, Doucet (2014) argues that commercial gentrification is increasingly becoming more pervasive in the area of urban development. Explicit in the

foregoing argument is the fact that these studies tend to focus on the economic gains associated with commercial gentrification and ignore its negative implications, particularly the social costs incurred by the original and low-income dwellers of those spaces being transformed into profit-driven towers, condominiums, plazas, restaurants, shops, et cetera, for commercial purposes. Yet, commercial gentrification is a growing area of research which tends to emphasise the fact that when an area is gentrified, it is not just the housing landscape that changes. Thus, unlike the previous waves of gentrification which were characterised considerably by focussing on housing sector, Ernst and Doucet (2013) argue that the third wave has witnessed a plethora of studies on the retail sector. Therefore, commercial gentrification has become an issue in many global cities so much that it is now being compared with the issue of classical residential gentrification (Yoon and Park, 2018).

Furthermore, in an empirical study on a traditional market in Leeds, Gonzalez and Wiley (2013) found that with or without government intervention, after a period of disinvestment, an inner city retail market tends to experience regeneration and expansion so much that its old customers can no longer afford to patronise it. This finding finds expression in the fact that gentrified areas experience an in-migration of affluent people and out-migration of the displaced low-income section of a population. Other writers such as Jeong, Heo and Jung (2015), Hanan (2012), Ujang (2010) and Astuti and Hanan (2011) argue for commercial gentrification, amplifying the economic transformation it brings about in an area such as the establishment of new retail stores, new job opportunities, beautiful restaurants, shopping malls and improved local economy in general. Contrary to these views, Zukin, Trujillo, Frase, Jackson, Recuber and Walker (2009) argue that the process of commercial gentrification favours only a select group in the gentrifying neighbourhood. They further found that the moment gentrification sets in a location, it brings about a surge in population density of the area, thereby resulting into an emergence of chain stores which would eventually shoot up rents to such levies that the original dwellers or pioneers of the area cannot afford. Implicit in this argument is the assumption that small businesses are usually the direct victims in commercially gentrifying areas. This idea echoes the arguments of Jarmin and Kritzan (2010) who contend that the establishment of chain stores portends a serious threat to the existence of small businesses. However, some scholars such as Chapple, Loukaitou-Sideris, Gonzale, Kadin and Poirier (2017) criticised the use of small business and chain stores categorisations

to measure commercial gentrification. They based their argument on the fact that such categorisation ignores the fact that larger businesses and chain businesses give better conditions of work due to their large capital base.

It is, therefore, clear that regardless of the arguments and counter arguments presented so far, one thing remains obvious, and that is the displacement of small individual businesses by larger businesses mostly in the form of chain or mega stores. It is also worthy of note that in most cases where such displacement of small businesses by larger ones occurs, it often creates tension and acrimony between the new entrants into the area and the long-time dwellers. For example, a study by Deener (n.d) revealed the tension inherent in Venice Beach California between the long-time inhabitants and the incoming gentrifiers, who claim authenticity over commercial space at the exclusion of the area's poor African-American population.

b.   State-led Gentrification

State-led gentrification is another dominant form discussed in gentrification literature. A wide swath of scholars has studied it as a trending phenomenon in gentrification scholarship. State-led gentrification is described as a situation where national and local governmental policy actively seeks to promote and support gentrification usually in collaboration with developers. Thus, the role played by government in promoting urban regeneration is no longer obscure. According to Bernt (2012) the important role played by government in encouraging or inhibiting urban renewal projects is no longer a disputable issue. This insight is evident in various urban policies pursued by public authorities in the guise of urban renewal or regeneration but which often promotes private capital accumulation. These policies revolve around tenure mixing policies which involve the introduction of wealthy residents to some targeted low-income areas often at a rental price that is affordable to poor tenants (Bridge, Gary, Butler and Lees, 2012).

Schipper (2014) also maintains that government policies are often designed to promote gentrification by serving the interest of capitalists and high income individuals, thereby resulting into the displacement of low income households. Hence, Brahinsky (2014) states that gentrification is simply the physical manifestation of capitalism in the urban landscape. The arguments of scholars who conceive gentrification as the physical manifestation of capital

is hinged on the assumption that public urban policies are formulated to stimulate and attract investment into the targeted locations so as to enhance the local economies and generate income. Thus, while these policies are intentionally implemented to improve and transform urban landscape, yet, they bring about hardship to the long-time low-income dwellers that do not have the capacity to afford the new living standard in the area. However, Clark (2014), Shipper and Wiegard (2015) claim that there were institutionalised bodies in most countries which restrict gentrification processes. These include bodies responsible for town planning, public landed assets and housing institutions.

Another major idea used by the pro state-led gentrification is the idea of social mixing (Huning and Schuster, 2015). This idea has always been used to argue that gentrification brings both high-income and low-income people together and as a result, the latter is expected to benefit from the former whose presence in the area attracts government attention and increases the political value of the area. Schipper (2014) describes the idea of social mixing as the ultimate policy goal motivating public authorities in developed societies of Europe and America to engage in gentrification. This policy is often geared towards achieving socially mixed communities. Nevertheless, its outcome is not always pleasant to the low-income households who often become victims of involuntary displacement.

The foregoing arguments demonstrate the fact that state-led gentrification, even though not the first known form of gentrification in urban societies, has assumed wider application by public authorities across both developed and developing countries.

2.5   Drivers of Gentrification

As with most phenomena in the social sciences, gentrification does not have a mono-causal explanation. Striedieck (2012), for instance, holds the view that gentrification occurs in the Global North due to transformations in social structures during the end of the Second World War. These transformations occurred in the form of 'tertiarisation of jobs', increase in wealth, attitude towards life and capacity to tolerate different cultures. He further explains gentrification as the process of displacing original occupants of a place by people of divergent lifestyles and various types of households. In agreement with this view, Hull, Cooke and Dolphin (2011) state that the subsidisation of housing after the World War II was responsible

for systematic movement of white citizens and investment of capital out of the inner cities into the suburbs. Here, gentrification is seen as resulting from a lifestyle of a new middle-class made up of mostly young urban professionals with high incomes, high social and cultural needs and demands (Striedieck, 2012). Consequently, these new 'invaders', as argued by Baum-Snow and Hartley (2016); Couture and Handbury (2016); Ding, Hwang and Divringi (2016), change the social character of the area by making it adapt to their cultural needs and demands, thereby forcing the original inhabitants – who do not belong to their class – to leave the environment because they cannot afford the new living standard.

Policy perspective is another angle from which other researchers, such as Holland (2016), Kennedy and Leonard (2001), Aka (2010) among others, look at the drivers of gentrification. For instance, Aka (2010) claims that gentrification occurs as a result of government's policies that encourages developers and ensures social mix. Specifically, the US government in the 60s and 70s enacted certain laws and acts aimed at abolishing racial discrimination. These laws and acts led the white and black middle-class to flee the inner-city to suburbs – an act that caused concentration of poverty which in turn brought about decay in the inner city areas, thereby paving way for gentrification processes to set in. Holland (2016) also argued that tax incentives provided through tax breaks for first-time homebuyers and sometimes for historic preservation are the most direct policies that drive gentrification processes. Such policies increase the likelihood of movement into the low-income housing stock by the upper class. He further asserts that the provision of social amenities like the building of terminals and the construction of other public utilities at local levels have been identified as drivers of gentrification. Other types of policies that trigger gentrification include mortgage programmes aimed at supporting more lending as well as government programmes such as the HOPE IV which was meant to rehabilitate dilapidated public housing stock in the cities (Holland, 2016). These policies, however, bred marginalisation and social injustice as they paved way for evictions of the low-income households as witnessed in the Californian Ellis Act of 1985 which permits landlords to force their tenants out of their rented apartments.

Furthermore, Ellen, Horn and Reed (2016) identified reduction in criminal activities in areas populated by the urban poor as a factor attracting gentrifiers. This can be understood from the viewpoint that the low-income areas are often located at the centre of the city and as such,

they have location advantage in terms of amenities and proximity to work. However, decrease in crime rates alone cannot adequately explain the occurrence of gentrification in urban areas as argued by Hyra (2016). Similarly, Edlund, Machado and Sviatchi (2016) disagreed with Ellen *et al.*, (2016) and identified an increase in working hours coupled with near absence of relaxation time as factors attracting young professionals to the inner city centre. This is because they are able to commute less by moving to the inner city area due to nearness to the Central Business District (CBD). However, Hyra (2016) disproves this view, arguing that a significant number of millennial (young professionals in their 20s and 30s) do not work in the CBD and as a result, they do commute out to some job-rich suburbs.

Couture and Handbury (2016) assert that the density of service amenities such as modern beer gardens, coffee joints and bike shares were some of the drivers of gentrification in the US. However, Hyra (2016) downplays these causes and states that service amenities were not sufficient to engender gentrification. Rather, public policies of the 1990s such as Housing Opportunity for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) were some of the drivers of gentrification. The policies deployed billions of dollars to demolish distressed public housing in areas on the fringes of many CBDs.

Other researchers examined the drivers of gentrification from economic perspective. Aka (2010), for instance, is one of those scholars who aver that the imbalance between job growth and the housing supply is the major contributor to gentrification processes. He further explains that as more jobs are created in large number, the demand for housing increases, and this implies an increase in the cost of housing. However, this argument does not adequately explain the causes of gentrification because increase in housing cost in the inner city is in itself a disincentive for prospective buyers (gentrifiers). Thus, Kennedy and Leonard (2001) in their study of the causes of gentrification in some cities of the US, identified a variety of factors such as rapid increase in employment, high cost of housing, predilection for abundant infrastructure in the city, taking advantage of government policies as well as increased traffic congestion and lengthening commutes as major drivers of gentrification.

2.6   Costs of Gentrification

Literature on gentrification is replete with the consequences of the process, although scholars have divergent views as to whether the effects of gentrification were positive or negative. This argument has dominated the gentrification scholarship for several decades. While one camp sees it as a process of revitalisation or renewal of dilapidated areas of the urban space so as to promote social mix (Huning and Schuster, 2015; Sheppard, 2012; Aka, 2010), the other camp simply reveals the negative effects of the process such as the displacement of low income households and businesses, and the widening gap between the rich and poor, thereby exacerbating poverty and social inequality (Christafore and Leguizamon, 2012; Zuk *et al*., 2015; Godswill and Ukachukwu, 2018). In this section, therefore, an attempt was made to discuss both arguments. Meanwhile, those who argue against gentrification present their arguments in the light of social and economic costs the process entails as presented below.

2.6.1 Social Costs of Gentrification

One very significant component of social cost of gentrification is residential displacement of low-income households (Maloutas, 2011). Even though some researchers hold the view that gentrification is not as bad as it is being portrayed by its opponents (Buntin, 2015), a wide swath of scholars has studied and found a remarkably negative impact of the process on, particularly, low-income earners. For instance, Lees, Slater and Wyly (2008) explain that one of the major social costs of gentrification is the displacement of the elderly people, the indigenous inhabitants and other low-income residents as they are not able to afford the costs of living in terms of accommodation, feeding and other basic amenities due to the 'invasion' of their areas by the new high-income gentry. However, these views do not take into account the fact that gentrification equally reduces the concentration of poverty and crime, and it improves the character of the gentrifying areas. This is possible because the process engenders mixture of social groups. Although as it improves the image and character of an area, it also diminishes the historical character of the urban district (Lees *et al.*, 2008).

Amplifying these negative views of gentrification, Striedieck (2012) avers that the influx of people of high-income brings with it an increase in taxes. He further states that the redevelopment of the gentrified areas also results into an increased demand for offices,

residential and commercial spaces which eventually lead to rise in the costs of living. In similar vein, Aka (2010) also explains that despite the lofty advantages of gentrification such as aesthetics and reduction in crime rates, it poses a serious social problem of displacement and racial discord. The findings of his study on Atlanta revealed that the racial discord was engendered by the influx of middle income whites back into the inner city to displace the low-income black race. Similarly, using Detroit as a case study, Doucet and Pogash (2015) corroborate that gentrification polarised and promoted social inequalities; it lacks the capacity to reduce poverty and unemployment and does nothing to promote access to resources for city dwellers. Loss of social diversity; affordable housing as well as the commercialisation of housing in the gentrifying and non-gentrifying adjoining areas have been identified as effects of gentrification-induced displacements (Granger, 2010).

Contrary to these claims, Meltzer and Ghorbani (2015) claim that regardless of the various views on gentrification-induced displacement of low-income households and its attendant negative consequences, earlier studies found no evidence of displacement of poor low-income households. They further explain that those findings were corroborated by other more comprehensive studies. In consistency with this view, McKinnish, Walsh and White (2010) also found no evidence of displacement of low-income non-white households whom, they argued, remained in gentrifying areas. In fact, Ellen and O'Regan (2010) even aver that the low-income poor households in gentrifying neighbourhoods experience an increase in income and tend to be more satisfied than other non-gentrifying neighbourhoods. Similarly, Sullivan and Shaw (2011) in their study of retail gentrification in Portland, Oregon found that black residents of the studied gentrifying areas were pleased with the convenience of the nearby retail.

Other scholars examined the tensions that gentrification brings about in an area. Aka (2010) for instance, argues that the displacement of low-income black by the high-income white, as witnessed in the US, connotes racial and spatial inequality through a systemic invasion. A study conducted by DNAinfo Chicago (2016) found that Pilsen – a neighbourhood that was mostly Mexican in the 1970s – lost about 10,000 Hispanic families due to the movement of upper class individuals into the area. Hence, gentrification in Chicago implies the 'invasion' of areas inhabited by low-income earners of colour by mostly young and wealthier white

people due to rent increment. This process has the potential to ignite conflicts between the various ethnic or racial groups in the area. This scenario could be worst in multi-ethnic societies of the developing nations like Nigeria, which is believed to have over 250 ethnic groups. However, the scantiness of gentrification studies in this regard in African societies tends to obscure the phenomenon despite the prevalence of its indicators especially in Lagos city – a home to multitude of different ethnic nationalities.

Other researchers focused on homelessness as a social effect of gentrification processes. According to the findings of a study by Murray (2017), homeless communities in gentrifying areas often experience the worst form of evictions and harassments due to the gentry's drive to maximise profit by hiking rents. Thus, Camp (2012) avers that the hike in rent and home prices often results into increased poverty and further worsen the spatial inequality in the affected areas. In the same light, Godswill and Ukachukwu (2018) amplified the harsh effects of gentrification on the indigent urban residents. They contend that the direct effects of most urban regeneration programmes and gentrification in Sub-Saharan Africa were demographic displacements and joblessness which bring about acute hunger and homelessness. Other researchers such as Nyden, Edlynn and Davis (2006) maintained that persons displaced as a result of gentrification suffer from different forms of psychological trauma due to loss of their homes and the network of family and friends, loss of quality and stable education for their children due to relocation and its attendant consequences of frequent changes of schools.

2.6.2 Economic Costs of Gentrification

Closely related to the social costs of gentrification were the economic costs experienced by victims of gentrification processes. Several scholars who justify gentrification do so based on the gains associated with it, and even see it as an urban blessing. The proponents of this view see gentrification as creating mixed-income communities, raising the stock of social capital, increasing tax revenue, promoting the provision of better social services and enhancing the quality of education in public schools due to the in-migration of new wealthy class (Jennings, 2016). However, these lofty advantages only reveal the positive aspect of gentrification. On the flip side of the phenomenon, low-income residents of the gentrified areas do face serious challenges due to the gentrification processes. In a study conducted in Boston community,

Jennings (2016) reveals that Boston's old petty businesses which form part of its socioeconomic structure were negatively affected by gentrification processes.

In the same light, Lloyd (2010), Sutton (2010) and Meltzer (2016) support the fact that local businesses such as convenience stores, supermarkets and restaurants used to be major parts of the constitution of the neighbourhood until gentrification set in, in the 1970s. These areas, according to Sutton (2010) and Fairlie (2012), have always been seen as conduits for entrepreneurship, particularly among the minority and immigrant populations. However, these local or small businesses and micro-enterprises, despite their significance to the growth of economic activities of low-income areas, have been undermined by the processes of gentrification. Thus, Jennings (2016) again in a study on small businesses and micro-enterprises in some communities of Boston, US, presented data collected from the *info USA*, business data base, the Bureau of Labour Statistics and US Census County Business Patterns. The data revealed that 37, 805 business establishments were in the city of Boston as at 2013. The highest percentage (58%) of these business establishments were services-oriented; (15%) were retail in nature; while (12%) were in insurance, finance, real estate or fire. In all, only (2%) of these establishments were found in manufacturing. The data further disclosed the number of workers in each establishment, the highest being 315,298 workers employed in service-oriented business establishment. Over 66% of these businesses employed between 1 and 4 workers irrespective of their small size. However, these businesses are being threatened and weakened by the process of gentrification despite the implications of their large size for future economic development of Boston. Thus, the role of small businesses in residential areas cannot be overemphasised as they do create wealth at local levels and keep it in circulation for longer periods (Jennings, 2016). Also, it is a segment of the economy that ensures the stability of families in an area through engagement of the local residents in active economic activities. However, the influx of high-income gentry into the gentrifying areas often changes the character of the areas and eventually distorts the economic conditions of the long-time residents. Similarly, in their study on local business, Liu and Ma (2015) found that small businesses were kicked out as tourist gentrifiers and other wealthy people moved into the run-down areas because they could not afford the newly increased rent and the high tax revenues. This shows that the process of gentrification could be a source of weakness and jeopardy, particularly for the local or small businesses and the economic wellbeing of cities.

Wyly and Hammel (2004) on the other hand, discussed the role of banks and realtors in facilitating segregation of households through biased practices in favour of the wealthy individuals. Supporting this view, Biro (2007) explains that once gentrification processes become dominant in an area, banks widen the income gap between the low-income long-time inhabitants, the middle-class and the high-income earners by lending to more wealthy borrowers. Consequently, discrimination from banks and realtors places the low-income residents at a greater disadvantage and deepens the negative effects of gentrification. However, scholars such as Meltzer and Schuetz (2012), and Meltzer and Capperis (2016) have disagreed with these arguments stating that gentrification brings about services that were hitherto non-existent in the gentrifying area. It also opens new vistas of employment opportunities. They explain how gentrification process could facilitate access to localised employment opportunities and that the low-income and less educated households benefit from the residential integration of relatively wealthier and more educated gentry fostered by gentrification.

2.7   Adaptive Strategies of Urban Residents to Gentrification

Traditionally, internal displacement has always been associated with armed conflicts, insurgencies and general situations of violence. Yet, gentrification and other development-induced projects are gradually becoming the biggest sources of displacement. Terminski (2013), for instance, identified development projects as major factors responsible for internal displacement in the urban space. These displacements often come with severe social consequences such as homelessness, food insecurity, loss of source of livelihood, lack of access to healthcare services, cutting-off social ties and extreme poverty. However, displaced people often adopt certain adaptive strategies that would cushion the effects of their new condition.

Other studies have shown that social support plays a protective role during times of stress by enhancing adaptive coping behaviour of the victims. Dolbier and Steinhardt (2000) affirm this assertion by stating that a person's perception of the availability of others as a resource, rather than actual support received, plays an important role in the prediction of coping effectiveness, well-being, psychological and physical health. This again corroborates the argument of Galea, Ahern, Resnick, Kilpatrick, Bucuvalas and Gold (2002) that individuals who maintain

supportive social relationships are more resilient in the face of life-threatening conditions. In the same vein, some writers conceive poverty as a factor that determines the type of adaptive strategies people employ at individual level. Justino (2013) contends that strategies adopted by displaced people to secure their lives and livelihoods are typically a function of their vulnerability to poverty and violence. Hence, most of the displaced people tend to fall back on their families, friends and other relatives for survival. This corroborates the findings of Bonkat (2014) that victims of violence largely depend on their relatives from the countryside and the well-to-do extended relatives in the city, religious organisations as well as civil society groups for basic needs. As part of their coping response, some displaced people seek assistance and advice or even moral support from their friends and family members on their perilous condition. The seeking out social support is a coping strategy that can be considered to be relevant to problem-focused coping. Other scholars focused on business coping strategies with environmental threats. Kitching, Blackburn, Smallbone, and Dixon (2009) aver that the amount of resources obtainable in a given location coupled with its level of munificence largely determines the degree of adaptation of a business to certain environmental shocks. Therefore, for businesses, particularly displaced ones, to survive, they must build certain adaptive capabilities to environment shocks.

Furthermore, in examining the strategies employed by people in difficult situations, several studies have revealed different adaptive strategies in different contexts. For instance, in their study on displaced women in Khartoum, Bello and Daoud (2014) discovered that many displaced women resort to menial jobs in the informal sector such as street vending and domestic services as an adaptive strategy. Supporting this view, Oyefara and Alabi (2016), in their study on coping strategies of displaced women in Lagos, found a number of strategies employed by the displaced females. These include reliance on support from family and friends, street vending, begging from the public, prostitution and other menial jobs. With regard to the adaptive strategies with their health challenges, the study found that the displaced women largely depended on herbal medicine to cure their illnesses. However, this study is limited as it admitted that homelessness was a major social consequence of displacement, yet, it was unable to uncover the coping strategies adopted by the homeless women. Similarly, Rudolf and Schimitz-Pranghe (2018), in their study of coping with displacement in Myanmar and Thailand, found diversification of livelihoods, modification of socioeconomic units,

having many residential houses among others as coping strategies of the displaced people. This, however, cannot apply to majority of the poor urban residents, who even before their displacement did not have the economic power to afford even diversification of their sources of income, let alone owning multiple residences.

2.8 Social Relations of Gentrification

There are many divergent views on social relations of members of gentrifying areas just as there are different arguments on the social and economic costs of the phenomenon. The fact that gentrification is regarded as a process of 'invasion and succession' implies a potential class-based tension or conflict among members of gentrifying neighbourhoods. For instance, a study by Aka (2010) in Atlanta revealed the existence of racial discord and acrimony between long-time residents and the gentrifiers. The findings of the study revealed that the racial discord was engendered by the influx of middle-income whites back into the inner city to displace the low-income Black race. A similar study by Doucet and Pogash (2015) found that gentrification was a global process that polarised and promoted social inequalities; the consequence of which is the feeling of angst and anger often manifested in crisis and sour social relations. In similar vein, Sereno (2014) also argued that there were evident concerns about racial and ethnic displacements by higher-income category that moved into old and poor gentrifying neighbourhoods. While these studies revealed the character of 'invaded' gentrifying neighbourhoods, yet, they did not take cognizance of the advantages brought about by the influx of higher—income class into economically distressed neighbourhoods. Also, some scholars posited that gentrification engenders social mix which invariably upgrades and positively changes the character of a neighbourhood from an old and poverty-stricken community to a more buoyant or affluent neighbourhood.

Meanwhile, studies conducted in racially segregated communities in the US have revealed a growing abhorrence of gentrification processes among the poor black communities. The processes were considered as aggravating and worsening an already existing racial discord of the earlier urban renewal period which was termed as 'Negro Removal' due to its deliberate systematic displacement of the working-class and middle-class Black communities. However, other researchers such as Buntin (2014) and Horowitz (2015) opposed this view arguing that gentrification was nothing but an imaginary process as it hardly occurs, and that even when it

does, the movement of wealthier people into the economically distressed communities does not actually lead to displacement. Thus, allaying the claim for racial discord among members of gentrifying communities, Tobar (2015) went as far as claiming that gentrification was an important tool for racial desegregation. However, this claim is rather subjective as it does not take into account the views and woes of the victims of gentrification who are at the receiving end of the consequences of the process (Jennings, 2016).

Further illustrating the patterns of social relations of gentrification, Jennings (2016) described the scenario in Boston where political fights ensued between residents in trying to retrieve land for equitable uses and improving their living and housing conditions. Similarly, the systematic eviction of tenants by landlords in gentrifying neighbourhoods has been described as having damaging effects on the social relations of members of gentrifying communities. This systematic eviction is often done by raising rents so high that poor tenants are forced out, and thereafter renovate the property to attract wealthier people.

Another study by Jeong, Heo and Jung (2014) in Seoul revealed how retail sector was affected by gentrification processes. The study found a rapid involuntary displacement of retail businesses in the area due to rising cost of shop rent which has forced some old businesses to relocate from the main street to smaller pathways in the town. However, a good number of the respondents claimed to have given up their lifetime business owing to the high cost of rent, hence, the existence of a general feeling of anxiety, dissuasion and despair among members of the gentrifying community. Similar to this study was conducted by Jennings (2016) in Boston community. The study disclosed that gentrification has hampered immigrants' businesses and put the patronage of non-white customers living in Boston to very low ebb thereby depleting the economic fortunes of the city. This is because one of the major advantages of retail establishments is to foster social and cultural vitality. However, according to Zukin (2009) these social effects were not equally enjoyed by every member of the gentrifying neighbourhood, and that they instead aggravate the existing polarization between the old and new retailers.

2.9   Theoretical Framework

Since the emergence of gentrification as a field of study, scholars or researchers on urban issues have been debating to establish its theoretical foothold (Mathema, 2013). A theory is a set of interrelated concepts that have been developed to explain various characteristics of the natural world. It is a repeated observation and testing which incorporates facts, predictions, law-like assumptions that are widely accepted. Thus, a theory is regarded as a veritable tool used by social scientists to create a model of reasoning about social realities which is different from abstractions. A theoretical framework, therefore, provides a platform for expressing a theory of a research study. It presents and describes the theory that explains why the research problem under study exists. With this foundation, Max Weber's social action theory (SAT) has been adopted as the theoretical framework for this study.

2.9.1   Weberian Social Action Theory

The primary focus of Weber's conception of Sociology was on the subjective meanings that human actors attach to their actions in their mutual orientations within specific socio-historical contexts. Weber distinguished himself from his predecessors through his analytical focus on individual human actors as against conceiving Sociology in socio-cultural terms (Priya, n.d). Put differently, Weber's conception of Sociology was on the subjective meanings that actors attach to their actions in their mutual orientations within specific social contexts.

For proper understanding of Weber's conception of 'action', three important points must be taken into consideration:

1.   In his popular and classic study "The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism", Weber identified the concept of *Verstehen* which he argued is crucial to understanding human actions and social change. The concept refers to emphatic understanding of action, that is, the meaning attached to a given action by the individual. This supposes that the concept of gentrification as a process of displacement of low-income families or businesses emerged as a description of observed actions and reactions of the gentrifiers and victims of the displacement processes respectively.

2.   Weber also argued for the possibility of generalisation about the (4) basic forms of motivators for human actions. This presumes that gentrification as a social action is being

driven by several factors. Hence, there is no mono-causal explanation as to the factors motivating individuals, corporate entities or governments to engage in gentrification of low-income areas or neighbourhoods.

3.   Taking from the above premise, Weber as a determinist argues that human action is determined or shaped by social structures. This is because certain class or social groups tend to encourage certain general types of motivation for gentrification processes. For instance, in some societies or communities, economic motives such as desire for profit maximisation; social factors such as the need to preserve cultural heritage, aesthetics or tourist attraction; developmental factors such as the need to build infrastructure among others could be regarded as structural issues that shape the actions of individuals, corporate entities and public authorities in gentrification processes.

Thus, in one of his famous works 'Economy and Society', Weber defined Sociology as 'a science concerning itself with interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and consequences.' In Weberian Sociology, therefore, 'action' and 'meaning' constitute the focal points of sociological analysis. In this analysis, action is regarded as all human behaviour to which an actor attaches subjective meaning. More so, action is *social* only when it takes the behaviours of others into account by virtue of subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual and in so doing oriented in its course. This implies that social action can be oriented to the past, present or expected future of one's behaviour.

To grasp the full essence of the SAT and how it explains the gentrification processes, the basic assumptions underlying the theory were examined in the following section:

a.   Social action may be influenced by the past, present or future actions. This supposes that gentrification is influenced by actions of the past, present or future. The past actions here can be regarded as the previous settlement patterns or living arrangements of the urban dwellers based on population size and density. The present refers to the current physical transformations of the gentrifying areas, while the future refers to the plans of private individuals, corporate entities or public authorities through various urban planning/renewal agencies which has direct or indirect bearing on the displacement of low-income households

and businesses thereby altering the settlement patterns and influencing patterns of social relations among interacting members of the gentrifying communities.

b.   Social action presupposes the existence of other individual and some actions by them. Thus, social action is possible only if there is another individual whose action or behaviour is influencing another to act or behave in a specific manner. This implies that gentrification, particularly the type driven by private individuals, is encouraged or promoted by actions of the gentrifiers who make handsome offer for the property of the long-time residents thereby enticing them to voluntarily sell off their properties and relocate to another place. Thus, the gentrifiers' actions (moving into the gentrifying area) and the reactions of the victims in the gentrifying areas (relocation to another place) simply show that social action does not occur in a vacuum. The process of acquisition as well as the subsequent transformation of the physical and social character of the gentrifying community is oriented towards the relocation of the gentrified members to another community.

c.   Social action should have another subjective meaning to another particular social action. Thus, acquisition of properties in low-income areas by the gentrifiers is a social action in as much as it is intended to attract or stimulate other buyers with a view to populate the gentrifying area with people of similar characteristics. This type of gentrification was found in this study to be associated with political motives where the actors (gentrifiers) engaged in gentrification with a view to achieving some political scores.

In line with these assumptions, the SAT was based on four stages of analysis:

i.   Traditional stage: This has to do with customs, traditions and their usages. In other words, traditional actions are actions controlled by traditions, that is, "the way it has always been done". Traditionally, people want to live in the city centre where basic amenities such as good roads, potable water, electricity, industries and ministries etc. are often concentrated. Thus, owning a property in the inner city is seen by many urbanites as a strategic opportunity hence, the wealthy members of the society would rather spend huge amount of money to own a property in the core city than build on a virgin land in the outskirt of the city. In relation to the processes of gentrification, the traditional stage of gentrification is characterised by acquisition of low-income residences at the core of the city and transforming same into

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residential houses by relatively wealthy elites. However, the influence of cultural values of maintaining close physical contact with family members rendered the pace of gentrification process very slow and quite inconsequential in its early stages.

ii.   Affective stage: This stage has to do with actions determined by one's specific affections and emotional state regardless of the consequences. It is motivated by the emotional state of the actor. The emotional satisfaction derived in acquiring a property in the heart of the city where basic amenities are well provided as well as the proximity to work, to meeting business associates, family members and even old friends explain the essence of this stage as a type of social action. Here, the gentrifiers' actions are determined by the need to express their personal emotions irrespective of the consequences of their actions on members of the gentrifying community and/or the community.

iii.   Value-Rational stage: This is an action that seems irrational because it is directed at a value that cannot be motivated in rational terms. In order to achieve that value the individual may be just as rational as the person displaying goal-rational social action. It involves the cherished values of the actors of gentrification. The cherished values for the gentrifiers depend on the motive of the individual actors. While some engage in gentrification to satisfy their ego of wanting to live in the city centre, many others gentrify low-income communities so as to maintain close contact with their kinsmen and proximity to their workplace. Hence, factors such as religion, ethnicity, geographical location, gender or political affiliations may play a crucial role in driving the processes of gentrification.

iv.   Goal Rational stage: This is also known as means-ends rational action. It is motivated by the desire to reach in a most efficient way an end result that can be defended with rational argument. The means that will lead to that goal are carefully selected. It is determined by expectations as to the behaviours of objects in the environment and of other human beings. Actions in this stage are carried out to achieve a certain goal. Here, the gentrifiers engage in the process because of the expectations of the outcome which is often favourable to them. The gentrifiers here may gentrify a community when they realise its potential commercial value and the likely profits to be realised. Similarly, most of the physical town planning projects embarked on by governments such as slums clearance, residential and commercial houses demolitions with a view to construct infrastructure fall within this category.

Therefore, the SAT was basically used in this study to probe in-depth understanding of the social history, processes, drivers, patterns and adaptive strategies of gentrification. However, due to its obvious limitations to explain the costs of gentrification and their attendant effects on social relations between the original occupants of the gentrifying areas and the gentry, Marx's alienation theory was adopted to compliment the SAT in providing cogent and holistic theoretical explanations of gentrification processes in Lagos state.

2.9.2   Marxist Alienation Theory

The study uses Marxist Alienation Theory (MAT) to provide cogent understanding of gentrification particularly in emerging cities like Lagos, Nigeria. To begin with, Marxist theoretical orientation begins from the premise that the mode of ownership of means of production tends to stratify human society into two polar social classes: the owners of capital (bourgeoisie) and the workers (proletariat). While the former controls the means of production, the latter owns nothing but its labour. By implication, the interests of the two classes are not the same and this makes their relationship antagonistic. Inequality and injustice are the major contradictions characterising social relations of production in the capitalist system and they bring about a feeling of what Marx called alienation, that is, estrangement or separation of the workers from the product of their labour. Thus, alienation in German philosophy refers to keeping apart of things that naturally belong to each other. Marx describes the objectification of the worker in the process of material production of goods and services as alienation due to the idea that the process makes the worker alien to his labour. Alienation, according to Marx, therefore, takes place when that which is intrinsic to the existence of man is reduced to a mere object or commodity.

Further advancing the idea of alienation, Marx (1844) described it as a reality which occurs when one feels they have lost control of their lives. In line with this, subsequent researchers contend that the central idea of alienation is a sense of separation in relation to some other elements in the environment. An object is alienated from another object when it is seen as separate from that other object; one is alienated when they are seen as being separate from things or people that naturally surround them. In essence, therefore, alienation refers to how people see and recognize themselves and their environment (Seeman, 1959).

To grasp the essence of alienation theory, Seeman (1959) proposed a conceptual clarification of alienation by identifying five basic phenomena that result from alienation. These include:

i. Powerlessness: this refers to a situation whereby an individual loses complete control over their behaviour. This is the first problem experienced by victims of gentrification due to alienation. As members of gentrifying areas become powerless, they lose control of their behaviour thereby tending towards exhibition of abnormal behaviour and aggressive tendencies towards the gentry (wealthy individuals, or even public authorities).

ii. Normlessness: this refers to the expectation that socially unacceptable behaviour is required in order to attain specific goals. Thus, by implication, the invaded old inhabitants of gentrifying areas as a result developed the expectation that they could inhibit the proliferation of the gentry into their area by exhibiting normless behaviour such as verbal, physical and in some extreme cases spiritual attacks.

iii. Meaninglessness: this takes place as a result of low expectation of being able to make meaningful predictions about future consequences of behaviour. When victims of gentrification fail to achieve their specific goals despite exhibiting socially unacceptable behaviour, the consequence is a feeling of meaninglessness. Here, life in the gentrified community becomes meaningless for the original inhabitants thereby creating in them a strong feeling of dejection and depression thus giving up on a better life so long as the influx of the gentry continues.

iv. Isolation: this is a tendency to attribute little value to convictions or ideals which are typically highly valued. At this stage, the depressed old inhabitants of the gentrifying areas no longer believe in the ideals of the community. They feel isolated as a result of the new cultural norms and values that have infiltrated their community with the arrival of the gentry.

v. Estrangement: Self-estrangement shows a level of dependence on specific types of behaviour for expected future consequences. This is the peak of the problems that result from alienation. Here, members of the gentrifying areas experience a deep sense of separation and detachment from their original community due to changes that occur in the social character of the area. Consequently, they live like aliens in their community as there lands and houses are being acquired by a high-income

wealthy people who mostly belong to an ethnic and/or religious group different from theirs.

Therefore, the low-income occupants of gentrifying areas experience a deep sense of alienation as a result of the incursion of their communities by a high-income class of wealthy individuals, corporate entities or even public authorities. They feel alienated because apart from the change brought about by this 'invasion' in the social character of their environment, they deeply feel so estranged from their areas – areas they feel were their birth right where lived their forefathers. Also, the fact that the gentry are often a category of people with whom they shared nothing in common apart from citizenship engenders in them a feeling of being systematically displaced by different ethnic and/or religious groups. This feeling of alienation constitutes a recipe for normlessness in the gentrifying areas, hence the occurrence of perennial crisis between the original inhabitants and the gentry.

2.9.3   Conceptual Framework

This section consists of a diagram expression of the relationships among various variables that interplay in the social context of gentrification in Lagos state. Here, the role of each variable and the link between the two theories adopted was explicated.
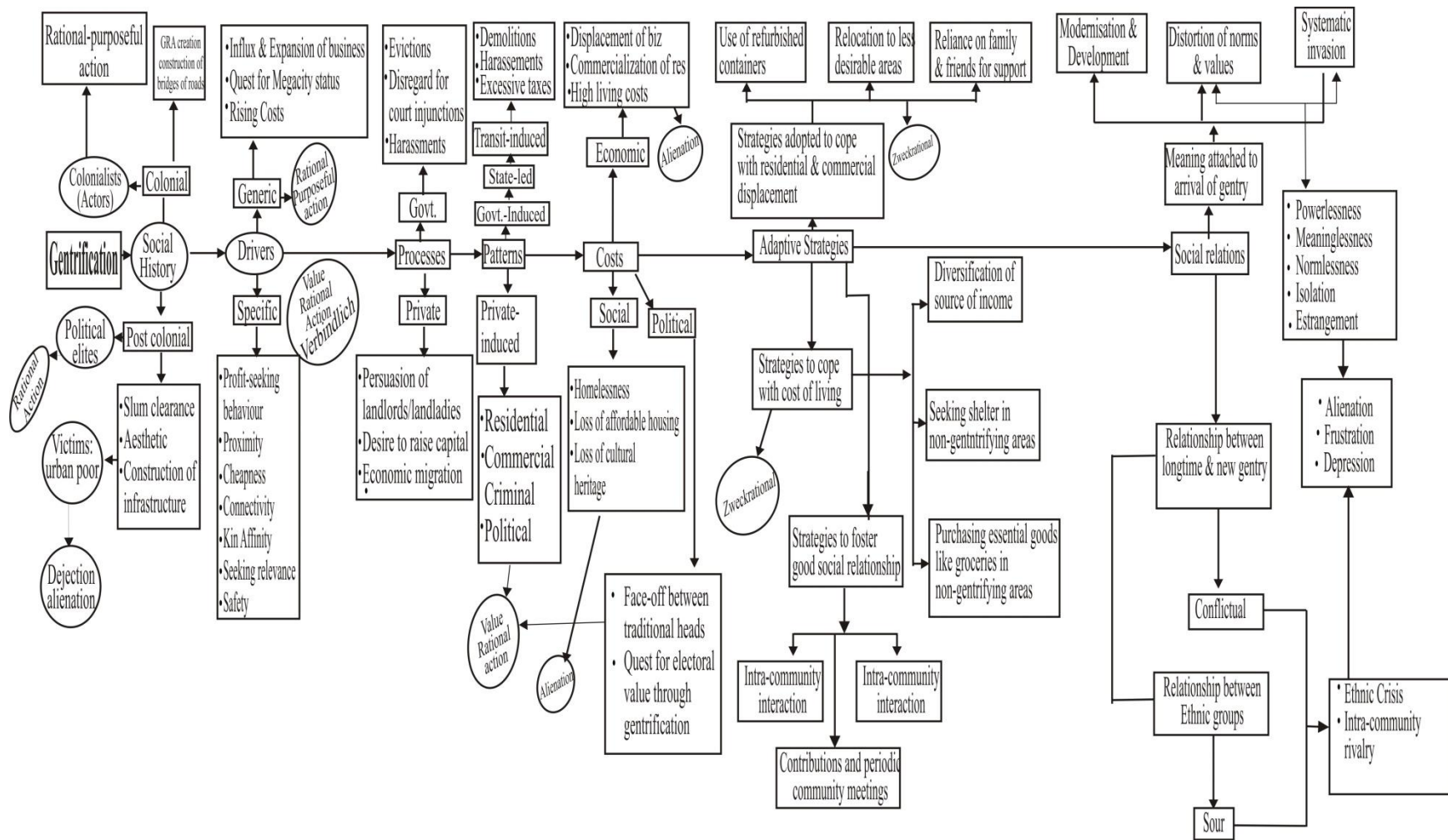
Fig. 2.1   Conceptual Framework

Source: Researcher, 2020

In Fig. 2.1, an attempt was made to present interplay of various variables that constitute the social context of gentrification in Lagos state. The social history of gentrification in Lagos can be bifurcated into colonial and postcolonial phases. Both phases have similar features as they were characterised by conscious attempt to create elitist residential and administrative areas through demolition of low-income residential and business structures. These actions were considered rational purposeful by the colonialists and the postcolonial political elites due to their expediency in achieving the desired goals of development despite its alienating effects on the urban poor.

Fig. 2.1 also shows some key variables – generic and specific factors – that promote gentrification. The generic variables include influx and expansion of businesses, quest for public authorities to transform Lagos into one of the leading megacities of the world, rising costs of living etc. These variables were considered generic because they constitute macro factors that promote gentrification in the state. The specific factors include profit-seeking behaviour of the individual gentrifiers, proximity, relative cheapness of property in the gentrified areas, and the ease with which individuals connect to other areas of the city. Similarly, the desire of an individual gentrifier to maintain close affinity with their relations was found to be specific driver of gentrification in the state. Also, other individual-specific motives to engage in gentrification were seeking political relevance in the gentrifying areas as well as safety during conflicts. Theoretically, while the generic factors depict actions that were rationally purposeful (zweckrational), the individual-specific factors were value-rational actions or what Weber termed verbindlich.

The figure further shows two major processes involved in gentrification – government and private-driven processes. The government-driven processes entailed harassment of the occupants of contested lands and disregard for court injunctions of stay of action which often results into forcible evictions of the poor occupants. The private-driven processes, on the other hand, involve subtle persuasion of landlords or landladies, usually by agents, to convince them into selling the properties. However, some of the property owners sold their houses out of sheer desire raise capital while others used the money realised from the sale of their houses to migrate to some advanced countries of Europe and America.

Fig. 2.1 also shows the various patterns of gentrification that have manifested in Lagos state. Here again, the patterns were bifurcated into: government-induced and private-induced patterns. The former entails types of gentrification such as state-led, transit-induced etc. and these were usually accompanied with imposition of excessive taxes followed by harassments and eventually leading to demolitions of buildings or businesses mostly being owned by the urban poor. While the public authorities often justify their actions as purposefully rational, the victims of these actions felt dejected, frustrated and alienated. Meanwhile, the private-induced type of gentrification includes residential, commercial, political and criminal gentrifications. A common denominator in all these types of gentrification is the fact that they were actions carried out by private individuals for certain generic or specific motives such as profit maximisation drive or desire for capital expansion which are value rational actions. However, it is worthy to note that the remaining occupants of gentrifying areas who have not yet sold their houses still constitute victims of these types of gentrification. This is because the proliferation of the upper class into their community brings with it a drastic change in the social character of their environment in terms of distortion of their long held cherished social values and norms as well as the psychological trauma associated with the exodus of their long-time family and friends in the gentrifying community. This experience engendered the feeling of alienation among the left-behind members of the gentrifying areas.

Similarly, the figure shows another key variable of the social context of gentrification in Lagos state – the costs of gentrification. This was also subdivided into economic, social and political costs of gentrification. The economic costs entailed displacement of usually small-scale, low-income businesses, high living costs which manifested in commercialisation of residences (residential houses doubling as living and business apartments). The social costs involve rendering the vulnerable urban poor homeless due to lack of affordable housing; loss of cultural heritage through displacement of the indigenous cultural custodians. Concerning the political costs of gentrification, fig.2.1 shows how gentrification determines electoral victory of politicians, and either expands or shrinks territorial control of traditional rulers in most gentrifying communities of Lagos state. Theoretically, therefore, a deep sense of alienation ensued even among political actors and traditional heads that are resident in gentrifying communities.

Fig. 2.1 further shows certain adaptive strategies as key variables in the social context of gentrification in Lagos state. Three major adaptive strategies were found to be adopted by members of gentrifying communities – strategies to cope with residential and commercial displacement, strategies to cope with cost of living and strategies for effective social relationship. The use of refurbished containers, relocation to less desirable areas and reliance on family and friends were rational purposeful actions take as strategies to cushion the effects of gentrification by its victims in Lagos state. Similarly, the victims adopted diversification of sources of income, seeking shelter and purchasing essential goods like groceries in non-gentrifying areas as rationally purposeful effective strategies to cope with high cost of living. Also, intra-community interactions predicated on periodic meetings and contributions intervened in fostering a relatively good relationship between old occupants and the gentry in the gentrifying communities.

A distinctive feature of sociological study of gentrification lies in the patterns of social relations among members of gentrifying communities. One of the major variables intervening on the social relations of gentrification is the meaning attached to the arrival of gentry into the gentrifying communities. While few members among the old occupants perceive the arrival as modernisation and development, majority see it as systematic invasion of their community with attendant consequences such as displacement of their long held and cherished customs, traditions, beliefs, norms and values. Similarly, all kinds of relations whether it is between the state and members of gentrifying communities, various ethnic groups, traditional heads as well as between old occupants and the new gentry were characterised as being conflict-laden. Thus, the victims of gentrification become powerless as they often interpret life as being meaningless with potential for normlessness and a tendency for isolation which culminate into total estrangement of the victims. Hence, the existence of perennial conflicts, crisis and clashes all of which were predicated on the deep sense of alienation felt by the original inhabitants of the gentrifying neighbourhoods.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter consists of the description of the research design, the study area, type and sources of data, methods as well as techniques of data collection and analysis.

3.1 Research Design

This study adopted a cross-sectional and descriptive research design. It is a cross-sectional survey design because it involved systematic selection of representative sample out of the target population of study in terms of the variables under assessment. It also allowed for concurrent use of quantitative and qualitative methods of social inquiry. Similarly, the study was retrospective, in that it allowed for the documentation of past experiences of the gentrifying households and business units. Furthermore, in an attempt to use quantitative method of social inquiry in this research, information on the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, including other variables in the objectives appropriate for numerical analysis was collected and subjected to suitable statistical analysis. While the quantitative method of social inquiry was employed to elicit numerical information on the subject of investigation, the qualitative method of social inquiry was used to draw insights on the social reality of gentrification-induced displacements across the selected areas, using Life History (LH), In-Depth Interview (IDI), Key Informant Interviews (KII), Observation and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

3.2 Study Area

The study area for this research was Lagos State, South West Nigeria. A brief history of the area was deemed necessary to provide an insight into the nature of the locations selected for the study. Lagos state is made up of twenty (20) Local Government Areas (LGAs) with an

estimated population of 21 million inhabitants (The World Population Review, 2019). Lagos State is bounded to the south by the Atlantic Ocean; to the north and west by Ogun State; and to the east by the Republic of Benin. Due to its rapid urbanisation, Lagos is regarded as the most populous conurbation in Nigeria; fastest growing city in Africa; and the seventh in the world (World Urbanisation Prospects, 2018). Thus, the choice of Lagos was informed by the fact that it has the highest number of gentrifying neighbourhoods with several low income households and businesses being displaced by more affluent classes thereby bringing about socio-spatial and demographic changes in the affected areas.

Historically, the main challenges of Lagos have been growing urbanisation and increasing natural population growth (Nwanna, 2012). One key physical predicament of Lagos is its limited ability for geographical expansion due to its coastal location, and this has made it quite challenging for the state government and policy makers to effectively manage the limited landscape; hence the extensive reclamation projects in different areas of the state (Filani, 2012). This pressure over limited landscape is equally responsible for the decay in the urban neighbourhood in the city which led to different rehabilitation and redevelopment programmes embarked on by the government to give the city a face value. This, coupled with the emergence of an advantaged high income class who displace original low income residents of several areas of Lagos using their affluence, constituted some of the grave, demographic, cultural, socio-spatial, political and economic concerns in the city and which needed attention from both academics and policy makers.

To explore the context of gentrification in Lagos state, six (6) LGAs were mapped out and selected as representatives of the entire state. The justification for the selection was due to the identification of gentrification-induced displacements in the areas through a pilot study earlier conducted. The selected LGAs include: Agege, Alimosho, Oshodi, Eti-Osa, Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island LGAs. The geographical spread of these areas was presented in the map below:
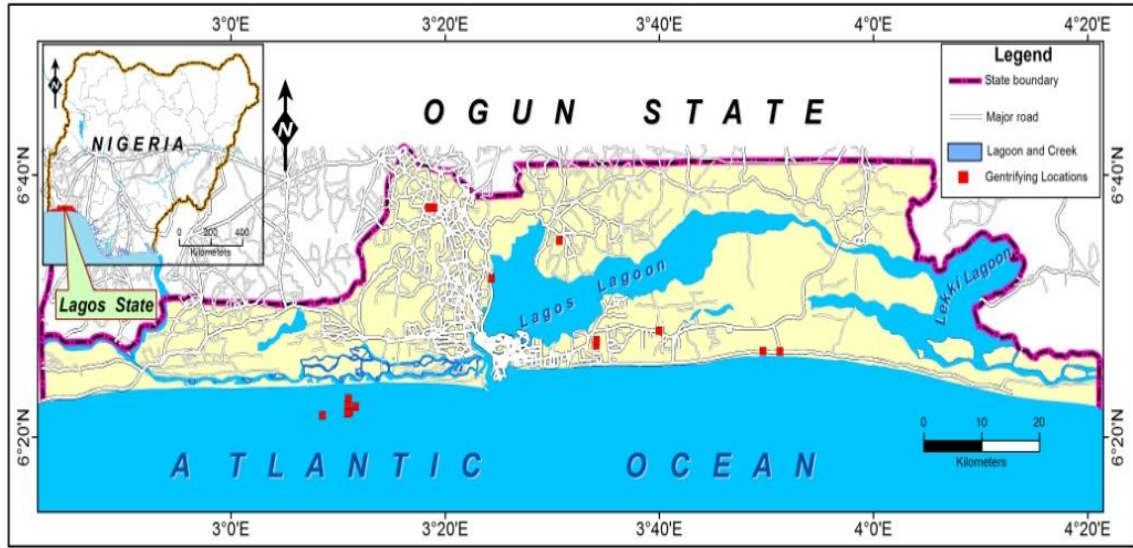
Fig. 3.2:   Flow map for gentrifying areas
Source: Author's Pilot study, 2019

Table 3.0   Matrix of Gentrification in Lagos State

S/N	LGA	Locations	GPS Measure
1	Agege	Sango	6.37'14.454
			3.19'37.398
		Moricas	6.624.913
			3.315.758
2	Eti-Osa	Orile Maroko, Ajah	6.449.567
			3.568.417
		Ikota, Ajah	6.455.878
			3.568.718
3	Oshodi	Bolade	6.467.970
			3.666.097
		Mafoluku	6.441.425
			3.854.555
		Church street	6.26'30.774"
			3.49'41.874"
4	Alimosho	Akowonjo	6.36'26.430
			3.18'12.900
		Ayobo	6.36'04.050
			3.14'22.572
5	Lagos Mainland	Yaba, Makoko	6.29'44.592"
			3.23'21.282"
6	Lagos Island	Apongbon, Idumota (Isale Eko)	636'09.798
			3.36'51.546

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

3.3   Study Population

The target population of the study was made up of long-time and new residents (gentrifiers) in the affected (gentrifying) areas in Agege, Oshodi, Eti-Osa, Lagos Mainland, Lagos Island and Alimosho LGAs. The choice of these locations as the population of the study was informed by the fact that they host communities that have either been observed to experience varying degrees of gentrification or were actually faced with the threats of being gentrified based on the pilot study carried out in the areas.

3.4   Sample Size

The sample size for the study was drawn from long-time and new residents (gentrifiers) in the gentrifying areas of the selected LGAs. Thus, both quantitative and qualitative techniques of data collection and analysis were used in the study.

3.4.1   Quantitative Sample Size

For results of a study to be effectively used for generalisations, drawing a quantitative sample size is necessary for a representative sample from the target population. Thus, in drawing the sample size for the quantitative aspect of the research, Cochran's (1977) sample size determination for unknown population was adopted. This was based on the fact that there was no official data for the gentrifying neighbourhoods of the selected LGAs at the time of the study. Therefore, the following calculation was done using the formula as follows:

$$n = \frac{Z^2 P(1-P)}{e^2}$$

Where N = Sample Population;

Z = Statistics level of confidence (1.96);

P = Assumed prevalence or proportion of gentrification in the study locations (0.5)

1 = Constant;

e = Marginal error (0.03).

Sample population = $\dfrac{1.96^2[0.5(1-0.5)]}{0.03^2}$ = $\dfrac{3.8416[0.5(0.5)]}{0.0009}$ = $\dfrac{0.9604}{0.0009}$ = 1,067…3.1

Table 3.1   Quantitative Sample Size Proportion

S/N	LGAs	Proportion	Sample size
1.	Agege	0.16	178
2.	Oshodi	0.16	178
3.	Lagos Mainland	0.16	178
4.	Eti-Osa	0.16	178
5.	Lagos Island	0.16	178
6.	Alimosho	0.16	178
7.	Total	1.00	1,067

Table 3.1 shows the quantitative sampling proportion for each of the LGAs. Equal proportions were allocated to the selected LGAs in order to give respondents in each of the LGAs equal chance.

3.4.2   Inclusion Criteria

This study included all long-time and new residents (gentrifiers) in Agege, Alimosho, Oshodi, Lagos Mainland, Eti-Osa and Lagos Island. Also included were the gentrification-induced displaced persons and those facing the threats of being gentrified in the selected LGAs. The long-time residents had to be residents in the areas for at least ten (10) years. However, the new residents required only a minimum of one (1) year in the areas to be included in the study.

3.4.3   Qualitative Sample Size

The qualitative sample size entails selection of participants in their natural settings. In this study, a purposive selection of (24) In-depth Interviewees; (24) Key Informant Interviewees; (6) sessions of Focus Group Discussions (FGD); and (6) Life Histories were done.

Table 3.2   Summary of Respondents, Informants and Interviewees

Informants/Interviewees/Respondents	IDI	KII	FGD	LH	Questionnaire
Developers		6			
Displaced tenants	6				
Religious leaders			6		
Community leaders				6	
Staff of LASURA		6			
Staff of LASBCA		6			
Residents of gentrifying areas					1067
Long-time residents	6				
New residents (gentrifiers)	6				
Voluntarily displaced landlords	6				
Lease or rent agents		6			

With regard to the In-depth Interview (IDI), (i) long-time residents (ii) displaced landlords (iii) new residents (iv) displaced tenants in the selected areas were selected for the interviews

in order to have in-depth information on the issues under study as the categories selected were either the key actors or victims of gentrification processes.

For the KII, the following key informants were selected: (i) staff of the Lagos State Building Control Agency (LASBCA) and (ii) the staff of Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency (LASURA), (iii) real estate developers and (iii) Lease or rent agents. This is because the aforementioned categories have professional experience and first-hand information of the gentrification phenomenon in the study area.

In terms of the Focus Group Discussion (FGDs), six (6) sessions were organised with religious leaders in the gentrifying areas. The FGDs were made up of 6-12 members in order to ensure robust discussions and fruitful interactions.

Concerning the Life History, six 6 oral historians were engaged in order to get some social historical backgrounds of the socio-cultural forces that shaped the selected gentrifying communities over time. What informed the adoption of these qualitative research techniques was the desire to elicit adequate description of the qualitative aspects of the data in the selected areas. It was much beyond the quantitative descriptions of the subject matter as it provided deep insights into the gentrification issues under investigation.

The decision to adopt these techniques of data collection was informed by the desire to obtain rich data from the respondents, informants or interviewees who were not only familiar with the issues under study but also have been affected by it in one way or the other. Thus, as anticipated, their wealth of experience had come to bear on the findings of the study.

Table 3.3   Summary of Quantitative and Qualitative Sample Size Distribution

S/N	LGAs	Quantitative sample size (Questionnaire)	Qualitative sample size			
			KII	IDI	FGD	Life His
1	Agege	178	4	4	1	1
2	Oshodi	178	4	4	1	1
3	Lagos Mainland	178	4	4	1	1
4	Eti-Osa	178	4	4	1	1
5	Lagos Island	178	4	4	1	1
6	Alimosho	178	4	4	1	1
7	**Total**	**1,068**	**24**	**24**	**6**	**6**

3.5   Sampling Techniques

The study employed a multi-stage sampling technique. In this, details of the selection of respondents and participants were carried out in stages as detailed below.

3.5.1   Sampling Procedures

Stage one: It started with the purposive selection of Lagos state. This selection was informed by the observed prevalence of numerous displacements of low income households by affluent class – a process referred to as gentrification – through a pilot study conducted by the researcher.

Stage two: This stage involved a purposive selection of six (6) LGAs of Lagos state. The reason for the selection of these LGAs purposively was due to the quest to explore the existence and also to gain deep insights into the patterns and typologies of gentrification processes in the state.

Stage three: This stage was concerned with the use of purposive sampling technique to select two (2) communities that have been observed to be gentrifying based on the pilot study conducted in each of the selected LGA. These included: Moricas and Sango (Agege); Orile Maroko and Ikota (Eti-Osa); Yaba and Makoko waterfront communities (Lagos Mainland); Ayobo and Akowonjo (Alimosho); Idumota and Apongbon (Lagos Island) and Bolade, Mafoluku (Oshodi).

Stage four: Here, another purposive sampling technique was used to select all gentrifying streets in the areas identified above from each of the selected LGAs.

Stage five: This was the final stage where the actual respondents were selected using systematic sampling technique. Thus, the respondents were drawn at every five house intervals. That is to say that every fifth (5th) house on the selected streets was selected until the required number of the determined sample size was arrived at. This technique was so scientific that it gave equal chance to all respondents in the neighbourhoods. Table 3.4 depicts the LGAs and the selected gentrifying neighbourhoods.

Table 3.4   LGAs and the Gentrifying Neighbourhoods

S/N	LGAs	Gentrifying Neighbourhood	Selected Streets
1	Agege	Moricas, Sango	All
2	Eti-Osa	Orile Maroko, Ikota	Soliu Aina street, Bola Matanmi street, Opesheyi street, Saka Ologun street
3	Lagos Mainland	Yaba, Makoko waterfront communities	All
4	Alimosho	Ayobo, Akowonjo	All
5	Lagos Island	Idumota, Apongbon (Isale Eko)	All
6	Oshodi	Mafoluku, Bolade, Church street	All

3.6   Research Instruments

The study adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. The details of how each of the methods was applied are shown below:

3.6.1   Quantitative Method

The collection of data through this method entails the gathering of numerical data via structured questionnaire designed in sections so as to elaborately collect the relevant data for the study.

Structured Questionnaire: The structured questionnaire was the quantitative instrument used to collect data from the respondents. It was structured in relation to the specific objectives of the study and categorised into sections (A-G). Sections A captured demographic profiles of the respondents; Section B addressed issues related to the social history of gentrification in the study areas; Section C focused on the drivers of gentrification in the areas; Section D examined the processes of gentrification in the areas; Section E dealt with the patterns of gentrification in Lagos state; section F described the costs of gentrification in Lagos state; section G contained adaptive strategies of long-time residents of the gentrifying neighbourhoods; and section H comprised the social relations of gentrification in Lagos state. Furthermore, the structured questionnaire was designed both in open-ended and closed-ended formats. This helped in eliciting relevant numerical information used for quantitative analysis from which explanations on the relationships between variables were derived.

3.6.2   Qualitative Method

Qualitative method of data collection involves the collection of non-numerical data or information so as to enable the researcher have in-depth understanding of the subject under investigation as well as the expression of participants' views and opinions on the social phenomenon without being biased. The following qualitative data techniques were employed to gather data suitable for non-numerical analysis in the study.

a. **Key Informant Interviews (KIIs):** Key informant interview is a qualitative instrument that enables a researcher gather qualitative data from the selected key people among the study population. In this study, twenty four (24) key informant interviews were conducted in order to elicit vital information from key participants, using a guide which the structured questionnaire could not be used to capture. The participants for the KII included real estate and property developers, staff of the Lagos State Building Control Agency (LASBCA) and the Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency (LASURA) who provided information about their experiences on gentrification processes in the study areas. This helped the research in obtaining insights into the social reality of gentrification in the study areas.

b. **In-depth Interview (IDI):** This is a qualitative technique of data collection which goal is to explore respondents' viewpoints, feelings, experiences and perspectives in depth. Thus, it is discovery-oriented and has the potential of digging up in-depth information about a given issue. In this study, a purposive selection of twenty four (24) respondents was done across the six (6) selected LGAs, that is, four (4) interviewees were drawn from each of the selected LGAs. These included displaced tenants, displaced landlords, long-time residents and new residents (gentrifiers).

c. **Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**: FGD is also a qualitative method of data collection where a researcher conducts interviews with a number of homogenous group members. In this study, the researcher conducted six (6) sessions of FGDs – one for each of the selected LGAs. It goes without saying that all variables suitable for non-numerical analysis in the specific objectives were captured in the FGD guide. This was necessary in order for the researcher to be able to have a robust understanding of the phenomenon under study which might not have been adequately elicited in the quantitative aspect of the research.

d. **Observation:** As an instrument of data collection, observation was employed to observe people, locations and structures that were experiencing gentrification so as to ascertain the drivers, processes and patterns of gentrification in the study areas.

e. **Life History:** As a technique of data collection, Life History was used to gather, present and interpret the historical information based on the personal experiences and memories of the people living in the gentrifying communities of Lagos state. The oral account

was sought from culturally sanctioned tradition-bearers, and this has afforded the researcher adequate insights into how and what has been the norm or changes in the selected gentrifying areas, thereby enriching the quality of the study.

3.7   Procedure of Administration

The administration of the structured questionnaire was based on the sample size apportioned to each of the selected areas. In order to ease the administration of the copies of the structured questionnaire, the researcher employed at least three research assistants in each of the selected LGAs who were trained in the procedures of data collection. Thus, for the conduct of key informant interviews, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, the researcher served as the moderator of all the sessions of the interviews and discussions and was assisted by one research assistant who served as the note-taker. In order to have the records of all the responses from the interview sessions, permission to take the digital recordings of the sessions was sought for easier retrieval of discussions for the analysis of the study.

3.8   Data Processing

3.8.1   Quantitative Data Processing

The processing of the quantitative data for this research began alongside with the fieldwork. Thus, the completed structured questionnaire were edited in the field almost immediately by the research assistants before the actual entry of the data. The structured questionnaire were then edited and entered for data processing by the researcher. Quantitative data was entered using computer, followed by data cleaning. This has assured the research of 100 percent error-free and authentic data which was processed and analysed.

3.8.2   Qualitative Data Processing

This entailed the recording and storing of the data collected using tape recorder with the aid of research assistants who acted in the capacity of note-takers, while the researcher served as the moderator. These data were transcribed almost immediately after the interviews in order to minimise errors, particularly where English language was not used.

3.9   Methods of Data Analysis

The analysis of this research was based on the various instruments utilised for data collection. In other words, since the study triangulated quantitative and qualitative methods, the analysis of the study was subjected to both quantitative and qualitative analytic strategies. For the quantitative method, descriptive analysis based on univariate, bi-variate through cross tabulations and multivariate through multiple regressions were used. In terms of the qualitative methods of analysis, thematic analysis was used to analyse the KIIs, IDIs, FGDs, Observation and the Life History. The Atlas-ti qualitative data analysis software and ethnographic summaries, and content analysis were used.

3.10   Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

The validity and reliability of instruments were given adequate attention. Thus, a pre-test of the study instruments was undertaken with experts in the field. Thereafter, face validity was done. For the reliability of the data, the quantitative data was subjected to a reliability coefficient at Chronbach's alpha α 0.7 which Nunnally's (1978) psychometric theory recommended to be the benchmark for a very strong reliability coefficient.

Table 3.5   Matrix of Data Collection and Analysis Techniques by Specific Objectives, variables and instruments

S/N	Objectives	What to Examine	How it was examined	Instruments that were used	How it was analysed
**	**Socio-demographic characteristics	• Age • Gender • Occupation • Income • Ethnic group • Marital status	• Age • Gender • Occupation • Income • Ethnic group • Marital status	• Questionnaire • KII • FGD • IDI	• Simple percentage • Ethnographic summaries • Atlas ti • Multiple regression
i.	Describe the social history of gentrification in Lagos State	• Processes of gentrification • Nature of gentrification • Timeline of gentrification • Historical accounts	• Years of stay at the gentrifying areas • Forces behind gentrification • Actors of gentrification • Community leaders • Religious leaders • Archival records	• Life history • FGD • IDI • KII	• Ethnographic summaries • Atlas ti
ii.	Analyse the drivers of gentrification in Lagos State	• Human causes of gentrification • Geographical factors • Economic factors • Political drivers • Cultural factors	• Social factors of gentrification • Physical constraints of gentrification • Economic issues of gentrification • Rental, lease and general property value increase • Political and public policies • Administrative delineations	• Questionnaire • IDI • KII • FGD	• Mean, simple percentage • Cross-tabulations • Multiple regression • Ethnographic summaries • Atlas ti
iii.	Describe the processes of gentrification in Lagos state	• Processes of acquisition • Evictions/demolitions • Resettlements, compensations • Court injunctions	• Investigation into the processes of acquisition of houses in gentrifying areas • Investigation into processes of evictions/demolitions • Investigating whether compensations were paid or not • Examining various court injunctions, pleas etc	• IDI • KII • Observation • Questionnaire	• Cross tabulations • Ethnographic summaries • Atlas ti • Photography
iv.	Examine the patterns of gentrification in Lagos State	• Types of gentrification • Information about forms of gentrification • Timing of gentrification • Private wealthy individuals' activities leading to gentrification • Various government intervention programmes resulting to gentrification	• Level of awareness about gentrification • Identification of the forms of gentrification known • Sources of each form of gentrification • Degree of prevalence • Category of people associated with each form	• Questionnaire • IDI • KII • FGD • Observation	• Mean, simple percentage • Cross-tabulations • Multiple regression • Ethnographic summaries • Photography
v.	Examine the costs of gentrification in Lagos State	• Social cost of gentrification • Economic costs • Political implications • Ethno-religious issues • Psychological issues	• The effects of gentrification on urban poor • Property values, rent, lease etc. • Degree of tension, mistrust, and hatred • Marginalization, discrimination etc. • Health-related challenges • Mental challenges	• Questionnaire • FGD • IDI • KII • Observation	• Mean, simple percentage • Cross-tabs • Multiple regression • Ethnographic summaries • Atlas ti
vi.	Investigate the adaptive strategies of long-time residents of gentrifying areas in Lagos State	• Education • Commercial issues • Coping mechanisms with the new cultural changes • Inter-personal relations between the old and new residents	• Parent ability to send their children to school • The ability of urban poor to cope with new living style in the areas • The trauma and agony of displacement	• Questionnaire • FGD • IDI • KII • Observation	• Simple percentage • Cross-tabs • Multiple regression • Atlas ti
Vii	Determine the social relations of gentrification in Lagos State	• Relationship between long time and new residents • Relationship between different traditional authorities • Social relations between different ethnic groups • Relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification	• Investigation into the nature of the relationships • Power tussle between the traditional authorities • Residents' perception of the state's role in displacing low income communities	• Questionnaire • IDI • KII • Observation • Life history	• Simple percentage • Cross-tabs • Multiple regression • Atlas ti.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

The respondents were informed of the objectives, methods and anticipated benefits of the study and verbal consent was sought from the interviewees. For the purpose of beneficence and being conscious of cultural sensitivity, the report of the research was communicated to the representatives of the areas of the research. This has contributed immensely by bringing about some practical solutions of the phenomenon of gentrification. In addition to this, the following social research ethics were strictly applied in the course of the study:

Respect for Persons: Written/oral informed consent to participate in the study was sought from all respondents/participants. The researcher ensured that all respondents/participants were treated with maximum confidentiality. They were assured of anonymity in their participation in the study. Thus, participation in the study was made completely voluntary. They were also assured of the right to voluntarily withdraw from the study at any time without intimidation they so wished.

Non-malfeasance of Respondents/Participants: The respondents/participants were assured not to be victimised in any way where there was withdrawal of participation; neither were they subjected to any form of risk or discomfort.

Beneficence Respondents/Participants: All respondents and participants were informed of the primary purpose of the research, which was to examine the context of gentrification. They were also assured of the potential joy and happiness accrued to them based on their participation in the research. In addition, they were informed of the potential benefits they stood to gain in the future, if the results and recommendations of the study were implemented by the government and policy makers.

Justice: All respondents/participants of the research were treated with fairness and equality without discrimination or prejudice. In other words, there was no preferential treatment for any participant in the study, irrespective of any affiliations.

Cultural Sensitivity: The researcher ensured that respondents'/participants' belief systems and practices, values and norms, including those of the communities to which human subjects were selected were duly respected.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0   Chapter Overview

This chapter consists of presentation, analysis and discussion of data collected in the field. Both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection were used hence the data analysis was concurrently done in line with the specific objectives of the study so as to arrive at a logical conclusion. A total of 1,067 copies of questionnaire were administered. However, only 894 were retrieved and found valid upon which the analysis of the study was based. Similarly, KII (24), IDI (24), FGD (6), LH (6) and Observations were successfully conducted and found valid for the analysis. Thus, this chapter is structured in sections; section one deals with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents; section two focuses on the social history of gentrification in Lagos state; section three explores the patterns of gentrification; section four examines the processes of gentrification; section five is concerned with the drivers of gentrification; section six examines the costs of gentrification; section seven contains the adaptive strategies of the urban poor in gentrifying areas while section eight treats the social relations between long-time residents and new comers in gentrifying areas; of Lagos state. The results of the study were presented in frequency tables, graphs, content narratives and pictures so as to enable robust and meaningful discussion of findings of the study.

4.1   Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Demographic attributes constitute important factors in understanding the social context of gentrification in Lagos state. This is because they provide insights into the contextual peculiarities of the problem under study. Thus, socio-demographic variables can be regarded as indispensable component of sociological research endeavour. In this study, survey was conducted on residents of the gentrifying areas in the selected local government areas of Lagos state. The selected residents were either direct victims or potential victims being faced with the threat of being gentrified by living in the gentrifying areas. The goal of the survey was to elicit large first-hand information and get the insights and experiences of both active and passive agents of gentrification in the gentrifying areas. A study of the interactions between and among these human agents and the environment

is so vital in understanding the processes of production and reproduction of urban space. Thus, the survey in this study has the potential to provide a basis for excellent and inclusive urban policies.

The socio-demographic variables that were examined in this study include: age, gender, marital status, educational attainment, ethnicity, religion and occupation. Others include: monthly income and residential status. Table 4.1 summarises the results on the socio-demographic attributes of the respondents.

Table 4.1   Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Demographic Variable	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	Total
	(n=159)	(n=149)	(n=153)	(n=145)	(n=144)	(n=144)	(N894)
Age							
18-27	12.6	12.8	12.4	3.4	13.2	13.2	11.3
28-37	23.9	10.7	10.5	24.1	11.1	11.1	15.3
38-47	21.4	28.2	27.5	8.3	29.2	20.8	22.6
48-57	17.0	23.5	22.9	28.3	24.3	21.5	**22.8**
58-67	12.6	10.1	9.8	28.3	10.4	20.8	15.1
68-above	12.6	14.8	17.0	7.6	11.8	12.5	12.8
Gender							
Male	68.6	65.1	60.1	69.7	48.6	59.0	62.0
Female	31.4	34.9	39.9	30.3	51.4	41.0	38.0
Marital status							
Single	13.2	23.5	28.8	18.6	13.9	16.7	19.1
Married	56.0	34.2	30.1	51.0	49.3	43.1	**43.9**
Separated	24.5	28.9	28.1	20.7	26.4	29.9	26.4
Widow	6.3	13.4	13.1	9.7	10.4	10.4	10.5
Education							
None	4.4	3.4	3.3	13.8	1.4	2.8	4.4
Primary	6.3	5.4	5.2	21.4	5.6	1.4	7.5
Secondary	51.6	24.2	34.0	37.9	37.5	47.9	**38.9**
Tertiary	12.6	42.3	33.3	12.4	43.1	30.6	28.9
Others	25.2	24.8	24.2	14.5	12.5	17.4	21.5
Occupation							
Civil service	5.7	22.8	12.4	9.0	20.1	13.2	13.8
Trading	22.0	18.1	39.6	17.2	36.8	39.9	**28.9**
Bureau de change	31.4	8.7	1.3	0.0	9.0	13.2	10.9
Clergy	8.2	10.1	6.5	6.9	6.9	4.2	7.2
Artisans	18.9	28.2	30.7	24.1	21.5	28.5	24.2
Unemployed	13.8	12.1	9.2	42.8	2.8	4.2	14.1
Religion							
Islam	49.7	37.6	36.6	35.2	37.5	38.9	39.4
Christianity	38.4	41.6	40.5	36.6	43.1	43.1	**40.5**
Others	11.9	20.8	22.9	28.3	19.4	18.1	20.1
Ethnic group							
Yoruba	34.6	63.1	63.4	53.8	50.7	54.9	**53.2**
Hausa	40.9	13.4	13.1	2.1	10.4	11.1	14.5
Igbo	15.7	14.1	16.3	29.7	24.3	18.1	19.0
Others	8.8	9.4	7.2	14.5	14.6	16.0	13.2
Average income (N)							
Unemployed	13.2	13.4	7.2	42.8	2.8	4.2	13.9
< 49,999	11.3	27.5	13.1	29.0	2.8	0.7	11.5
50,000-99,999	25.8	45.6	21.6	24.1	24.3	22.2	24.3
100,000 >	49.7	13.4	58.2	4.1	70.1	72.9	**50.1**
Residential status							
Tenant	66.7	80.5	84.3	40.7	59.7	72.2	**67.6**
Landlord/landlady	33.3	19.5	15.7	59.3	40.3	27.8	32.4

With 18 as the minimum age for inclusion in this study, respondents were generally informed about gentrification and could provide insights on the actions and reactions of Lagos residents towards gentrification processes. Thus, table 4.1 presents various age categories of the respondents where a large number of the respondents was found in the age group 38-47 and 48-57 with 22.6 and 22.8 respectively. This alludes to the fact that Lagos being a commercial centre is made up of economically active population. Another explanation for the large concentration of the respondents in these age groups has to do with the fact that a majority of Nigerians often get employed at the age of 30 and above considering several factors which delay the youths from graduating as well as the awaiting period for illusive jobs in the country.

However, there were striking differences across the six selected LGAs which further show certain peculiarities owing to the characteristics of the people that constitute them. For instance, while larger respondents in Agege LGA fall within the age category 28-37 constituting 23.9% of the total population of the LGA, the scenario differs in Eti-Osa LGA where a majority of the respondents were found in the age groups 48-57 and 58-67 representing 28.3% and 28.3% respectively. This suggests that majority of the respondents in Agege were youths as against their counterparts in Eti-Osa who were older. On the whole, the age distribution indicates the presence of very fewer respondents in the first and last age groups category, that is, 18-27 and 68 and above as they constitute 11.3% and 12.8% respectively. This may not be unconnected to the fact that, given the Nigerian context, while the lower age bracket constitutes a demographic group that is largely in school, the upper most age bracket comprises an older population that is often in retirement stage.

The table further reveals the gender distribution of the respondents. Male dominance tends to prevail across the selected LGAs with slight variations. For instance, Eti-Osa, Agege and Alimosho LGAs had the highest percentages of male respondents representing 69.7%, 68.6% and 65.1% respectively. This perhaps is not unconnected to the fact that the three LGAs share certain socio-demographic characteristics in common such as market structures and adherence to traditional and religious beliefs. In contrast to these LGAs, Lagos mainland, Lagos Island and Oshodi tend to have a relatively larger female respondents represented by 51.4%, 41.0% and 39.9% respectively. This is a clear manifestation of their common features such as their wider contact and exposure to Western culture where more female defy any cultural barriers to engage in social and

economic activities. Thus, even though male dominance is quite glaring in the sex distribution, the female percentage is equally significant and vital enough to get their views on the gentrification processes in Lagos state. It is worthy to note that in the course of data collection for this research, men tend to be in charge in many households. This is because the women mostly occupied the "back seat" while men responded. This could be explained in light of the prevailing patriarchal nature of most African societies.

In terms of marital status of the respondents, the study indicates higher rate of married people as 19.1%, 43.9%, 26.4% and 10.5% were single, married, separated and widowed respectively. This indicates that majority of the respondents were married and this shows not only the capacity for marriage but also the value attached to it by members of the gentrifying areas. However, a look at the individual LGAs, Agege and Eti-Osa LGAs with 56.0% and 51.0% respectively of married population, further strengthens their commonality earlier established. For instance, the highest percentages of married respondents (56.0%) found in Agege is an indicator of adherence to the belief in the institution of marriage particularly at an early stage of life. Besides, the area has a large concentration of Hausa ethnic group – a tribe whose marriage is largely not determined by income or educational attainment but by religious and cultural values.

The data further reveal divorce/separation as the second largest category with an overall (26.4%). This suggests a relatively high rate of divorce/separation among residents of the gentrifying communities. The reason for this high percentage may not be unconnected with harsh economic realities where many households struggle to feed as majority of the urban poor in the state live on less than a dollar per day. However, this explanation may be considered inadequate particularly when we examine the rate of the separation or divorce in each LGA. For instance, while Eti-Osa, comprising largely low-income and middle-class residents, has the least rate of separation/divorce, Lagos Island, on the other hand, which is a residential and commercial location of high-income residents, records the highest rate of separation/divorce. This may, however, be attributed to the transient and individualistic tendencies of residents of highly urbanised areas. Similarly, places with large concentration of relatively homogenous population tend to exhibit lower rates of divorce/separation as depicted in Agege and Eti-Osa LGAs whose populations were characterised largely by religious and cultural influences.

It is also imperative to note the low rate (10.5%) of widowhood across the research areas. Thus, while the less urbanised and more relatively homogenous populations of Agege and Eti-Osa with (6.3%) and (9.7%) respectively had the least number of widows, the more urbanised and high-income residents of Lagos Island and Mainland tend to have higher number of widows. However, Alimosho and Oshodi which have several characteristics in common such as densely populated markets and overly congested vehicular movements, and this, of course, expose many married couples to extremely dangerous activities, hence the higher mortality rate and by implication high widowhood rate.

Concerning the educational attainments of the respondents, the data reveal that majority of the respondents (38.9%) had secondary school leaving certificate as their highest qualification. This large percentage was followed by (28.9%) representing the percentage of respondents with tertiary qualifications. Similarly, (21.5%) of the respondents had educational qualification different from the conventional ones. This suggests that a sizeable number of the residents belong to certain socio-cultural backgrounds that do place premium on other forms of education such as Islamic education, vocational/skills acquisition qualifications perhaps due to a largely held notion that the conventional form of education does not always yield a rewarding job. The table further indicates a lower number of respondents with primary school or 'none' certificates represented by 7.5% and 4.4% respectively. This can be attributed to the importance and relevance accorded to schooling in Lagos being a centre of excellence which attracts people from both within and outside the country. Thus, residents tend to key into the universally cherished values of learning as a means of climbing the social ladder. In addition, the data reveal certain characteristics peculiar to each LGA in the state. For instance, in terms of residents with no any form of education, Eti-Osa LGA has the highest percentage (13.8%). The reason may not be unconnected to the fact that majority of the residents of the gentrifying communities were victims of Maroko evictions of 90s. These resettled communities have been living in the new area for about three decades without any improved basic social amenities such as quality education, healthcare, electricity and other basic necessities of life. This invariably has compounded their harsh socio-economic conditions so much that most of them could not see their children through expensive educational system. The trend could be seen in the subsequent categories where they have least per cent (12.4) of people with qualifications from a tertiary institution.

The data further depicts Agege as the location with the second highest number (4.4%) of residents without any form of education. This can be explained in light of the fact that even though the location is not a resettlement area yet it hosts a large number of economic migrants most of whom migrated particularly from the northern part of Nigeria. Being economic migrants coupled with some cultural beliefs that do not necessarily accord premium to western education perhaps explain why some of them possess no any form of educational qualifications. However, having mingled over time with the indigenous as well as other culturally diverse inhabitants of the area, we can observe an upward shift as (6.3%), (51.6%), and (12.6%) of the residents had primary, secondary and tertiary qualifications respectively. An interesting demographic feature of residents of this LGA is the presence of the largest number (51.6%) secondary school certificate. This may be attributed to the growing number of youths who have discovered clear opportunities of getting rich through internet and Bureau de change businesses. Hence, most of the youths who usually begin the business in their teenage age tend to make exploits and eventually refuse to further their education, thus even when admitted in tertiary institutions they often abandon the studies as soon as they hit the jackpot. Hence, very few of them sustain their educational pursuit up to tertiary level. However, the table equally reveal a very significant percentage of the residents of Agege who acquired qualifications other than the conventional educational qualifications. This may be connected with the large concentration of Northern Muslims in the area some of whom give more relevance to the Islamic form of education than the Western type of education which teachings they sometimes regard as conflicting their religious and cultural norms and values.

In contrast to Agege, the Table shows that respondents from Alimosho had 3.4%, 5.4%, 24.2%, 42.3% and 24.8% of none, primary, secondary, tertiary and other qualifications respectively. This suggests a higher concentration of educated residents in the area. This is also not unconnected to the fact that Alimosho is not only spatially more expansive LGA in Lagos state but also has a large number of enlightened educated residents. The evidence of high rate of schooling in Alimosho was glaring as it was the only low-income and middle-class and working class area which has secondary schools that featured in the first 20 of the top 100 secondary schools in Lagos. Hence, the largest percentage of respondents in this category have acquired tertiary qualifications and this could be linked with the premium placed on education by the residents of the area, even though a significant number of them still had qualifications other than the conventional school certificate.

Similarly, responses from Oshodi indicate concentration of residents with higher educational qualification. For instance, only (3.3%) did not have any form of education, (5.2%) had primary certificate as their highest qualification. However, (34.0%) and (33.0%) had secondary and tertiary qualifications respectively. This implies that the area had a significant number of graduates in spite of the general assumption that Oshodi was solely a commercial hub, although a good number (24.2%) had qualifications other than the conventional school certificates.

In similar vein, the table indicates that in Eti-Osa (13.8%), the respondents had no any form of education; (21.4%) had primary certificate as their highest qualification; (37.9%) with secondary school certificate; (12.4%) with tertiary qualification and (14.5%) with qualifications other than conventional school certificates. The table also shows, in contrast to other LGA, that Lagos mainland had the least respondents with no any form of education constituting (1.4%); (5.6%) primary certificate; (37.5%) Secondary schools certificate; However, the highest number (43.1%) of respondents with tertiary qualifications were found here and a few percentage (12.5%) with qualifications other than the conventional school certificate. It can also be seen from the table that Lagos Mainland is the only location with the highest number (43.1%) of graduates across the LGAs. This may be attributed to the historical antecedent of the area as the base of European missionaries. In fact, their footprints in terms of building structures and other cultural artefacts were still observable in the area.

Another important area in this research is the Lagos Island where table 4.1 shows that (2.8%) of the respondents lacked any form of education. However, (1.4%) had primary certificates, (47.9%) had secondary school certificates; (30.6%) had acquired tertiary qualifications; and (17.4%) with no conventional certificates. This may be attributed to its historical position as the European colonial headquarters in the state, and had had an influx of people from within and without Nigeria.

With regard to occupation of the respondents, the table shows that (13.8%), (28.9%), (10.9%), (7.2%), (24.2%) and (14.1%) were civil servants, traders, Bureau de change, clergy, artisans and unemployed respectively. Trading with the largest percentage (28.9%) has been identified as the major occupation of Lagos residents. This may be linked to the status of the state as the commercial nerve centre of West Africa. The second most subscribed profession was the artisanship representing (24.2%) of the total respondents.

This can be explained in light of the fact that most parents who could not afford formal education of their children and did not have business capital had artisanship as a ready affordable alternative to enrol their children into learning certain skills so as to make them productive in the society. However, this is not to say that artisanship was solely being subscribed by low income residents, rather it was the changing circumstances where employment prospects for those who went to tertiary institutions were getting slimmer. Hence, even some well-to-do households would encourage their children to learn some skills in addition to their formal educational qualifications. Similarly, the table shows that (14.1%) of the respondents were unemployed. This may not be surprising considering the size of Nigeria's population and the few job opportunities for skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled residents.

It can be observed from the Table that the occupational distribution of the respondents varies from one LGA to another. For instance, data from Agege show that Bureau de change business constituting (31.4%) of the respondents was the major occupation among the residents. This is not unconnected to the fact that the area was largely inhabited by the Hausas; and Bureau de change was said to be a popular occupation among them in Lagos state. The table also shows that Alimosho had the largest percentage (22.8%) of civil servants across the state. This may be attributed to the large number of highly educated people in the area as depicted in the educational qualifications of the respondents. However, since it is one of the densely populated low-income residential areas, the largest percentage (28.2%) in the area was artisans. Similarly, it is noteworthy to point out that based on the data distribution in the table, Alimosho had the highest percentage (10.1%) of clergy men. This may be attributed to the large concentration of churches, synagogues and other worship centres in the area (39.6%). The table shows that a large percentage of respondents in Oshodi were traders. This can be linked to the presence of large markets in the area. In similar vein (30.7%) of the respondents in Oshodi were artisans, which was again the largest number across all the selected LGA. This again may be connected to the large concentration of low and middle-income residents as well as the status of the place as the largest market in sub-Saharan Africa.

Eti-Osa LGA presents different patterns particularly in respect of occupational distribution of the respondents. The Table shows that of the occupational categories (42.8%) of respondents in the LGA were unemployed which also was the highest across all the LGAs. The reason for the larger number of unemployed in the area may be attributed to the fact

that the sampled communities were largely dominated by low income households most of whom were resettled families from the old Maroko community. On the other hand, the table shows the lowest rate (2.8%) of unemployment among respondents from Lagos mainland. This may be linked to the business activities that made the area so bubbling. Also, it is a strategic place for investment particularly for investors who felt the Island was too choked and expensive to invest in. Even though there are low income areas that fall under the Lagos Mainland such as the Makoko water front communities, a larger part of the LGA can be regarded as educational hub of the state as it contains higher institutions of learning such as Yaba Tech and University of Lagos (Unilag). This may be connected to fact that, based on the data in the table, there was high number of civil servants (20.1%) among the respondents which was second only to Alimosho LGA. Also, the table shows a large percentage (36.8%) of the respondents who were engaged in large scale trading activities.

Similar characteristics of respondents were found in Lagos Island where majority of the respondents (39.6%) were traders. This percentage was followed by (28.5%) artisans; (13.2%) civil servants; (13.2%) were Bureau de change operators; (4.2%) were clergy and (4.2%) unemployed. The table indicates that there were more traders and more artisans in Lagos Island than all other selected LGAs. This can be attributed to the fact that Lagos Island comprises large markets which have been in existence way before the creation of other LGA in the state. Popular market places such as Mandilas, Isale-eko, Idumota ring bell as far as commercial activities in Lagos are concerned. Another interesting factor which buttresses and justifies the commercial status of Lagos Island is the fact that based on this survey, it has the least percentage (2.8%) of unemployed respondents. On the whole, one can deductively conclude that from the table that trading is the main pre-occupation of Lagosians. This was clearly evident particularly in three of its main commercial areas viz Oshodi, Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island.

In terms of religious affiliations, the Table reveals two dominant faiths (Islam and Christianity) as the main belief systems of the respondents. However, there are other forms of belief systems which have been categorized as "others". These include traditional believers, ritualists and even free-thinkers. Thus, the table shows that (39.4%) of the respondents were Muslims; (40.5%) were Christians and (14.1%) belong to other faiths categorized as "others". A cross examination of the LGAs revealed that Agege had (49.7%), (38.4%) and (11.9%) respondents who professed Islam, Christianity and other

forms of religion respectively. The reason for higher number of Muslim respondents may be connected to the fact that the selected areas were dominated largely by Hausa ethnic group most of whom are Muslims. Apart from Agege, the Christian respondents were the highest across the state.

Concerning the ethnic groups, the results show that majority of the respondents were of Yoruba ethnic extraction. Thus, there were (53.2%), (14.5%), (19.0%) and (13.2%) of Yorubas, Hausas, Igbos and 'others' respectively. The reason for the large difference between Yoruba and other ethnic groups is due to the fact that Lagos, the location of the study, is predominantly a Yoruba land but which has attracted influx of people of different ethnic groups due to its economic and commercial potentials.

However, there were certain variations in the ethnic distribution of the respondents which reflects the character and demographic composition of each LGA. For example, the Yoruba respondents were dominant in LGAs such as Alimosho (63.1%), Oshodi (63.4), Eti-Osa (53.8%) Lagos Mainland (54.9%), and Lagos Island (53.2). However, in Agege they constituted only (34.6%) while the Hausa respondents were (40.9%). Similarly, across the study areas, the Igbo ethnic group had the second largest percentage of the respondents. This may be attributed to the fact that they were found in large number in strategic locations due to their business interest. For example, they constituted (16.3%) of respondents in Oshodi where they had heavy investments. Also, due to their business drive a large number of them were found in Eti-Osa (29.7%) and Lagos Mainland (24.3%).

With regard to the average monthly income of the respondents, the results show that on the average, majority of the respondents (50.1%) had monthly incomes of over 100,000 while a significant percentage of (24.3%) earned between ₦50,000 and ₦99,999. This was followed by (11.5%) of the respondents who earned less than ₦49,999 a month; and (13.9%) of respondents who did not have any income (0.0%). A breakdown of these figures by LGAs revealed that Eti-Osa had the highest number of non-income earners represented by (48.8%). The implication of this result is that majority of the respondents had a relatively large monthly income, and this may be attributed to the nature of the occupation of the respondents.

However, a closer examination of the results by LGA indicates a clear variation in the income distributions. For example, on one hand, respondents in Agege, Oshodi, Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island had a larger percentage of respondents representing 49.7%,

58.2%, 70.1% and 72.9% respectively with an average monthly income ranging from ₦100,000 and above. This can be explained in light of the fact that respondents in these areas engaged in one business activity or the other. For instance, Agege was characterized by the emergence of young wealthy individuals who engaged in Bureau de change and other online-based forex transactions. Similarly, Oshodi has (58.2%) of respondents with high income. This can be explained in light of the volume of businesses going on in the area. Also, Lagos Mainland with (70.1%) and Lagos Island with (72.9%) had the largest number of respondents with high income-generating activities. This obviously may be connected to the fact that while Lagos Mainland enjoyed the concentration of higher income earning civil servants, Lagos Island on the other hand, was characterized by influx of business merchants. This implies that characteristics of an area largely determine the level of income of its residents. This was evidently shown still from the results that only (4.1%) of respondents and (13.4%) in Eti-Osa and Alimosho LGAs respectively had ₦100,000 and above as their monthly income.

On the residential status of the respondents, the results show that majority of the respondents (67.6%) were tenants as only (32.4%) were either landlords or landladies. This may perhaps be attributed to high rate of poverty among the urban dwellers as well as the poor housing policies of government over the years. Also, the fact that majority of the residents were tenants can further be explained from the viewpoint that even residents who were economically engaged do not realize enough money to acquire their own houses, hence the large out-migration of residents to suburbs of the city where they could afford to build decent residences for themselves.

Similarly, looking at the trend of the residential status, respondents with tenancy status tend to be concentrated and found in large percentages across all the LGAs. However, Eti-Osa LGA was the only exception as it had fewer tenants (40.7%) when compared with other LGAs. This may be attributed to the fact that most of the residents of the selected communities were the few resettled victims of Maroko demolitions in the 90s; hence majority still lived in their houses while renting out some rooms. In comparative terms, therefore, while Eti-Osa, Lagos Mainland and Agege had (59.3%), (40.3%) and (33.3%) of home ownership respectively, Lagos Island (27.8%), Alimosho (19.5%) and Oshodi (15.7%) had the least number of landlords/landladies respectively.

4.2 Social History of Gentrification in Lagos state

Despite relocating the capital city of Nigeria to Abuja in 1991 by the then military Head of State, Lagos has continued to remain almost as relevant (politically, economically and socially) as it was during and immediately after Nigeria's independence. Generally regarded as the commercial nerve centre of Nigeria, the city is also officially known as the nation's centre of excellence. The favourable climatic environment of the city due to its coastal advantage and commercial potentials makes it a destination for both local and international migrants. These among other factors account for its current position as the second largest megacity in Africa.

4.2.1. A Brief Historical Account on the Origin of Lagos

Prior to the colonial occupation of the area called Lagos, it was predominantly occupied by Awori people of the Yoruba ethnic group. It was a small fishing community that could not be compared with the neighbouring towns of Oyo and Benin in terms of economic and political powers. However, it subsequently became an outpost of the Benin Empire which was one of the most powerful colonies in the West African region (Olukoju, 2004). The arrival of the Portuguese by the 18ᵗʰ century in the Lagos Island brought about tremendous changes in various aspects of life such as trade, social organisation and building designs of its inhabitants. Similarly, a Portuguese explorer called *Rui de Sequeirs* was historically associated with naming the area "Lago de Curamo" in 1472. Thus, Lagos is derived from the Portuguese word which means 'lakes', although it was and is still popularly being recognised by the native Yorubas as *Eko.*

The termination of slave trade in Lagos by the British military intervention in 1851, paved way for migration of people – missionaries and freed slaves – into Lagos and further set the ground for British colonisation of Nigeria. In 1861, Lagos was annexed by the British government and this had an implication on the powers of the Oba of Lagos who was hitherto the absolute monarch who wielded absolute power and authority. Thus, the power and authority of the Oba was usurped and conferred on the newly appointed British governor thereby reducing the Oba to a mere puppet of the British administrators. The consequence of the annexation and usurpation of the power and authority of the Lagos paramount traditional ruler was too glaring in the destruction of cultural norms, values and traditions as well as a systematic reversal from their originally predefined paths to development.

4.2.2   Colonialism as a Precursor of Gentrification in Lagos

The history of dramatic physical changes in Lagos urban landscape can be traced to the era of British occupation. Prior to this occupation, the aborigines of Lagos had their own edifices designed largely in accordance with their lifestyles, beliefs and cultural practices based on their indigenous architectural skills and experiences. However, in the course of the occupation, the British colonial administrators implanted their socio-political and architectural apparatuses which influenced the centuries-old, indigenous patterns of social and physical organisation. These physical changes were manifested in the British desire to construct roads, bridges, and infrastructure and widen streets hence the promulgation of the Ordinance No. 17 of 1863 which empowered the Governor to demolish low income houses or any structure that could hinder street construction/widening. However, with the formulation of Public Land Acquisition Act 1917, due compensation was made compulsory on the government for any form of expropriation (Olukoju, 2004). This implies that the colonial administrators had designed the colony of Lagos to suit their expectations and aspirations in line with the British socio-political and architectural design. In an interview with an elderly community leader, he shared his experiences under colonial rule that:

> When the White men came they changed so many things about social organisation in the land. They did not only destroy our traditional political structure but they also made sure that the physical environment was equally altered to suit their preferences and life styles. For instance, a number of people lost their houses; some lost their lands to the British projects such as construction of roads and administrative building structures. At the end of the day the victims in all these were the native residents who lost to the White men without compensation (**LH/Community leader/Male/81/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

It can be inferred from this excerpt that as far back as the colonial time, displacement of low income urban households and businesses was implicative in the processes of production and reproduction of urban space. Thus, one of the earliest incidents of demolitions of low income residential and commercial settlements during the colonial epoch occurred in the 1920s in response to the outbreak of bubonic plague. The demolition was carried out by the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB) in the guise of 'slum clearance.' This was succeeded by the 1955 slum clearances where over 20,000 low income dwellers were forcefully evicted in order to create a central business district in

Lagos Island. By 1957, the pre-independence demolition which resulted in the celebrated *Isale-Eko* slum clearance was carried out by the LEDB with the view of creating a pleasing view for the visiting Queen of England.

It should be noted that while the colonialists were in charge of administration of the country at the time of these urban displacements, they were, nevertheless, carried out in conjunction with the locals who served as instruments of the colonialists. Thus, the history of Lagos city was characterised by series of demolitions both during and after British colonial occupation. What qualify such demolitions as gentrification were their underlying motives. While the pre-independence cases of demolitions were carried out to create conducive environments for the colonialists, the post-independence demolitions were done to serve the interests of the ruling elites who took over from their European masters.

4.2.3 Gentrification in Post-Colonial Lagos

At independence, the colonial urban policies which relate to the social relations between government and the governed did not significantly change. For instance, the policy of colonial segregation was simply replaced with class segregation where the political elite assumed the position of the ex-colonial masters. Consequently, the areas which have huge presence of government were jealously protected so as to ensure maintenance of status quo through suppression of the urban poor. Thus, gentrification processes manifested in displacements of urban poor and that it did not get any better after independence; in fact many participants believed that it only got messier. A participant had this to say:

> The story of Lagos to me is all about evictions of urban poor from either their residences or markets. Almost every government has demolitions of structures belonging to urban poor on its agenda. Since 70s, during military regimes there has been one form of urban displacements or the other. Thousands of people have been rendered homeless or jobless due to government demolitions. One would think when the military junta left the stage the situation would improve but it only gets worst by the day. The Maroko demolitions which rendered over 300,000 people homeless and jobless is still fresh in our minds because that marked the downfall of most if not all of the displaced persons. And it is the main reason why slums will never seize to be in Lagos. You cannot evict someone without any proper resettlement arrangement and expect things to get better. Where do you expect them to move to? They have no options but to populate other areas that already are slums or even create new ones. Yet, the government will be complaining and justifying their actions for the rising insecurity or

contamination of the environment (**LH/Community Leader/Male/78/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020**).

While the account above shows a preponderance of incidences of gentrification, it equally points to issues surrounding the persistence of slums proliferation in Lagos. This further implies that the phenomenon of gentrification has been an age-long urban problem even though the coinage of the term was relatively recent. At this point a timeline of some series of displacements of low income households and businesses would provide some historical sense of the phenomenon under study.

Table 4.2.:   Timeline of some demolitions of low-income residences in Lagos from 1973 to 2017

S/N	Location	Date	Victims	Reason	Agent	Resettlement/compensation
1	Agege motor road	Aug.1973	500	Road construction	Federal govt.	N.A
2	Adeniji Adele street	Oct.1975	5,000	Urban renovation	State govt.	No compensation
3	Oba Akran, Ikeja	Apr.1976	N.A	Road construction	State govt	No compensation
4	Central Lagos	Sept.1976	10,000	Urban renovation	Federal govt.	Resettled
5	Apongbon, Lagos	Nov.1976	N.A	Road construction	State govt.	Not resettled
6	Ketu, Lagos	1976	10,000	City clean up	State govt.	Not resettled
7	Iponri, Lagos	Dec.1976	5,000	Urban development	LSDPC Lagos	No alternative site
8	Alaba market	Aug. 1977	20,000	Illegal occupation	State govt.	No compensation
9	Shasha village, Lagos	Jun. 1979	5000	Illegal occupation	N.A	N.A
10	Onilekere, Lagos	Jun. 1979	N.A	Land dispute	Owner/Authorities	No resettlement
11	Oworonshoki, Lagos	Apr. 1980	10,000	Urban development	State govt	N.A
12	Shomolu/Bariga, Lagos	Jan. 1981	N.A	Channelization programme	State govt.	N.A
13	Maroko, Lagos	1982	N.A	Road construction	State govt.	N.A

14	Maroko, Lagos	1983	60,000	Setback for lagoon	State govt.	No compensation
15	Agboju/Amuwo Osofin	Dec. 1984	N.A	Illegal occupation	State govt.	N.A
16	Ebute-Meta, Lagos	Jul. 1985	10,000	Illegal occupation	State govt.	No compensation
17	Along Badagry express	Aug. 1985	N.A	Illegal occupation; structures under NEPA high extension cable	State govt.	No resettlement
18	Iponri, Lagos	Sep. 1985	5,000	Urban renewal	State govt.	Only 1,000 resettled
19	Shomolu, Lagos	Mar. 1986	10,000	Urban beautification	State govt.	N.A
20	Igbo-Erin, Lagos	Aug. 1986	N.A	Illegal occupation	State govt.	N.A
21	Oworoshoki, Lagos	Feb. 1988	3,000	Bridge construction	Federal govt.	No alternative site
22	Maroko, Lagos	Jul. 1990	300,000	Illegal occupation	State/fed. govt.	No compensation
23	Central Lagos	Nov. 1990	N.A	Urban sanitation	State govt	No compensation
24	Mushin, Lagos	Mar. 1991	N.A	Illegal occupation	State govt.	No compensation
25	Abom village, Lagos	May. 1994	N.A	N.A	Federal govt.	N.A
26	Bamisore, Lagos Island	Feb. 1995	N.A	Illegal occupation	State govt.	No compensation

27	Badia East, Lagos	1997	2,000	Drainage and sanitation project	State govt.	No compensation
28	Badia East, Lagos	2003	N.A	Urban project	Lagos State Environmental and Special Offences Enforcement Unit	Stopped the process due to protest by the residents
29	Badia East, Lagos	2012	300	Construction of a canal	State govt.	A resettlement was paid to 124
30	Badia East, Lagos	2013&2015	19,200	Urban development	State govt.	No compensation
31	Ilubirin, Lagos	Mar. 2016	823	Modern luxury residential and commercial apartments	State govt.	No compensation
32	Otodo Gbame, Lagos	2016&2017	30,000	Security factor	State govt.	No compensation

Source: Adapted from Agbola & Jinadu (1997) and updated by the author (2020).

A cursory examination of the timeline above shows a chain connection between slums in Lagos state. This is because a displacement of one slum leads to the springing of another. This may be attributed to the failure of successive governments to take holistic approach on the phenomenon of urban poverty. Similarly, the timeline indicates that irrespective of the number of times the government forcefully evicted the poor, they had always resurfaced either by moving into other existing slums as in the case of evicted Maroko residents or they would disappear a while and re-emerge in the same place as in the case of Badia East and Ilubirin poor communities. These demolitions are clear instances of residential displacements of low income people even though for some displaced persons, their residences were quite inseparable with their businesses, particularly the fishing communities.

Similarly, there are other historical accounts of incidents involving the displacements of various small and medium scale businesses and a host of other informal commercial hubs in Lagos. In all of these instances, the markets were demolished and replaced with either new projects or they were reconstructed and redeveloped to face-lift their value. Table 4.3 shows a timeline of some markets demolitions in Lagos across time and space.

Table 4.3   Some Incidents of Market Demolitions in Lagos across Time and Space

S/N	Market	Date	Reason	Perpetrator	Resettlement/compensation
1	Jankara, Lagos Island	Dec. 2012	Fire incident	Natural	No plan to re-build
2	Mushin Ajina market	2012	Redevelopment	Mushin Local Govt. Council	N.A
3	Sandgrouse, Lagos Island	Jul. 2015	Redevelopment	State govt.	Not resettled
4	Owonifari market, Oshodi	Jan. 2016	Construction of world class bus terminus	State govt.	Resettled at Isopakodowo market, Bolade
5	Daleko market	Feb. 2016	Redevelopment plan	The Iyaloja	N.A

Source: Adapted from Komolafe (2017).

While low income traders were confronted with forced evictions without any resettlement or compensation, there are other small and medium scale business owners whose markets were redeveloped beyond their capacity to rent hence they became priced out of the markets. These include traders in the Sura Shopping Mall, located at the Simpson street, Lagos Island; Tejuosho market which was redeveloped in 2014; Oyingbo market 2009; and Arena market Oshodi in 2009 to mention but a few. These markets still have vacant shops which could not be afforded by the original low income occupants due to the new rental cost. These incidences are clear instances of gentrification as they involved displacement of residences and businesses of low income urban residents.

4.3   Meaning Attached to Gentrification

On the meaning attached to gentrification, the study revealed that majority of the respondents (32.3%) held the view that gentrification means 'displacement of urban poor by relatively wealthy individuals'. Closely following this percentage is the view of those that conceive gentrification as a process of 'displacement of low income earners by corporate organisations and/or government' as shown in table 4.4. This implies that gentrification is mainly conceived by urban residents of Lagos as a process of displacement. Implicit in this popular view is the assumption that gentrification in the city emanates from three distinctive categories: private wealthy people, corporate organisations and the government. Thus, segregating the respondents' views by LGAs revealed significant variations in responses as each of the selected LGAs has its peculiarity with regard to what the respondents considered was gentrification.

Table 4.4   Segregation of Respondents' Conceptions of Gentrification Processes by LGAs

Meaning of gentrification	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Displacement of poor people by wealthy individuals	57.2%	30.9%	15.0%	40.0%	2.1%	15.3%	27.2%
Displacement of low income earners by corporate organisations or government	34.6%	53.0%	45.1%	60.0%	6.9%	33.3%	38.9%
Redevelopment of a decaying area of the city	0.0%	3.4%	8.5%	0.0%	43.1%	36.1%	14.8%
Beautification of the city through demolition of bad looking buildings	0.0%	5.4%	9.8%	0.0%	28.5%	8.3%	8.5%
Construction of infrastructure such as rail terminals, road networks, sewerages and markets by government	5.7%	2.7%	16.3%	0.0%	9.7%	2.8%	6.3%
All of the above	2.5%	4.7%	5.2%	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%	2.5%
None of the above	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	9.7%	2.1%	1.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.4 indicates that what constitutes gentrification in an area largely depends on the type of physical changes that was taking place in it. For example, the table revealed that majority of respondents in Agege and Eti-Osa (57.2%) and (40.0%) respectively regarded acquisition of old houses which belong to the urban poor by private wealthy individuals thereby voluntarily displacing them as gentrification. This view corresponds with that of an expert in housing and building issues described the trending process of displacement of urban poor by the wealthy people as:

> Displacement of poor people by wealthy persons in this area is not a hidden thing. It is a development that started to be witnessed long time ago but it became so prevalent recently perhaps due to the flow of money particularly in the hands of these young boys. We can describe the process as gentrification because it entails displacement of the poor by the wealthy people in the city. In the past, when people make money they move to the outskirt of the city to buy land and build but nowadays the story is different with these boys as they would rather spend huge amount of money to acquire a rooming apartment within the area instead of moving out. Although one may not be surprised because most of them were born and brought up in this locality and in fact their parents are still alive and very much around in the area. So, what is occurring here is gentrification because when it started it began with a single house bought and replaced with a mansion and gradually the boys began the purchase of the old houses as if they were competing among them (**KII/Lease/Rent Agent/Male/41/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

While these responses were lending support to the respondents' conception of displacement of urban poor by the wealthy as gentrification process, only few respondents in Oshodi, Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island (15.0%), (2.1%) and (15.3%) respectively regarded the process as gentrification. Supporting these few percentages, a new resident stated that:

> I do not think what is happening in this area is gentrification. This is because gentrification connotes negative meaning of revitalisation of dilapidated houses or buildings. What we experience here is nothing but rehabilitation and redevelopment of old structures. No landlord or landlady is being forced to sell their property, they all voluntarily sell their houses because maybe they cannot afford the cost of rebuilding the house or they simply want to relocate to a new location where they can easily connect with

their kit and kin (**IDI/New Resident/ Female/38/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020**).

Table 4.4 also revealed that majority of respondents in Eti-Osa, Alimosho and Oshodi (60.0%), (53.0%) and (45.1%) respectively described gentrification as a process of displacement of low income residents by corporate organisations and government. In the same vein, fewer percentages (34.6%), (33.3%) and (6.9%) of respondents in Agege, Lagos Island and Lagos Mainland respectively held similar views. The disparity in the percentages may be attributed to the magnitude and prevalence of the phenomenon in the areas. Also, majority of residents in the first three LGAs mentioned above could see the connection between displacements of the poor to the activities of corporate organisations in the areas. Hence, they conceived gentrification in terms of acquisition of old residential houses or properties which belong to the urban poor by corporate bodies such as private companies, Banks, schools, supermarkets, and shopping complexes etc. Even though the two sets of data were unidirectional they, however, point to some features peculiar to each location. For instance, Eti-Osa, Alimosho and Oshodi LGAs are regarded as areas with relatively large concentration of low income residents, so it is quite logical for corporate organisations to want to maximise their profits by acquiring old houses of urban poor with the view of constructing their business firms. Corroborating this view, discussants in an FGD session were very clear about the process of gentrification in their areas. They maintained that:

> Gentrification is a process of displacement of low income residents by private companies. They corporate bodies do pay high amounts to acquire old houses so that they can demolish and build their offices. They do this because of their belief in the centrality of Oshodi as a business hub in Lagos. And at the same time considering its strategic location and land value it is wiser and more economical to invest here than to attempt to acquire similar property in places like the Island (Lagos Island). So as far as gentrification is concerned here it is all about enticing the urban poor with money to sell their property to the real investors (**FGD/Long-time residents/Religious leaders/Males/Oshodi/2020**).

Table 4.4 further shows that majority of the respondents in Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island (43.1%) and (36.1%) respectively conceived gentrification as redevelopment of blight areas of the city. However, respondents in other low brow areas in comparison to the Island and Lagos Mainland, that is, Oshodi, Eti-Osa, Alimosho and Agege LGAs did

not see gentrification as a process of redeveloping a dilapidated area. Rather, they see the process as simply displacement of the urban poor who constitute majority of residents in the dilapidated areas. A resident in an IDI had this to say:

> When you talk about gentrification as redeveloping a decaying area it sounds as if the goal of the developers was to better the lots of the poor residents. In most cases where this takes place, the inhabitants are forcefully evicted and when the place is redeveloped a new set of wealthy people occupy the area. So it is redevelopment but not in the interest of the poor but the wealthy people in the city (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/49/Yoruba/Alimosho/2020**).

Table 4.4 also revealed that majority of respondents in Lagos Mainland (28.5%) conceived gentrification as the beautification of the city through demolitions of bad looking areas of the city. This meaning corresponds with the conception of the term by policy makers who see the process as beneficial to the state and its citizens. However, governments of different countries and at various levels tend to downplay the negative connotations of gentrification hence they often use concepts such as 'urban renewal', 'redevelopment', 'regeneration' among others to describe a process that is best described as gentrification. In an interview, a staff of LASURA, had this to say about gentrification:

> The term gentrification has no place in our urban physical planning dictionary. This is because of the negative connotations inherent in the word. You know gentrification is all about class change; where low income people are displaced by the higher income people and in some cases the government. I think if you are talking about beautification of the cities and redevelopment of blight areas, the right word to use is urban renewal, redevelopment or regeneration because these are the terms that do not connote anything negative. Rather, they are referring to a process of beautifying the city and getting it rid of criminality and criminal elements (**KII/Staff of LASURA/Male/43/Lagos Mainland/2020**).

A closer examination of the opposing responses revealed the socioeconomic status of respondents as the main factor underlying the variation in their responses. While the respondents in Lagos Island and Lagos Mainland held a strong view that gentrification was nothing other than a process of redeveloping blight areas of the city, respondents in areas that were predominantly the abode of the urban poor did not define it as such. Thus, the inference that could readily be made from the foregoing arguments is the fact that gentrification is a term that is often opposed to mainly by the government. This is not unconnected with the fact that the approaches of most governments particularly in

developing countries like Nigeria have been forceful evictions and demolitions of mostly low income spectra of the society. Hence, residents in areas which have numerous instances of gentrification such as Lagos Mainland, Lagos Island and Oshodi etc. tend to describe the regeneration processes as gentrification because of its characteristics.

Table 4.4 equally reveals a significant percentage of the respondents who conceive gentrification as referring to all the suggested meanings in the table. Thus, (5.2%), (4.7%) and (2.5%) in Oshodi, Alimosho and Agege LGAs respectively understood gentrification as a broad term that encompasses numerous meanings. Similarly, an IDI report indicates that:

> Gentrification, even though a new term, has wider application to so many urban crises resulting from class struggle. It has both positive and negative meanings depending on where the interpreter is standing. So as a concept, gentrification is neutral and only explains a process of urban transformation. It is this transformation that carries different meanings. For instance, while government officials may describe a process of displacing urban poor from shanties or slums as 'urban regeneration' or 'slum clearance' programme, the majority of the urban poor would describe it as gentrification because those initially displaced residents of the area may not be able to find their way back to the location due to affordability issue (**IDI/Long-time resident/Female/Landlady/54/Oshodi/2020**).

This means that the use of the term gentrification is being avoided by policy makers in an effort to downplay what they considered negative meaning which may portray the government as being insensitive to the plights of the urban poor.

However, while respondents associated gentrification with different meanings, some respondents (9.7%) in Lagos Mainland held a view that gentrification does not necessarily mean any of the meanings suggested. Corroborating this view in a KII report, a participant had this to say:

> Gentrification is not entirely a new concept. It has been in existence for a long time. What we need to know about it is the fact that gentrification is like a double edged sword. It refers to the process of upgrading the status of the low income members of the society who by virtue of their socioeconomic status may not be able to get out of their plight. It is a process of bringing about security where there was none; healthcare facilities and other social services needed to effectively function in any decent human society (**KII/Developer/Male/Yoruba/42/Lagos Mainland/2020**).

This view largely is an affirmation of the meaning of gentrification which tends to justify the process. It is a view usually held by people who seemingly benefit from the gentrification process such as the public officials, estate developers etc. Table 4.5 shows the perceived reasons for gentrification by the respondents.

Table 4.5   Perceived Reasons for Gentrification by Respondents

Divergent views about gentrification	Frequency	Per cent
It beautifies and gives an area a face value	11	1.2
It reduces crimes and social vices	54	6.0
It attracts business and government's attention to the area	87	9.7
It reduces environmental and health related hazards	55	6.2
It attracts better educational and healthcare facilities	44	4.9
It breeds community resentment and conflicts	57	6.4
It displaces the poor and raises the costs of living	257	28.7
It changes the social character of an area	83	9.3
It aggravates urban poverty, crimes and homelessness	102	11.4
It is anti-people urban policy of government	144	16.1
Total	894	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

In Table 4.5, two opposing views can be identified where one justifies gentrification as a noble idea that is intended to solve urban problems while the other view opposes the idea

for being against the wellbeing of the urban poor who constitute majority of the urban dwellers. However, majority of the respondents (28.7%) as shown in the table held a negative view of gentrification that it displaces the urban poor through evictions and high cost of living. Corroborating this view in an IDI a participant stated that:

> Displacement of the urban poor is unarguably the worst consequence of gentrification. Therefore, gentrification is a bad idea because it does more harm to the community than good. The displacement comes in two forms: 1) either one is displaced directly through forceful eviction or 2) indirectly through high cost of living. Prior to the influx of wealthy individuals in our area one could get anything they wanted at a relatively cheap rate. But now everything has skyrocketed; rent has been jerked, prices of groceries, school fees and medical bills have all gone up beyond an ordinary person. Increased shop rent has brought with it sharp rise in price of commodities. This coupled with the fact that the gentrifiers never wanted to identify with the long-time residents due to the social class differences. So, every aspect of our lives has been negatively affected by gentrification (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/44/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

This view tends to be a major concern for all the residents of the gentrifying communities. Also, in line with this another resident had this to say:

> I think displacement is the main reason gentrification is regarded as one of the worst forms of urban crises especially when you look at the consequence of high cost of living on the poor. Also, if one escapes being indirectly priced out from the gentrifying community, forceful evictions are always bickering on certain low income areas which have some potential values (**IDI/Long-time Resident/Female/39/Yoruba/Alimosho/2020**).

This implies that displacement of the urban poor through forcible evictions and high cost of living constitutes the major sources of worry for gentrifying communities in Lagos.

Table 4.5 further shows other negative views on gentrification which include the fact that gentrification was regarded as anti-people urban policy of government (16.1%); that it aggravates urban poverty, crimes and homelessness (11.4%); that it changes the social character of an area (9.3%); and that it breeds community resentment and conflict (6.4%). These views were strongly supported by discussants in an FGD session who argued that:

> Urban poverty is mainly worsened by the people disoriented policies of government. These policies largely favour the elites and

other well-to-do members of the society. For example, government often comes up with a policy that forbids people from an area citing some risk factors, but the moment poor people are evicted from the place, new allocation of land or built houses are given to the rich people. Although they are not expressly restricting the allocations to the rich but the price tells you much about the body language of the government (**FGD/Religious leaders/Christians/Male/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020**).

It is clear in the above excerpt that the residents of gentrifying areas were not only grappling with the high costs of living but were also full of disenchantment of their perceived neglect. In similar vein, another participant stated that:

I personally do not like the idea of gentrification because it widens the gap between the haves and the have-nots. What I mean is that the process engenders poverty by shrinking sources of income particularly for low income urban dwellers through displacement of numerous informal economic activities which majority of the low income people engage in. This often occurs when an area is undergoing gentrification the petty traders that were originally selling in the area get displaced and replaced with bigger stores and different set of people with tastes different from theirs. And this often exacerbates crimes as the people who used to be gainfully employed have been rendered jobless and in extreme cases homeless. So, gentrification is not a good thing especially in our country where the leaders do not have the masses on their minds when it comes to making people-oriented policies which will reduce the harsh effects of poverty on the urban poor (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/53/Igbo/Oshodi/2020**).

It, therefore, goes without saying that people have established the meaning of gentrification in the actions and inactions of government in particular for its role in either facilitating the process of gentrification for the wealthy individuals or for engaging in it by itself. Thus, while some respondents identified the roles played by government and private entities in gentrification, others abhor gentrification simply because of the changes it brings about in the social character of an area. By social character it means those peculiar characteristics that make a place traditionally distinctive such as its cultural norms and values, life style and so on. Corroborating this view, a participant declared that:

Gentrification alters so much about our physical and social organisations. This is because people from different background come into the area. So you do not expect them to jettison their values and norms just to conform to your own life style. So, I think gentrification is not a good thing because of this and many other

negative things it brings about (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/44/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020**).

Still Table 4.5 presents responses of respondents who had opposite perception about gentrification as they believed in something good about it. Majority of them (9.7%) held the view that gentrification attracts businesses and draws government's attention to an area. The argument here is that when an area is fully gentrified, bigger businesses which fit the class of the gentry tend to flow into the area just as government itself focuses on gentrifying areas in order to generate bigger revenue through collection of various forms of taxes.

Table 4.5 also indicates another percentage of the respondents (6.2%) who liked the idea of gentrification because of aestheticism. Well-built mansions at well-labelled and lit streets in a serene environment are a good view many would like to have. And this is what gentrification gives particularly in cities like Lagos which is highly congested with limited ability for physical expansion, hence the gentrification of the existing communities in order to create a beautiful and desired environment. Other respondents (1.2%) identified reduction of environmental and health hazards; reduction in crime rates (6.0%) as well as attraction of better educational and healthcare facilities (4.9%) as their reasons for liking the idea of gentrification. Supporting these views a participant reiterated that:

> What makes every city a centre of attraction is its aesthetic value, and this cannot be achieved without restructuring and transforming the urban landscape. What we call gentrification is simply the social cost of development. For there to be development the society must be willing and ready to sacrifice certain valuable things to them. And mind you, development does not mean it has to come from government, rather individuals can engender development in the society. The private activities you see all over the place in form of corporate buildings, private residences, eateries, and plazas, malls among other developmental projects are what combine to make a city quite attractive. Therefore, the beautification of the city is one of the benefits attributed to gentrification and what makes it worthwhile. This also attracts not only bigger businesses but also forces or motivates government to site very important projects and give it the necessary social services (**IDI/Developer/Male/46/Lagos Island/2020**).

In similar manner, another participant said that:

If the only thing gentrification is able to bring about is reduction in crime, it is enough to like the idea. Most criminal elements in the city tend to hide in places often populated by low income houses; in fact most criminals are products of those places. So, with gentrification, these criminals and their hideouts will disappear, and the city will be better for it (**IDI/New resident/Male/56/Yoruba/Lagos Mainland/2020**).

Based on the pattern of these views, it can be inferred that even though majority of the respondents abhor the idea of gentrification based on negative issues associated with it, a good number of the participants particularly those residing in highly urbanised areas of the city do see many good things about it. Thus, the level of urbanisation of an area does to a large extent determine residents' conception of gentrification.

4.4   Processes of Gentrification

This section delves into the examination of the processes of gentrification by describing the way it happens; the reactions of the long-time inhabitants; processes of evictions as well as determination of compensation among others. In doing this, divergent views of the respondents were presented and analysed and where necessary pictorial evidences were equally presented.

4.4.1   Length of Stay in Gentrifying Areas

On the number of years the respondents have spent in gentrifying areas, the study shows that majority of the residents have been living in the areas well over ten years. This implies that gentrification processes have relatively started in most of the areas long time ago.
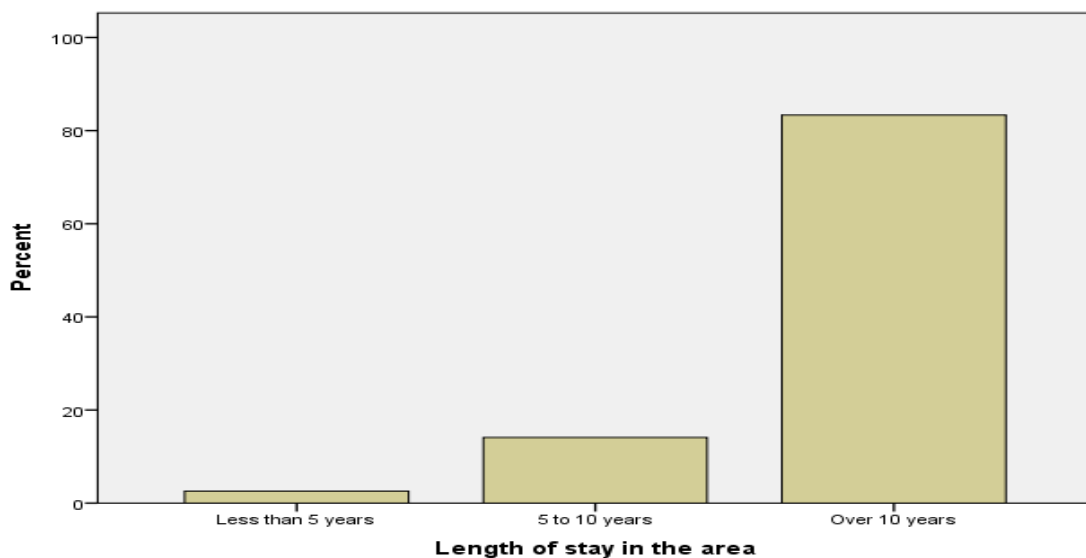
Fig. 4.3: Length of stay in gentrifying areas
Source: Field Survey, 2020.

4.4.2   Processes of Evictions in a Gentrifying Area

The issue of eviction has been a very contentious issue in housing-related challenges in Lagos. The process is entirely determined by new buyers of the property thus the way it is carried out largely depends on the new owner of the house. It is important at this juncture to clarify that most of the houses being talked about in this section are rooming type of houses whereby the landlords mostly cohabit with their tenants. So, in the event of selling the house, the landlord often moves out before tenants because of the availability of means of doing so. However, the tenants, most of whom are usually low income earners, would always need some time to raise money and search for new apartment, even after the house is being sold. Thus, the new landlord is guided by the Lagos Tenancy Law of 2011 which stipulates the following minimum notice periods:

a.   One week notice for a tenant at will
b.   One month notice for a monthly tenant
c.   A three-month notice for a quarterly tenant
d.   A three-month notice for a half-yearly tenant
e.   Six-month notice for a yearly tenant

In the case of a tenancy for a fixed term, no quit notice shall be required once the tenancy has expired.

Based on these premises, the new landlord is legally empowered to decide the fate of the inhabitants of the property he/she has acquired. Thus, data was collected in the course of this survey on the actual processes which transpire between the new house owners and the existing tenants. In Table 4.6, the views of the respondents on these processes were presented.

Table 4.6   Eviction Processes from a Sold House

Eviction Processes from a Sold House	Frequency	Per cent
6-months quit notice is issued	317	35.5
1-year quit notice	290	32.4
No quit notice at all	109	12.2
3-months quit notice	178	19.9
Total	894	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.6 shows that majority of the respondents (35.5%) held the view that the new landlords usually give the existing tenants a 6-months quit notice; 32.4% give the tenants a 1-year quit notice; 19.9% issue only 3-months quit notice while 12.2% believed that no quit notice was issued at all. This implies that most of the new house buyers issue at least a-6 months quit notice before taking over the bought house. Corroborating this view, a new resident explained that:

> I have bought about ten houses in this area and almost all of them were inhabited by tenants most of whom were low income earners. In all the houses, I gave the tenants at least 6 months quit notice except two houses which I needed to demolish on time. In those two houses I gave the tenants 6 weeks but with N80,000 each to facilitate their search for new apartments. So, basically the issue of eviction from rental apartments is well spelt out in the law and except where there is a personal arrangement, the process is usually adhered to (**IDI/New resident/Male/38/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

On the whole, it can be inferred that the process of taking over from the previous landlord and getting the existing tenants quit the house has not been a challenging issue in the city. This may be attributed to the level of civility and enlightenment in the state.

4.4.3 Processes of Forced Evictions in Gentrifying Communities

This type of eviction is often associated with government and sometimes individuals who have a legal backing to do so. Evidences abound in the city of Lagos where government both at state and federal levels engaged in forcible evictions of low-income, particularly in waterfront communities.

The arbitrary practices of forced evictions on poor communities, particularly residents of waterfront communities have become a hallmark of Lagos urban policies. The use of force by the state government to achieve its plans of making Lagos a tourist destination and attain the status of a megacity has rendered countless number of urban poor homeless and jobless. In recent past, the state government has carried out series of forced evictions on waterfront communities in its bid to fulfil its vow of eliminating over 200 waterfront communities in the state within seven-day ultimatum. From 2016 to date at least four major waterfront communities have either been eradicated by the state or are currently living in perpetual fear of being forcibly evicted. It is therefore, understatement to mention the obvious disconnect between government and the realities of its urban poor. These forced evictions occurred despite various court injunctions restraining the government from the

demolitions. In this survey, some of these waterfront communities which have been affected by this type of evictions have been sampled and studied.

On whether compensations were paid before the demolition exercises or not, Fig. 4.4 indicates that compensations were not always paid. Although a significant number of the respondents affirmed the fact that compensations were actually paid by the government, another large number simply claimed ignorance of the process.

Are compensations paid before the demolitions

Legend:
- Yes
- No
- I do not kn
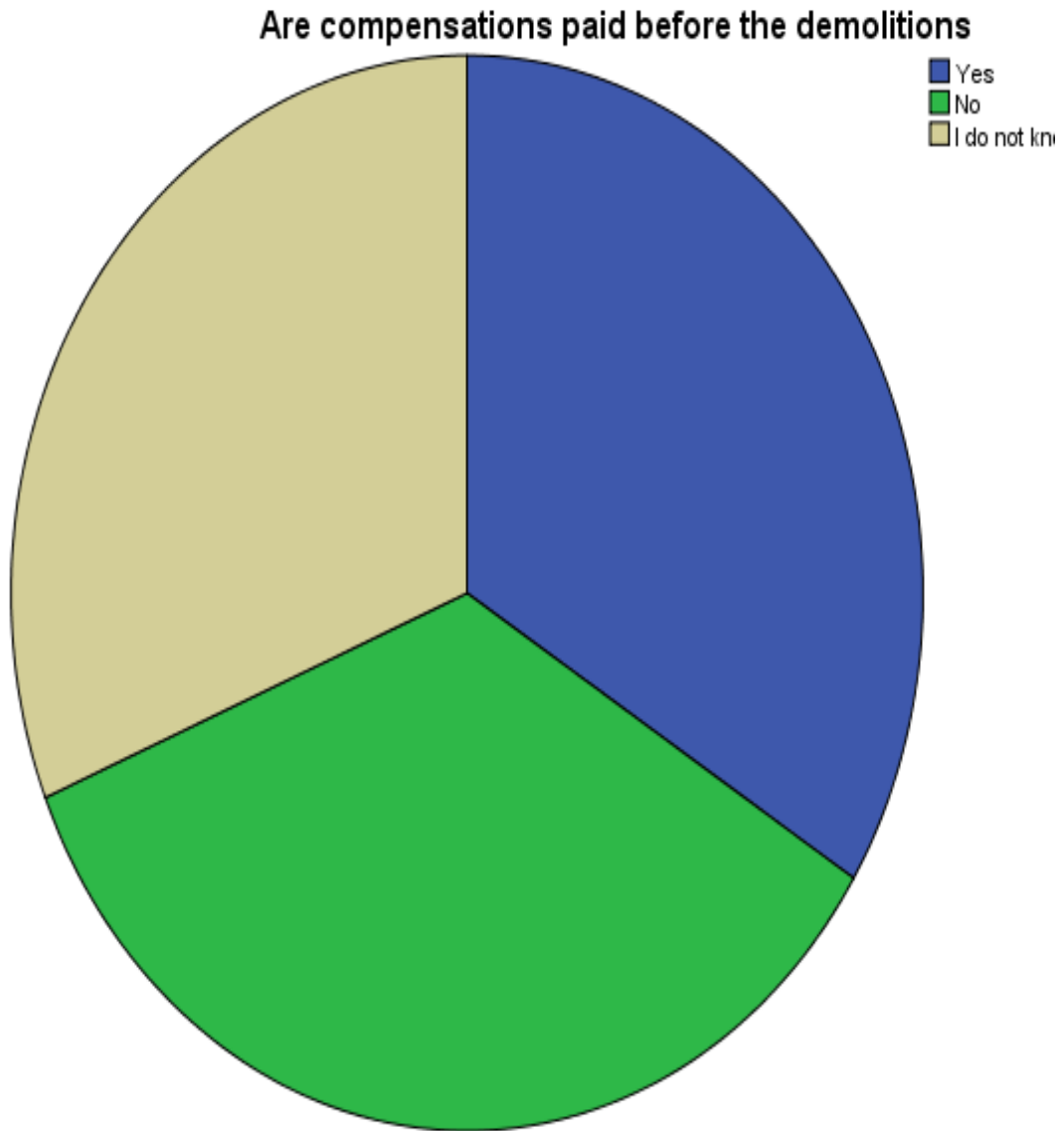
Fig. 4.4:   Payment of compensation to victims
Source: Field Survey, 2020.

However, a KII report debunks the idea of non-payment of compensation by the government. A senior staff of the LASURA opined that:

> For every building or house or even plot of land taken by government there is a full compensation package offered to the rightful owner of the property. The only instances or cases where compensations are not paid are when the occupant of the property does not have an authentic document certifying him/her as the original owner of the property. However, in some cases particularly when the eviction has to do with market or traders we sometimes give them an alternative resettlement area or if we are re-building the market we re-allocate shops to the original occupants. So it is not true that compensations are not paid for property taken over by the government (**KII/Staff of LASURA/Male/44/Lagos Mainland/2020**).

While this view represents the stand of Lagos state government on the issue, a household head in one of the affected communities had this to say:

> My house was demolished by government alongside other people's houses. As I speak to you now, it is about two years now I have not received a dime from the government. Even though some people got some payments but majority of us did not receive anything. Even those that got, they were divided between those who feel what they were paid was worth their property and those who believed they were deceived by the government and coerced into collecting the paltry amount (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/67/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

Similarly, in an IDI with a victim of forceful eviction, the participant argued that:

> The desire of the government to raise the standard of Lagos to megacity status would not have been an issue if the government had done what is expected of it with regard to the victims of its projects. Compensations are seldom paid and even where they are, there are lots of irregularities on the side of the government. No proper resettlement plans were often put in place in order to cushion the effects of the displacement (**IDI/ long-time residents/Male/49/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

The findings, however, have brought out the fact that not all forcibly evicted people got compensated by the government. One of these communities is Sango community in Agege LGA where over 500 households and businesses were displaced by the government as shown in Fig. 4.5.

Fig.4. 5:   Some demolished locations (households and businesses) in Agege LGA

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

4.4.3.1   The Ilubirin Waterfront Community

The study had already established, through a pilot study, relocation patterns of victims of Ilubirin waterfront evictions. Hence, some of the evicted residents of the community who relocated to Makoko waterfront community were traced to their new settlement. Prior to the evictions, male residents of the Ilubirin community were engaged in fishing while their female counterparts sold fish as their occupation. With the forced evictions, carried out within a seven-day ultimatum, the residents lost not only their residences but also their only source of livelihood. Hence, upon eviction, most of them had no choice but to relocate to other waterfront communities who had similar lifestyle as they. Thus, the study sought to know the processes that led to their evictions from the community.

Exposition 1: Descriptive Narration of the Eviction Processes

Name: Bitrus

Gender: Male

Age: 56

Residence: Makoko waterfront community

The eviction of Ilubirin residents in 2017 was not the first incident. As far back as 1996, the residents had witnessed series of evictions by the then state government. That was the first time the residents were forcibly evicted and their houses were demolished and they were forced to relocate to Badore, a forest area in Eti-Osa LGA. Badore was a forest without electricity, sewerage, water supply or even access road. Due to harsh living conditions in the new area, some of the relocated people had to take a risky decision of coming back to the city and resettled in an area close to their old Ilubirin and named it 'new Ilubirin'. However, since they returned to the area they have continued to experience one form of harassment and eviction or the other from the state authorities. The new Ilubirin is said to be over 20 years old now.

The eviction team would always come for one inspection or another according to Bitrus. In his words:

> Our life in Ilubirin was characterized by series of evictions and harassments. It was always one government team visit or the other. They come almost every year. In fact I cannot count the number of times they came until they finally kicked us out. It is an inhumane government we have which cares not for the urban poor but the rich.

The Lagos Ministry of Physical and Urban Development had on March 7th 2016 served on the Ilubirin community a 7-day Quit notice instead of the ideal 90 days minimum notice prescribed by the International Human Rights Law. Also, instead of issuing the notice to every resident, the state only gave one member of the community and this contradicts the international human rights law. Appendix 16 is a copy of the eviction notice served on the Ilubirin residents.

The community was again served another notice on March 16th 2016 but this time around it was a two-day demolition notice.

Describing further the sequence of the eviction warnings, Bitrus added that:

> We were at home on March 19th when the government officials stormed the community with demolition team and a large number of Nigerian police to observe and facilitate the demolitions. This started around 11am and continued until around 5pm. However, shortly after the demolition, we picked up the remains of our homes and rebuilt new structures. So, we moved on with our lives but without knowing that the worst was yet to come. Six months later, we witnessed the most brutal form of eviction as the government task force came in with a two-day verbal eviction notice. So, on the eviction day, they came in and forcibly evicted

us. After another six months, a third eviction occurred and this occurred six-days after the then sitting governor Akinwumi Ambode visited the community where he himself gave us a seven-day eviction notice as against the international human rights law. Upon the expiration of the seven-day ultimatum, the Lagos state Taskforce, KAI Brigade and the Nigeria police came to the area through land and the lagoon. This was on the October 15th 2016. This time they fenced the site thereby making rational for some of us to build temporary tents on shores of the lagoon. However, six months later another government Taskforce with their sledge hammers stormed the area and started evicting people. Those evicted now moved west of Ilubirin in other waterfront communities in Apapa and Makoko in Lagos Mainland LGA.

So, the eviction was certainly nightmarish and the residents have lost both their residences and sources of livelihood. Thus, in an IDI with an evictee from the Ilubirin waterfront community and now a resident of Makoko waterfront community he narrated his eviction experiences which he described as a nightmare:

.... After our eviction I relocated to the Makoko community where I have friends who engage in fishing as I do. However, getting there was one thing and getting shelter was another. Even though I eventually got a little space for myself and immediate family, I spent a long time moving from one point to another

This lived experience of Bitrus and other evictees speak volumes about the plights of waterfront communities and the government's attitudes towards their eradication in favour of the urban elites.

From this exposition, therefore, it can be established that over the years various governments have attempted the eviction of the waterfront people forcibly but the residents have been resisting the moves strongly. For instance, their forcible relocation to Badore – a swampy area that lacked even access road and other basics of life was not only cruel but illegal. Hence, the residents of the waterfront communities have been moving in circular direction as indicated in Fig. 4.6.
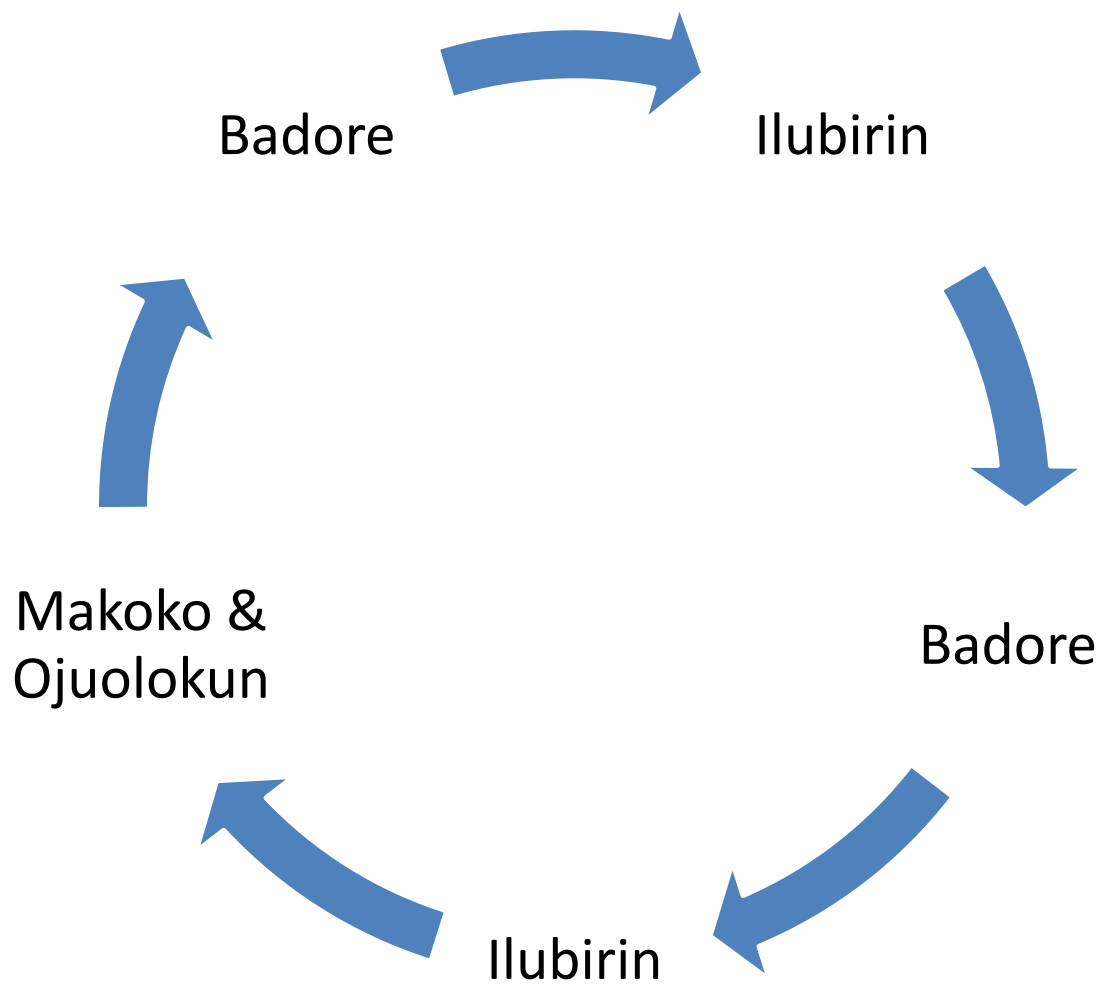
Fig. 4.6: **Circular Movements of Ilubirin Evictees**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The diagram in Fig. 4.6 illustrates the series of evictions carried out on the Ilubirin residents since 1996 when they were first relocated to Badore by the state government. Considering the harsh living conditions and their distance to the city where they could get the basics of life, some of the evictees returned to Ilubirin. However, the government's subsequent rounds of evictions dispersed some of the evictees to other neighbouring waterfront communities particularly Ojuolokun and Makoko while some returned to Badore for the second time. Fig. 4.7 shows the image of the rubbles of Ilubirin a day after its demolition by the Lagos Taskforce and other teams of demolitions.

Fig. 4.7:   **Image of the Rubbles of Demolished Ilubirin Community**

Source: Amnesty International, 2016.

However, despite the demolition, some of the residents rebuilt their structures and continued with their lives until another round of eviction. Fig. 4.8 shows the image of the structures re-built by the residents.

Fig. 4.8:   Structures Re-built by Some Evicted Residents of Ilubirin

Sources: Amnesty International, 2016.

Having taken over the waterfront community, the government, through public-private partnership has already started the construction of 'a new commercial, residential and leisure community' on the land. Fig. 4.9 shows the construction of multiple apartments intended for the use of high class members of the society.

Fig. 4.9: On-going Construction of the new Commercial, Residential and Leisure Community

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

However, while the constructions are going on, some of the Ilubirin evictees were still observed to have erected some temporary tents on the shoreline in readiness for a possible attack by state authorities, while fewer number were observed to be living on the water as indicated in Figs. 4.10 and 4.11.

Fig. 4.10:   **Some Evictees' New Temporary Houses on the Water**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Fig. 4.11:   **Several Ilubirin Evictees living in temporary structures made of plastic sheets in between the lagoon and the fenced 'new Ilubirin' for the elites.**

Source: Amnesty International, 2017.

Exposition 2: Descriptive Narration of Eviction Experience

Name: Sunday

Gender: Male

Age: 64

Duration in Makoko waterfront community: 3 years

Having witnessed what he described as his greatest nightmare, Mr. Sunday narrated his sad experience on the fateful day his home and business were destroyed before his very eyes. With 6 children from his Ijebu native pregnant wife, the demolitions occurred to him as a shock, thinking about what to do and how to start all over again when all that he had managed to set up over the years was turned into rubble in a couple of hours by a fierce looking, unsympathetic 'government's agents of demolition' using bulldozers. He had no other place to call home apart from Ilubirin which he cherished and dreamed to remain in throughout his life.

The perception of the inhabitants of waterfront communities such as Ilubirin about their communities completely differs from the general public who live on the mainland. Even though it is quite obvious that they live in shanties and an environment that an outsider could easily describe as unhygienic and hazardous, they held a completely contrary opinion of their environment and enjoyed every moment of their life in it through marital relationships and cultural engagements. As *Egun* people, fishing was their major economic activity as the men engaged in fishing while their women sell the fish.

However, their relationship with the government has always been sour, according to Sunday. He added that:

> Being on the waterfront, we did enjoy little or no facilities provided by the government to the citizens. Right from onset, we were treated by the government as second class citizens largely because of our low socioeconomic status. We do not live in waterfront by accident. It is a deliberate decision based on our belief in our ancestral cultural norms and values. Regardless of the basic social services that were lacking in our community, we had managed to live our lives just like everyone else. We took care of our responsibilities as we ensured quality life for our children and dependants. If government has failed, and it has failed us by evicting us from our homes without any alternative shelter let alone capital for business. Ironically, it was a government we were begged by Baba (Tinubu) to vote, we did and our reward was forced eviction!

Furthermore, narrating his experience on the processes of the evictions, Mr. Sunday maintained that they were not served any written notice by the government. In his words:

> We only saw bulldozers and in a matter of hours, the entire community was gone. Since then, our lives have been completely shattered. You see the way people in power think is very annoying. They see us as objects that do not deserve any respect

or that we do not have any feelings so they could easily evict people at will. Today, my immediate family and I do not have a roof on our heads. We have been rendered homeless and jobless because our jobs (fishing) have been destroyed and our community taken over by the state government who partners with a private firm to build modern estate for the wealthy people in the state.

Describing his relocation movement, Mr Sunday opined that:

After our eviction I relocated to the Makoko community where I have friends who engage in fishing as I do. However, getting there was one thing and getting shelter was another. Even though I eventually got a little space for myself and immediate family, I spent a long time moving from one point to another

One basic feature of the state evictions is the defiance of all court injunctions by the state government. This is because up to the time we were evicted the case was before the court. This simply points to the impunity and lack of respect for the constitutional provisions on the part of the government.

4.4.4 Relocation Patterns of the Voluntarily Displaced Landlords

On where the long-time residents often relocate to upon selling their houses, the data revealed that majority of them move to locations presumed to be cheaper within and outside Lagos. This finding upholds the popular assumptions that the voluntarily displaced landlords and landladies often relocate to remote places outside Lagos and revealed that there were other locations within Lagos where they relocate to.

Where do long time residents who sold their houses move to
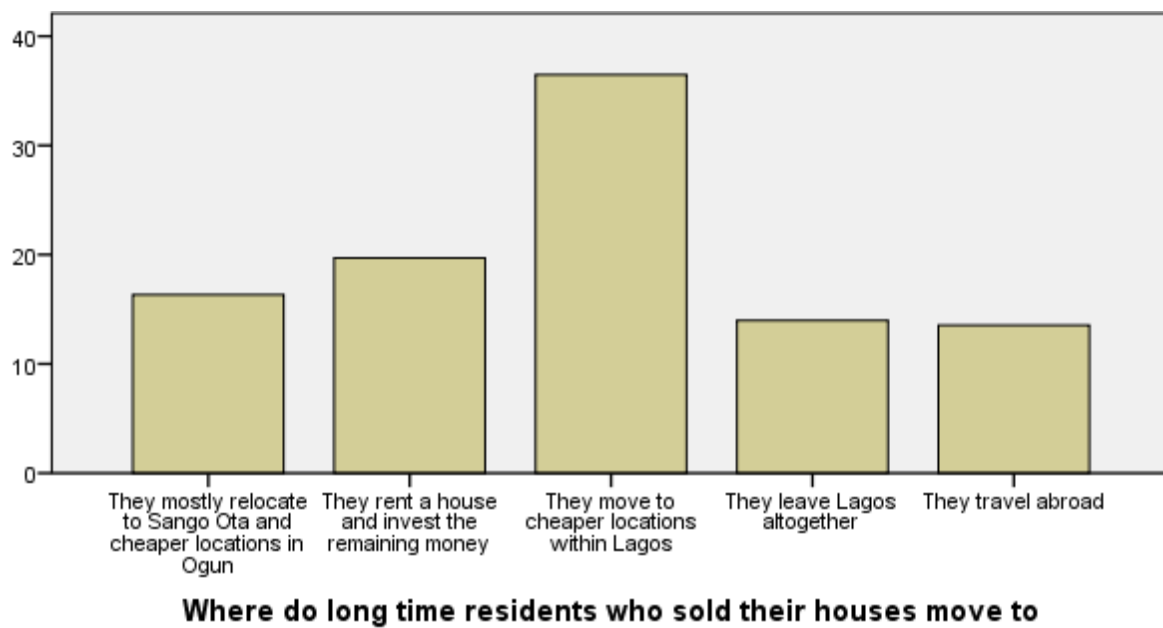
Fig. 4.12: **Showing relocation areas of voluntarily displaced landlords**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

However, Fig. 4.12 revealed that majority of the voluntarily displaced landlords relocated to cheaper locations within Lagos. However, the qualitative data indicated that most of the voluntarily displaced landlords/landladies relocated to some locations outside Lagos state. A voluntarily displaced landlord revealed that:

> Having sold my house in Agege, I relocate to Ifo because of some reasons. First of all, my former neighbour who was also living in Agege when he sold his house he moved there. Land is relatively affordable compared to what obtains in Lagos. I sold my house 19,000,000.00 I bought a plot of land at 2,500,000.00 here in Ifo. I spent roughly 8,000,000.00 to have this house (**IDI/Voluntarily displaced landlord/Male/77/Ifo/2020**).

This excerpt revealed that the voluntarily displaced landlords do not only move within Lagos but also relocate to places outside Lagos due to relative cheapness of land. Thus, the relocation patterns of the voluntarily displaced landlords have been found to be areas characterised by relatively low cost of living. For those in Agege, Alimosho, Oshodi and Lagos Island, they often relocate to Sango-Ota, Ifo and Idiroko. In similar vein, the voluntarily displaced landlords in Lagos Mainland, Lagos Island and Eti-Osa were traced to Epe, Ikorodu and Sagamu. However, majority of the landlords, particularly those who sold their houses due to inheritance were traced to cheaper locations within Lagos. Fig. 4.13 depicts the relocation patterns of the voluntarily displaced landlords.
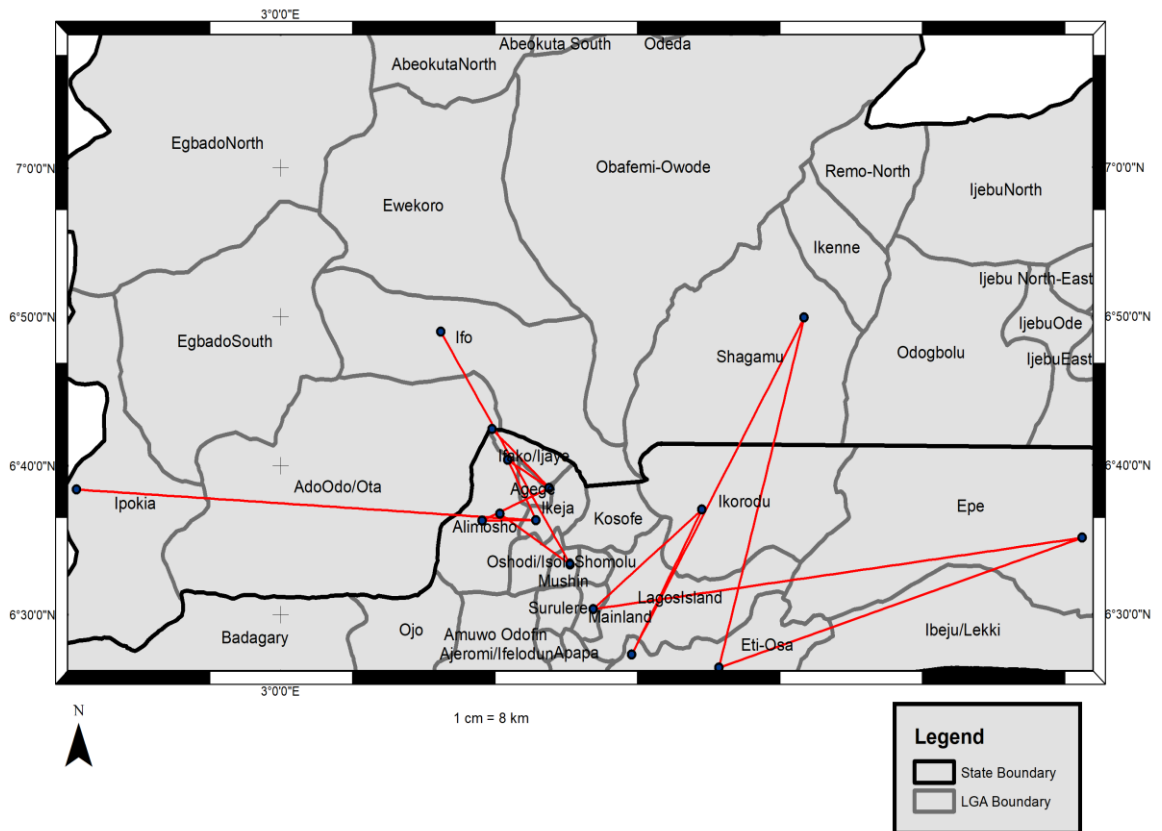
Fig. 4.13: A Flow Map Showing the Relocation Patterns of Voluntarily Displaced Landlords

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

4.5 Patterns of Gentrification

The arguments so far about the processes of gentrification and the divergent views held by the respondents have set the ground for determining the patterns of gentrification in Lagos. Thus, various forms, based on the physical manifestations of gentrification were explored in this survey. In the course of this, the observed physical or structural changes ranging from the types and uses of buildings to the category of people responsible for those changes, were presented and analysed.

4.5.1 Physical Manifestations of Gentrification

On the physical manifestations of gentrification, the study revealed that different physical or structural changes associated with gentrification were occurring in Lagos state.

Table 4.7   Physical Manifestations of Gentrification in Lagos

Physical manifestation of gentrification	Frequency	Per cent
Acquisition of rooming houses belonging to the urban poor by wealthy people	156	17.4
Eviction of low income communities by government	207	23.2
Acquisition of dilapidated houses of the urban poor by estate developers	214	23.9
Conversion of residential apartments surrounding tertiary institutions into commercial ones	57	6.4
Displacement of low income households to construct rail terminals	89	10.0
Eviction of waterfront communities to build luxury residential and commercial apartments	52	5.8
Displacement of traders by land owners or government	119	13.3
Total	894	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.7 shows that the acquisition of old houses belonging to urban poor by estate developers (23.9%) was the major form of physical change occurring in Lagos. This may

be attributed to the scarcity of land in the city as well as the desire of the developers to acquire the properties at a cheaper rate so as to demolish and replace them with structures that would generate more profit for them. Corroborating this view, FGD discussants opined that:

> When you observe Lagos carefully you will notice that most of the structural changes that are taking place have to do with purchase and demolition of dilapidated houses by estate developers. These developers always identify an old house that is strategically located and buy for commercial purpose because they end up to either re-build the house or redevelop it and put it into commercial use (**FGD/Religious leaders/Male/65/Yoruba/Alimosho/2020**).

Supporting this view a participant in an IDI had this to say:

> Estate and property developers have their eyes always on properties located at strategic location in areas dominated by the urban poor. This is because acquiring a property in the central Lagos and other highbrow areas is quite expensive so they prefer to buy these houses and convert them into commercial apartments so as to rent them out for either residential or commercial purpose (**IDI/New resident/Male/54/Igbo/Oshodi/2020**).

These views point to the fact that the activities of the estate developers of acquiring low income house were purposely done with the sole aim of making profit through demolition and rebuilding the house as either commercial residence or stores. This trend was observed and found to confirm the assertions made by the participant.

Fig. 4.14: **An Image of a Massive Shopping Complex in Oshodi**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

It can, therefore, be inferred from these views that 'commercial gentrification' is one of the major forms of gentrification in Lagos state.

Closely following this large percentage is the view that describes eviction of low-income communities by government as the physical manifestation of gentrification in Lagos state. Represented by 23.2% of the total respondents, this view is an indication of the various forceful evictions carried out by government often under the guise of urban renewal or slums clearance in different locations of the city. Corroborating this view in a KII, a participant declared that:

> The evictions of waterfront and shanty communities in the city have always been done in good faith and in the overall interest of Lagosians. Most of the locations demolished or marked for demolitions are but hideouts of the criminals who torment members of the public. We have enough evidence to back this claim. Recent criminal activities that were hitherto unknown to us here in Lagos such as kidnapping has now become a common practice, and whenever these criminals are chased they are traced to these rundown areas of the city. So, what the government does it does it in the general interest of the residents (**KII/Staff LASURA/Male/37/Lagos Island/2020**).

This view was however countered by a participant in an IDI where she argued that:

> It is shocking to see how some of the government officials are defending their anti-people urban policies for some selfish motives. Forceful evictions are illegal and violate the fundamental human rights of the citizens. What is playing out in Lagos is nothing short of gentrification and a deliberate attempt to remove the poor from the city. This is because whenever the urban poor are evicted from an area, they are replaced with a new set of people of upper class. So, the message is simple that the poor is not needed in Lagos because some of the government officials hold the view that Lagos cannot attain the status of world class city with the proliferation of slums and squalor (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/65/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

Implicit in the foregoing arguments is the identification of a form of gentrification popularly regarded as 'state-led gentrification'. However, the process is often downplayed through the use of phrases such as 'urban redevelopment', 'urban renewal', 'slum clearance', 'urban regeneration' among others. Fig. 4.15 shows some pictorial evidences of the state-led displacement of the urban poor.

Fig. 4.15:   An image of a state-led displacement of the urban poor

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Another pattern of gentrification is the acquisition of rooming houses belonging to the urban poor by wealthy people. The rooming houses can be described as houses found mostly in Lagos and other south western states. Thus, a rooming house is a residence with multiple rooms rented out individually in which the tenants share kitchen and bathroom facilities. Rooming houses are mostly used for low income people because they are less expensive. They are also known as multi-tenant houses. Table 4.7 shows that 17.4% of the respondents describe the act of purchasing low income rooming houses by wealthy people as a gentrification process. While some of these were restructured and rehabilitated others were completely pulled down and replaced with new edifices. An old resident was quoted as saying: "*most of the long-time landlords in this area have sold out their houses to the rich people. And almost all the houses bought up were demolished and replaced with modern architectural designs* (**IDI/Long-time resident/Female/48/Yoruba/Agege/2020**)". Similarly, a new resident supported this view and added that:

> Since the return of Nigeria to civil rule in 1999, there has been a surge of wealthy people in this area. They initially would buy a rooming house and rehabilitate it so as to live and rent out a portion. However, now they mostly demolish and replace it with a different type of building (**IDI/New resident/Male/43/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

These views indicate a pattern of gentrification that has been described in the literature as 'residential gentrification'. It is a form of gentrification in which the wealthy gentrifiers infiltrate low income areas and gradually buy up their houses which they either demolish or restructure into modern and expensive residential apartments.

Fig. 4.16: A pictorial evidence of residential gentrification.

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The image in Fig. 4.16 contains a newly constructed residential house belonging to a gentrifier who had earlier acquired two rooming houses and demolished them to put up this magnificent structure. It could be seen that the house was the first of its kind in the area as the remaining houses in the area were all rooming houses belonging to old low-income occupants. However, what qualifies the process as 'residential gentrification' was the fact that the first gentrifier usually set the pace and opened the way for other gentrifiers to come and gradually be picking the low-income houses one by one until they eventually changed the social character of the entire into high income residential areas.

Other physical manifestations of gentrification in Lagos include: displacement of traders by landowners or government (13.3%); displacement of low income households by government to construct rail terminals (10.0%); conversion of residential apartments surrounding tertiary institutions into commercial ones (6.4%); eviction of waterfront communities to build luxury residential and commercial apartments (5.8%). Corroborating these views in an FGD, the discussants were unanimous in their view that:

> Gentrification manifests in various forms depending on the area and the actors involved. However, it has a general form which is displacement of the urban poor. Although there instances where it involves people who cannot be categorised as urban poor particularly when it involves the people and the government. This often takes place when government or landowners displace business owners or traders in some markets. Also, there are instances when government would plan to site a project probably for tourist attraction particularly in waterfront areas, in such instances forceful eviction are usually carried out by the government. We have seen several instances of such in the state such as the Ilubirin waterfront community, Surulere mechanic village, Badia East among others **(FGD/Long-time resident/Male/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

In furtherance to the identification of various patterns of gentrification, the study sought to find out the spatial distribution of these forms. In other words, which forms of gentrification are peculiar to each area in the State? To this effect, a contingency table segregating the physical manifestation of gentrification based on the selected Local government areas was drawn so as to examine these peculiarities.

Table 4.8   Physical Manifestations of gentrification based on the selected LGAs

Physical Manifestation of gentrification	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Acquisition of rooming houses belonging to the urban poor by wealthy people	38.4%	26.8%	15.0%	-	11.1%	11.1%	17.4%
Eviction of low income communities by government	14.5%	25.5%	6.5%	50.3%	29.2%	30.6%	25.7%
Acquisition of dilapidated houses of the urban poor by estate developers	14.5%	15.4%	37.3%	49.7%	9.7%	14.6%	23.5%
Conversion of residential apartments surrounding tertiary institutions into commercial ones	-	11.4%	-	-	13.9%	13.9%	6.4%
Displacement of low income households by government construct rail terminals	20.8%	14.8%	3.3%	-	3.5%	3.5%	7.8%
Eviction of waterfront communities to build luxury residential and commercial apartments	-	-	-	-	16.0%	20.1%	5.8%
Displacement of traders by land owners or government	11.9%	6.0%	37.9%	-	16.7%	6.3%	13.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.8 shows that acquisition of rooming houses belonging to the urban poor by wealthy people was the major form of gentrification process observed in Agege LGA. This was represented by (38.4%) of the total respondents in the location. The second largest percentage (20.8%) on the views of the respondents indicated displacement of low income households by government to construct rail terminals as the physical manifestation of gentrification in the area. This implies that gentrification in Agege LGA was mainly being championed by private wealthy individuals and government.

Similarly, Table 4.8 revealed similar pattern in Alimosho LGA as acquisition of rooming houses belonging to the urban poor by wealthy people (26.8%) and eviction of low income communities by government (25.5%) were identified as the major processes of gentrification in the area. However, the pattern differs in Oshodi where displacement of businesses or traders by government (37.9%) and the acquisition of dilapidated houses of the urban poor by estate developers (37.3%) were conceived as physical manifestation of gentrification in the area.

In Eti-Osa, only two forms of gentrification were observed to be manifest. These were eviction of low income communities by government (50.3%) and acquisition of old houses of the urban poor by estate developers (49.7%). Meanwhile, responses in the Lagos Mainland revealed the physical manifestation of all forms of gentrification in the area although some were higher than others. The Table indicated that (29.2%) of the respondents held the view that the eviction of low income communities by the government in the area as the physical manifestation of gentrification, while 16.7% and 16.0% described the displacement of businesses and the eviction of waterfront communities by the government respectively as the manifestation of gentrification in area. Similarly, the table show that majority of the respondents (30.6%) in the Lagos Island considered the eviction of low income communities by the government as gentrification. Another large percentage (20.1%) of the respondents described the eviction of waterfront communities by the government as the physical manifestation of gentrification in the area. The implication of these findings is that even though gentrification can be considered to be prevalent in Lagos, it however, does not occur in the same way across the state; there are peculiarities, as each area has certain determinants of its forms of gentrification.

4.5.2 Most Common Types of Buildings in Lagos

On the types of buildings that are very common in Lagos, the study revealed that majority of the buildings was rooming houses constituting 39.7% of the total buildings in the state. This may be attributed to the fact that this type of building is designed to mainly accommodate the urban poor. It is popularly known as "face-me-I-face-you" house because the rooms are arranged facing each other. Other types of the buildings include detached (13.6%), semi-detached (6.9%), bungalow (8.4%), bungalow duplex (5.0%), plaza and malls (14.7%), condominiums and high rise buildings (11.6%).
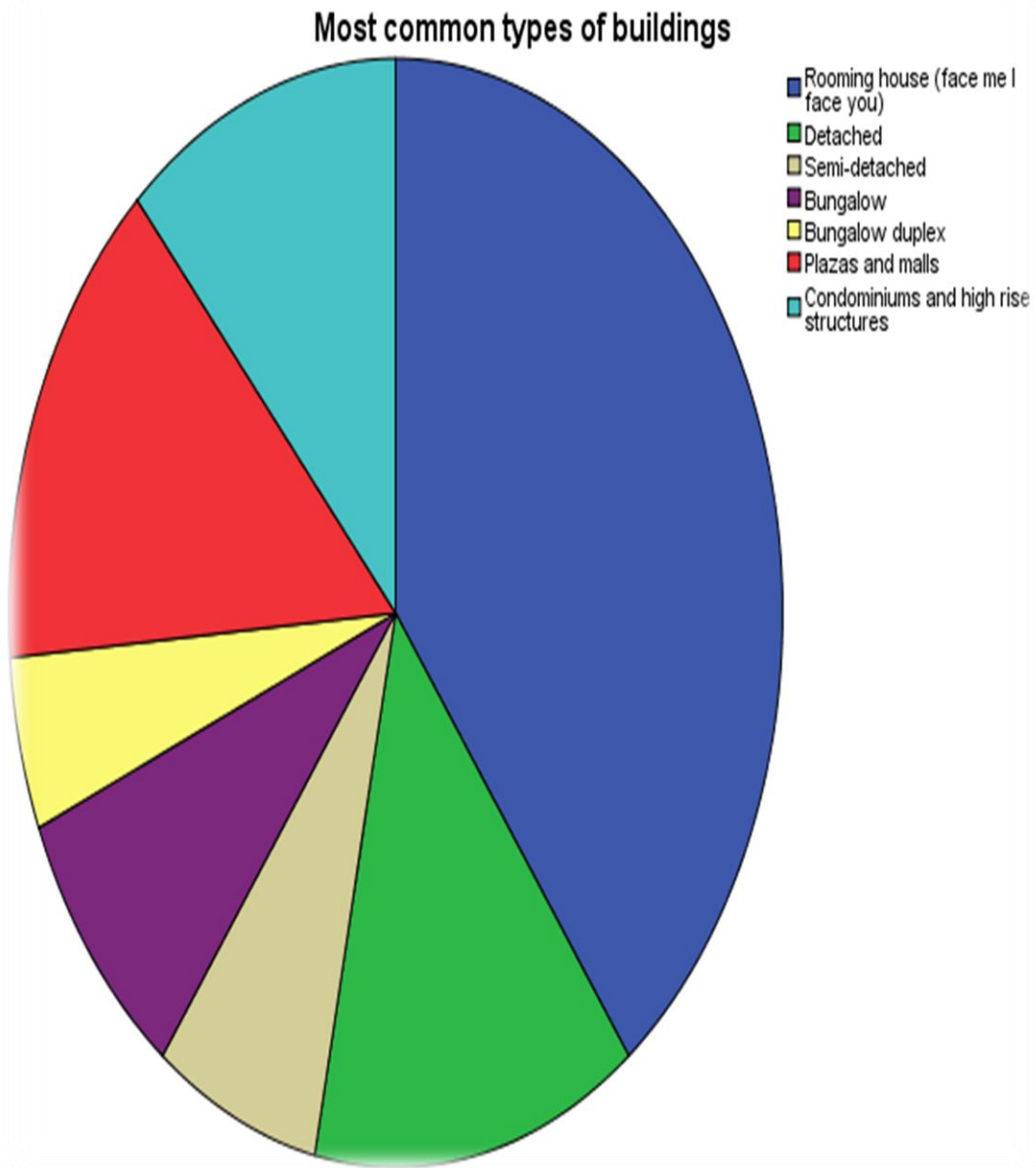
Fig. 4.17:   Most common type of buildings in Lagos.

Source: Field survey, 2020.

However, there are certain peculiarities with regard to the common type of buildings among the LGAs as presented in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9   Most Common Type of Buildings by LGAs

Most common types of buildings	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Rooming house (face me I face you)	72.3%	43.0%	32.0%	86.2%	0.7%	0.7%	39.7%
Detached	10.1%	24.2%	20.9%	13.8%	6.3%	6.3%	13.6%
Semi-detached	8.8%	8.1%	7.8%		8.3%	8.3%	6.9%
Bungalow		3.4%	3.3%		24.3%	20.8%	8.4%
Bungalow duplex					27.8%	3.5%	5.0%
Plazas and malls	8.8%	21.5%	35.9%		12.5%	8.3%	14.7%
Condominiums and high rise structures					20.1%	52.1%	11.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

From Table 4.9, it can be established that there is strong correlation between location and type of building. For instance, while rooming houses appeared to be the most common type of building structures in Agege (72.3%), Alimosho (43.0%), Eti-Osa (86.2%) and Oshodi (32.0%), condominiums and high rise building structures were the most common buildings in Lagos Island (52.1%) and Lagos Mainland (20.1%). The fact that Lagos Island has the largest number of condominiums and high rise buildings may not be unconnected to the historical fact that it was the core, the Central Business District (CBD) and the city proper of Lagos state. Most of the high rise structures in the Island date back to colonial era. However, this is not to rule out the presence of high rise buildings in other locations particularly the emerging business hubs of Lekki, and the new Eko Atlantic. Similarly, it is not surprising that most of the rooming houses were found in Agege, Alimosho, and Eti-Osa because they constitute one of the most affordable type of residences for low income urban residents most of whom get relatively affordable accommodation in these locations.

4.5.3 Average Age of the Buildings

With regard to the age of the buildings, the study revealed that most of the buildings in the city were over ten years old. This perhaps may be explained from the viewpoint that Lagos being once a federal capital of Nigeria has had influx of people from other parts of the country and even beyond for various forms of jobs.
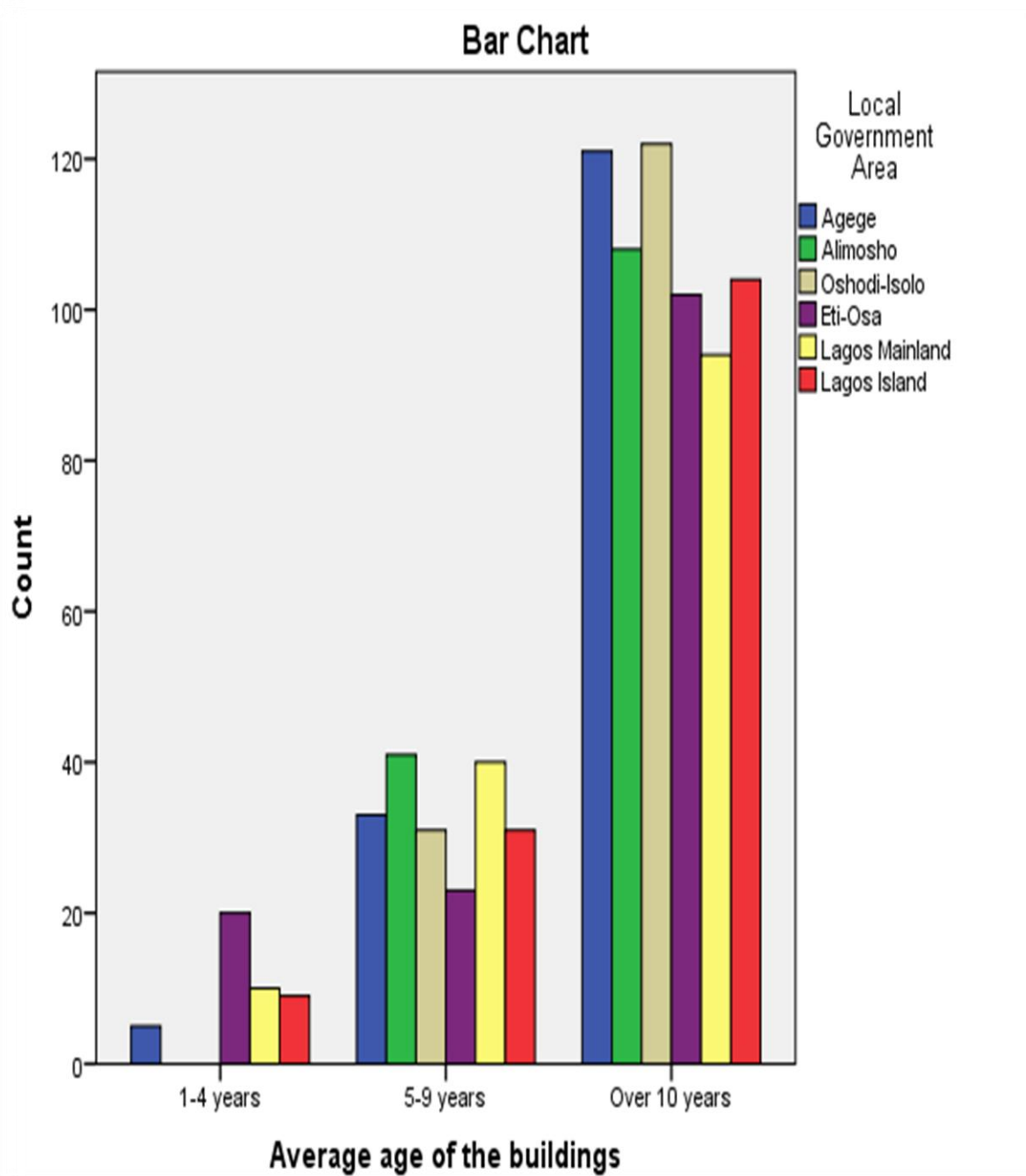
Fig. 4.18: **Bar chart showing the average age of buildings in Lagos**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

4.5.4 Observed Physical Changes in Gentrifying Areas

The study revealed the type of physical changes occurring in Lagos state. These changes were captured and presented in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10   Type of Physical Changes occurring in Lagos state

Type of Physical Changes	Frequency	Per cent
Private residences and estates	216	24.2
Commercial apartments and hotels	241	27.0
Markets, plazas, malls and high rise stores	94	10.5
Religious houses	81	9.1
Redeveloping already developed buildings	70	7.8
Schools and hospitals	39	4.4
Amusement parks	6	0.7
Government projects	90	10.1
Condominiums and tourist attractions	57	6.4
Total	894	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.10 indicates that majority of the physical changes occurring in Lagos involved construction of rental apartments and hotels. This view was represented by a whopping (27.0%) of the total respondents. This may not be unconnected to the bourgeoning population of Lagos as one of the fastest developing megacity in the world. Prevalence of large number of rental houses is also an indicator of the commercial status of the city as well as the low rate of home ownership because, despite the abundance of wealth creating activities, the urban poor still constitute its majority. Similarly, hotel apartments and guest inns were observed to be prevalent. This type of physical change corresponds to what scholars such as Zukin *et al.,* (2017) describe as *commercial gentrification.*

Closely following this large number of views, is the perspective that private residences and estates were the major physical changes occurring in Lagos. This percentage represented by (24.2%) may be attributed to the growing ownership of personal homes by the residents of the city. It also may be connected to various government policies with regard to mortgage and housing projects initiatives which facilitate homeownership for some of the urban residents. Similarly, the finding may equally suggest growth in wealth creation of members of the society particularly among the emerging wealthy urban youths. This form of gentrification involves a gradual process of acquiring low income residential houses one by one by the wealthy individuals thereby changing the social character of the area eventually. This is the type of physical changes described by Glass as *residential gentrification.*

Other physical changes in the city include construction of markets, plazas, malls and high rise stores (10.5); condominiums and tourist attractions (8.3%); redeveloping existing buildings (7.8%); schools and hospitals (4.4%); religious houses (9.1%) and amusement parks (0.7%). Another significant revelation presented in the table has to do with the prevalence of government projects across the city (10.1%), most of which were carried out at the expense of the urban poor. Projects such as slums clearance, construction of bus terminals, luxury residential and commercial apartments, tourist sites among others are some of the physical changes orchestrated by the state. Hence, this type of gentrification is regarded as state-led gentrification. In similar manner, construction of rail terminals and BRT routes with terminals were observed across the city and this is a form of gentrification regarded as *transit-induced gentrification.*

Table 4.10 further shows the construction of condominiums (6.4%) and redevelopment of already developed buildings (7.8%) as some of the major physical changes taking place in Lagos. These changes correspond with a new form of gentrification generally regarded as *new-build gentrification.* It often occurs in the most developed areas of the city as a re-gentrification of an already gentrified area.

A cross examination of the data further revealed some peculiarities in the manifestation of these physical changes. Each of the selected locations has some physical changes that tend to be peculiar to it. Thus, segregating these changes by LGAs reveals remarkable differences across the locations in terms of patterns of development that were occurring in each area.

Table 4.11   Observed Physical Changes in the Selected Gentrifying LGAs

Type of buildings/changes	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Private residences and estates	33.3%	20.1%	18.3%	37.2%	16.0%	19.4%	24.2%
Rental apartments and hotels	28.9%	21.5%	20.9%	46.2%	22.2%	22.2%	27.0%
Markets, plazas, malls and high rise stores	10.7%	28.9%	13.7%		2.1%	6.9%	10.5%
Religious houses	14.5%	14.8%	2.6%	16.6%	5.6%		9.1%
Redeveloping already developed buildings		2.0%	3.3%		22.9%	20.1%	7.8%
Schools and hospitals	9.4%	10.1%	3.9%		2.1%		4.4%
Amusement parks					4.2%		0.7%
Government projects	3.1%	2.7%	37.3%		11.8%	4.9%	10.1%
Luxury condominiums and tourist attractions					13.2%	26.4%	6.4%
Total	100%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.11 indicates that constructions of private residences (33.3%) and rental apartments (28.9%) were the major physical changes occurring in Agege LGA. This may be attributed to the growing number of wealthy young men who appear to prefer having their residential houses and businesses in the same area they grew. This view finds support in an interview with a new resident of the area who stated that:

> There have been remarkable physical changes in this area since the last two decades, and this is linked to the fact that there is an improvement in the socio-economic conditions of the inhabitants of the area particularly the youths. These youths who are mostly in the bureau de change business have been largely successful and the impact is what is being experienced in the physical transformation of the area. So, most of the physical changes in this area are basically in form of residential houses for private use and some for commercial use (**IDI/new resident/Male/36/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

Another participant had this to say:

> The structural changes occurring here are mostly construction of residential and rental apartments. These types of structures are the ones trending in Agege. The residential houses are often multi-story buildings, duplexes and semi-detached duplexes. Sometimes, the owners build multiple flats not to rent out but to live in alongside other family members and even friends (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/44/Agege/2020**).

These physical changes have been observed through unstructured observation technique by the researcher and found to corroborate the views of the participants.

Fig. 4.19: **Image of a private residence in the gentrifying area of Agege.**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Fig. 4.19 shows two residential houses: a new duplex beside an old rooming house. The duplex used to be a rooming house owned by a brother of the landlord of this rooming

house both of whom were Yoruba speaking natives of the area. Having sold the house to a wealthy Hausa man, he has relocated to Sango-Ota where he acquired a plot of land and built his new residence. While Fig. 4.19 shows a private residential apartment of a resident, Fig. 4.20 indicates a 6-flat rental apartment in Agege.

Fig. 4.20:   **A Six-flat Rental apartment in a gentrifying area of Agege LGA**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.11 also shows that Agege, Alimosho, Oshodi and Eti-Osa LGAs all share similar characteristics in terms of residential and commercial buildings. However, Alimosho experiences a relatively higher rate of construction of Churches. This is evident in the response rate of the respondents (14.8%) as well as the pictorial evidence captured in the course of the field work. While construction of churches constitutes a major structural change in Alimosho, building of hotels and guest inns have been the major physical changes observed in Oshodi. This finding was supported by discussants in an FGD who argued that:

> Hotels and guest houses are almost uncountable in Oshodi. It is a business that is quite lucrative now in this area. They enjoy patronage from both residents and visitors. You know any hotel that that does a 'short term' service usually experiences influx of customers. That is why it is flourishing. Almost every line has multiple hotels with bars and restaurants in some. So, hotels are some of the leading structural changes in Oshodi. In fact, they are second to shops and plazas (**FGD/Long-time residents/Male/42/Igbo/Oshodi/2020**).

Corroborating this view, a developer stated that:

> Yes. Oshodi has greatly transformed. Most of these transformations can be attributed to individuals as well as public authorities. You know being a commercial hub; Oshodi is quite a good place to invest. That is why you see numerous investments apart from the shopping malls and high rise super markets; hotels and gust houses are other areas that people tend to give adequate attention. Hotel business, left to me, is the most profitable business so far once you have the needed capital. So, hotel construction is what is trending in Oshodi (**KII/Developer/Male/45/Oshodi/2020**).

Buttressing this argument, the researcher's observation also confirmed the proliferation of hotels in the central Oshodi as indicated in Fig. 4.21.
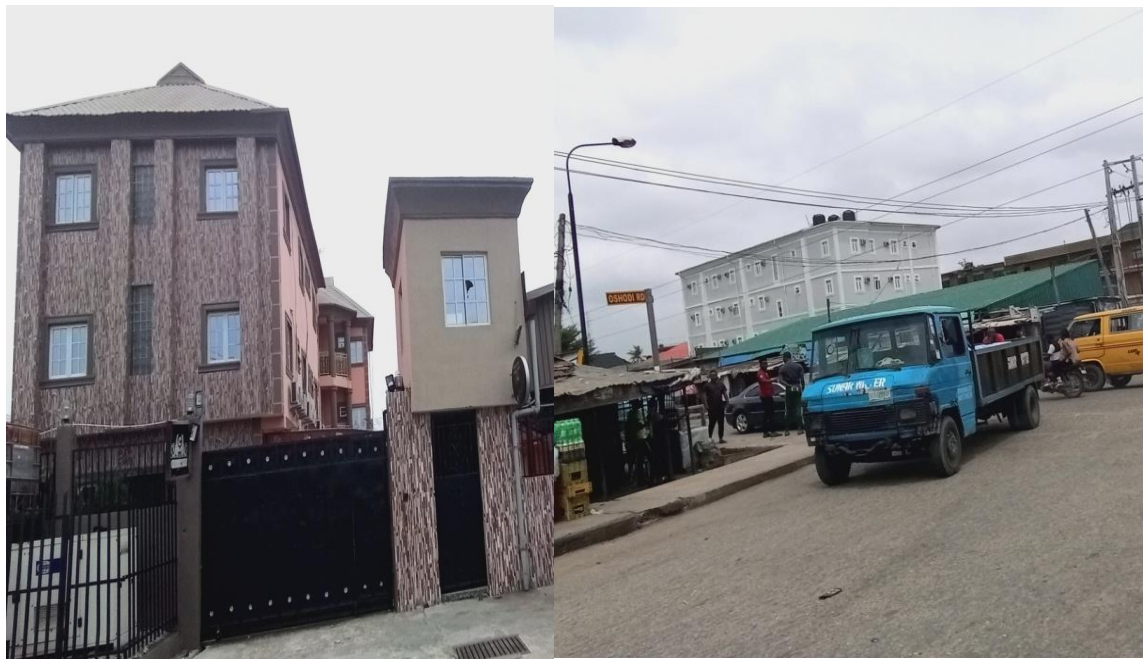
Fig. 4.21:   Showing a pictorial evidence of hotels in Oshodi

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Located along one of the busy streets of Oshodi, these hotels are just a sample of numerous hotels in the area. Confirming the viability of the hotel business, a manager of one of the hotels expressed his satisfaction with the business as follows:

> Our business is thriving. Hotel management is better than managing a lot other businesses. We make hundreds of thousands sometimes in a day. But you should know that when we talk about hotel we are not only talking about lodging a room, it includes bar services, restaurant and other recreational activities. So, we are doing well despite the number of hotels in the area (**IDI/new resident/Female/41/Igbo/Oshodi/2020**).

This view further ascertains the business value of Oshodi as manifested in surge in rental and hotel businesses in the area.

With regard to Eti-Osa, the physical changes remain largely similar to the changes observed in Agege. However, while other forms of physical changes were observed in other LGAs, only two types of the physical changes (building of private and rental apartments) were observed in Eti-Osa. The reason for this is not far-fetched as the areas sampled were resettlements of the few lucky displaced residents of original Maroko in the 90s.

Fig. 4.22: **Some physical changes in the new Maroko**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Fig. 4.22 shows a block of flats built in the heart of the new Maroko. However, the buildings were usually being rented by middle-class workers who work in the Lekki and even the Victoria Island axis.

Table 4.11 also revealed luxury condominiums and tourist attractions as the major physical changes in Lagos Mainland (13.2%) and Lagos Island (26.4%). This may be attributed to a large concentration of capital in these areas as well as the historical antecedents of the two locations. While Lagos Island houses the headquarters of most Nigerian banks, the Mainland is regarded as an offshoot of the Island hence the development of new condominiums in the area for business extension.

Similarly, the data show a prevalence of redevelopment of already developed buildings with (22.9%) and (20.1%) in Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island respectively. This may be attributed to the fact that both Mainland and Island have experienced high level of development long before the relocation of Nigeria's capital to Abuja. Hence, the growing desire by both government and the wealthy private individuals to restructure the buildings so as to re-invest in them. In Fig. 4.23, a picture of some on-going and newly re-built high buildings was presented.

Fig. 4.23:   Some On-going and newly re-built High Buildings in the Lagos
                     Mainland

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.11 further shows that Alimosho, Agege and Eti-Osa with 14.8%, 14.5% and 16.6% respectively experience more constructions of religious houses than any other locations. This implies that there are more religious activities in these three locations which, based on the socio-demographic attributes of the respondents, tend to be predominantly low income areas. By implication, the poorer a people the more religious they tend to be.

In terms of government projects, despite the prevalence of various government projects across the state, respondents in Oshodi tend to identify the various state government urban renewal projects as the major changes occurring in the area. This view was, however, countered in an IDI report. A long-time resident of Oshodi expressed his view as follows:

> There is no doubt there are government projects in this area which have caused hardship to the urban poor particularly the forceful evictions of traders. However, the recent developments in Oshodi in terms of various ultra-modern buildings in form of plazas and malls have infiltrated every corner of the area. This is of course due to the growing influx of people into the area for trading activities. The owners of the houses here do sell them voluntarily either for profit or to relocate to a more serene environment, although the tenants have always been the victims (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/61/Yoruba/Oshodi/2020**).

Similarly, in line with this view in an FGD conducted in the area, the discussants were unanimous in their view that:

> The private wealthy people were the ones transforming the area by acquiring old residential rooming houses and converting them into shopping malls and stores. However, this is not to downplay the gravity of the forceful evictions carried out by the government on traders in this area (**FGD/Long-time residents/Male/56/Yoruba/Oshodi/2020**).

The sum of these views is that in as much as the government engages in gentrification the central Oshodi, the private individuals also do equally gentrify, and their gentrification processes was observed and presented in Figs. 4.24, 4.25 and 4.26.

Fig. 4.24: **Some Newly Constructed Shopping Complexes in Central Oshodi**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The two identical buildings in Fig. 4.24 replaced an old rooming house which was inherited by two ladies whose father died some years back. For whatever reasons, the ladies sold the house to the highest bidder, rented an apartment and invested the money.

Fig. 4.25:   **An On-going Construction of a Shopping Complex in Oshodi**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Fig. 4.26   **A Mega Shopping Plaza Belonging to Oshodi Post Office**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.11 also indicates construction of schools and hospitals as some of the physical changes taking place in Agege and Alimosho more than any other selected areas. A large number of old houses were observed to be acquired and replaced with schools in Alimosho. This may not be unconnected to the fact that high premium was being accorded to education in this part of Lagos as earlier indicated in the socio-demographic section. It is a location that is believed to have produced some of the best secondary school students in the state as manifested in various quizzes and competitions conducted. Thus, there has been a growing number of private schools, both secondary and tertiary, being erected in the area. Similarly, the data show a proliferation of private hospitals in the midst of low income residences in Agege. Fig. 4.27 shows images of an ultra-modern hospital facility which replaced two rooming houses.

Fig. 4.27: **Ultra-Modern Hospital in the midst of low income Households**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

On the whole, it has been established that there exists a number of types of gentrification in Lagos state. Table 4.12 presents these types and locations where they are most prevalent.

Table 4.12   Typology of Gentrification in Lagos

S/N	TYPE	MEANING	LOCATION
1	Residential gentrification	Displacement of low income residential houses	All locations
2	Commercial gentrification	Displacement of low income businesses	All locations
3	State-led gentrification	Displacement of low income by the public authorities	All locations
4	Transit-induced gentrification	Displacement of low income either residences or businesses for transport purposes	Oshodi, Agege, Lagos Mainland
5	Slum gentrification	Displacement of the slum dwellers by the public authorities for aesthetics and/or profit making purposes	Makoko, Ilubirin
6	Studentification	Displacement of low income residences neighbouring tertiary institutions by private individuals for profit purposes	Alimosho, Lagos Mainland
7	Tourism gentrification	Displacement of low income residential or business structures by public authorities so as to attract investments	Lagos Island, Victoria Island, Lekki and Ikoyi
8	Political gentrification	This is the process of acquiring low income houses belonging to one ethnic group with the intention of expanding political base	Agege
9	Criminal gentrification	This is a form of gentrification where low income houses are acquired with illicit proceeds by the gentrifiers as a form of layering (dispersing) with the motive of integrating (legitimising) it so as to obliterate the security agents and also be regarded as a noble business person by the society	Agege

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

4.5.5   Major Categories of Gentrifiers in Lagos

The study found two broad categories of actors of gentrification in Lagos state. These actors were found to be playing dominant roles and facilitating same for others to engage in gentrification processes. However, it should be noted that these two categories subsumed other actors who engage in the processes at varying degrees and levels. Table 4.13 shows these two broad categories as follows:

Table 4.13   Major Categories of Gentrifiers in Lagos State

Major Categories of Gentrifiers	Frequency	Per cent
Private wealthy individuals	528	59.1
Government	366	40.9
Total	894	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.13 indicates that private wealthy individuals were the major actors of gentrification in the state. This view, represented by (59.1%) of the total responses, implies that the private sector of the economy of Lagos plays an active and leading role in the transformation of urban space. The finding has, however, contradicted the general view in the literature which describes government as the major gentrifier in the state. Corroborating this view, an official of the Lagos State Building Control Agency (LASBCA) stated that:

> Rich persons control and determine to some extent the physical appearance of a city. This is because they are a critical stakeholder in the development of every city. The government should not be seen playing any role more than that of a facilitator and creator of an enabling environment for investments to thrive and prosper. The government chart the paths through sound urban policies which guide and regulate the operations of the private sector. As a matter of fact, even in some few instances where the government engage in physical restructuring of the city, it often does so in collaboration with the private institutions and individuals. So, the fact remains that the private wealthy individuals are the main actors of gentrification in the state. The government plays a relatively little role in gentrification processes in comparison with the private persons (**KII/Staff of LASBCA/Male/44/Lagos Island/2020**).

However, a cross sectional view of some long-time residents of the gentrifying neighbourhoods in the city is in stark difference with the view that government is not the major actor of gentrification in the state. A long-time resident had this to say:

> To think of any person other than the government as a major actor of gentrification is not even fair as far as Lagos is concerned. Most of the people suffering from the consequences of gentrification are victims of one form of government forceful eviction or the other. Think of any form of eviction, be it eviction of people from their residences or displacement of their business activities, the brain behind all is government. I can only agree that the private persons do gentrify in the interest of their business but even when they do their displacement is often a voluntary one because even if the owner of the property sold it out of growing pressure to leave the area, they must have been fully paid the value of their property. And this is quite different from the government-led gentrification where most and sometimes all of the victims do not get any compensation from the government before or after taking over their property (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/39/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020**).

Thus, if anything, these arguments simply confirm the notion that both government and wealthy persons play significant role in shaping the urban space.

On the peculiarities of the selected areas in terms of major actors of gentrification, the study revealed the existence of some similarities and dissimilarities among them. These peculiarities were captured in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14   Major Categories of Gentrifiers by LGAs

Major categories of gentrifiers	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Private wealthy individuals	52.2%	63.1%	37.3%	60.7%	63.9%	79.2%	59.1%
Government	47.8%	36.9%	62.7%	39.3%	36.1%	20.8%	40.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.14 shows a similar pattern of gentrification process across the LGAs with the exception of Oshodi LGA. Thus, the study revealed that 52.2%, 63.1%, 37.3%, 60.7%, 63.9% and 79.2% of respondents in Agege, Alimosho, Oshodi, Eti-Osa, Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island respectively held the view that private wealthy individuals were the major actors of gentrification in Lagos. This implies that "residential gentrification", a form of gentrification theorised by Glass in 1964, was the major form of gentrification in Lagos state. Nevertheless, the views of the respondents which suggest the government as also the actor of gentrification in Lagos were quite high and equally significant. Oshodi, in particular tends to experience more of government-induced gentrification activities. This may be attributed to the strategic nature of Oshodi and its value as one of the largest markets in West Africa, hence the prevalence of government's gigantic projects such as the Oshodi bus terminal and the Oshodi Arena among others. The implication of this finding is that *residential gentrification* and *state-led gentrification* were the two broad types of gentrification in the state.

4.5.6   Gender Dimension of Gentrification

Gentrification is conventionally assumed to be a gender-bias phenomenon with the Male gender assuming a domineering role. Thus, the gender dimension of gentrification processes was well studied and observed in this study. The preponderance of the Male factor in gentrification processes may not be unconnected with the patriarch nature of most African societies including Nigeria. This is evidently presented in Table 4.17 where 72.7% of the total respondents of the study identified Male gender as the main gentrifier in Lagos state while 27.3% of the total respondents only were female gentrifiers. However, certain areas have been identified to have larger number of female gentrifiers. These can be seen in Table 4.15 where respondents were segregated on the basis of their gender and LGA.

Table 4.15   Distribution of the Respondents Based on their Gender and Location

Gender category that is the main gentrifier	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Male	88.1%	68.5%	86.9%	89.0%	67.4%	34.0%	72.7%
Female	11.9%	31.5%	13.1%	11.0%	32.6%	66.0%	27.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.15 shows that in almost all the LGAs, with the exception of Lagos Island. Male gender was the main gentrifier. Thus, the data indicate that majority of the respondents in Lagos Island identified female gender as the main driver of gentrification in the area. This may be attributed to the commercial nature of the area and high level of female participation in economic and commercial activities. Popular market locations in the Lagos Island such as *Apongbon and Idumota* are known for women who engage in large scale trading activities. Therefore, identifying women as the major property buyers in the area may not be weird or strange. Supporting this view in an IDI, a participant had this to say:

> The major property buyers in Lagos Island are the women. Women own most of the shops and businesses that are run in the markets. In fact I know of a number of ladies who bought up several three storey buildings, demolished them and built new shopping complexes. Also, it may interest you to know that women do not only engage in converting residential houses into shopping complexes but they do also convert some into rental residential apartments so as to make more profit (**IDI/Female landlady/52/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

Another property owner in the *Apongbon* willingly admitted the fact that business women have been in the fore front in acquiring and converting old structures into more profit yielding business ventures. In her words:

> Women are known for trading activities in this part of the city. Some of us inherited it from our parents and even grandparents. We do not have any job that is better and rewarding than private business. We make money from the business not government jobs as many people do particularly the men. That is why you can see even from the head count of shops that we (women) are the majority and so we control the businesses as far as the markets in this area are concerned (**IDI/Female trader/43/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

The foregoing excerpts point to two important facts: 1) that trading activities not civil service are the major drivers of the economy of Lagos Island and 2) that women were the main drivers of this economy through their private businesses. This is of course contrary to the general assumption that men were the main controllers of resources in Lagos Island.

4.5.7   Ethnic Dimension of Gentrification

As a process that involves possession of huge resources, gentrification to a large extent defies any ethnic coloration. However, considering the plurality of Nigerian society particularly the city of Lagos which is inhabited by people of different ethnic backgrounds, it goes without saying that the pattern of wealth accumulation and control may also likely be shaped by ethnic affiliations. Thus, this study sought to identify ethnic groups that constitute the majority of the gentrifiers based on their spatial distribution in the state as presented in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16   Distribution of Respondents Based on their Ethnic Group and
**   Location**

The main gentrifiers in Lagos	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Igbo	15.7%	25.5%	71.2%	66.9%	25.0%	18.8%	37.1%
Yoruba	11.9%	55.7%	19.0%	12.4%	59.0%	65.3%	36.7%
Hausa	58.5%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	4.9%	2.8%	12.2%
Others	13.8%	15.4%	9.8%	20.7%	11.1%	13.2%	14.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.16 shows variations in the ethnic background of the main actors of gentrification in Lagos state. To begin with Agege LGA, the data indicate that Hausa ethnic group

constituting (58.5%) is the main actor of gentrification processes and it is followed by the Igbo ethnic group which constituted (15.7%) of the total respondents. This may be connected with the fact that Agege LGA is largely inhabited by the Hausa ethnic group and most of whom engage in bureau de change – believed to be one of the lucrative private businesses in Lagos due to the flow of hard currency through both local and foreign travellers coming into the city through the international airport. Similarly, the close collaboration between the yahoo boys and the bureau de change operators is regarded as a main source of foreign funds among the teeming youths engaged in the 'online yahoo business'. Supporting this view a participant stated that:

> Majority of the people buying up properties here in Agege are the Hausas. In fact, I know of a man that owns 84 houses out of which 53 are all in Agege here. His occupation is bureau de change and he has been in the business for a long period of time. Apart from him there are other people who are in fact younger than him who own multiple properties in Agege (**IDI/Long-time resident/Female/42/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

Another participant had this to say:

> Hausas have bought up properties in Agege. Most of these young boys who are doing online businesses are making money beyond human comprehension. This is because some of them buy beautiful houses and pulled them down to erect mansions or duplexes. There are other few tribes like the Igbos and Deltans who are also gentrifying the community but their number is quite negligible. The Hausas have dominated the space and are continuously doing so due to the huge wealth they control (**IDI/Landlord/Male/56/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

The excerpts presented above lend support to the fact that Agege was being gentrified mainly by the Hausa ethnic group. However, while it is true that majority of the northerners are Hausas but not all those who dress and speak Hausa are Hausas in Agege. For instance, a large number of the gentrifiers speak Hausa and share so many things in common with the Hausas but in real sense they are *Zabarma* – a tribe mostly found between Kebbi State in Nigeria and some parts of Niger Republic. Supporting this assertion is the view of a long-time resident in the area:

> In Lagos, anyone dressed up in Hausa native dresses and speaks Hausa is generally regarded as a Hausa person. However, the truth is that most are not Hausas but Zabarma who have blended themselves with the Hausas and do also engage in bureau de change

business and so they are regarded as Hausas (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/44/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

Nevertheless, the fact remains that whether the people in question were the original Hausas or Zabarma, they constitute a large majority of the actors of gentrification in Agege LGA. This is evident in the numerous duplexes and even mansions being built by the Hausas in the midst of the low income long-time residents of the area as shown in Fig. 4.28.

Fig.4.28:   A View of some gentrified Areas in Agege LGA

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The images above show modern high rise structures built for both residential and commercial purposes in the gentrifying areas of Agege. These modern houses, which belong to the gentrifiers, replaced old rooming houses belonging to the long-time residents of the areas. The implications of these structures for the long-time residents living in the existing rooming houses are numerous. They include obstruction of air ways due to the height of the houses among other social and economic implications.

With regard to Alimosho LGA, however, the data revealed that the main actors of gentrification were the Yoruba ethnic group constituting (55.7%) and they were followed by the Igbo ethnic group representing (25.5%) of the total respondents. This perhaps may not be unconnected to the conservative nature of the long- time inhabitants of Alimosho as the largest LGA. Also, the large size of the area implies large number of the Yoruba population in it. However, due to its proximity to other bubbling business areas in the city, it attracts an influx of people of the Igbo extraction who have business interests in areas adjacent to Alimosho such as the Alaba international market, Aswani, Isolo and even Oshodi. Similarly, the observations carried out by the researcher indicated that the Yoruba gentrifiers in Alimosho engaged in the process through construction of shopping complexes as shown in Fig. 4.29 of an on-going building of a shopping complex in the area.

Fig. 4.29: **An on-going shopping complex in Alimosho LGA**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The image in Fig. 4.29 typifies the process of replacement of low-income shops with a shopping complex. The implications of this include pricing out of the long-time small scale businesses as they mostly could not afford the rent of the new shops upon completion. However, the table shows that a whopping (71.2%) of respondents in Oshodi identified the Igbo ethnic group as the main actors of gentrification processes in the area. This may be attributed to the commercial value of the area as evidenced in the existence of the popular Oshodi market which is arguably the largest in West Africa. Also, suffice it to say that the Igbo people are known to be industrious and highly business-oriented. Thus, they acquire most of the houses belonging to the poor within Oshodi and convert them into commercial uses. Supporting this view, a participant in an IDI stated that:

> The main people buying up houses in Oshodi are the Igbo people. They constitute the highest business owners here because of their business acumen and profit seeking behaviour. In fact one may not be far from the truth to say that all the new hotels you see in Oshodi are owned by the Igbos. Not only that they own most of the shopping complexes you see here and do also partially engage in building residential houses for rental purposes (**IDI/Displaced tenant/Male/37/Yoruba/Oshodi/2020**).

This assertion can further be supported by earlier findings made on the physical manifestation of gentrification in Oshodi where images of hotels and shopping complexes were observed to be the most common gentrification processes going on in the area. Fig. 4.30 further supports this view:

Fig. 4.30: Images of Hotel buildings in Oshodi

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

It can be visualised in the images above that hotel buildings have infiltrated the entire residential areas of Oshodi. The high rise houses spotted in the image are all hotels being decimated by low income rooming houses which are being inhabited by the long-time poor residents. These residents are grappling with the pressure of constant incursion of visitors and the noise of the musical instruments being played day and nights to entertain the visitors and attract more customers.

Similarly, in Eti-Osa, the table further shows that (66.9%) of the respondents indicated that gentrification was mainly carried out by the Igbo ethnic group in the area. Here also, the main driver of the process is profit-seeking motive as the gentrifiers acquired cheap houses that were mostly owned by the low income inhabitants of the area and converted them into duplexes for either private or rental residential purposes. This may be attributed to the fact that the area where this process has set in – new Maroko community – was being surrounded by estates which have raised the land value of the area. Also, the proximity of the area to the Lekki peninsula has added to the growing pressure on housing demand in the area. Thus, an average business-oriented and profit-seeking person would want to take advantage of the value gap of the neighbouring low income area to acquire and redevelop the old structures as a form of investment. This view is in line with the view of a long-time resident in the area in an IDI, who asserted that:

> Our residences here in new Maroko have become a target of the gentrifiers who are seeking for profit in the real estate business. You can see these estates that surround us and are all being occupied by middle-class workers who work in the Lekki, Victoria Island and other highbrow areas. Generally, the main people buying properties are the Igbos and most of them are not even here in the country, they are in overseas countries. Usually they send their relatives or friends to acquire the houses for them (**IDI/Long-time resident/Female/45/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020**).

The excerpt above provides further support to the fact that the area was being acquired and redeveloped by the Igbo ethnic group. However, unlike the general assumption of the profit-seeking motive of the gentrifiers, the observations carried by the researcher show that some of the newly built houses were designed and even inhabited by either the relatives or friends of the owners as private residences as indicated in Fig. 4.31.

Fig. 4.31: **Images of residential apartments built in the midst of low income residents** Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.16 further shows that (59.0%) of the total respondents maintained that the Yoruba speaking residents of Lagos Mainland were the main actors of gentrification. This large number was followed by (25%) representing the gentrifiers from the Igbo ethnic group. This may be attributed to the historical factors that shaped the living arrangement of the area as it is regarded as the first offshoot of Lagos Island since colonial era. Thus, two different forms of gentrification have been observed to be dominant in the Lagos Mainland: the new-built and the residential both of which were perpetrated by the wealthy Yorubas in the area. For instance, in areas occupied by mostly the low income earners such as Makoko, the gentrification was being promoted by the successful Yorubas against the *Ilaje* people – the oldest inhabitants of the area. The properties acquired by the rich in this area were converted into either complexes or estate for the wealthy elite as shown in Fig. 4.32.

Fig. 4.32: Images of the Lagoon View Estate built in the heart of Makoko slum

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

In Fig. 4.32, the estate was built in the centre of Makoko and named Lagoon view estate. It is surrounded by shackles and rundown make shifts of the long-time Makoko residents. The low income residents who always cruise the lagoon to the main Atlantic Ocean for their fishing activities, were faced with lack of privacy as they have become exposed to occupants of the high rise building which receives visitors constantly.

Similarly, while the gentrification of the slum residents was on-going on one hand, on the other hand in the area, the gentrification of the middle class workers was also occurring in the developed areas of the Lagos Mainland. Here, it involves acquisition of relatively low income houses and replacing them with high rise buildings and shopping complexes. Fig. 4.33 is an observed structure bought up by a Yoruba gentrifier and was being replaced with this on-going high rise structure.

Fig.4.33: Image of an on-going high rise building in Yaba

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Similarly, in Lagos Island, Table 4.16 indicates that the Yoruba ethnic group representing (65.3%) of the total respondents were the major actors of gentrification. This view was largely supported by the IDI report which states:

> The acquisition of properties in Lagos Island is done by almost every wealthy person regardless of their tribe or any other affiliations. However, the Yorubas tend to dominate the process of, particularly redevelopment of old structures and converting them into more profitable purpose. The reason for their dominance is partly historical and largely their dominance or control of commercial activities in the area (**IDI/Developer/Male/42/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

The Igbo ethnic group is the second largest gentrifier in Lagos Island constituting (18.8%) of the total respondents as indicated in Table 4.16. This may be connected to their penetration into the area due to their industrious nature.

4.6   Drivers of Gentrification

Divergent factors responsible for the emergence of gentrification have been identified in the course of this study. Thus, generic as well as individual-specific factors of gentrification have been found to drive gentrification processes across Lagos state.

4.6.1   Generic Factors of Gentrification

With respect to the generic factors engendering gentrification in Lagos, Table 4.17 indicates a myriad of factors identified as responsible for gentrification.

Table 4.17   Respondents' views on Generic Factors of Gentrification

Generic Factors of Gentrification	Frequency	Per cent
Increase in wealth	75	8.4
Slum clearance policy of government	79	8.8
Government's quest to make Lagos a megacity	130	14.5
Competition for space by religious groups	48	5.4
Limited land space for expansion	94	10.5
Outpacing wages by rising housing cost	122	13.6
Density of service amenities	94	10.5
Increased ethnic tolerance	41	4.6
Influx and expansion of businesses	211	23.6
Total	894	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

On generic factors of gentrification Table 4.17 indicates influx and expansion of businesses constituting (23.6%) as the major factor driving gentrification in Lagos. This shows that gentrification is mainly driven by the growth in economic activities in the city. This may be understood from the point of view that Lagos experiences daily influx of people from within and without the state seeking better livelihoods. This view was reinforced by several excerpts from the qualitative data collected. For instance, an IDI report indicates that:

> People buy up properties belonging to the poor as a result of the growing business activities in the city. There is no gainsaying that Lagos is a destination for businesses both local and international, and this makes landed property in the city very scarce. In addition to this, the city has limited capacity for physical expansion. So in order to maximise profits and ensure sustainability of businesses, the business merchants acquire landed properties which are close to their businesses (**IDI/Developer/Male/49/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

Supporting this view in an FGD, the discussants unanimously agreed that:

> The position of Lagos as the commercial hub of West Africa can be seen in the influx of people from all walks of life for business purposes. This influx is in turn responsible for the gentrification processes experienced due to the limited landscape of the city. The gentrification is of course inevitable considering the fact that as businesses grow due to the influx of people, so also the need for business expansion as well as the bourgeoning need for residential spaces grow, hence the unending acquisition of low income properties by the wealthy elite who use them to maximise profits for their business purposes (**FGD/Long-time residents/Religious leaders/Male/Yoruba/Lagos Mainland/2020**).

In agreement with the quantitative data presented in Table 4.17, these excerpts point to the fact that gentrification occurs in Lagos mainly due to its commercial status as the business hub of West Africa.

Table 4.17 also shows government's quest to make Lagos a megacity representing (14.5%) as the second major driver of gentrification in Lagos. This may not be unconnected to the fact that considering the city as the centre of excellence, successive governments of the Lagos tend to face the challenge of making the state a global city that can compete favourably with any other city in the world. Similarly, the growing population of the residents of Lagos has made the city the second largest megacity on the continent of Africa.

Thus, in attempt to meet up with the requirements of a megacity, the state policy makers come up with physical planning policies most of which favour the elites at the detriment of the urban poor majority. This argument was buttressed by an IDI report which reads:

> The state government's focus is just on making Lagos not just the most populous but also the biggest megacity on the continent of Africa. Thus, the history of Lagos is characterised with displacement of low income households and replacing them with the wealthy elite. The experience of Maroko in the early 1990s is a case in point. Poor people were forcibly evicted without proper resettlement or compensation just to be replaced by wealthy people and expensive estate (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/33/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020**).

However, contrary to this view another participant had this to say:

> Making Lagos a beautiful and vibrant megacity is a project that all well-meaning Lagosians would want to support. The efforts of the successive governments in getting the city rid of all the obstacles and physical challenges that send a wrong signal to foreign investors is a task that must be accomplished. Gentrification of decaying areas is just a natural process that must be allowed to occur. We must ensure that the government's policies with respect to the physical planning of the city must be supported and accomplished (**KII/Staff of LASURA/Male/38/Lagos Mainland/2020**).

The data show that apart from influx and expansion of businesses, quest of the government to make Lagos a megacity is the major factor of gentrification in Lagos state. This implies that private businesses or individuals play a major role in gentrification processes of the state. This corresponds with the typology of gentrification earlier discussed, that is, the commercial gentrification which implies the influx and expansion of businesses while the government's quest to make Lagos a megacity implies the state-led gentrification.

Table 4.17 further shows outpacing wages by rising housing cost constituting (13.6%) as a factor driving gentrification processes in Lagos. This implies that as the city becomes more urbanised, the value of houses and rental costs go higher than the average wages of the worker. Consequently, the workers may have no option but to choose to live in less desired areas of the city such as ghettos and slums where there is availability of houses their wages can afford. This is of course a systematic displacement of the low income and even the middle class income earners whose wages cannot afford expensive houses in the

lucrative areas of the urban metropolis. This view corresponds with the view of a participant in an IDI who maintained that:

> The costs of land and housing have skyrocketed so high that only those who earn higher wages can afford to live in expensive areas of the city. This accounts for the reason why majority of workers in Lagos do not live in where they work instead some of them live as far as Sango-Ota in Ogun state from where they commute to work every day. And even the few that live in the city can only afford to either own a house or rent in cheap areas which are often the less developed and desired parts of the city (**IDI/New resident/Female/40/Yoruba/Oshodi/2020**).

Similarly, another participant indicates that:

> Rising housing costs in Lagos is occasioned by the growing urbanisation rate in the city. It has outpaced the average wages of the workers. This is evident in the fact that most of the workers seek rental accommodations in less urbanised areas of the city. You can imagine a middle class worker working in any of the organisations in the Lekki, Victoria Island or Ikoyi, there is no way his wage can afford him/her an accommodation in any of those areas. This explains why the traffic congestion in Lagos persists and can never be overcome until either wages of the workers are improved or realistic public housing policies are formulated and implemented for the benefit of the low income (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/43/Igbo/Alimosho/2020**).

The forgoing data illustrate the fact that gentrification occurs in the city of Lagos as a result of the demand for affordable accommodation by middle class workers due to their inability to meet up with the rising costs of housing particularly in close proximity to their working places. The implication of this is that the low income areas where these workers move to do experience gentrification because as the demand for their houses increases, the value of their land and houses appreciates. Thus, a vista of business opportunity opens for estate developers who acquire the old houses and rebuild them for rental purposes.

Other generic factors of gentrification include limited land space for expansion (10.5%); density of service amenities (10.5%); slums clearance policy of government (8.8%); increase in wealth (8.4%); competition for space by religious groups (5.4%); and increased ethnic tolerance (4.6%). The data indicate limited land space for physical expansion as a driver of gentrification in Lagos. This may be explained from the fact that Lagos city has a natural impediment for territorial expansion due to its coastal location as it is being

bordered by the Atlantic Ocean. This limitation has made gentrification of the available spaces inevitable especially with the influx of economic and political migrant into the city on daily basis. A government official in an interview on this issue had this to say:

> Lagos has attained its peak in terms of utilisation of territorial space. Virtually almost all the available spaces in the city have been put to use so much that no space is left for new developments and innovations hence the various on-going reclamation projects in the city. This makes gentrification a necessity in the city in order to upgrade some facilities and re-use some for more important development activities. Therefore, limited territorial space is a factor in gentrification as far as Lagos state is concerned (**KII/Staff of LASBCA/Male/42/Lagos Island/2020**).

Similarly, density of service amenities has been identified as one of the main causal factors of gentrification in Lagos. This implies that presence of services facilities such as good schools, steady electricity supply, and good tarred roads among others are factors influencing the growth of gentrification in the city.

A cross examination of the data further revealed some peculiarities in the generic factors of gentrification in Lagos state. Each of the selected locations has some factors that tend to be specific to it. Thus, segregating these factors by LGAs reveals remarkable differences in the locations in terms of the causal factors of gentrification in each area.

Table 4.18   Generic Factors Driving Gentrification by LGAs

Generic factors of gentrification	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Increase in wealth	26.4%	10.7%	7.2%	0.0%	2.1%	2.1%	8.4%
Slum clearance policy of government	1.9%	4.7%	2.6%	11.7%	15.3%	18.1%	8.8%
Government's quest to make Lagos a megacity	9.4%	10.1%	20.3%	22.1%	13.9%	11.8%	14.5%
Competition for space by religious groups	6.3%	6.0%	7.8%	6.9%	1.4%	3.5%	5.4%
Limited land space for expansion	5.0%	8.1%	13.7%	18.6%	6.3%	11.8%	10.5%
Outpacing wages by rising housing cost	18.9%	24.2%	5.9%	6.9%	9.0%	16.7%	13.6%
Density of service amenities	6.9%	8.1%	11.8%	11.0%	15.3%	10.4%	10.5%
Increased ethnic tolerance	2.5%	0.0%	9.8%	0.0%	11.8%	3.5%	4.6%
Influx and expansion of business	22.6%	28.2%	20.9%	22.8%	25.0%	22.2%	23.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.18 indicates that influx and expansion of businesses is the major factor driving gentrification across all the LGAs. The data revealed that (22.6%), (28.2%), (20.9%), (22.8%), (25.0%) and (22.2%) in Agege, Alimosho, Oshodi, Eti-Osa, Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island respectively identified influx and expansion of businesses as the main driver of gentrification. This implies that growth in businesses manifested in volumes of trade is the major driver of gentrification irrespective of geographical location across the city of Lagos. This is not unconnected with the fact that Lagos experiences an influx of people from local and international territories for business purpose. It is also noteworthy that this factor points to the fact that, contrary to the generally held belief that gentrification is largely driven by government, the data indicate that private businesses play more dominant role in gentrification of Lagos.

Specifically, the Table indicates that increase in wealth represented by (26.4%) of the total respondents in Agege LGA was considered as the major driver of gentrification in the area. This was followed by influx and expansion of businesses represented by (22.6%) of the total respondents. This implies that there is a surge in income generating activities of the residents of the area. It can equally be attributed to the fact that Agege is largely regarded as a popular abode of Hausa ethnic group in Lagos most of whom engage in bureau de change as their main business activity – a business often regarded as lucrative due to the close collaboration of the operators with the young online fraudsters popularly known as yahoo-yahoo boys. Since the past two decades, the partnership between the bureau de change operators and the yahoo-yahoo boys has led to the emergence of young multi-millionaires in Agege and its environs. This invariably brought about dramatic change in the landscape of the area as the young millionaires buy up properties mostly belonging to the indigenous Yoruba people within the area.

However, in Alimosho LGA, the table shows that (24.2%) of the respondents held the view that outpacing wages by rising housing cost was the major driver of gentrification in the area. This may not be unconnected with the fact that Alimosho LGA houses more urban residents who depend on monthly wages. This further implies that the area experiences an influx of workers whose wages cannot afford them a decent accommodation in the core of the city or where they work, hence the demand for properties in low income areas. This large percentage was followed by (10.7%) representing the views of those who conceived the increase in wealth among the residents as the main driver of gentrification in the area.

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In Oshodi and Eti-Osa LGAs, the major driver of gentrification is the quest of government to transform Lagos into a megacity. This view was represented by (20.3%) and (22.1%) of the total respondents in the areas. For Oshodi, this may be attributed to the fact that, being one of the most populous markets in Lagos, the government focuses on making Oshodi a market of global repute. However, this was done through eviction of informal shops and construction of multi-million naira shops which cannot be afforded by the displaced petty traders. Similarly, in its quest to modernise the area, the state government has constructed an ultra-modern bus terminals thereby displacing multitude of businesses, shops and even commercial drivers in the area.

Similarly, another trend observed to be driving gentrification in Oshodi is the competition for space among religious groups (7.8%). This view was supported by an IDI report where the participant maintained that:

> Considering the calibre of people coming to Oshodi and those who are actually living in the area, many church denominations are competing for space in order to attract wealthy worshippers. It is the joy of every pastor to minister over a wealthy congregation who can support the church in its programmes and activities socially, financially and even politically (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/48/Oshodi/2020**).

This implies that just as much as business gentrifiers engaged in gentrification for commercial purpose so also the religious groups equally engage in it for reasons indirectly associated with profit-making drive.

Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island share similar drivers of gentrification as majority of the respondents (25.0%) and (22.2%) respectively indicated influx and expansion of businesses as the major factor of gentrification in the areas. This may be explained in view of the fact that the two areas can be regarded as the hub of business and commercial activities in the state. This view agrees with an IDI report where the participant argued that:

> The major factor driving gentrification in Lagos Mainland is mainly the expansion of businesses. Everyday new structures replace old ones and the owners of the old buildings often migrate to other areas considered to be cheap or even relocate to neighbouring states. The bottom line is that people sell off their old houses mostly to corporate bodies and sometimes to private individuals most of whom convert the houses into commercial use (**IDI/New resident/Male/33/Yoruba/Lagos Mainland/2020**).

Similarly, another participant had this to say:

> People sell their old houses in this area mostly for inheritance purpose. In this case, a house might be inherited by the children of a deceased who often decide to sell it and share the proceeds. Those who buy the properties usually demolish and build high rise buildings for business and commercial purposes (**IDI/Long-time resident/Female/41/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

Therefore, it can be seen that the cross tabulation of the data revealed the fact that even though there are peculiarities in the LGAs, one factor tends to be dominant across all the selected areas, and that is the fact that gentrification is being driven largely by the influx and expansion of businesses.

4.6.2   Individual-Specific Factors of Gentrification

Apart from the general factors of gentrification, the study also identified certain factors driving gentrification which are peculiar to individual actors of gentrification. Thus, individual-specific factors of gentrification have been presented in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19   Individual-Specific Factors Influencing Individuals to engage in gentrification

Individual-Specific factors influencing individuals to engage in gentrification	Frequency	Per cent
Desire to maintain kin affinity	54	6.0
Proximity to market or workplace	206	23.0
Connectivity to other parts of the city	76	8.5
Profit seeking behaviour	304	34.0
Safety during conflicts	45	5.0
Relatively cheap houses	156	17.4
Quest for economic and political relevance	53	5.9
Total	894	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.19 shows that profit seeking behaviour and proximity to market or workplace constituting (34.0%) and (23.0%) respectively are the major factors motivating individual gentrifiers to engage in gentrification. These views were closely followed by availability of relatively cheap houses and connectivity to other parts of the city representing (17.4%) and (8.5%) of the total respondents respectively. Other individual-specific factors include the desire to maintain kin affinity (6.0%), quest for economic and political power (5.9%) and safety during conflicts (5.0%). Thus, at a glance one would be able to make meaning from this descriptive analysis and conclude that individual factors motivating gentrifiers in Lagos to engage in gentrification are informed by their profit seeking behaviours. This was manifested in their acquisition of cheap houses in strategic locations and putting them into more productive use so as to maximise profit. Similarly, locations that are close to the market or working places tend to attract more gentrifiers due to the growing need for either residential or commercial buildings in such areas. However, a cross tabulation of the data revealed remarkable variations and peculiarities of the factors in each of the selected LGAs.

Table 4.20   **Segregation of individual-specific factors of Gentrification based on LGAs**

Individual-specific factors	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Desire to maintain kin affinity	13.8%	7.4%	3.9%	0.0%	5.6%	4.9%	6.0%
Proximity to market or workplace	19.5%	31.5%	19.6%	25.5%	20.8%	21.5%	23.0%
Connectivity to other parts of the city	0.0%	6.0%	18.3%	0.0%	14.6%	12.5%	8.5%
Profit making drive	11.9%	12.1%	49.0%	35.2%	45.8%	52.1%	34.0%
Safety during conflicts	11.3%	11.4%	1.3%	0.0%	2.8%	2.8%	5.0%
Cheap houses on potentially valued land	24.5%	31.5%	3.9%	39.3%	4.9%	0.0%	17.4%
Quest for economic and political relevance	18.9%	0.0%	3.9%	0.0%	5.6%	6.3%	5.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

From Table 4.20, it can be seen that the individual-specific factors of gentrification are not the same across Lagos state. For instance, the data revealed that the major factor influencing gentrification in Agege LGA is the relative cheapness of properties represented by (24.5%) of the total respondents in the area. The relative cheapness of properties in Agege may be attributed to a number of factors one of which is its relative distance from the core of Lagos city, although the data revealed a substantial percentage of the respondents (19.5%) and (11.9%) engaged in gentrification in Agege due to its proximity to market or workplace and profit making drive respectively. This may be connected to the fact that a large number of the gentrifiers, particularly the bureau de change operators in Agege have their offices in Ikeja which is a stone-throw from Agege. Also, Agege is one of the ancient locations in Lagos and this implies having high number of derelict houses in the area. These views are in line with an IDI participant who maintained that:

> Gentrifiers in Agege are motivated to acquire houses from within the area because of the potential value of land. In fact people come from other areas to acquire properties in Agege, and the reason for this is straight forward: that Agege is one of the few areas in Lagos that have good land which is suitable for multiple purposes. Hence, the gentrifiers acquire the old houses for multiple purposes such as building residences, commercial buildings and even companies or factories (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/56/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

Another participant had this to say:

> People engaged in gentrification in Agege based on their conviction that the value of property in the area appreciates due to the growing urbanisation of the area as well as the spill over effects of urbanisation from its neighbouring areas. Consequently, houses which appear so old attract buyers most of whom are from within the area and convert them for profitable uses (**KII/Developer/Male/45/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

Another major factor peculiar to Agege is the fact the actors of gentrification in the area engaged in it as a means of gaining economic and political power in the area. This factor, represented by (18.9%) of the total respondents, has gained large support among other respondents. For example, a participant held the view that:

Considering the fact that economic power is sometimes 'useless' without political power, the young gentrifiers in Agege have begun to reason along the line of acquiring as many properties as possible within the area so as to increase their number which by implication translates into political power as politics is a game of number. This is a similar strategies employed by the Igbo people living in Amuwo Odofin LGA of Lagos and as at today they have produced a state house of assembly member (**IDI/Long-time residents/Male/48/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

Similarly, a participant in an IDI stated that:

The gentrifiers in Agege, most of whom are young Hausa men, are now very conscious of the importance of political power, and they want to have a say in the governance of the state. So, considering the fact that the only way they could be relevant was to be active in political activities, some of them are deliberating buying off properties belonging to other ethnic groups so as to increase not only their population size but also to expand their territorial control (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/57/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

This view is a very popular narrative among the residents of Agege community. Hence, in recent time, they have started testing the waters by contesting for elective positions in the area. Even though they are far from the position in view of their population size, the issue of concern is the fact that efforts towards realisation of their dream have started manifesting among the residents by making reference to the Igbo communities who have now begun to have a political voice in the politics or governance of the state. This is evident in the last general elections of 2019 as a member of the Hausa community contested for the position of Local Government chairman under the platform of one of the major political parties in the state.

Closely related to this factor are the twin factors of the desire to maintain kin affinity represented by (13.8%) and the desire for safety during conflicts constituting (11.3%) of the total respondents. This accounts for the reason why despite the fact that the young gentrifiers are so affluent that they can afford other highbrow areas of Lagos, yet they mostly remain within Agege community with the view of maintaining close bond with their relatives and this largely provides them with some safety net during ethnic conflicts. Supporting these views a participant in an IDI opined that:

Due to the volatility of the society, people are always conscious of where they reside not only in Agege here but all over the country.

> The young people buying up properties here in Agege have the capacity to acquire properties anywhere in Lagos because of the amount of money they have but instead they would rather remain here for two major reasons: one, they want to live in an area they are guaranteed of the safety of their lives and properties, and they also want to remain in physical contact with their family and even friends (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/56/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

However, contrary to these views, a property owner (new resident) had a different view where he observed that:

> I do not agree with the assertion that we do not want to leave Agege because of safety during conflicts. Some of us reside in areas other than Agege such as Ikeja, Lekki and even Victoria Island, and we have properties in strategic locations other than Agege. So, I can only agree with you that some of us decided to remain in Agege because of our relatives. Like me, I was born and brought up here in Agege. All my life I have lived in Agege. The wealth I have now was acquired here in Agege. Personally, I believe living in Agege is the best option for me regardless of my socioeconomic status. I derive pleasure in seeing myself as an accomplished businessman living with people I grew up with. Mind you, your worth is only known where you are known; you are cherished, respected and admired. So, to me living in Agege is a matter of choice (**IDI/New resident/Male/45/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

The foregoing arguments and counter arguments all point to the fact that individuals have their peculiar factors driving them to engage in gentrification in their respective areas.

With regard to Alimosho LGA, majority of the respondents were of the view that proximity to market or workplace and cheapness of houses on potentially valued land constituting (31.5%) and (31.5%) of the total respondents respectively were the major drivers of gentrification in the area. This may be attributed to the fact that Alimosho is a strategic location for individuals with businesses in Oshodi, Aswani in Isolo, Iyana-Oba, Alaba among other major market locations. Similarly, considering its bubbling nature, gentrifiers whose main motive is to maximise profit take advantage of the relative cheapness of houses in the location compared to other more highly urbanised areas of the city. Hence, it is a residential zone largely for civil servants working in the core city of Lagos who cannot afford either acquisition or rental of houses in their business locations. However, contrary to this view, a participant in an IDI had this to say:

I do not think it is correct to say that Alimosho is a strategic location for those working in the core centre of Lagos. Of course, it is a good location for businesses due to the large concentration of businesses in it. However, majority of the physical changes occurring in it do not point to the fact that it is a residential zone for civil servants or other middle class working in the core centre of Lagos (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/52/Igbo/Alimosho/2020**).

The above largely contradicts majority of the survey respondents who maintained the strategic location of Alimosho and its potential to attract businesses due to availability of relatively cheap houses. Similarly, it is a location regarded by some FGD discussants as having dual advantage of hosting both residential and commercial forms of buildings. For instance, the discussants opined that:

The value of land has appreciated dramatically in the last few decades not only in Alimosho but across all LGAs in Lagos due to the growing rate of urbanisation in the state. Alimosho and other neighbouring LGAs witness an influx of people into them as a result of the expensiveness of land in the core areas of Lagos due to limited land space. So, the peculiar factors driving gentrification in this area are largely the potential value of the land identified by individual businessmen as well as the closeness of the location to the major markets in Lagos (**FGD/Long-time resident/Female/43/Yoruba/Alimosho/2020**).

Oshodi LGA presents a different scenario as majority of the respondents (49.0%) in this location identified profit-making drive as the main individual-specific factor of gentrification in the area. This implies that it is the profit motive that influences the decision of the gentrifiers. This may be attributed to the status of Oshodi as one of the biggest and most popular markets in West Africa. Hence, individuals buy up old residential houses and convert them into any business venture that can fetch them profit. Another peculiar characteristic of Oshodi as revealed in the table is the fact that while relative cheapness of old houses was the main factor driving individuals in Agege and Alimosho, the price of the houses do not determine their acquisition by the gentrifiers. Thus, the main concern of the gentry in Oshodi is the potential profit that will be realised when the house is converted into commercial use. Supporting this view a developer in Oshodi had this to say:

The major factor influencing individuals to acquire old houses in Oshodi is the desire to make profit. This is so because anybody you see in Oshodi is here to make profit. It is largely a market and so

whatever people do here take into cognisance the rewarding nature of it. People acquire old houses here and convert them into hotels, guest houses, bars, lodges, restaurants, eateries among others. While some build shopping complexes and rent out in order to make big profit (**KII/Developer/Male/49/Igbo/Oshodi/2020**).

Another participant held the view that:

The goal of every business person in Oshodi is to make profit in their business. Therefore, what drives gentrification process in Oshodi is simply the desire to make profit by the potential buyers of the properties and even the seller of the properties. So both parties have a common motive, which is profit maximisation drive (**IDI/Long-time Resident/Female/46/Yoruba/Oshodi/2020**).

Other individual-specific factors of gentrification in Oshodi include the proximity to market or workplace and connectivity to other parts of the city representing (19.6%) and (18.3%) respectively. This may be attributed to the commercial value of the area and also the fact that Oshodi is very strategically located in Lagos; it is also popular and it is easy to connect to any part of Lagos through Oshodi. This view is in tandem with the views of an IDI participant who maintained that:

People acquire properties in Oshodi because of its connectivity advantage. Oshodi is like a central area of Lagos; it is also very widely known by both local and international business people. So, individual businessmen prefer to acquire properties in Oshodi not only because of the market value but also for connectivity advantage. For instance, if you are going to either local or international airports, Oshodi is the best description point; or if you are going to Lagos Island, Mainland, Victoria Island, Lekki or any part of the city, Oshodi provides you with the link and direct means of accessing the destination (**IDI/Long-time residents/Male/65/Yoruba/Oshodi/2020**).

These excerpts point to the fact that the major factors driving individuals to gentrify Oshodi are profit making drive, proximity to market and connectivity advantage of the location to other part of the city. In other words, the centrality of Oshodi has been identified by the respondents as one of the factors motivating individuals to want to engage in gentrification in the area.

Table 4.20 further shows some individual-specific factors peculiar to Eti-Osa LGA. Here, the main factor inducing individuals to engage in gentrification process is the relative

cheapness of houses in the location represented by (39.3%) of the total respondents. This large view was followed by those who identified profit making drive (35.2%) as the individual-specific factor of gentrification. Similarly, (25.5%) of the total respondents considered proximity to market or workplace as a factor influencing gentrification processes in the area. These views are not unconnected with the fact that the area sampled for the study in Eti-Osa (New Maroko community) is relatively close to Lekki, Victoria Island, Ikoyi, Lagos Island among other highbrow areas. This proximity coupled with the relative cheapness of the new Maroko houses serve as inducers of individuals to engage in gentrification of the area. Also, the new Maroko is surrounded by multiple estates which are fast growing and turning the social character the area into an elite community. Consequently, wealthy developers who have identified the opportunity of making profit in this area have been acquiring these low income houses one by one and transforming them into mansions and multiple storey buildings for both commercial and residential purposes. These views were supported by a participant in an interview:

> For the past two decades, we have been experiencing an 'incursion' into our community by wealthy people who are acquiring our houses one by one. They do this because land and houses are quite expensive in the city, and development has caught up with our area. You can see surrounding us are all big and ultra-modern estates which are owned by private individuals who give them out as rent to their wealthy counterparts. So, some individuals see our community as a golden opportunity to acquire a rundown house that is just few metres away from the over glorified Lekki city. In fact some of them harass us to sell our houses to them by offering big sum of money. Some of us have been selling to them, particularly those who got mind blowing offers, and relocate to as far as Epe axis to buy a small property and build a room and parlour and use the remaining money to start up a new life (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/55/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020**).

This excerpt points to the reality of life in new Maroko community which was forcibly evicted by the government in the 1990s and replaced with an estate for the urban elites. However, some interviewees in this location held a different view with regards to the individual-specific factors inducing gentrification. In an IDI, a participant opined that:

> Most, if not all, of the mansions you see here in new Maroko are owned by Igbo businessmen who live abroad. You can find one individual owning up to 10 houses here. They perhaps use the acquisition of the houses here for either profit sake or as a means of hiding their wealth particularly when the source of the wealth is

unknown (**IDI/Long-time resident/56/Male/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020**).

This excerpt points to the fact that some of the gentrifiers in Eti-Osa engaged in gentrification as a means of hiding 'illicit wealth' with a view to obliterate the security agents.

Table 4.20 further shows some similarities of individual-specific factors in Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island. Profit-making drive constituting (52.1%) and (34.0%) respectively was the major driver of gentrification in Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island respectively. This may be as a result of the intensity of economic activities that go on in the two locations. Similarly, proximity to market or workplace represented by (20.8%) and (21.5%) in Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island respectively has constituted the second largest view in the two locations. This implies that people consider acquisition of houses in these locations so as to have easy access to either their markets or workplaces. However, the FGDs conducted in each of these locations agreed with the view that individuals engage in gentrification because of profit maximisation drive but disagreed with the view that the gentry gentrify due to the factor of proximity to market or workplace. Thus, the discussants were unanimous in their view that:

> Individuals in the Mainland do not just engage in gentrification because of proximity to work. Rather they gentrify in order to make profit. Don't forget that most of the original landlords and landladies of these properties have died. The houses now belong to their children who now sell them in order to have their share of the inheritance and considering the value of the land on which the houses are, they make huge amount of money from the sale which they now use to set up business and acquire a cheaper land elsewhere and build a living apartment on it (**FGD/Long-time residents/Religious leaders/Male/Yoruba/Lagos Mainland/2020**).

Similarly, in the Lagos Island, a participant held the view that:

> Gentrifiers on the Island have different motives as to why they acquire properties. However, the major reason has to do with the profit making drive. Since life has become very tough, so tough that only people with strong source of income can survive particularly in this part of the city where life is quite expensive. In fact most of the property owners do not just sell their houses rather they engage private property developers who will upgrade it and some cases re-

build it altogether so as to optimise its use and realise enough profits (**IDI/Developer/Male/51/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

The summary of the above arguments is that individuals engaged in gentrification processes largely so as to maximise profit from the acquired property.

4.6.3   Factors Influencing Landlords to Sell their Houses to Gentrifiers

The data revealed that in as much as there were factors motivating buyers of properties in the gentrifying areas, so also there were other factors influencing sellers of these properties to sell their properties. Table 4.21 presents those factors influencing the decision of the property owners in gentrifying communities to sell their properties.

Table 4.21   Reasons why landlords of gentrifying Areas sell their houses

Reasons	Local Government Area		Total

	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Inability to cope with the rising cost of living	34.6%	27.5%	15.7%	42.8%	13.9%	13.9%	24.8%
Change in social character of the area	28.3%	16.8%	31.4%	29.0%	20.1%	26.4%	25.4%
Inheritance purpose	15.1%	27.5%	26.8%	0.0%	38.2%	43.8%	25.1%
Desertion of the place by relatives and old friends	15.7%	14.1%	3.9%	0.0%	4.9%	2.1%	6.9%
Raising capital for investment	6.3%	14.1%	22.2%	28.3%	22.9%	13.9%	17.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.21 shows that change in social character of an area was the main reason advanced by majority of the respondents (25.4%) across the selected LGAs. This was followed by the home owners' inability to cope with the rising cost of living represented by (24.8%) of the total respondents. This implies that majority of the landlords/landladies in gentrifying communities do sell their houses because of the infiltration of people of different social characteristics into the area. This may be attributed to the cosmopolitan nature of Lagos as a destination for both local and international migrants. Similarly, another factor influencing long-time residents of Lagos to sell their houses was rising prices of basic necessities such as rent, prices of commodities, food stuffs among others.

However, looking at these factors in specific locations, we can observe some differences in each of the selected LGAs. For instance, inability to cope with the rising cost of living has been found to be the main factor inducing landlords/landladies to sell their houses in Agege, Alimosho and Eti-Osa LGAs as it constitutes 34.6%, 27.5% and 42.8% of the total respondents respectively. The reason for similarity in responses in these locations may be attributed to their common denominator which is the large concentration of low income residents in them. Most of the long-time residents in these areas have been caught up with the forces of urbanisation with its attendant consequences on the ways of life and their livelihoods as emphasised by majority of discussants in an FGD.

> Life has completely changed from how it used to be in this community. Twenty years ago, what and how to feed and clothe our families was never an issue but today everything is costly. Is it school fees? Feeding? Medical bills? Virtually everything has become quite unaffordable. We are living in our area that is not our area now because those who have moved into the area are well to do and can afford so many things regardless of the prices. This created room for sellers of commodities or groceries in the area to raise their prices and take advantage of the patronage of the new wealthy residents of the area **(FGD/Community leaders/Male/65/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020)**.

However, while these FGD discussants held this view, an IDI report slightly deviated from their position arguing that:

> Yes, new people come into the area and are of a higher social class which implies different taste and pattern of living. Hence, most of them do not even patronise anything from the local vendors or petty traders. Rather, they buy what they need from elsewhere. However, there are instances where new bigger shops and supermarkets open

in the area due to the presence of wealthy people who can afford the prices in the area (**IDI/Developer/Male/47/Yoruba/Alimosho/2020**).

This excerpt summarises the typical behaviour of a gentrifying community as usually the gentrifiers have their taste and their presence in the area alone is a pull factor for so many high class business. More so, the existing vendors or traders are systematically edged out of the area as their businesses shrink due to the 'invasion' of their community by wealthy individuals.

In similar vein, a participant in an IDI expressed his view that:

> Most landlords/landladies sell their houses because they cannot bear languishing in poverty when their houses have increased value. Some sell their houses and use the money to acquire land in Sango (Ogun state) build on it and use the remaining money to set up businesses. You an average selling price of a rooming house in Agege here is from 10 million and above. So, with this huge money, most of the landlords have changed their lives for better even though at a cost of leaving their ancestral roots (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/54/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

This excerpt brings out another twist to the factor of the rising cost of living as the landlords sell their houses to the best buyer in order to save themselves from penury. However, despite the money realised from the sale of the property, relocating to a new area and abandoning their ancestral origin was still a main source of worry for some of them.

Also, Table 4.21 revealed desertion of the place by relatives and old friends (15.7%) as a factor most peculiar to landlords and landladies living in Agege. This means that some of the long-time landlords do decide to sell their houses due to the fact most of their relatives and friends whom they had lived with have sold their houses and relocated to other areas. This may be seen as a psychological condition that has gripped the existing long time landlords and thus has become a reason for selling their houses since the place does no longer mean to them what it used to be.

However, while the rising cost of living was the main factor influencing the sale of houses in Agege, Alimosho and Eti-Osa LGAs, change in the social character of an area is the main factor in Oshodi as indicated by (31.4%) of the respondents. This may not be unconnected to the commercial nature of the area as it harbours people from different

ethnic groups and even religious and cultural beliefs. In congruence with this data, discussants of an FGD in the area opined that:

> Recent structural changes in Oshodi are certainly responsible for the selling of houses by old landlord and landladies. Despite the fact that Oshodi is known for its large market and other commercial activities, the main factor influencing some people, particularly the elderly, to sell their houses is the physical changes occurring in the area largely in form of constructions of hotels and lodges, which have infiltrated and dominated every part of the area. These developments though physical in nature, have completely altered and affected so many aspects of our cultural life hence some landlords decide to sell their houses for more serene and calm areas where they can reconnect with nature (**FGD/Community leaders/Male/65/Yoruba/Oshodi/2020**).

The views of these discussants have unearthed the connection between the physical changes and the social changes which have impacted on the long-time inhabitants of the area particularly the aged. However, contrary to these views some participants tend to disagree that the change in social character was responsible for selling of houses by the landlords. They argued that majority of the landlords sell their houses especially when the land value on which their houses are located appreciate considerably. This perhaps account for why 22.2% of respondents in the area held the view that the landlords and landladies sell their houses in order to raise capital for investment. Also, 26.8% of the respondents identified inheritance as the main reason why landlords sell their houses in Oshodi.

Furthermore, the data revealed that landlords and landladies sell their houses in Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island mainly for inheritance purpose as identified by (38.2%) and (43.8%) of the respondents respectively. This may be attributed to the historical fact that these two areas were the most important parts of Lagos and were inhabited by the indigenous residents of Lagos some of whom themselves inherited the properties from their European masters particularly those on the Mainland. Supporting these views, a developer on the Lagos Mainland had this to say:

> Most of the properties being sold belong to people whose parents have died long time ago. They usually sell the houses to share the inheritance among the entitled members of the family. Often time, due to the value of land in the Mainland, when they sell the houses each of the beneficiaries gets what they can use to acquire another house or land elsewhere outside Lagos and some relocate to Epe

and Ikorodu areas (**IDI/Developer/Male/52/Yoruba/Lagos Mainland/2020**).

Table 4.21 also shows that change in social character of an area constituting (20.1%) and (26.4%) of the total respondents in Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island respectively as another factor shared in common in the two locations. This is, however, in contradiction to the FGD data collected where most of the discussants maintained that "*the main reason why landlords sell their houses is either the head of the house is deceased and the family members want to share the inheritance or the owner of the house wants to raise some capital for investment through selling his house"*. This view is partly supported by the Table as a true reflection of the factor responsible for selling the houses in Lagos Mainland where 22.9% of the respondents identified raising capital for investment as the main factor.

Table 4.22:   Summary of multiple regression analysis showing the joint and independent influence of age, marital status, level of education, occupation and monthly income on reasons why landlords of gentrifying areas sell their houses

Variables	β	t	P	R	R^2	Adj. R^2	F	P
Age	.22	7.13	<.01					
Level of education	.26	8.76	<.01					
Monthly income	.16	5.16	<.01					
				.44	.19	.19	73.29	<.05
Why landlords sell their houses		.07	<.05					

Dependent Variable: Why landlords of gentrifying areas sell their houses to the gentrifiers

The results from Table 4.22, show that age, level of education and monthly income significantly jointly predict reasons why landlords of gentrifying areas sell their houses to the gentrifies in the selected areas ($R^2 = .19$; F (3/,890) = 73.29; p < .05). This means that age, level of education, and monthly income had 19.0% of the variance observed in reasons why residents of gentrifying communities sell their houses to the gentrifies in the selected areas. Further, the results show that level of education had highest influence of ($\beta = .26$; t = 8.76; p < .01), and was followed by age ($\beta = .22$; t = 7.13; p < .01), and monthly income ($\beta = .16$; t = 5.16; p < .01) on the reasons why residents of gentrifying areas sold their houses to gentrifies. This implies that more educated and older landlords with some income base tend to be more inclined towards selling their houses to the gentrifiers. This can be linked to the majority views of the respondents that the landlords or landladies sell their houses due to the change in social character of the gentrifying areas. The multiple regression analysis indicates the significance of age in predicting the behaviour of the gentrifiers. Thus, the older landlords/landladies, the more inclined they become towards selling their houses due to the change in social character of the area. Most of the landlords would rather sell their houses than live alienated in their own original habitat, and relocate to other areas where they could comfortable lead a decent and more affordable life.

Similarly, Table 4.22 shows correlation between income, level of education and propensity to sell the houses by the landlords. The more educated landlords with some relatively high income base tend to leverage on the appreciating value of their property in order to maximise profits. This also points to the fact that the educated landlords do leverage on their intellectual prowess to weigh between the costs and benefits of selling their old houses to the gentrifiers in order to utilise the money to acquire new houses in less desirable areas and invest the remaining money.

4.7   Costs of Gentrification

The costs of gentrification are multi-layered. However, for the purpose of this study, the social, economic and political costs of gentrification in Lagos were examined in order to lay bare the implications of gentrification processes for the displacement, marginalisation and social exclusion of the urban poor.

4.7.1   Social Costs of Gentrification

In studying the social costs of gentrification, one tries to separate the non-economic and non-political factors from the social forces of gentrification. Thus, several costs of gentrification considered to be social in nature have been found and presented thematically in this section. However, displacement of the urban poor has been found to be an umbrella for all the other effects of gentrification – be it social, economic or political.

Table 4.23:   Social costs of gentrification

Social costs of gentrification	Frequency	Per cent
Shifts in the demographics of the city	134	15.0
Loss of cultural heritage	139	15.5
Loss of social diversity (marginalisation and social exclusion)	113	12.6
Increased level of conflicts	119	13.3
Homelessness	92	10.3
New categories of crime	75	8.4
Loss of affordable housing	147	16.4
Psychological issues	75	8.4
Total	894	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.23 shows that loss of affordable housing constituting (16.4%) of the total respondents was the major social cost of gentrification as identified by the respondents. This may be attributed to the fact that majority of the urban residents who may likely be affected by gentrification are the low income who do not have the wherewithal to acquire or rent a house within the desired areas of the city. Supporting this view is an IDI report which reads:

> The cost of house rent has skyrocketed in our area. This is because the rich people have acquired most of the low income houses, demolished and converted them into bed room flats. On average, a flat in this area goes for 350,000 which make it pretty difficult for the poor to live. The kind of houses we were used to are 'face-me, I face-you' kind of houses which cost little to rent as they consist of separate rooms to be let out separately at less than 10,000 per month (**IDI/Long-time resident/Female/35/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

Fig. 4.34 is a pictorial evidence to back the claim of this excerpt.

Fig. 4.34: **Image of displacement of affordable housing**

 Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.23 also shows that loss of cultural heritage (15.5%) was the second major social cost of gentrification. This may be connected with the fact that gentrification process in Lagos involves 'uprooting' the long-time residents thereby displacing their cultural heritage. However, in an interview with a traditional head in Oshodi, the ruler held a contrary opinion arguing that:

> Urbanisation has brought about serious damage to our culture and other aspects of our traditional life. However, we maintain our ground and as usual will always allow our culture to persist, that is why you can see despite the development going on in this market, our cultural symbols remain intact even if they are not wearing modern architectural outlook. This is how we inherited them and shall pass them unto the next generation. No amount of money, power or intimidation will let us succumb to the pressure (**KII/Baale/Male/73/Yoruba/Oshodi/2020**).

Supporting this excerpt, Fig. 4.35 presents a pictorial evidence of the palace of the *Baale* of Oshodi as flanked by high rise buildings.

Fig. 4.35: The Palace of the *Baale* of Oshodi surrounded by High rise buildings

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.23 further shows that shift in demographics of the city (15.0%) as the next major social cost of gentrification in Lagos. This is quite evident as gentrification in Lagos entails a process of displacing old with young people; poor with rich people; lower class with higher income class and so on. Similarly, the table indicates rise in conflicts (13.3%) as another major social cost of gentrification in Lagos. This may be associated with the growing tension between the long-time residents (mostly poor) and the new residents (the gentry) as well as the tension between powerful land-based interest groups. Also, the table shows that gentrification breeds social diversity (12.6%) in urban space. This may be explained from the viewpoint that every gentrifying area was initially homogeneous but as gentrification sets in, it begins to become heterogeneous through social mixing. However, on reaching the apex of gentrification the gentrifying area becomes homogenous once again as the entire members of the area relatively belong to the same social class. Homelessness is another social cost of gentrification represented by (10.3%) of the total respondents. This may be attributed to the fact that most of the victims of gentrification got displaced either through forcible eviction by the government or through involuntary relocation as their landlord or landlady sold their house to the gentrifiers. While majority of the state-led evictions become permanently homeless, the affected tenants temporarily become homeless in the process.

Another social cost of gentrification identified was the emergence of new categories of crime (8.4%) in the gentrifying areas. This occurs as most of the gentrifying areas were traditionally associated with conventional criminal activities such as petty theft and armed robbery. However, with the arrival of the gentry in some of the gentrifying areas, new categories of crimes such as internet fraud (yahoo-yahoo), rituals (yahoo-plus) and political thuggerism have become prevalent. Psychological issues constituting (8.4%) of the total respondents were also identified as emanating from the social costs of gentrification. This may be attributed to the trauma experienced by the victims of state demolitions – demolitions of either residential, commercial, religious or even cultural dwellings. Similarly, the victims of landlords or landladies' evictions do equally undergo certain psychological trauma, particularly the innocent children who had to be uprooted from their schools, peers, and other dear symbols.

4.7.2   Economic Costs of Gentrification

Some of the costs associated with gentrification are economic in nature. Hence, this section examined the economic costs incurred by members of gentrifying areas in Lagos state.

Table 4.23:   Economic costs of gentrification

Economic costs of gentrification	Frequency	Per cent
Displacement of petty traders, local kiosks and shops through construction of plazas and malls	136	15.2
Rental costs for shops which affects small businesses	243	27.2
High taxes on goods and services which affect small businesses	134	15.0
Commercialisation of residential apartments	169	18.9
Intentional neglect of inner city areas by powerful land-based interest groups	31	3.5
Imbalance between job growth and housing supply	86	9.6
Shutting down of low-income businesses	66	7.4
Destruction of sources of livelihood in the gentrified community	29	3.2
Total	894	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.23 shows the rising rental costs of shops (27.2%) as the major economic cost of gentrification in Lagos particularly as it affects small businesses. This may be attributed to the infiltration of wealthy individuals into the low income areas which invariably displaces the long-time low income businesses due to the difference in taste of the new comers. Also, the table indicates the commercialisation of residential apartments (18.9%) as the second major economic cost of gentrification. This may not be unconnected with the rising costs of rental shops which compel people to engage in economic activities in their homes. While few of those who commercialise their residences do either have a small shop attached to house or simply carve out some portion of the premises to display their wares, some do sell directly from their living rooms.

Fig. 4.36: An image of a residential apartment doubling as a commercial one

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

In the rooming house displayed in Fig. 4.36, the residents hung their wares just under the roof of the house while others displayed them on the drainage laying in front of the house. It can be seen that the rooming house is surrounded by multi-storey buildings which also used to be rooming houses but were acquired and converted into commercial buildings by the gentrifiers. Similarly, Table 4.23 shows that (15.2%) of the total respondents indicated the displacement of petty traders, local kiosks and shops through construction of plazas and malls as the economic cost of gentrification. This may be linked to the fact that gentrification is not just about residential displacement but also commercial displacement. The commercial gentrifiers often identify an area with potential market value and acquire the low income residences therein and convert them into plazas and shopping malls especially if the area is close to residential area of gentry. Fig. 4.37 is an instance of this type of displacement which is becoming common in the gentrifying areas of Lagos.

Fig. 4.37: **An old rooming house facing gentrification (a&b)**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Fig. 4.37 involves two residences; one gentrified and the other still maintaining its original form. An IDI was held with a bread seller in the old house and her response reads:

> I have been living in this for more than three decades. My husband died and left me with three daughters. They are all grown up now, two are married and the other one is still in school. We occupy two rooms and the remaining eight rooms are being occupied by tenants. They pay their rent annually and the money is usually being shared between me, my in-law and the elder sister of my late husband. At the end of the day what we get is nothing to write home about. I have to feed and take care of my children. So, I had to engage myself with some trading so as to survive. I do my business at home as you can see my table and bread displayed outside since there are no cheap shops for rent in this area as the *Malams* have acquired all the houses and converted them into these big mansions you are seeing. There used to be some kiosks and even a shop in where this mansion is standing but now it has become a thing of the past and the owners have relocated to Sango-Ota (**IDI/Long-time resident/42/Yoruba/Male/Agege/2020**).

Several other views support the assertion that displacement of small businesses is an economic cost of gentrification.

Table 4.23 also shows that (15.0%) of the respondents indicate high taxes on goods and services as economic costs of gentrification. This may be associated with the incessant collections of numerous forms of taxes in Lagos. This is because Lagos is virtually about the highest tax collecting state hence their huge revenue base. Similarly, the data reveal that imbalance between job growth and housing supply (9.6%) was identified as economic cost of gentrification in Lagos. This means that the population of the employed people has outstripped the available housing which implies high demand versus low supply of housing. Also, Table 4.23 shows that shutting down of low-income businesses constituting (7.4%) of the total respondents as the economic cost of gentrification. This means that certain businesses have completely been wiped out in gentrifying areas as a result of gentrification process. So also, the table indicate the intentional neglect of inner city areas by powerful land-based interest groups (3.5%) as an economic cost of gentrification. This, however, occurs in few areas particularly the inner city when powerful interest groups deliberately refuse to acquire properties in a blight area thereby making it more moribund which ultimately crashes down the value of houses in the area. A least per cent of the respondents (3.2%) indicate the destruction of sources of livelihood in the gentrified community as the economic cost of gentrification. This is particularly so in the displaced

waterfront communities which experienced total uprooting of the entire community due to state evictions.

4.7.3 Political Costs of Gentrification

On the political costs of gentrification, the study revealed a close connection between gentrification and power struggle in the gentrifying areas of Lagos. This power struggle was bifurcated into: power struggle among political actors and contest over territorial control between the traditional heads. These have become prominent features in some of the gentrifying areas of Lagos.

a.   Power Struggle among Political Actors

Politics is said to be a game of number. Thus, realising the significance of this, the gentrifiers consciously attempt to increase the size of their population through different means including gentrification process. This study found that areas that were predominantly inhabited by the Hausas seek to utilize their population strength to clinch political power in the area. Hence the insistence of most of the young wealthy people to remain in the area and acquire blight houses so as to form a formidable political block. So far, two futile attempts have been made by them to get into the State House of Assembly. Supporting this view is an IDI report as stated below:

> There are two different but interrelated forms of power: economic and political powers. Having one is not enough particularly in developing countries of Africa where political power means an absolute strength. So, some of us who are politically inclined want to use our resources in a very judicious way by trying to woo not only people from our tribe but also others who are of other ethnic affiliations particularly the Yorubas. The issue of acquiring decrepit houses in this area and converting them into our personal use is certainly borne out of economic and political motive. We have seen how clustering of the Igbo ethnic group in one place in some parts of Lagos has favoured them to cling the state House of Assembly seat. If they were dispersed, they could not have achieved that feat. That means a lot for them in terms of advancing their interest in the state (**IDI/New resident/Male/54/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

This excerpt is a clear illustration of the motive and aspirations of most young wealthy men in Agege, most of who were desirous of clinching one political position or the other. However, contrary to this view another participant had this to say:

> I do not see the connection between gentrification and politics because we are out to make money and not clinch political power. The idea of acquiring old houses belonging to the poor

Yoruba residents is nothing beyond economic issue. We acquire some to reside in and some to let out in order to make profit. So, left to me, these are two separate issues. No matter the amount of houses you acquire in this area you cannot convert it to Kano or Katsina. So, if you get what I mean it is a simple arithmetic, just seek your wealth through legitimate means and ignore the issue of politics. If you are so interested in it go back to your state of origin and vie for any elective positions within your capacity (**IDI/New resident/Male/46/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

This excerpt is in direct contrast with the earlier view as the respondent did not agree with the idea of explaining gentrification from political the perspective.

b.   Contest Over Territorial Control between Traditional Heads

The study also revealed the effects of gentrification on the local headship of the gentrifying communities. One of the most gentrifying areas where this contest over territory was very fierce is Agege community which has two prominent rulers: one Yoruba *Baale* and the other *Sarkin Hausawa* for the Hausa community. In an FGD conducted with the religious members of the community, some revelations regarding the positions of the two leaders on gentrification were made. For instance, the discussants were unanimous in the view that:

We are not so concerned about what people are saying concerning the acquisition of landed properties by our tribe. It is their money so they chose what to do with it. If they can buy the entire Lagos so be it! All we want is to live peacefully with everyone irrespective of their religious, ethnic or political leanings (**FGD/Long-time residents/Religious leaders/Male/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

In an interview with the Sarkin Hausawa, he had this to say:

Gentrification is certainly a blessing for the community because it is a sign of prosperity; a sign of hope and better life for the future of this community. It is a plus to us as a people and a mark of progress and development. The wealthy people in our midst are doing well and it is evident in the recognition we enjoy from the government and the Lagos traditional council. We encourage our buy to live peacefully and acquire as much resources as their wealth can afford them. Whatever you do, do it within the confines of the law and the law will be your shield. So, concerning the harassment on the part of those who are not happy with the development (acquisition of old houses), it is may or may not be real because I am yet to formally receive any correspondence from my counterpart to that effect even though I have overheard rumours

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making rounds about it (**IDI/Sarkin Hausawa/Hausa/Male/62/Agege/2020**).

However, contrary to these views, a long-time resident (landlord) had this to say:

> It is true that the *Baale* frowns at people selling their houses at random because it serious implications for his leadership. I remember when my neighbour was planning to sell his house the Baale called him personally pleading with him not sell the house because according to him it those who are selling that are discouraging the long-time residents to stay and at the same time encouraging and creating room for other tribes to penetrate (**IDI/Long-time resident/Yoruba/Male/51/Agege/2020**).

Divergent views have been expressed in these excerpts. However, the fact is clear that a pattern of dislocation and relocation has been established and it has some obvious administrative implications for the traditional rulers of the area whose mandate is delineated in accordance with population size and territorial space.

4.7.4 Most Affected Victims of Gentrification-induced Displacement

Certain categories of people who were mostly affected by the negative effects of gentrification were found and presented in Fig. 4.38.
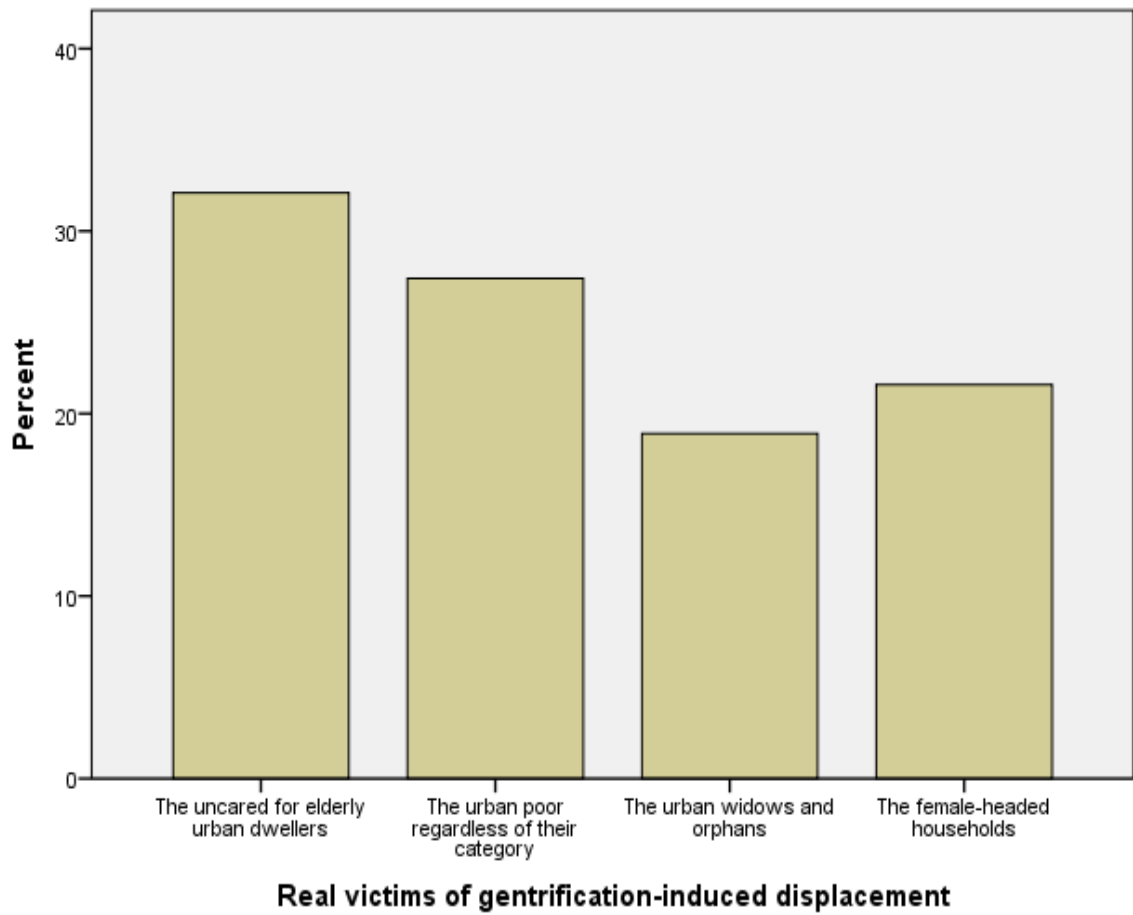
Fig. 4.38: A bar chart showing the most affected victims of gentrification
Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Fig. 4.39 shows that the uncared for elderly urban dwellers (32.1%) constituted the majority of the victims of gentrification in Lagos state. This may be associated with the vulnerability of this category of people to gentrification due to their obvious financial constraints and lack of support from their family network as well as the dearth of government social policy targeting the welfare of the elderly or special aged.

Supporting this view, an IDI with an elderly in one of the gentrifying areas revealed that:

> I relocated from Oyewole, Agege in Lagos. I sold my house my house to a Hausa businessman due to my economic condition. I was 77 years old when I sold the house. I yielded to an advice from a friend who was into property business. That instead of wallowing in abject poverty there was something I could do to salvage myself and my family. That I can sell the house because the selling price of the houses in my area ranged from 15 million and above. With that I can get a plot of land build on it in Sango-Otta, build on it and invest the remaining money. It was a good idea and I do not regret it (**IDI/Voluntarily displaced resident/Male/80/Yoruba/Sango-Ota/2020**).

However, another elderly with a contrary view had this to say:

> I am 84 years this June. I have two daughters. All are married but are not living here in Lagos. They only come at the end of the year. They are not buoyant so there is a limit to what they can do to assist me. I am the landlord of the house. Most of my contemporaries are not here; some are dead while many others have relocated to Sango-Ota after selling their houses. I resist the temptation of selling my house despite the persuasion from all quarters because I want to leave something tangible behind for my daughters (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/84/Yoruba/Alimosho/2020**).

Supporting this excerpt, further, is the image of the house belonging to this elderly man being surrounded by gentrified houses as presented in Fig. 4.39.

Fig. 4.39: **Image of a house belonging to an elderly man**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Meanwhile, the low-income urban residents generally regardless of their social status constitute the majority (27.4%) of the victims of gentrification in Lagos state. This may be attributed to the fact that gentrification by its meaning favours the urban elites over the masses. Similarly, Fig. 39 shows that (21.6%) of the respondents identified the female-headed households as the real victims of gentrification-induced displacement. This may be explained from the perspective of the presumed societal weakness of the female gender. Thus, the female-headed households often become vulnerable to the forces of gentrification as some of them sell off their houses through mere persuasions from property agents whose interest in the process was to make some gains from the transaction. The data further shows that (18.9%) of the total respondents held the view that orphans or widows were the real victims of gentrification-induced displacement. The reason may be linked with the socioeconomic disadvantage usually associated with the duo.

4.8   Adaptive Strategies of Urban Poor to Gentrification

Considering the rapidity in the spread and globalisation of gentrification processes, different strategies have been evolved by victims of the phenomenon since it has become rather inevitable due to the pervasiveness of its twin roots – urbanisation and development across the globe. In this study, therefore, certain strategies adopted by the urban poor have been categorised and presented orderly in the following sub-sections.

4.8.1   Strategies Adopted to Cope with Residential and Commercial Displacement

Views of respondents were sought on the strategies used by the urban poor to cope with residential and commercial displacement in Lagos.
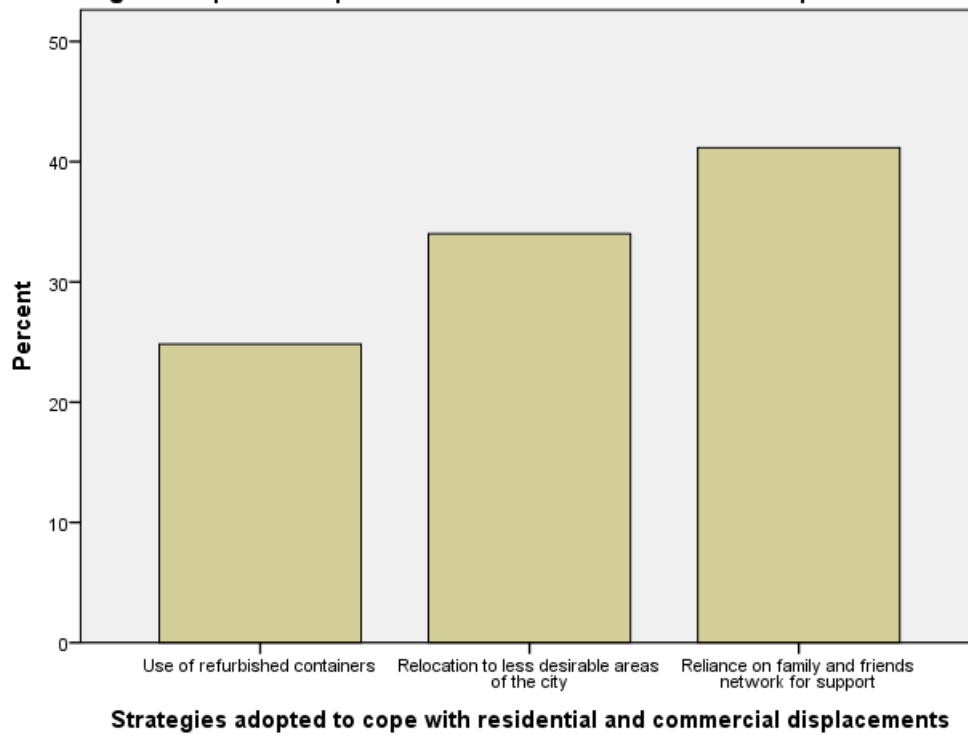
Fig. 4.40:   A bar chart indicating strategies adopted by urban poor

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The data revealed that majority of the respondents (41.2%) indicated that the major strategy used was reliance on family and friends network for support. This may be attributed to African values where family and friends play important role and serve as key source of any kind of support for members. In support of this view a participant had this to say:

> I am a victim of gentrification-induced displacement in Ilubirin. I am currently being sheltered by a family member in Makoko. Because we share similar occupation – fishing, I participate in doing it here with him. So, my family has been my only source of support. Neither government nor any non-government organisation has ever done anything for me and many other people with whom we share similar plight (**IDI/forcibly displaced resident/Male/51/Yoruba/Makoko/Lagos Mainland/2020**).

Similarly, the data shows that (34.0%) of the total respondents identified relocation to less desirable areas of the city as the strategy adopted by the urban poor. This may be connected with the fact that quality and cost of life is rather too low in such areas which are often characterised by near absence of social services. In agreement with this view, a participant stated that:

> I work in Ikoyi. I earn 120,000 naira per month. It was practically impossible for me to rent a single room there because the average rent cost of a single room there is well over 250,000 naira. This is why I decide to rent a self-contained room here in Alimosho where I pay 170,000 naira per annum. The only challenge I face and which I have become used to is the commute to work. The distance is not the issue but the traffic one faces to and fro work on daily basis is the major dilemma. However, despite that I prefer being here because of the size of my income (**IDI/New resident/Female/37/Yoruba/Alimosho/2020**).

The data further shows that (24.8%) of the total respondents described the use of refurbished containers as a strategy adopted to cushion the effects of residential and commercial displacement in the city. This may be linked to the fact that such materials are relatively cheaper to acquire and easier to construct either living or commercial and office apartments with.

Fig.4.41: **Construction of containers for commercial purposes**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Fig. 4.41 is an image of an instance of the numerous ways containers are being converted to serve the purpose of conventional housing. There are instances where the containers are constructed as storey building for residential purpose as indicated in Fig. 4.42.

Fig. 4.42: Construction of a container story building for residential purpose

Source: Tempohousing Nigeria Ltd, 2020.

This strategy was supported by an IDI participant who said:

> The use of containers to construct houses, shops is very commonplace. In fact many offices here in Lagos and even some other major cities adopt the concept of using containers to make offices. It is cheaper, faster to make, and relatively potable. An additional advantage of it is the movability of it from one location to another in case of office relocation. In fact even bigger companies like Dangote use it in some of their locations. So, it is good and durable and above all a remedy to the rising costs of land and building materials (**IDI/Developer/Male/41/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

The implication of these strategies is that people are moving beyond the era of static and thick structures to making movable structures which can be dissemble at will and with ease. This strategy, also, has direct connection to the growing litigation over occupancy issues in Lagos.

4.8.2   Strategies Adopted to Cope with Cost of Living

The study also sought to know the strategies adopted by the urban poor to cope with cost of living in gentrifying communities of Lagos state. Certain strategies have been discovered and presented in Fig. 4.43.
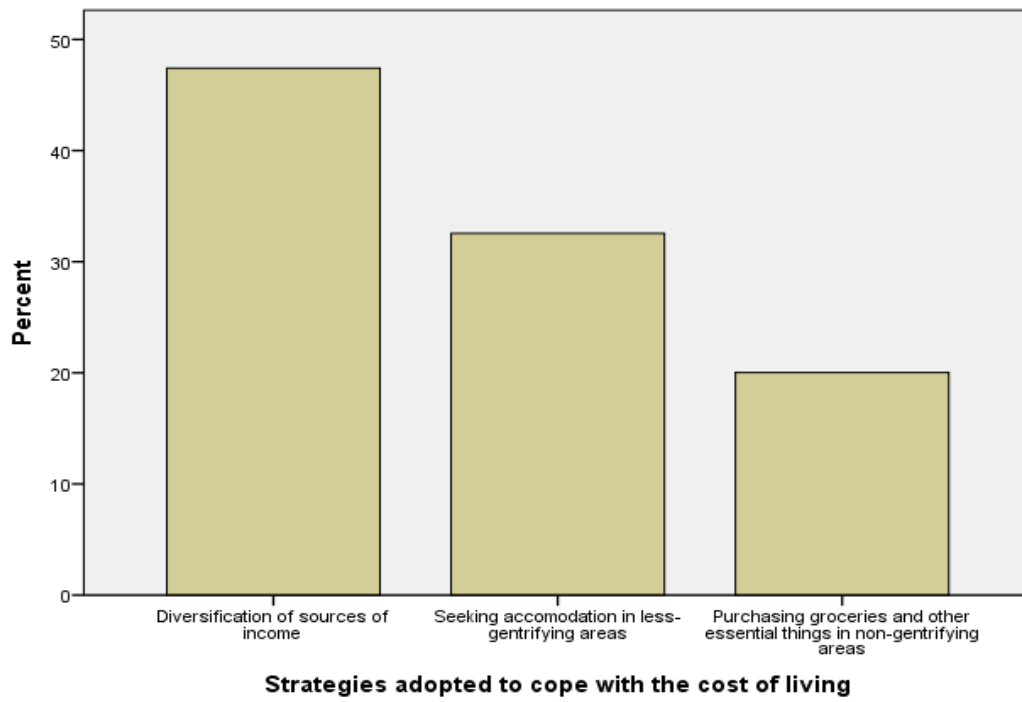
Fig. 4.43: **A bar chart showing strategies adopted with the cost of living**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The data indicated that majority (47.4%) of the total respondents identified diversification of sources of income as a major strategy of coping with gentrification. This may not be unconnected with the fact that the diverse one's sources of income, the more they are able to withstand the shocks of price hike in virtually every aspect of life. Supporting this view, an IDI participant maintained that:

> Life in a big city like Lagos requires diversification of resources even when your area is not being faced with gentrification. This is because gentrification is a universal issue and whether you are in support of it or not, it will one day catch up with you. So, dependence on one source only as a means of livelihood in this present day Nigeria is tantamount to putting all your eggs in one basket. In fact even Nigeria as a country does diversify because it does not only rely on crude oil. So as individuals in gentrifying areas, we try as much as possible to have multiple sources of income no matter how little, they will complement each and put one on a firm foot to withstand the challenges of urbanisation (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/56/Igbo/Oshodi/2020**).

Another significant per cent represented by (32.6%) of the total respondents disclosed seeking accommodation in less-gentrifying areas as a strategy of coping with cost of living in Lagos. This may be attributed to the fact that Lagos is very large and consists of several pockets of areas largely inhabited by low income people. Thus, basic necessities of life are relatively affordable in such areas and so many people tend to either acquire or rent houses so as to be able to survive the high costs of living in the city. Similarly, purchasing groceries and other essential things in non-gentrifying areas (20.0%) have been identified as a coping strategy by some urban poor. This may be connected to the idea that groceries tend to be cheaper in areas that are predominantly inhabited by the poor. Supporting this argument, a participant in an IDI had this to say:

> People travel from their locations, estates, gated communities and even from the Lekki down to areas where they believe they can get things not only cheaper but fresher. Similarly, the poor residents in these areas often find it difficult to purchase anything from within the area because the shop owners and traders here have already created the impression that the area is now rich men location. The rich are, of course responsible for the plight of the poor old residents as they do not negotiate a price but rather pay the traders. So, those of us who do not have the capacity of doing that do quietly go to poor people dominant areas for our shopping (**IDI/ Long-time resident/Male/43/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

These excerpts indicated the consensus among respondents that residents of gentrifying areas devise certain coping strategies in order to be able to remain functional and survive the negative effects of gentrification in Lagos.

4.8.3 Adaptive Strategies to Foster Good Relationships between the Long-time and New Residents

The study further attempted to discover the strategies adopted by residents of gentrifying areas to foster good relationship between the new and old residents.
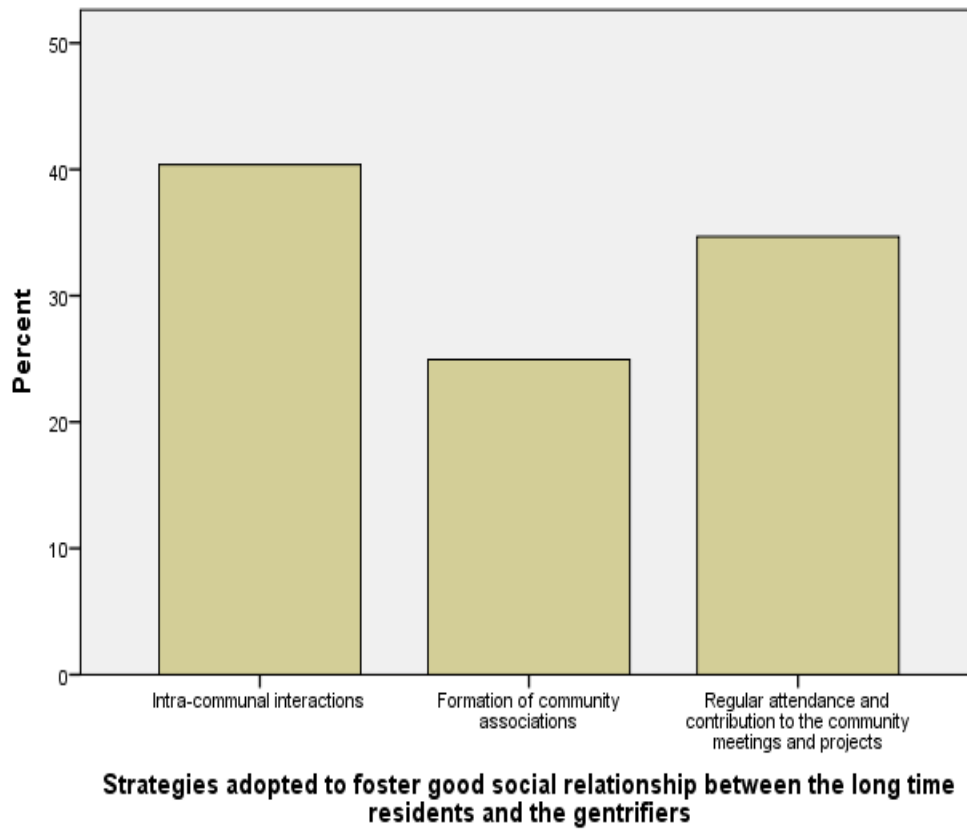
Fig. 4.44: A bar chart showing strategies adopted to foster good social relationship between the old and new residents

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

The data revealed that the major strategy adopted by the residents was through improved intra-communal interactions represented by (40.4%). This may be linked to the fact that effective intra-communal interactions which entail inter-personal relationships have been a veritable tool for social cohesion. This view was supported by an IDI report that:

> Having people of diverse background co-habiting in one area is not an easy thing. Relationships among people are built and moulded just the way we nourish our plants. In particular, people living in this area are made up of two major categories: the old residents and the new residents. Largely, the new residents are relatively richer and have more powers more than the old residents. They have more powers because of their connections with the politicians and other businessmen elsewhere. At initial stage, as usual with many new entrants, there was this feet-dragging behaviour on their part towards relating with the old residents because they do not exactly know their character and behaviours. However, gradually we have been reaching out to them and some of them respond to our invitations for events such as wedding and even condolences (**LH/ Community leader/Male/68/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

Another participant had this to say:

> We are new comers and have been actively participating in community activities. I remember introducing myself to my neighbours when I completed my house. I attend ceremonies provided I receive the invitation from my neighbours. In general, I can say we are co-existing peacefully (**IDI/new resident/Male/56/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

These excerpts pointed to the fact that the members of gentrifying communities did effectively interact in terms of attending each other's events such as wedding, naming and even condolences. They used this as a strategy to foster good inter-personal relationships between them.

Another significant strategy adopted by members of gentrifying areas has to do with attendance of community meetings and making financial contributions to the community when the need arises. This view, represented by (34.7%) of the total respondents, implies that the gentry do participate in community activities such as security meetings and other communal projects. Supporting this view, a new resident in an IDI had this to say:

> Since I relocate to this area, I have always participated in all the projects the community leaders approached me to participate. In fact, I have been the sole person paying the security guards of the

entire area. I was not forced to. Rather, I volunteered to do it myself. Also, whenever I was approached for any contribution such as repair of transformer or drainage I do my best. All these things I am doing, is to make peace with the people I have met in the area who are mostly poor (**IDI/new resident/Male/47/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

An old resident of the area also had this to say:

> We do have community projects such as securing the community, sanitising the drainages, repairing transformer in case of failure among others. These are projects that need cooperation of members of the community. That is why it is practically necessary for us to carry everyone on board particularly the new residents who are mostly the rich people in our midst. There were pockets of violent episodes of misunderstanding between some of our unemployed youths and the new residents but that has been taken care of. This is because some of the rich men have engaged the youths in some productive jobs. I think generally the relationship is becoming more cordial and mutually beneficial (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/60/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

The data also revealed that formation of community association was regarded by (24.9%) as a strategy of fostering good relationship between the old and new residents of gentrifying areas. This may be understood from the perspective that when association is formed usually positions and responsibilities are assigned to members of the area. That way, both new and old residents are brought together and issues of common concern are discussed. Through these interactions the members of gentrifying areas get close to one another and understand each other better.

4.9   Social Relations of Gentrification

The thrust of studying gentrification processes in this study lies in the examination of the processes of social relations of gentrification in gentrifying communities. Thus, this section examined the social relations issues between the long-time residents and their new counterparts; relations between different traditional authorities in gentrifying areas as well as the social relations between different ethnic groups constituting the gentrifying communities. Similarly, the relationship between the state actors of gentrification and the urban poor was examined.

4.9.1   Arrival of the Gentry into Low-Income Communities

The study attempted to discover the pattern of social relations among members of the gentrifying communities by first of all examining the meaning attached to the entry of the gentry into the areas by the long-time residents. There was largely some kind of uniformity of response among members of gentrifying areas although with some views being very dominant in particular locations. Fig. 4.45 presents the meanings attached to the arrival of gentry into gentrifying areas.
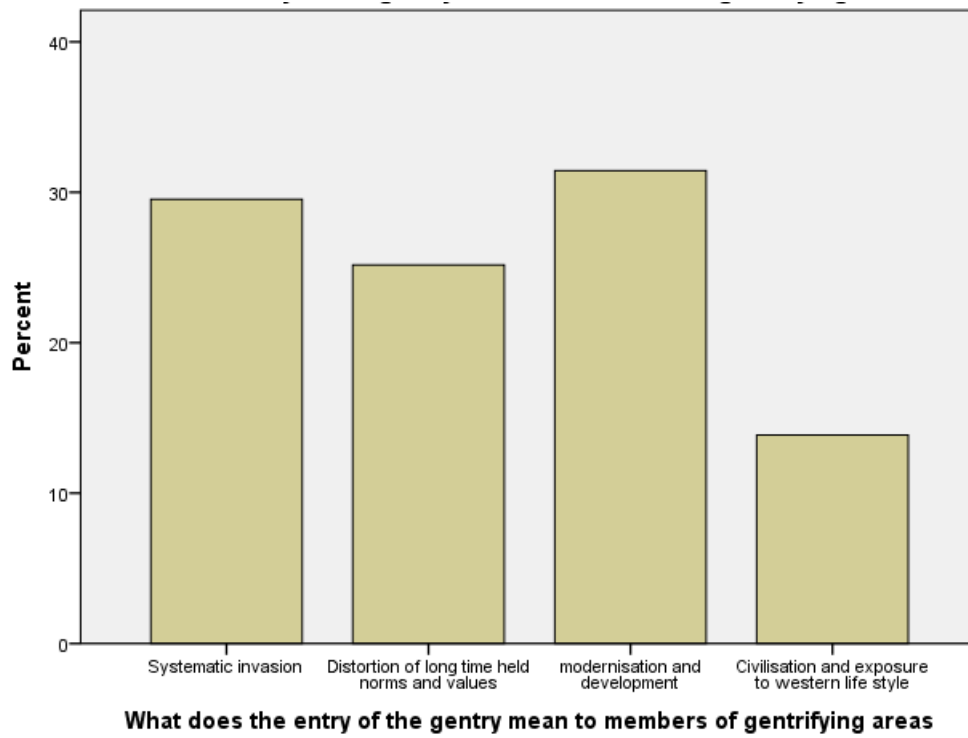
Fig. 4.45: Meaning attached to the arrival of gentry in gentrifying areas

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Fig. 4.45 indicated that 29.5% of the total respondents see the arrival of the gentry into their areas as a threat to their existence. Thus, they see it as a systematic invasion of their areas by the wealthy people. This may be explained in light of the fact that usually the majority of residents in such areas are relatively less privileged compared to the gentry. Hence, they may regard their coming as invasion because as one gentry comes into an area, others also come and gradually begin to acquire the low income houses until the social character of the area is transformed and the original inhabitants displaced.

Other respondents (25.2%) conceive the arrival of the gentry as distorting their long held cherished norms and values. This may be attributed to the fact in most cases the gentry did not share common cultural and religious beliefs with the long-time inhabitants of the gentrifying areas. Of course, it goes without saying that the worldview and life style of the gentry may be in contrast with the existing traditional norms and values of the long-time residents. Thus, their arrival comes with new norms and cherished values which may be in sharp contrast with existing ones.

However, the largest views of the respondents (31.4%) suggest that the arrival of the gentry was nothing but a process of modernisation and engendering social development. This view may be understood from the perspective that gentrification comes with modelling physical structure in accordance with the best architectural practices of developed countries of Europe and America. Thus, people see the process of destroying old structures and replacing them with modern mansions and high rise buildings as simply a process of modernisation which is regarded by many of course as a sure path to development. However, few respondents (13.9%) claimed to be indifferent. This implies that the arrival or otherwise of the gentry into the area meant nothing to them as they did not see it as an issue to contend with.

Looking at these responses at a glance, one may be tempted to jump into conclusion that the arrival of gentry and by implication gentrification meant good to all. However, a cross tabulation of the responses shows wide variations in the conception of the arrival of the gentry by residents of Lagos city. Thus, Table 4.24 presents the meanings attached to the arrival of the gentry into gentrifying areas by the long-time residents according to their LGAs.

Table 4.24   Meaning of the arrival of gentry into gentrifying areas

What does the arrival of the gentry mean to members of gentrifying areas	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Systematic invasion	50.9%	32.9%	7.2%	64.1%	6.3%	14.6%	29.5%
Distortion of long time held norms and values	20.8%	40.9%	43.1%	17.9%	13.2%	13.9%	25.2%
Modernisation and development	10.1%	14.1%	39.9%	6.2%	58.3%	62.5%	31.4%
Indifferent	18.2%	12.1%	9.8%	11.7%	22.2%	9.0%	13.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

From Table 4.24, certain peculiarities can be observed among the LGAs. In Agege LGA, one of the areas mostly experiencing residential and state-led gentrification, the data show that (50.9%) of the residents conceived the arrival of the gentry as a systematic invasion of their areas. This may be explained from the viewpoint that the main forms of gentrification taking place in the area are residential and state-led gentrification. Typically, by its nature gentrification of whatever form tend to portray the original inhabitants of a location as being subdued or colonised by the gentrifiers. This is because some of the inhabitants sold their properties to the gentry through subtle persuasion by agents, family members or even friends. Thus, those long-time residents (landlords and landladies) who had resisted the temptation of selling their properties have to contend with the feeling of being invaded by an influential upper class that tend to now determine the fate of the area through the use of their economic and sometimes political influence.

An IDI with a long-time landlady resident of one of the gentrifying areas in Agege supports the idea of systematic invasion of the low-income communities by the gentry. She narrated the amount of pressure she faced from the gentry, who in anyway, do not approach the owner of the property. Rather they come through property agents and sometimes friends or family members who would be persuading one by showing the benefits inherent in acceding to their proposal. In her words:

> Many people have succumbed to the pressure coming from all quarters particularly from agents and other close relatives to sell their houses. Well, I remain resolute and adamant because I know what my community and house mean to me. As a widow, I have been living here since late 1970s. The grave of my husband is in this compound so also his mother's. So, so long as I live, I will not sell this house no matter the pressure. If they like they should buy up all the houses in this area, I will remain where I am. I will not sell my house and I will advise anyone thinking about selling their house to think twice about it because by doing so we are allowing ourselves to be invaded (**IDI/Long-time landlady/56/Female/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

This excerpt sums up the main reason why there still exist some resilient landlords and landladies in the gentrifying areas who strongly abhor the idea of selling residential houses to gentry.

Also in close connection with the above meaning attached to the arrival of gentry into gentrifying areas in Agege, a significant per cent (20.8%) of the respondents see the arrival

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of gentry as distortion of long time held norms and values of the area. This may also not be unconnected with the high regard accorded to the existing traditional norms and values of the area by the inhabitants hence their frown on the encroachment of 'outsiders', that is, people of ethnic and cultural affiliations.

With regard to Alimosho, the data revealed that (40.9%) and (32.9%) of the total respondents understood the arrival of gentry into their areas to mean distortion of long time held norms and values and systematic invasion respectively. This can be explained from the perspective that Alimosho as one of the areas in Lagos where cultural heritage is still being reckoned with harbours people who cherish their cultural norms and values and thus detest any attempt to temper with the existing cultural codes of living. Similarly, they conceive arrival of the gentry as a systematic invasion of their areas because of the gentry's tendencies to assume the control of human and material resources due to the high rate at which they acquire properties belonging to the long-time inhabitants. In line with this, a landlord opined that:

> The rate at which old houses are being sold in this area to wealthy people is very alarming. Once one person acquires a house and replaced it with a more expensive structure, another wealthy one comes also to acquire the next house. This is how they have started and as you can see now they possess about one-third of the houses in this area. The problem does not just stop at acquiring the houses but also displacing the cultural beliefs and practices of original inhabitants (**IDI/Long-time Landlord/Male/62/Yoruba/Alimosho/2020**).

This excerpt further buttresses the fact that majority of the landlords and landladies in the gentrifying areas abhor the arrival of gentry into their areas due to what they considered to be a systematic invasion of their area through the distortion of their norms and cherished values.

However, the meaning attached to the arrival of gentry in gentrifying areas differs among the long-time residents of Oshodi. This is because a very significant per cent of the respondents (39.9%) held the view that the coming of the gentrifiers has brought about modernisation and development to the area. This may be attributed to the commercial nature of Oshodi which unavoidably attracts an influx of people from different parts of the country for business purposes. However, in the course of modernising and engendering development which largely comes in form of constructions of shopping complexes, hotels,

lodges and other recreational activities, so much about the norms and values of the area has dramatically changed hence the largest per cent of the respondents (43.1%) identified distortion of long time held norms and values as the meaning they attached to the influx of the gentry. This may be understood from the perspective that the major form of gentrification occurring in Oshodi is the commercial gentrification – acquisition and conversion of low income residential houses into hotels, lodges and bars which have negative effects on the existing cultural norms and values of the area. Supporting these views, a long-time resident had this to say:

> The main challenge I personally have with the developments taking place here in Oshodi is the erosion of our cultural values. The so-called modernisation and urbanisation has done more harm to our area than good particularly on our youth. So, to me the arrival of the gentry is not completely a blessing and I may not totally call it a curse but it is quite undesirable (**IDI/Long-time Landlord/Male/66/Yoruba/Oshodi/2020**).

This excerpt alludes to the popular saying that urbanisation is both a curse and blessing to humanity. Despite the positive angles of gentrification as identified by the respondents, their arrival into the gentrifying areas is being received with mixed feelings – good on one hand and bad on the other hand.

In Eti-Osa LGA, majority of the respondents (64.1%) conceive the arrival gentry into the gentrifying areas as systematic invasion. It should be noted that the areas studied in this LGA include the new resettlement of the popular inhabitants of Maroko who were displaced by the state actors in the 1990s. However, the new Maroko is not facing eviction threats similar to what it experienced decades ago. Rather, the invaders are a new set of gentry made up of wealthy individuals most of whom are living in abroad. They considered them as invaders because of the rate at which they are acquiring their low income houses due to the rapid expansion of the Lekki axis of the city. The new Maroko is being surrounded by multi-million naira estates thus the gentry observed a value gap that they could take advantage of as a form of investment.

However, in Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island, the arrival of the gentry was conceived as good development because 58.3% and 62.5% of the respondents respectively held the view that it is a modernisation and development. This may be attributed to the fact that the two locations consist largely of high class residents and as such the arrival of gentry would

simply mean a new form of development to them. In fact, most of them see gentrification as a process of modernisation and development.

4.9.2   Differences between Gentrifying and Non-gentrifying Neighbourhoods

The study sought to find out the issues or factors that differentiate a gentrifying area from a non-gentrifying area. This attempt was made so as to know the basic issues that could influence the behaviour of a resident of a gentrifying area and a non-gentrifying area. This is because environment to some extent predicts human behaviour and thus determines patterns of social relations among interacting members of a society. In Fig. 4.46, certain differences characterising the non-gentrifying areas from gentrifying ones were suggested by the respondents.
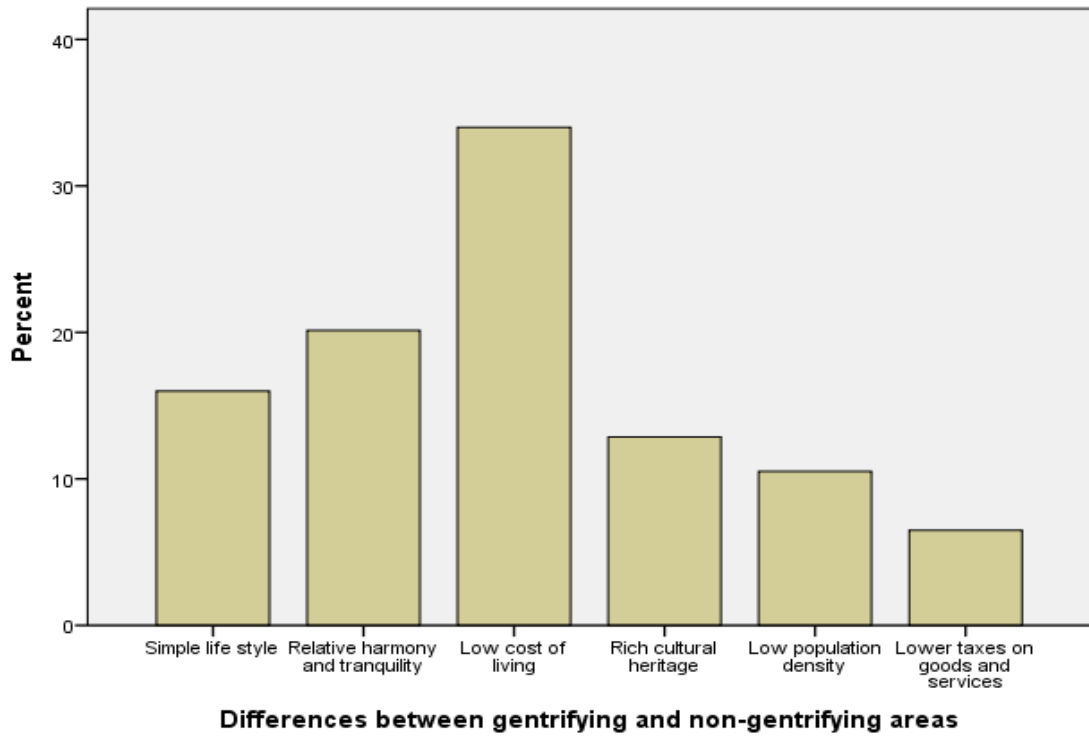
Fig.4. 46: Differences between gentrifying and non-gentrifying areas

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Fig. 4.46 presents views of respondents on the differences between areas undergoing gentrification and those that were not across the state. Thus, the highest bar constituting 34.0% of the total respondents identified difference in the cost of living as the major difference between gentrifying and non-gentrifying areas. This may be attributed to the fact that once gentrification set in an area, it changes its character because of the presumed class status of the new gentry. Thus, the hitherto affordable goods being sold in small kiosks by the long-time residents would have to be displaced by a big supermarket to satisfy the taste of the new comers who apparently can afford the prices. Also, house acquisition or even rental in the gentrifying areas are quite costly and beyond the means of a low income earner.

The data also revealed that relative harmony and tranquillity constituting (20.1%), of the total respondents was indicated as another major difference between the gentrifying and non-gentrifying areas. This view was however, contrary to an IDI report with a developer where he maintained that:

> Gentrifying areas have the advantage of harmonious co-existence and better security because most of the residents own their houses and even the few that are in rented apartments live in sort of gated houses. The possibility of criminal activity or even conflict or disturbance is very low (**IDI/Developer/Male/43/Yoruba/Lagos Mainland/2020**).

Other differences include simple life (16.0%), rich cultural heritage (12.9%), low population density (10.5%) and lower taxes on goods and services (6.5%). This implies that non-gentrifying areas were generally characterised as having less of attributes of a typically urbanised society. This informs the arguments of those advocating for gentrification that it is a form of modernisation and development. However, the social and economic costs associated with the process outweigh the advantages.

On whether the gentrifiers were long time or new residents, the study shows that majority (48.3%) of the gentry come from other locations; (29.1%) were long-time residents of the gentrifying area; while (22.6%) maintained that the gentrifiers were made up of people from both within and without the gentrifying areas as indicated in Fig. 4.47.
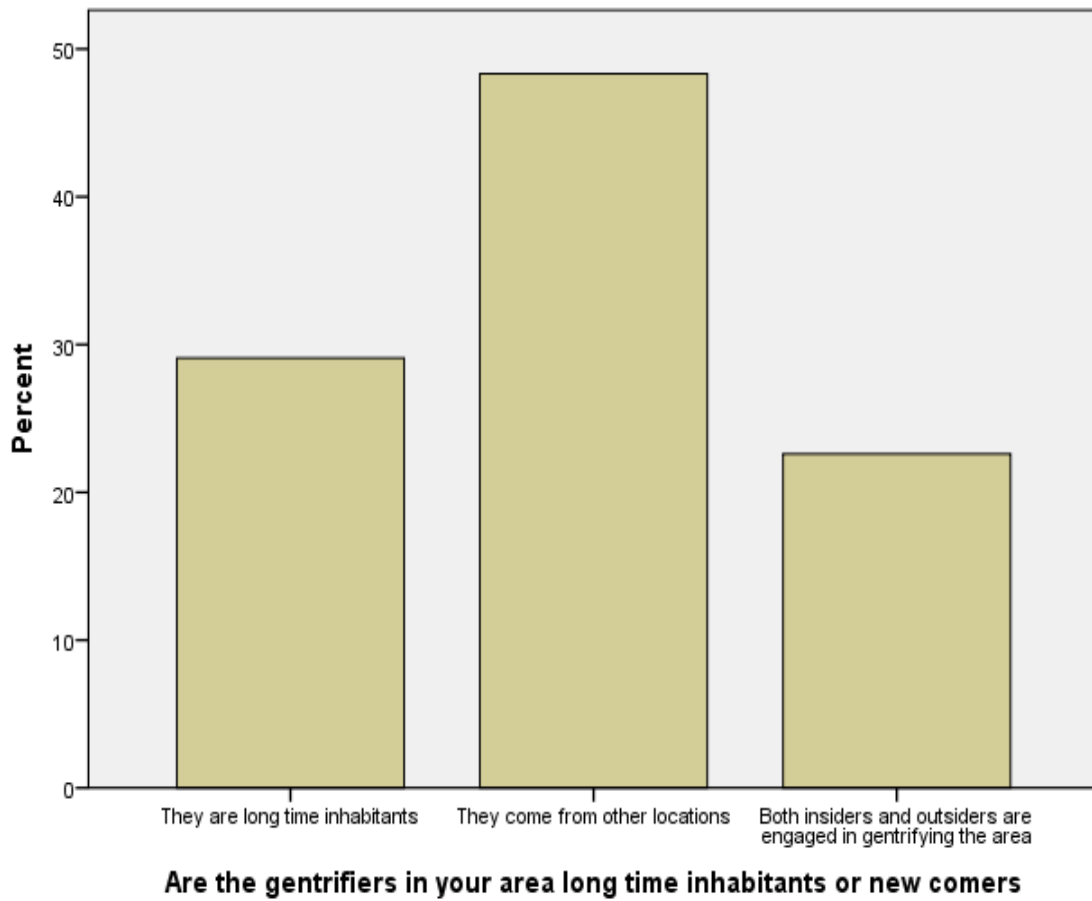
Fig. 4.47:   Are gentrifiers Long time inhabitants or new comers

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

However, going into the specifics of the data, segregating the responses by respective locations revealed some variations and peculiarities inherent in each of the selected locations. Thus, Table 4.25 shows that 65.4% and 59.7% of respondents in Agege and Alimosho LGAs respectively claimed that the gentrifiers in their areas were long time inhabitants of the locations. This may be associated with the fact that the gentrifiers in Agege, for instance, were young Hausa men mostly in their late twenties and mid-thirties who were born and brought up in the same areas. It has earlier been discussed in the section on the drivers of gentrification that these rich young men chose to remain in areas where they were raised for a number of reasons some of which included the desire to maintain kin affinity with family and friends, while some felt more secured living within the confines of areas they regard as their birth place due to concentration of their relatives and friends. In Alimosho, the high rate of gentrification by people from within the area may be attributed to the fact that majority of the gentrifiers were wealthy Yoruba men and women who were raised in the area but had had to travel to other locations – mostly Europe and America. It is these returnees that were mostly involved in gentrification. This assertion was supported by a participant in Alimosho who stated that:

> I was born and raised in Alimosho. After my education I had the opportunity to travel to the UK where I got a good job and even set up my family. However, I felt the need to have a place I can call my own home and there was no better place than here where I grew up. Yes, you may regard me as a gentrifier – even when I do not see myself as one – because the area I have built my house is still wearing the old look it wore when I was growing up in it. The socioeconomic conditions of the people have not significantly changed from what it used to be. So, it is normal to find a mix of standard houses like this and old rooming houses of the poor. It is where I belong and wish to remain (**IDI/New resident/Male/48/Yoruba/Alimosho/2020**).

This excerpt sums up the reason why there are more gentrifiers from within Agege and Alimosho than any other part of the city.

However, the data show that majority (78.4%) and (86.2%) of the gentry in Oshodi and Eti-Osa respectively come from other locations. This may be explained from the perspective that the gentries in each of these two locations have some characteristics peculiar to them. For instance, the gentries in Oshodi were mostly the wealthy Igbo people who acquire properties there so as to establish business network and realise huge profits. Similarly, in Eti-Osa, the gentries there were also the wealthy Igbos most of whom were

in either Europe or America. They engaged in the acquisition of properties in the new Maroko and its environs due to the strategic nature of the area especially its proximity to the Lekki axis. However, unlike gentrifiers in most areas, the Igbo gentrifiers in Eti-Osa do not live in the acquired houses. Rather, they let out some and leave some under lock and key. A long-time resident in the new Maroko had this to say:

> Most if not all of these houses you see over there belong to Igbo business men. There are people in some of the houses and many are locked. Most of the owners do not leave here. Some are in Europe others are in America but sometimes they come but even when they do, they do not stay long. Their relatives occupy some of the houses while very few are occupied by tenants (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/42/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020**).

This excerpt further supports the fact that the gentry in Oshodi and Eti-Osa were not long-time residents of the areas but they rather come from other locations.

Table 4.25   Variations in the selected LGAs in terms of length of stay in the area

Are the gentrifiers in your area long time inhabitants or new comers	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
They are long time inhabitants	65.4%	59.7%	21.6%	13.8%	4.9%	4.9%	29.1%
They come from other locations	34.6%	40.3%	78.4%	86.2%	22.9%	27.1%	48.3%
Both insiders and outsiders are engaged in gentrifying the area	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	72.2%	68.1%	22.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.25 shows that majority (72.2%) and (68.1%) of the respondents in Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island respectively indicated that the gentrifiers were both long time and new comers. This may be understood considering the centrality of the two locations and their economic and political relevance in the city. Thus, most corporate bodies and government institutions are found in these areas irrespective of any primordial affiliations.

4.9.3 Relationship between Long-time Residents and their New Counterparts

Since gentrification entails acquisition of houses belonging to the low income members of a rundown area of the city by wealthy individuals, data was collected on the type of relationship that exists between the long- time inhabitants and the gentry. The data revealed a wide range of differences on the type of relationships that occur across the selected LGAs in Lagos state. However, generally the data revealed that majority (38.1%) of the respondents maintained a neutral relationship across the state. Although another significant per cent (36.9%) of the respondents indicated that the relationship between the long time and new comers was just neutral while a lower per cent (24.9%) of the respondents stated that the relationships were conflictual and unfriendly as shown in Fig. 4.48.
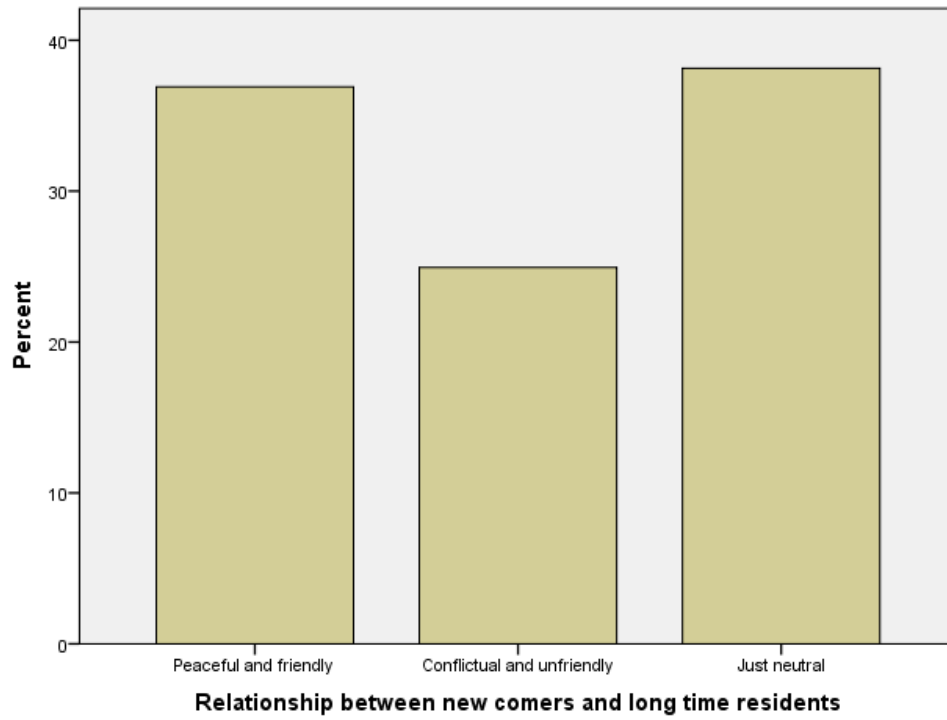
Fig. 4.48: Relationship between new comers and long-time residents
Source: Field Survey, 2020.

However, a closer examination of the data revealed certain peculiarities inherent in each of the locations studied. Thus, a cross tabulation of the responses by individual LGAs was done in order to bring out these peculiarities.

Table 4.26:   Relationship between the long time and new comers

Relationship between the long-time residents and new comers	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Peaceful and friendly	38.4%	42.3%	34.0%	59.3%	30.6%	16.7%	36.9%
Conflictual and unfriendly	54.7%	24.8%	20.9%	13.1%	21.5%	11.8%	24.9%
Just neutral	6.9%	32.9%	45.1%	27.6%	47.9%	71.5%	38.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Looking through Table 4.26, it can be observed that the relationship between the long time and new residents across the locations was largely peaceful and friendly. However, a significant per cent of the respondents in Agege, Alimosho, Oshodi and Lagos Mainland have indicated the existence of conflictual relationship between the two types of residents. This may be attributed to the tension arising from the change in the character of the area as the new comers belong to different ethnic group which implies differences in culture and sometimes religious beliefs.

4.9.4   Relationships between Various Ethnic Groups in the Gentrifying Areas

On the relationship between the ethnic groups that co-exist in the gentrifying areas, Table 4.27 indicates the representation of multiple ethnic groups with the three major Nigerian ethnic groups being the most dominant in all the gentrifying areas.

Table 4.27:   Relationship between various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas

Relationship between ethnic groups	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Cordial	13.8%	5.4%	39.9%	14.5%	13.2%	25.0%	18.7%
Fairly cordial	40.9%	29.5%	20.9%	21.4%	29.9%	43.1%	31.0%
Indifferent	12.6%	44.3%	20.3%	43.4%	29.2%	14.6%	27.2%
Sour	32.7%	20.8%	19.0%	20.7%	27.8%	17.4%	23.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.27 shows that 40.9% of respondents in Agege LGA claimed that there was a fairly cordial relationship between the various ethnic groups which co-exist in the area. However, this large per cent was followed by a very significant number of the respondents who described the relationship among the various ethnic groups as being sour. This may not be unconnected with the pockets of clashes that periodically occur in the area particularly between the Yorubas and the Hausa community which harbours most of the gentrifiers in the area. However, in the neighbouring Alimosho majority of the respondents (44.3%) were indifferent with regard to the relationship between various ethnic groups in the area. In Oshodi, majority of the respondents indicated that there was a cordial relationship between the various ethnic groups. Majority of respondents (43.4%) in Eti-Osa were indifferent about the relationship between the various ethnic groups in the area. Similarly, majority of respondents (29.9%) and (43.1%) in Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island respectively claimed the relationship between the various ethnic groups in their areas to be fairly cordial.

By fairly cordial, therefore, it should be noted that the respondents admit that the relationship among the various ethnic groups was not completely cordial. This perhaps may be attributed to the occurrence of some few incidents of ethnic clashes from time to time in most of these gentrifying areas which in most cases go unreported. Supporting this view an IDI participant made this revelation:

> There has always been some silent and often unmentioned conflict between the various ethnic groups particularly between the wealthy Hausa people and their long time existing Yoruba counterparts. However, in most instances the crisis was tackled at the area level without making any news. The causes of the conflict sometimes were as minor as temporary parking of a vehicle by the wealthy person in front of the house of the long-time landlord and son (**IDI/Long-time residents/Male/58/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

From this excerpt, it can be deduced that the relationship between the various ethnic groups was not as smooth and cordial as it should be and this implies the existence of underlying issues responsible for the conflict among the ethnic groups in gentrifying areas.

4.9.5 Categories of People Mostly Exposed to Crisis due to Gentrification

Having established the existence of conflictual relationships among some members of the gentrifying areas and between some of the ethnic groups which co-exist in the areas, the study further examined the categories of people mostly exposed to gentrification-related crisis as presented in Fig. 4.49.
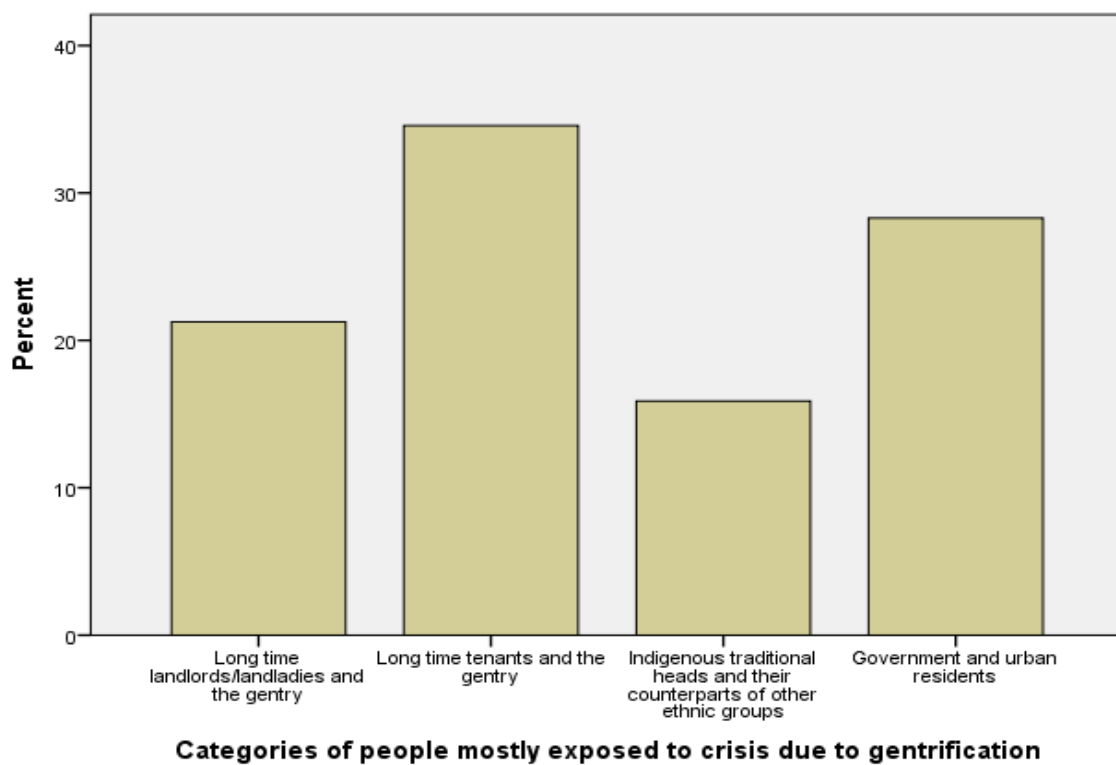
Fig. 4.49: Categories of People Mostly Exposed to Crisis due to Gentrification

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Fig. 4.49 indicates that the major category of people mostly exposed to crisis in gentrifying areas were the long-time tenants and the gentry. This was represented by 34.6% of the total respondents. This may be attributed to the fact that the tenants in the gentrifying areas were the most affected victims of gentrification since it was their houses that were being acquired by the gentry. The fact that the tenants of the acquired houses had to quit and look for another rental house which is often a pretty difficult and expensive process makes them abhor the process and detest the gentrifiers for making life quite difficult for them. Supporting this view was the FGD conducted with the long-time religious leaders of a gentrifying area in Agege where the discussants maintained that:

> The idea of gentrification may be appealing to some people who actually own their houses. However, for the vast majority of us – the tenants – it is more or less like a curse on us. The reason is that the rent of a room in the rooming houses we are occupying is within the range of 80,000-100,000 but the moment your landlord/landlady sells the house you can hardly get another room in that same area within the same rent fee. Moreover, when the new buyers acquire the house the often convert it into block of flats, and the average rate of flat rent is from 350,000-450,000. You see, this is the main reason why we are not happy seeing the gentrifiers because they are a source of our housing flat (**FGD/Long time religious leaders/Male/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

In similar vein, a participant in the gentrifying area had this to say in support of the above assertion:

> The landlords in gentrifying areas do not have anything to worry about because the moment they sell their houses they often realise a huge amount of money that they use to resettle themselves. But you cannot say the same thing about the tenants who are often given a short notice by the buyer. Worse still, some of the landlords do not even tell the tenants about selling the house until when they are set to pack and leave the house. This constitute a great source of agony and disturbance for tenant with large size of family as he will be confused and disturbed about how to instantly raise money to rent another house so as to resettle his family (**LH/Community leader/Male/68/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

From these excerpts, it can be deduced that the main source of conflict between the tenants and the gentrifiers lies in subjecting them to housing crisis as a result of acquisition of their low-income houses which were the only affordable ones to them. This conflict is usually manifested in form of verbal insults and threats at every slightest case of misunderstanding.

Similarly, the data revealed that the second major category exposed to gentrification-induced crisis is the government and the residents of gentrifying areas. This category constitutes 28.3% of the total respondents. The state government through its urban physical planning policies is often regarded by many victims of its actions – usually the urban poor – as anti-poor in the urban areas. Thus, the government constitutes a major source of distress and worry for many urban poor residents in gentrifying areas. This may be associated with various demolition exercises being embarked on by the government in the guise of urban redevelopment or renewal projects. Several government projects which displaced the urban poor abound in the state. For instance, the rail terminal being constructed in Agege LGA has displaced over 500 households and an undisclosed number of traders in the area. Majority of the displaced persons particularly the traders were neither resettled nor compensated by the government as stated by this IDI report:

> We have been displaced by the government. All our shops have been demolished. As you can see our wares are laying bare on the floor. With no hope of succour from anyone let alone the government which is the most carefree, we have no one to turn to for any help. Anytime we see government officials our hearts beat fast because we do not know what they were coming to do or say. It is an anti-people government which care only for beautification of the city at the expense of an average urban resident (**IDI/Displaced trader/Male/37/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

This excerpt points to the fact that the government is seen by majority of residents in gentrifying areas as anti-people which policies target the betterment of the wealthy few at the detriment of the poor majority.

The data further revealed another significant category of people exposed to gentrification crisis and that is the long-time landlords/landladies and the gentry. This may be attributed to the fact that the long-time landlords have become victims of circumstance as they have resisted the temptation of selling off their old houses to the gentry. The major issue they might be grappling with is the change in the social character of the area usually in terms of cultural displacement. This point was supported by an elderly landlord in new Maroko, Eti-Osa in an IDI:

> From time to time, we do experience some conflict between the long-time landlords and the new comers. The cause of the crisis is usually towards the end of the year rituals which we have doing since time immemorial. However, with the change in the area, we do not enjoy the support of the new comers because they do not

believe in our rituals and are claiming their right of movement. You know when we are doing the ritual we appeal for restriction of movements in some hours of the night but unfortunately some of the new comers turn down our pleas in defiance of the sacredness of our rituals. So, ordinarily you do not expect us to make peace with such people until they learn to respect our cultural practices. After all, they met us and not the other way (**IDI/Landlord/Male/60/Yoruba/new Maroko/Eti-Osa/2020**).

In similar manner a landlord in one of the gentrifying areas of Oshodi had this to say:

People should learn to respect the indigenous cultural practices of the original residents. You cannot just come into an area and defy their cultural system. The fact that you are allowed to set up your investment in the area should be enough hospitality. Therefore, courtesy demands you give the host community the minimum respect expect of a new comer for the cultural practices in the area. The main problem I have with the new comers is not their invasion of the territory but lack of respect for our cultural practices (**IDI/Long-time landlord/Male/64/Yoruba/Oshodi/2020**).

These excerpts are clear indications of the sources of misunderstanding between long time landlords and the gentry. Also, another category of people identified as experiencing sour relationship is the indigenous traditional heads of various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas.

4.9.6   Relationship between State Actors and Victims of Gentrification

There is no gainsaying that the state plays a major role in gentrification process in Lagos state. However, it has earlier been established that the private individuals were the key players of gentrification in Lagos. That notwithstanding, the state plays a very significant role in facilitating the process of gentrification and even in actively engaging in it in some instances. Residents of almost all parts of the city can attest to the fact that there is one form of government project that displaces the low income people or the other. In this study therefore, residents' views on the relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification were presented and analysed as presented in Fig. 4.50.
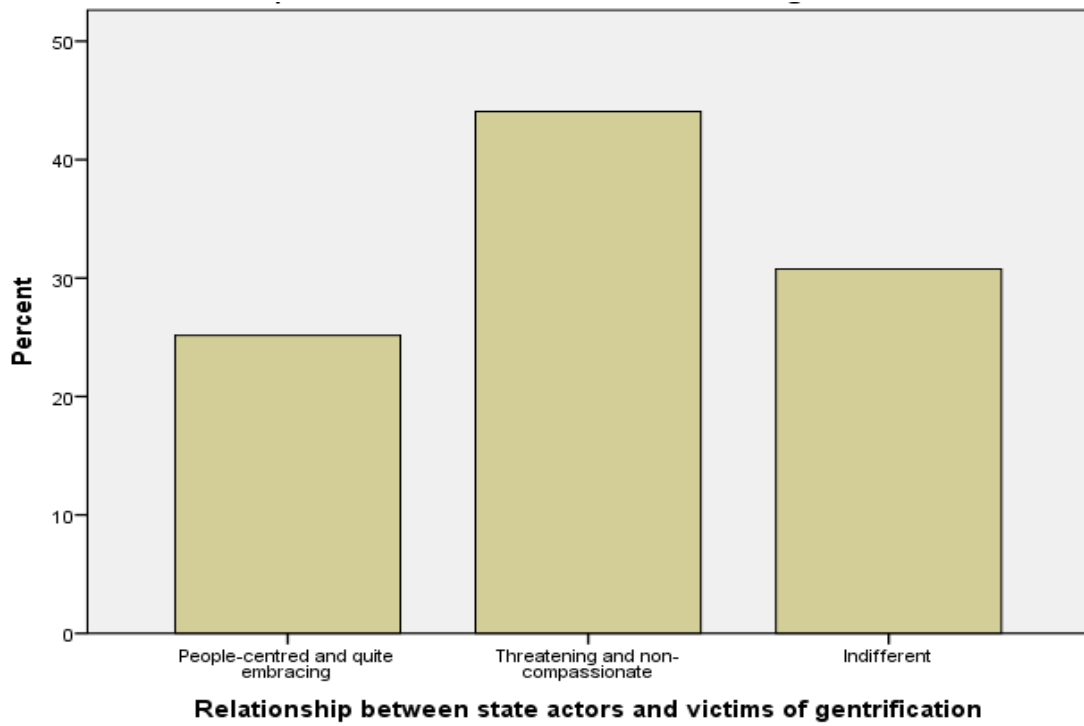
Fig. 4.50: **Relationship between State Actors and Victims of Gentrification**

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Fig. 4.50 reveals about 25.2% of the total respondents who considered the actions of the state government as appropriate. They saw the government as people-centred and quite embracing. A little higher per cent of the respondents (30.8%) were completely indifferent as they were not bothered about the state actions or inactions. However, the vast majority of the respondents (44.1%) held the view that the attitude of the government towards the public is that of threats and non-compassionate. This may be attributed to the various state-led projects that usually target the welfare of the elite at the detriment of the poor majority. This view was supported by almost all the qualitative data collected. For instance, in an IDI conducted in Lagos Island the participant was very blunt in her view that:

> The state government is always on the side of the wealthy individuals and corporate entities. When traders are displaced in markets, the beneficiaries are always the bigger businessmen. When residential houses are demolished, it is always the rich that are replaced with them. Anywhere demolitions or evictions occur, the victim is the urban poor while the beneficiary is the upper class. So, as far as the state urban policies are concerned they are anti-poor and always do not take the welfare of the poor into consideration (**IDI/long-time residents/Female/46/Yoruba/Lagos Island/2020**).

A participant in an IDI had this to say:

> The state, particularly in Africa, is always programmed to work in the interest of selected few. When we were evicted about three decades ago, we thought that was the end. But series of evictions followed ranging from the Ilubirin, Otodo Gbame, to Tarkwa Bay Island etc. In our new resettlement, the new Maroko, the state authorities are always here taking some measurements which we do not know what they are planning to do. So, anytime we see government officials we panic as we do not know what their next plan of action is (**IDI/long-time resident/Male/51/Yoruba/Eti-Osa/2020**).

Similarly, residents of Agege community expressed their disappointment and disgust about the manner in which the government carries out eviction exercises in the communities. This is because the government railway terminal that is being constructed has created more than 500 displaced households and uncountable number of traders. The failure of government to provide the petty traders with alternative settlement area has made the displaced traders to waylay their wares on the rail tracks with no hope for relocation.

Fig. 4.51: Images of displaced traders in Agege rail terminal

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Fig. 4.51 is a pictorial evidence of the displaced traders in the course of construction of the rail terminal in Agege. A displaced trader had this to say:

> I have a shop where I used to sell fairly used refrigerators and microwaves. When the government served us a notice to vacate, we thought there would be an alternative arrangement for the market since it is big as there were no less than 3000 shops. However, the displacement occurred without compensation or resettlement of any sort. Up till today, I still do neither have anywhere to relocate to because the demolitions occurred at the eve of Corona virus, so as we were ushered into the Covid era, everything nosedived and I am yet to recover (**IDI/displaced trader/Male/42/Igbo/Agege/2020**).

These excerpts all point to the negative relationship that exists between the state actors and their victims of gentrification. It can be concluded that in as much as the private individuals were the major actors of gentrification in Lagos, the effects of gentrification from the state is far more devastating. This may perhaps be explained from the perspective that the private gentry's acquisition of properties in low income areas has an indirect consequence on the poor while the state-led gentrification directly affects the victims.

4.9.7   Socio-political Dimensions of Gentrification

An attempt was made here to examine the politics involved in gentrification processes in Lagos state. Earlier on under the drivers of gentrification, it was alluded that some residents of Lagos engage in gentrification not because of the economic aspects of it but simply because they want to be relevant in the political landscape of the city. In this section, various views of respondents regarding this dimension of gentrification were presented.

4.9.7.1 Face-off between Traditional Heads in gentrifying areas

Traditional authorities occupy a revered position in African societies. As with many other African societies, Lagos harbours a large number of traditional institutions at both small and large scale levels. Thus, apart from the overall Oba of Lagos, who is regarded as the topmost traditional ruler in the city, there are pockets of delegated authorities conferred on individuals at various community levels across the state. Similarly, due to the cosmopolitan nature of Lagos, manifested in its multitude of residents from across various ethnic divides in the country, several other ethnic traditional authorities do co-exist along with the Yoruba traditional authority. Thus, there are traditional heads of Igbo, Hausa,

Nupe and Yoruba communities in most areas of the city of Lagos. These traditional heads do have some influence on the people they rule across their jurisdictions. However, while gentrification occurs in most areas of the city, a cold war and growing tension was noticed between traditional rulers of different ethnic groups particularly those in Agege LGA as indicated in Table 4.28. In the Table, the types of relationships that exist between various traditional heads across the gentrifying areas of the city were presented.

Table 4.28:   Nature of Social Relations between Traditional Heads in the Gentrifying Areas

Relationship between the traditional heads	Local Government Area						Total
	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
Cooperative and supportive	8.8%	36.2%	53.6%	57.2%	41.0%	60.4%	42.4%
Very cordial and harmonious	22.6%	47.0%	22.2%	23.4%	20.1%	17.4%	25.5%
They have little influence	5.0%	10.7%	10.5%	10.3%	29.9%	11.8%	12.9%
Very antagonistic	63.5%	6.0%	13.7%	9.0%	9.0%	10.4%	19.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

Table 4.28 revealed a relatively very cordial relationship among the traditional heads except in the case of Agege where 63.5% of the total respondents described the relationship

as very antagonistic. This is not unconnected with the high rate of gentrification as well as the poor management of the relationship between the indigenous Yoruba long-time residents and the new residents particularly the Hausa gentry. Supporting this view, the qualitative data collected in Agege on the patterns of social relations between the traditional heads revealed a great deal of discord, anxiety and mistrust between the Yoruba traditional leader and his Hausa counterpart in the area. The study found that the genesis of the fretfulness between the two traditional heads is traced to the frequency and rate at which the wealthy Hausa individuals were acquiring landed properties particularly the rooming houses belonging to the Yoruba community. It was found that the traditional head's main worry lies in the fact that the more the long-time indigenous Yorubas sell their houses to the Hausas, the fewer Yoruba population and territory he controls. According to a long-time resident of the area:

> The Yoruba traditional head has been very bitter about the gentrification process in this area. In fact, he has not hidden his stance on the issues at every given opportunity to address his people. He was so fierce about it that sometimes he openly interfered in such transactions through subtle means by trying to convince the landlord involved through persuasion. So, how do you blame him when in real sense he was right? Because even though the territory he is ruling does not literally reduce, his powers to control gradually shrinks as the population of the indigenous Yorubas diminishes as their houses were being acquired by the Hausas (**IDI/Long-time resident/Male/55/Yoruba/Agege/2020**).

Contrary to this argument, a close confidant of the traditional head debunks the idea that the ruler was against the acquisition of the houses by any other tribe living in his area. However, he reiterated the need for understanding the need to consider the fact that certain cultural beliefs of the indigenous residents were being forced into extinction with the massive relocation of the Yorubas to areas far from the city. As for the headship of the area, even if there were only handful of people in the area, that would not change the fact that a legitimate head was in place and in control.

On the other hand, in an interview, the head of the Hausa community (*Sarkin Hausawa*) which harbours majority of the gentry in the area explained his experience over the years on the gentrification processes and how it affects his relationship with his Yoruba counterpart. He maintained that since his ascension to the throne of *Sarkin Hausawa* Agege he had not had any rancorous relationship with other traditional heads in the

community. However, he has been hearing several allegations that the acquisition of houses belonging to the Yorubas in Agege by the young Hausas was a deliberate attempt to invade the area. He debunked that arguing that no matter how many houses were acquired by any tribe in Agege, the area still would remain a Yoruba land and that was what mattered. Nevertheless, a gentrifier in the area had a different view from the *Sarkin Hausawa* as he observed that:

> The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is very clear on the issue of ownership of property and settling down in any part of the country by the citizens. It is quite absurd when people talk about one tribe trying to dominate the other. The issue has nothing to do with ethnic group. It has everything to do with control of resources and investment drive. Just the way you see Hausas acquiring properties here the same way the Igbos do and even other minor ethnic groups. There is a hotel over there, the owner acquired four rooming houses belonging to Yoruba people and converted them into a hotel. He is an Igbo man. So it is not fair to keep over flogging the issue that wealthy Hausas are invading Agege (**IDI/New resident/Male/46/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

A critical examination of the above excerpts reveals the mixed feelings and tension inherent in the social relations of the inhabitants of gentrifying areas in Lagos. Thus, these arguments and counter arguments all point to the fact that gentrification has a great influence on the patterns of social relations among the inhabitants of the gentrifying areas.

4.9.7.2 Quest for Political Power through Gentrification

Another social dimension gentrification takes in Lagos is the use of economic power to systematically acquire political power through expansion of territorial space. Having realised that politics is a game of number; some gentrifiers take advantage of their resources to increase the population of their areas so as to make it a stronghold during elections. This is evident in the residents' responses on the reason why the gentry of the same ethnic extraction tend to cluster in same location as presented in Table 4.29.

Table 4.29   Clustering of gentry of the same ethnic group in one Location

	Local Government Area	Total

Clustering of gentry of the same ethnic group in one Location	Agege	Alimosho	Oshodi	Eti-Osa	Lagos Mainland	Lagos Island	
To establish a strong political force	60.4%	14.1%	43.8%	0.0%	4.2%	20.8%	24.6%
To maintain physical contact with friends and families	3.8%	7.4%	8.5%	25.5%	5.6%	2.8%	8.8%
For a guaranteed security from ethnic attacks	16.4%	10.7%	11.1%	6.2%	0.0%	0.0%	7.6%
To display affluence in own community	19.5%	6.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.5%
To secure their investments	0.0%	22.1%	8.5%	44.8%	12.5%	6.3%	15.4%
For commercial purpose	0.0%	39.6%	28.1%	23.4%	77.8%	70.1%	39.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey, 2020.

It can be seen from Table 4.29 that several reasons were responsible for the clustering of gentry of the same ethnic group in the same location. Here again, the reasons advanced by the respondents depend largely on their locations. The commonest reason identified by most of the respondents across the state was the fact that the gentry of same ethnic affiliation cluster in the same area so as to advance their commercial goal. However, the table specifically revealed that majority (60.4%) of the gentry in Agege cluster in the same area in order to establish a strong political force. This may be attributed to the window of political opportunity given to all residents of Lagos to contest for any elective positions in the state. Supporting this view in an IDI, the participant asserted that:

> People call Lagos a no-man's land. That may not be correct in real sense because there are owners of Lagos. However, the fact that the level of civility among the indigenes as well as the leaders of the state was very high, irrespective of ethnic affiliations people tend to actively participate in the political activities of the state. This has made it possible for people from other ethnic groups to attempt contesting for elective positions in the state. Among the Hausas here in Agege, we have made several attempts to win the chairmanship of the local government with no success considering the low size of the Hausa population in comparison with the Yoruba population. Now we are improving on our political networking and strategising to make our votes count in the area. So, part of the strategy is expanding our population base in Agege which of course is the greatest stronghold of a Hausa man in Lagos (**IDI/Long-time residents/Male/54/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

In another interview a new resident had this to say:

> To many of us Lagos is not a second home. It is a first home. Therefore, there is this orientation that wherever you find yourself you try to make impact. We have the money but when it comes to taking decisions affecting our wellbeing, we have nothing to say because we are not part of the decision making process in the State. Even a councillor we do not produce although we are still appreciative of Lagos state government for recognising one of us-a Hausa man-by appointing him as a commissioner. It is a good development and a step forward towards making our voices heard in the political landscape of Lagos state. However, there is still more to that as we need to begin to occupy some elective positions just like the Igbos do have State House of Assembly members. And one of the ways to go about it is to organise our population and ensure our spread in strategic locations (**IDI/new resident/Hausa/Male/45/Agege/2020**).

These excerpts point to the fact that there seems to be conscious efforts by residents of Agege, just like other ethnic groups in other gentrifying areas, to increase their population and spatial spread in their locations with the view of acquiring political power so as to become relevant in the politics of the state. This discovery lends support to the fears expressed by the traditional head of the area as discussed in the preceding section. Moreover, the idea of maintaining a strong political base may not be a bad one provided the goal is to actively participate in decision making process of the State by ensuring peaceful and harmonious co-existence which is a salient ingredient for development process. These discoveries have, therefore, brought to the fore a political dimension to the phenomenon of gentrification which could be regarded as a form or type of gentrification to be known as *political gentrification* which is peculiar to Lagos state.

However, in Eti-Osa, (44.8%) of the respondents indicated the desire to secure their investment as the reason for their clustering in the same location. This is connected with the fact that majority of the gentrifiers in this location, as earlier found in the drivers of gentrification, were young Igbo businessmen who send money from abroad to acquire properties in the location. It has been observed and found that the remittances sent to the relatives of the Igbo migrants were used in acquiring the old houses in the area.

Although Table 4.29 indicated that none of the quantitative responses showed that the clustering of gentry in Agege was aimed at securing their investments, however, the qualitative data revealed that majority of the young wealthy people in the gentrifying areas acquired multiple houses in the same location as a strategy of hiding illicit proceeds obtained through fraudulent internet transactions. This may be attributed to the fact that majority of the young gentrifiers were allegedly working as bureau de change operators in collaboration with internet fraudsters popularly known as 'yahoo-yahoo boys' or they themselves were engaged in the cybercriminal business. Thus, in a bid to obliterate the security agents, they engaged in layering of the illicit proceed through acquisition of houses which they convert into different uses such as commercial houses, plazas, residential apartments, schools, hotels, bars and hospitals. However, in doing this, they prefer acquiring these properties in their location so as to secure their 'investments'. A participant in an IDI had this to say:

> My boss is a bureau de change operator. He works in close
> collaboration with yahoo guys who usually bring him 'work'. He
> owns nothing less than 50 houses in this city. While he rehabilitates

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some and rent out, he usually demolishes most of the houses he acquires and converts them into modern commercial apartments. You know this is a best way to play safe and avoid unnecessary harassments from the police and other security agents (**IDI/New resident/Male/38/Hausa/Agege/2020**).

The data points to yet a new dimension of gentrification where the motive of the actors was basically to hide their illicit wealth in a systematic way so as to avoid being noticed or identified as criminals by the public or being apprehended by the security agents. This, of course, is a new form of gentrification that can be regarded as *criminal gentrification* which is peculiar to Lagos state. What makes this form of gentrification criminal is the fact that the actors engaged in the act simply not because they were interested in establishing mansions in the city centre for the basic amenities enjoyed there, but because they want to hide their ill-gotten wealth through acquisition of old houses and erecting new ones.

4.10   Discussion of Findings

This section focused on the discussion of findings of the specific objectives of the study. On the social history of gentrification, the study found that the demolitions of low-income residences and market places which took place in the 1920s in central Lagos were classic instances of gentrification-induced displacements perpetrated during colonial administration. This implies that the idea of gentrification predated the concept as was later coined by Ruth Glass in 1964. This assertion confirms earlier studies such as Fleites (n.d) who maintained that the destruction of low-income residential areas to make room for the famous tree-lined streets in central Paris by Baron Haussmann, a member of Napoleon III's Court, as far back as 1853 and 1870, was an instance of gentrification. Similarly, early historical accounts of gentrification were documented by activist Jane Jacob in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* where she exposed the insensitive decisions and destructive approaches adopted by government in beautifying urban areas at the expense of human lives (Gallagher, 2014).

The study has, thus, found that the current gentrification processes being experienced have historical roots and were influenced by the colonial experience of slum clearance. This was evident in the clearing up of the *Isale Eko* areas – areas inhabited largely by the urban poor – in the late 1950s by the colonial government in order to create a pleasing view for the visiting British Queen as preparatory to Nigeria's independence celebrations.

Consequently, upon independence the successive political leaders beginning from the first republic leaders who acquired political powers from the colonial government have always targeted rundown areas which are heavily populated by the urban poor for demolitions. Theoretically, the actions of the successive political elites in the country have overtime subjected the urban poor to alienation thereby creating in them a strong feeling of dejection and depression. As a result, urban poor residents in the gentrified areas of Lagos right from colonial era have always been powerless and their lives rendered meaningless.

In terms of the processes of gentrification, the study focused on the "how" of gentrification; that is, how it occurs in different contexts. This entailed the processes of either evictions or quit notices depending on the context. Also, it involved findings on the determination of whether compensations or resettlement arrangements were given to the victims of gentrification. Thus, on the processes, the findings were revealed in two folds: private-driven and government-driven processes of gentrification. In the private-driven process, the study discovered that the process of gentrification begins with issues surrounding the sale of old houses by their owners who were often old inhabitants of the gentrifying areas and relocating to other cheaper areas usually in the suburbs.

On the processes of evicting the tenants living in a sold house, the study found that a 6-month quit notice was the maximum allowed for a yearly tenant in Lagos. However, it was found that in most instances the tenants only got to know about the fact of selling their house from the new homebuyer sometimes long after the former landlord had left the house. However, the study found that despite the irregular behaviour of some of the landlords, the process of taking over from the previous landlord and getting the existing tenants quit the house was not a challenging issue in the city.

With regard to government-driven processes, the study found that victims of most of the state-led evictions and demolition of structures were not duly resettled nor compensated. The situation was worst with the waterfront communities such as Ilubirin and Makoko who have over the years faced different kinds of harassments from public authorities. For instance, the displaced residents of Ilubirin had experienced a cyclical evictions which saw them move from *Ilubirin* to *Badore* back to *Ilubirin* and then to *Mokoko* and *Ojuolokun* back to *Badore* and then to *Ilubirin*. Although *Badore* was a resettlement forest dedicated for the *Ilubirin* victims since 1996 yet, their sources of livelihood were not restored hence their dispersion from the forest and reuniting with their counterparts in *Makoko* waterfront

community. This finding was supported by Nwanna (2012) and Adekola *et al.,* (2017) who conducted similar studies and found a high degree of social injustice meted against the urban poor particularly residents of waterfront communities such as Ilubirin and Makoko. For instance, Nwanna (2012) observed that out of 41,776 displaced landlords, only 2,933 were officially relocated. This happened despite pleas for time and adequate resettlement lands by the victims and every concerned citizen including human rights organisations such as the Amnesty International, Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC) among others. Similarly, Adekola *et al.,* (2017) argued that adequate notice or resettlement arrangements were not made for the victims of the state-led demolitions. They maintained that the residents of the waterfront communities were given just one week notice upon the expiration of which bulldozers were used at the orders of the state government to clear all the structures. The evictions were done without following due process as neither were the victims compensated nor resettled to another place. The Weberian sociology of action describes the government's engagement in these evictions as *zweckrational* action because its goal was to rid Lagos of settlements it considered eyesores to the status of the city as a centre of excellence and one of the world class megacities.

On the relocation patterns of the voluntarily dislocated landlords, the study found that most of them relocate to relatively low cost areas. For those in Agege, Alimosho, and Oshodi, the study found that most of them relocate to Sango-Ota, Ifo and Idiroko. Similarly, Epe, Ikorodu, Sagamu were found to be the relocation areas of landlords leaving Eti-Osa, Lagos Island and Lagos Mainland. It was also found that these voluntarily dislocated landlords constitute a factor of urbanisation of these new areas as they often build houses bigger and finer than those of the indigenous members of the host communities. However, a good number of the former landlords, particularly those who sold their houses for inheritance purposes, moved to locations within Lagos which were considered to be relatively cheap. In this case, they usually do not acquire new houses but they rather rent and invest the remaining money. This finding is in agreement with an earlier study by Atkinson *et al.*, (2011) who averred that the displaced low-income households are forced to find more affordable areas which implies moving far away from their work place and thereby incurring higher commuting costs.

Another finding related to this is that some of the voluntarily dislocated landlords neither acquire nor rent a new house; rather they use the money to travel abroad. In some instances, the decision to migrate was taken by the family to send a member abroad using the money

realised from selling the house. Such family often resort to renting a private apartment while anticipating remittance from their migrant member. This shows that voluntarily displaced landlords in the gentrifying areas took advantage of the appreciation of the value of their properties and sold them in order to pursue their economic goals. This revealed the motive of the gentrifiers as they engaged in means-end rational actions (*zweckrational*). Of course, to this category of landlords, gentrification was but a business to be taken advantage of.

On the patterns of gentrification in Lagos, the study found a number of forms of gentrification processes in the city. However, the dominant form found was the *commercial gentrification* which means displacement of low-income businesses by wealthy individuals or the government. Pictorial evidences of this type of gentrification have been presented in the preceding section to demonstrate its dominance in the landscape of Lagos city. The reason for the dominance of this form of gentrification is largely connected to the fact that Lagos is a commercial hub that attracts investors, both local and foreign, as it contains some of the largest markets in the West African region. This finding corresponds with earlier studies conducted by Doucet (2014), Rerat *et al*., (2009), Jeong, Heo and Jung (2015), Hanan (2012), Ujang (2010) and Astuti and Hanan (2010) that commercial gentrification brings about economic transformation in an area through proliferation of new retail stores, new job opportunities, beautiful restaurants, shopping malls and general improvement in the local economy of the gentrifying areas.

The study also found *residential gentrification* as another significant form of gentrification in Lagos state. This type of gentrification involved gradual acquisition of low-income residences by wealthy individuals until the character of the entire area was transformed. In other words, the process entailed movement of the gentry into poorer areas of the city through acquisition of their houses on a gradual process, one by one, until the area was transformed into high-income residential area with implications for drastic transformations in the demographic and social configurations. This discovery found massive support in the literature perhaps because the original proponent of gentrification focused her analysis on this type of gentrification – residential gentrification. For instance, in her seminal work, Glass (1964) described the residential gentrification as: *"...one by one; many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes—upper and lower....... Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the social character*

of the district is changed". The notion of class struggle between the upper and lower class can be understood in Glass' conception of gentrification as an urban phenomenon, and this was an aspect this study found to have played out in Lagos between the few wealthy urban dwellers and the poor majority. This class struggle between the two opposite classes was responsible for the feeling of alienation by the urban poor. Thus, it has been found in this study that most areas of Lagos were experiencing this form of gentrification processes. Notable among these areas were: Agege, Alimosho, Eti-Osa, and Lagos Mainland. Here again, pictorial evidences have been provided in the preceding section to illustrate the prevalence of the process in the selected locations.

State-led gentrification was another major form of gentrification found in this study. It has been found to be about the oldest form of gentrification in Lagos. It was also so pervasive or common that there was almost no area in the State where there was no trace of it. It is a form of low income displacement in which the government is the main actor. The study found several evictions and demolitions exercises effected by the state government which have negatively affected the social and economic lives of the urban residents. For instance, the demolition of shops and kiosks belonging to the low income traders in Oshodi to make way for the construction of a multi-million naira modern bus terminal was a case in point. Similarly, the displacement of over 500 households in Agege for the construction of modern rail terminal was another form of stat-led gentrification in Lagos. This finding is in agreement with earlier studies by Odinaka (2016) who described the process of demolition of shops in Oshodi as a forceful eviction that was done by the public authorities using the police who were mandated to arrest reporters video-covering the process as the traders were denied access to their shops to evacuate or retrieve their goods during the demolitions. In similar manner, Lawanson and Omoegun (2018) also asserted that the various urban renewal programmes of the state government were carried out in the interest of the elites to the detriment of the urban poor. The study further found other forms of gentrification which include tourism gentrification, transit-induced gentrification, slum gentrification and studentification. More so, the study found two other forms of gentrification peculiar to Lagos state, and these are *political gentrification* and *criminal gentrification*. All the various forms of gentrification found in Lagos fall within the purview of *zweckrational* action because they were actions targeted purposefully at achieving some desired results.

On gender dimension of gentrification, the study established that, despite male dominance in our patriarch society, females have been found to play a rationally purposeful action in gentrification processes particularly in Lagos Island. They were the main drivers of businesses and as a matter of fact were found to be owners of most businesses on the Island. Similarly, on ethnic dimension of gentrification, the Igbo ethnic group was found to be the major social actors of commercial gentrification in Lagos. The evidence of this abounds in almost all the major markets surveyed in the course of this study. This finding has been supported with pictorial evidences in the preceding section. The study found the Igbo gentrifiers to be means-end rational (*zweckrational*) in the sense that they make commitments to their subjective goals (maximisation of profits) and adopt means (large scale investments which involve acquisition of low-income houses and converting them into condominiums, high-rise buildings and hotels etc.) which proved to be effective in attaining the ends (successful businesses).

Concerning the drivers of gentrification, the study found certain generic factors as drivers of the process of gentrification in Lagos state. One of these was the influx and expansion of businesses which was found to be the major factor driving gentrification in the State. This is not unconnected to the fact that Lagos is regarded as the commercial hub of West Africa hence the influx of businesses from both within and without the country to the city. With growth in business activities comes increased demand for housing which saw private estate developers acquiring old houses in blight areas and developing them into new world class high rise structures. Also, competition for space among religious groups was found to be part of the generic drivers of gentrification in Lagos state. Similarly, overstretching limited available infrastructure coupled with the government's quest to redesign Lagos to meet the global standard of megacities was found to constitute drivers of gentrification in Lagos. This finding is in support of earlier studies by some gentrification researchers in the US. For instance, Kennedy and Leonard (2001) in their study of the causes of gentrification in some cities of the US, identified a variety of factors such as rapid job growth, tight housing markets, preference for city amenities, targeted public sector policies as well as increased traffic congestion and lengthening commutes as major drivers of gentrification. In similar vein, Aka (2010) avers that the imbalance between job growth and the housing supply is the major contributor to gentrification processes. He further explains that as more jobs were created in large number, the demand for housing increased,

and this implied an increase in the cost of housing which invariably culminated into gentrification processes.

On the other hand, the study found some individual-specific factors, that is, personal factors influencing individuals to engage in gentrification. Chief among these was the profit-making drive of the individual gentrifiers. This means that beyond the external influence of the general business atmosphere, the individuals' motives are also key determinants of their actions. Hence, as goal-rational beings, actors (gentrifiers) engaged in gentrification basically as profit maximising agents. Closely related to this is the finding that majority of the old inhabitants of gentrifying areas were willing to sell their houses in order to raise capital for investment. This finding differs from some earlier studies particularly in developed societies where the individual-specific factors of gentrification largely involved the density of service amenities such as modern beer gardens, coffee joints and bike shares (Couture and Handbury, 2016). However, the peculiar socioeconomic conditions in our developing societies coupled with the fact that gentrification only exacerbates the harsh economic realities explain why the poor urban landlords would sell their houses with the view of realising enough money to acquire land elsewhere and invest the remaining money.

On the whole, from the Weberian perspective of action, gentrification processes in Lagos, in this context, were basically driven by rational-purposeful actions. The actions were rationally expedient because they were based on logical ground – profit maximisation drive. Thus, gentrification is said to have occurred due to the influx of actors into the gentrifying areas for business purposes. This in turn puts strain on the available housing stock and eventually leads to acquisition of the old houses and redeveloping them for more profitable uses. Similarly, the study has found other individual-specific factors of gentrification to include the desire to maintain close kin affinity. Weber described this behaviour as value-rational action as it was determined by the gentrifiers' conscious belief in the value they attached to acquisition of old houses within the the city centre in order to live close to their relatives. The subjective meaning attached to living with close family members is a value which the gentrifiers felt was binding (*verbindlich*) on them.

On the costs of gentrification, displacement of the urban poor has been found to be the major cost of gentrification in Lagos. This displacement has subsequent social, economic and political costs on the urban dweller and by implication the development of the state.

With regard to the social costs, it was found that gentrification in Lagos has exacerbated the housing crisis which had already bedevilled the city due to influx of economic migrants from within and outside the country. Thus, the major social cost was homelessness which stems from the loss of affordable housing for the urban poor due to the invasion of their areas by the wealthy people, corporate entities or even public authorities. This corroborates an earlier study by Wright *et al.*, (1995) who argued that the major cost of gentrification is displacement which occurs as a result of increase in rent, hike in prices, increase in taxes, demolition of buildings, land clearance, deliberate abandonment of buildings, and influx of investors which makes those who hitherto could afford to reside in a particular area incapable of doing so due to hike in housing cost.

The displacement of cultural heritage is another social cost associated with gentrification in Lagos. It has been found that the invasion of the areas inhabited by the indigenous Yorubas by people from other ethnic groups has displaced their cultural practices such as the *Egu* festivals and other important rituals. This finding agrees with Donaldson *et al*, (2013) who argued that the effects of gentrification transcend marginalisation, displacement and social dislocation as it negatively affects the heritage of a city. As a matter of fact, a typically gentrified area is an area that has mostly lost its indigenous cultural heritage as it replaces them with a new culture befitting the tastes of the urban elites. However, one important issue to note is the resilience of some cultural custodians who defy the forces of urbanisation and the temptations of the gentrifiers to uphold their cultural heritage. This study found a high degree of such resilience particularly among the indigenous cultural custodians of Yoruba ethnic extraction residents in Oshodi. This is a clear demonstration of the fact that the actions of the custodians of the culture in the area were determined by the conscious belief in the value they attached to the cultural artefacts irrespective of the fact that the structures housing the artefacts have become an eyesore in the midst of high rising buildings, hotels and other aesthetics in the area. Thus, preservation of the culture is *verbindlich*, that is, it is regarded by the custodians as binding on them.

Another social cost of gentrification found in this study was the emergence of new crime categories. Certain categories of criminal activities such as internet fraud (yahoo-yahoo), rituals (yahoo-plus) and political thuggerism have become prevalent in gentrifying areas of Lagos. This finding is in consonance with previous studies which indicated that gentrification does not only increase levels of crime but rather it brings about new forms

of crimes. The study has also found gentrification as a means of hiding illicit proceeds by some unscrupulous elements engaged in cybercriminal transactions in Lagos. In this regard, a large number of houses belonging to those individuals were traced. In fact, over eighty houses were traced to a single individual even though he claims to be buying the properties as a form of investment so as to resell them when their values appreciate. The study has found that a good number of the gentrifiers engaged in the acquisition of the houses through a process described as 'layering', which is distancing the money from the source, so as to obliterate the security agents and later integrate the money through a process known as 'integration'. Hence, some of the gentrifiers eventually set up other business ventures such as car dealership or real estate business so as to be regarded by the society as honourable persons. Theoretically, the criminal activities of the gentrifiers can be considered as *zweckrational* actions because the end and the means were all rationally taken into account and weighed. The criminal actions of laundering the illicit proceeds was an alternative (means) used by the gentrifiers to an (end) that is, acquisition of properties in order to obliterate the security agents and claim sanity of the sources of their illegitimate wealth.

Psychological issues were also found in this study to be the ripple effects of the social costs of gentrification. Victims of state demolitions as well as the vulnerable tenants in gentrifying areas were found to have experienced varying degrees of trauma consequent upon their dislocation from their original habitat. This finding found support in previous study by Atkinson (2002). In line with this view, Nyden *et al*, (2006) maintained that persons displaced as a result of gentrification suffer from different forms of psychological trauma due to loss of their homes and the network of family and friends, loss of quality and stable education for their children due to relocation and its attendant consequences of frequent changes of schools.

The study also found major categories of urban residents who were the real victims of gentrification in Lagos. The urban poor and the elderly people were the most vulnerable groups facing gentrification. It has been found that the elderly, particularly those uncared for by their close relatives suffer from penury which often compels them to succumb to the pressure from agents to sell their houses and relocate to an area far from the city where they can reconnect with nature and live the rest of their lives. However, in most instances despite the relocation, such elderly people still wallow in poverty, and this implies that influencing the elderly to sell their houses is not a solution to urban poverty. This confirms

Zuk's *et al.,* (2015) finding that gentrification simply displaces or disperses urban poverty along with the displaced persons to the outskirts or periphery of the city rather than eliminating it.

Concerning the economic costs of gentrification, the study found high cost of rent for shops as the major economic cost of gentrification in Lagos. This again was the consequence of invasion of the low income areas by the gentrifiers – both private and public actors whose actions were both *zweckrational* and *verbindlich* rational actions. They were *zweckrational* rational because of the profit making drive that informed the actions; and were at the same time *verbindlich* due to the government's conscious belief and determination to upgrade the market and add to its face value. However, one of the major negative aspects of this process is the pricing out of the low income traders in the area. Thus, this study found that the economic cost of gentrification is largely associated with a type of gentrification known as commercial gentrification. For instance, most of the displaced persons in Oshodi, Lagos Island and some parts of Alimosho were victims of commercial gentrification. This finding was supported by an earlier study by Adekola *et al.,* (2017) that the displacement of large number of traders in Oshodi by public authorities to construct ultra-modern Oshodi bus terminal without compensation for the victims – who were mostly the petty traders – has led to loss of goods worth millions of naira.

With regard to the political costs of gentrification, the study has made some cogent findings on the interface between gentrification and politics. It has been found that gentrification in Lagos has taken a new dimension different from the economic perspective; that people particularly the Hausas in Agege area engaged in gentrification as a means of scoring some political goals and gaining relevance in the politics of the state. They make reference to the political successes recorded by their Igbo counterparts living in some parts of Lagos who have won some seats in the State House of Assembly due to their population strength. Thus, the political gladiators make certain political permutations which take into account the role gentrification could play towards realisation of their dream. This was made publicly known through a futile attempt to cling the membership of the State House of Assembly seat in the 2019 general elections. As a result, the residents have become very conscious of the role gentrification plays in increasing or decreasing political strength of a people. Consequently, the gentrifiers insisted in acquiring properties within Agege even when they had the capacity to acquire it elsewhere. For example, over 80 houses located in Agege were traced to single Hausa gentry. This means that over 80

landlords/landladies who probably belong to different ethnic, political and even religious affiliations must have deserted the area.

Similarly, the study found the existence of discord, anxiety and mistrust between the Yoruba traditional head and his Hausa counterpart as a result of contest over territorial space. It was found that the nervousness was on the part of the *Baale* who believed the process of acquiring old houses belonging to the long-time Yoruba community was threatening his powers as his subjects were migrating to other territories and those displacing them were Hausas who were answerable only to the *Sarkin Hausawa*. This shrinking of his territorial control implies rendering him traditionally and politically irrelevant in his own community. Thus, a deep sense of alienation ensued which has continued to impact on the relationship between the Yoruba traditional head and his Hausa counterpart on one hand. Also, the discord was evidently manifested in the interpersonal relations between the Hausa gentry and the long-time tenants and their resilient landlords/landladies.

On the adaptive strategies of urban poor to gentrification, the study found innovative ways employed by the urban poor in order to cope with residential and commercial displacement. One of these innovations was the use of refurbished containers as residences, offices, shops and kiosks. The use of these strategies has been found very effective in providing affordable shelter and business spots for the vast majority of the urban poor in Lagos. In fact, the study has found that, due to the relative affordability and durability of these refurbished containers, many companies and other organisations employ them in complementing their existing structures across the city. Similarly, the study has found diversification of sources of income by many urban residents as effective strategy of coping with gentrification in Lagos. This strategy was particularly popular among civil servants residents in urban Lagos, most of who did not solely depend on their monthly salaries as they engage in other economic activities such as trading and transportation business outside work hours. A good number of the workers have been found to engage in private taxi business such as Uber, Bolt etc. where they use their personal vehicles to pick up passengers. Also, workers in Lagos Island whom the study earlier found that they live in Alimosho, Agege and Oshodi because they do not have the financial capacity to reside in Island do often use their vehicles for commercial purpose to and from work every day. This finding corroborates earlier studies by Rudolf and

Schimitz-Pranghe (2018) who found diversification of livelihoods, modification of socioeconomic units... among others as adaptive strategies of the displaced urban poor.

However, given the fact that not all the urban poor can afford the use of the refurbished containers, majority of the respondents in this study indicated reliance on family and friends network for support as their main adaptive strategy. This finding agrees with that of Justino (2013) who contends that strategies adopted by people in distress to secure their lives and livelihoods are typically a function of their vulnerability to poverty and violence. Hence, in most of the gentrified areas of Lagos, the residents tend to fall back on their family, friends and other relatives for support. Similarly, the study corroborates the findings of Bonkat (2014) that victims of displacements depend on their close relatives and the well-to-do extended families in the city, religious organisations as well as civil society groups for basic needs. Thus, as part of their adaptive strategy, some urban residents sought assistance and advice or even moral support from their friends and family members on their conditions. This finding found support in Oyefara and Alabi's (2016) study on adaptive strategies of displaced women in Lagos where a number of strategies employed by the displaced females were identified. These include reliance on support from family and friends, street vending, begging from the public, prostitution and other menial jobs.

The seeking out of social support is an adaptive strategy that can be considered to be relevant to problem-focused coping. This argument was reiterated by Carver, Weintraub, and Scheier (1989) where they posited that people can seek social support for either of two reasons, which differ in the degree to which they imply problem focus. Seeking social support for instrumental reasons is seeking advice, assistance, or information. This is problem-focused coping. Seeking social support for emotional reasons is getting moral support, sympathy, or understanding. This is an aspect of emotion-focused coping. Both have been found to be adopted by the poor residents of Lagos city.

With regard to the social relations of gentrification, the findings of the study revealed that despite the class struggle inherent between the urban poor and the nouveau Richie, the residents continued to explore ways of fostering good social relations among them for greater benefits of the entire gentrifying areas. Some of the strategies found to be employed by the residents in this regard include keeping effective intra-communal relationship through encouragement of all members both the new and old residents of the gentrifying

areas to take part in community development projects or activities. However, a very important finding to note is the category of people mostly exposed to crisis in gentrifying areas. The study has found that the long-time tenants and the gentry were the most exposed categories because tenants in gentrifying areas consider the acquisition of low-income houses – which are the only type of houses an average low income worker could afford to rent – by the wealthy people as social injustice. Thus, the findings on the social relations between the gentry (actors) and the long-time residents (victims) of gentrification revealed that the latter were threatened by the arrival of the former into the area because they see their coming as a systematic invasion of their (poor) community. They see it as invasion because as one member of the gentry comes into an area, others also come and gradually begin to acquire the low-income houses until the social character of the area is changed and the original inhabitants displaced. The use of 'invasion' was borne out of the notion that the gentry often persuade the long-time poor landlords/landladies to sell their houses to them by making huge offers to them usually through agents or friends of the landlords/landladies. Thus, the long-time tenants in gentrifying areas see the invasion as marginalisation and social exclusion. This corroborates the findings of Ugenyi (2011) that inequality and marginalisation resulting from gentrification are the physical manifestations of the urban elites' drive for capital accumulation. The marginalisation of the urban poor occurs when the vulnerable residents of a gentrifying area are excluded from having the ability to meet the expense of the basic necessities of life such as affordable housing. This inevitably compounds the existing poverty of the long-time poor residents of the gentrifying area (Gordon, 2015). This was reinforced by Frietzgerald (2017) that urban poverty and inequality are created and perpetuated by gentrification through its attendant displacement, marginalisation and social exclusion.

On the basic differences between the gentrifying and non-gentrifying areas, the study found cost of living as the basic difference. This was found to be not only the difference but also the determinant of whether long-time residents stay or sell their houses and relocate, for once gentrification sets in an area it changes the social character of the area due to the presumed class status of the gentry. Consequently, the hitherto affordable goods being sold in small kiosks by the long-time residents would have to give way for bigger supermarkets so as to meet the needs and tastes of the gentry who apparently could afford the prices. Also, house acquisition or even rent in the gentrifying areas have become quite costly and beyond the reach of low-income earners.

On the relationships between various ethnic groups, the study found a fairly cordial relationship between them. However, the relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification was found to be sour. This could be attributed to the poor management of development projects by the state and the wrong attempts of diffusing development without making proper and necessary arrangements to avoid plunging the masses into untoward hardships. On the interpersonal relationships between the new and old residents, the study found the relationships to be peaceful and cordial in some areas but conflictual in some. The deep sense of alienation being experienced by the original inhabitants due to the arrival of the gentry was found to be the genesis of the inherent crisis in the gentrifying areas. This feeling makes the old inhabitants so powerless that they lose control over their behaviour thereby engaging the gentry at the slightest provocation.

The crisis between the original inhabitants of the gentrifying areas and the gentry was found to be a result of the deep sense of alienation felt by the former. They felt threatened by the arrival of the gentry, and this has jeopardised the social cohesion and exacerbated exclusionary social relations between them. This finding supports the consequences of alienation as espoused by Seeman (1959) that old inhabitants of the gentrifying areas feel separated from their original community through change in the social character and this has resulted in the affected members of the gentrifying communities to feel powerless and meaningless thereby plunging into depression.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1   Summary of the Major Findings

This study was designed to examine the context of gentrification in Lagos state. The findings were summarised in line with the objectives of the study. With regard to the social history of gentrification, the study found that the processes that have come to be known as gentrification were experienced in central Lagos as far back as 1920s during colonial administration. However, over time the processes of gentrification have continued to grow and take different dimensions.

On the processes of gentrification, the findings of the study were revealed in two folds: private driven processes and the government-driven processes of gentrification. In the private driven process of gentrification, the study discovered that the process begins with issues surrounding the sale of the old houses to new buyers in gentrifying areas and relocating to other areas. On the relocation patterns of the voluntarily dislocated landlords, the study found that most of them relocated to areas characterised as being relatively affordable in terms of cost of living. For those in Agege, Alimosho and Oshodi, the study found that most of them relocate to Sango-Ota, Ifo and Idiroko. Similarly, the study found Epe, Ikorodu, Sagamu as the relocation areas of landlords leaving Eti-Osa, Lagos Island and Lagos Mainland. It has also been found that these voluntarily displaced landlords become a factor urbanisation in their new locations. However, the study found that a good number of the voluntarily displaced landlords of jointly owned houses did relocate into cheaper areas of Lagos as soon as the proceeds from the inheritance were shared. For example, some of these voluntarily displaced landlords from Agege, Alimosho and Oshodi were traced to some low cost areas of Ayobo, Baruwa, Ipaja and other areas bordering Ogun State. With regard to government-driven processes, the study found that victims of most of the state-led evictions and demolition of structures were not duly resettled nor compensated. The situation was worst with the waterfront communities such as Ilubirin and Makoko who have over the years faced different kinds of harassments from public authorities. For instance, the displaced residents of Ilubirin had experienced cyclical evictions which saw them moving from Ilubirin to Badore back to Ilubirin and then to Mokoko and Ojuolokun then back to Badore and then to Ilubirin.

In terms of the patterns of gentrification, the study has confirmed the existence of certain types of gentrification which occur in developed countries on one hand, and on the other hand found some new forms that are peculiar to developing countries like Nigeria. The forms of gentrification that was confirmed in Lagos include residential gentrification, commercial gentrification, state-led gentrification, transit-induced gentrification, tourism gentrification and studentification. Similarly, political gentrification and criminal gentrification were new forms of gentrification the study has found to be occurring in Lagos state. However, residential, commercial, state-led, political and criminal gentrifications were the types that were found to be commonplace in Lagos state.

On gender dimension of gentrification, the study has established that despite the male dominance in our patriarch society, females have been found to play a very significant role in driving gentrification processes particularly in Lagos Island. They have also been found to be the main owners of businesses and most properties in the location. However, on the ethnic dimension of gentrification, the Igbo ethnic group has been found to be the major driver of commercial gentrification in Lagos state. Evidences of this abound not only in most of the major markets but also in many residential areas in the city. On the other hand, the Hausa ethnic group has been found to be the main driver of political and criminal gentrification in Lagos State.

Concerning the drivers of gentrification, the study has found that influx and expansion of businesses is the major factor driving gentrification in Lagos state. With growth in business activities comes increased demand for housing which ultimately produce the conditions of gentrification in the city. Related to this finding was the government's quest to design the city to befit a global megacity. Thus, several areas considered by the government as eyesore in the city were either demolished such as Ilubirin or were being put on the list for demolitions such as the Makoko waterfront community. The study also found that some of the voluntarily displaced landlords particularly those from Alimosho did sell their houses in order to use part of the money to process a trip abroad. More often, the trip was arranged at family level to sponsor a member of the family in anticipation of remittances. However, there were other instances when the house was inherited by the family of the deceased landlord, the money would be shared among the children some of whom would then use their share of the money to sponsor their trip abroad. Such inheritors, if they could not travel with their spouses, eventually resort to rent mostly in areas far away from their original place.

With regard to the social costs, it was found that gentrification in Lagos has exacerbated the housing crisis which had already bedevilled the city due to influx of economic migrants from within and outside the country. Thus, the major social cost was homelessness which stems from the loss of affordable housing for the urban poor due to the invasion of the areas by the wealthy people, corporate entities or even public authorities. Another social cost of gentrification found in this study was the emergence of new crime categories. Certain categories of criminal activities such as internet fraud (yahoo-yahoo), rituals (yahoo-plus) and political brigands have become prevalent in gentrifying areas of Lagos. Concerning the economic costs of gentrification, the study found high cost of rent for shops as the major economic cost of gentrification in Lagos. One of the major economic cost of gentrification is the pricing out of the low income traders in the gentrifying area. Thus, this study found that the economic cost of gentrification is largely associated with commercial gentrification. For instance, most of the displaced persons in Oshodi and some parts of Alimosho and Lagos Island were victims of commercial gentrification.

With regard to political costs of gentrification, the study has found an interface between gentrification and politics in Lagos where people particularly the Hausas in Agege area engaged in it as a means of scoring some political goals and gaining relevance in the politics of the State. In similar manner, the study has found the existence of discord, anxiety and mistrust between the Yoruba traditional head and his Hausa counterpart as a result of gentrification. It was found that the fretfulness was on the part of the *Baale* who believed the process of acquiring old houses belonging to the long-time Yoruba community was threatening his powers as his subjects were migrating to other territories and those displacing them were Hausas who were answerable only to the *Sarkin Hausawa*. This recoil of his territorial control implies usurping of his traditional powers by the Hausa emir thereby rendering him traditionally and politically irrelevant in his own community.

On adaptive strategies adopted of urban poor to gentrification, the study found innovative ways employed by the urban poor in order to cope with residential and commercial displacement. One of these innovations was the use of refurbished containers as residences, offices, shops and kiosks. The use of these has been found very effective in providing shelter and business spot for the vast majority of the urban poor in Lagos. In fact, the study has found that, due to the affordability and durability of these refurbished containers, many companies and other organisations employ them in complementing their existing structures across the city.

Findings on the social relations between members of gentrifying areas, the study revealed that long-time residents of the gentrifying areas were threatened by the arrival of gentry because they see their coming as a systematic invasion of their (poor) community. They see it as invasion because as one member of the gentry comes into an area, others also come and gradually begin to acquire the low income houses until the social character of the area is changed and the original inhabitants displaced.

5.2   Conclusion

The context of gentrification in Lagos state Nigeria is broad as it encompasses issues of social, economic and political concerns. This is largely attributed to the dynamic yet controversial meaning attached to the concept of gentrification. Its notion of class struggle between the affluent and less affluent members of the urban societies has made it a controversial and debatable subject among the academics; and a detestable concept to the politicians or public authorities. Hence, it is a concept that has been looked at differently from different angles by different people depending on the side of the societal divide one belongs. Similarly, despite being shrouded in controversies and its relative newness, its forms have been explored and found to be prevalent across the gentrifying areas of Lagos. Three dominant forms of gentrification (residential, commercial and state-led) have been found to play a pivotal role in the physical transformation of the city. This transformation has been found, on one hand, to favour the affluent elite minority at the detriment of the poor urban majority thereby affecting their patterns of social relations. On the other hand, it has had negative effects on the relationships between traditional heads of the gentrifying areas due to contests over territorial control. It can, therefore, be concluded that for every one benefit of gentrification, there are several costs associated with it. Hence, the need for an all-encompassing urban policy that will take into account various interests irrespective of their socioeconomic statuses.

5.3   Recommendations

This study was carried out to explore the context of gentrification in Lagos state. Thus, the findings of the study focused on a number of issues that largely have to do with social relations between the gentrifiers and the gentrified communities. Both short and long term solutions to the negative implications of gentrification such as displacement, marginalisation and social exclusion of the urban poor were recommended.

1. The quest of transforming Lagos into a megacity comes with so much social and economic costs for the urban poor. Thus, the state needs to re-assess its goal of transforming Lagos into a megacity to conform to the needs and aspirations of all urban residents regardless of their socioeconomic status. The current goal of the government tends to be elitist and has undermined the principle of sustainable city as it seeks to erode the fabric of informal settlements which are the abode for the urban poor majority.

2. Where it is absolutely necessary to evict occupants of any given public property such as shops, malls, residences etc., the state government should endeavour to reintegrate the victims rather than relocating or resettling them to other locations. For instance, in cases of market demolitions, at least an integration of the original owners of businesses in the areas should be made to the tune of about 30%.

3. For the negative effects of gentrification such as displacement, social exclusion and marginalisation of the urban poor to be resisted and surmounted, there is need to examine the role of governments, non-governmental organisations and private developers. These categories of urban stakeholders should encourage the development of low income without restricting the open market.

4. Governments at all levels should provide affordable social housing schemes so as to make housing available and affordable for low income residents of the city.

5. Provision of basic amenities such as educational and health facilities, potable water and good road networks in the blight areas can serve as substitute to inhumane demolitions which exacerbate urban poverty and widen the gap between the haves and have-nots in the city.

6. Displacement brings about homelessness which is the major social cost of gentrification can be drastically reduced if sound and practical economic policies that confront poverty in low income areas were made by the authorities

7. The elderly need special attention from the government as they constitute the most vulnerable segment of the population to gentrification in Lagos. Thus, through counselling and proper guidance, the elderly may find the courage and financial support to withstand the pressure of gentrifying areas

8. Politicians, legislators, community-based, faith-based association and members of the community should be made to understand the effects of gentrification on the elderly and come up with a framework of support and care for the elderly.

9. Policy makers should utilise recommendations of academic researches like this and come up with an improved housing policy for the elderly because they constitute an important segment of the urban population that cannot be neglected.

10. There is need to set up area-based organisations and community development corporations which should serve as conveyors of input from the community on the interest of particularly the long-time residents of gentrifying areas to the appropriate urban planning unit.

11. Considering the fact that small businesses are very much physically and economically attached to their surrounding communities, they tend to feel the effects of gentrification. Hence, the need for policies geared towards protecting small businesses in gentrifying areas.

12. There should be organisations and even a counselling unit to be saddled with the responsibility of providing counselling to low-income homeowners on the short-term and long-term costs of gentrification.

13. Long-time distressed landlords who were forced to sell their houses due harsh economic realities should be identified ahead of time and counselled.

14. There should be provision for counselling loan for deserving members of gentrifying areas so as to help them survive the tide of gentrification.

15. There should be conscious efforts on the part of governments at all levels to design policies intended to promote the welfare of the vulnerable categories such as women, children and elderly or special aged in Nigeria.

5.4   Contributions to Knowledge

The study has contributed to the body of knowledge in the literature in a number of ways:

- While previous studies focused on urban physical environment and the physical challenges posed by gentrification, this study looked beyond the physical challenges to unearth the drivers, processes, patterns, adaptive strategies to gentrification and social relations of gentrification.

- The study explored and found some subtle nuances in gentrification discourse by uncovering new forms of gentrification – criminal and political gentrification –

which were hitherto unknown in the study area. Hence, the study has documented 'typology of gentrification' in Lagos state.

- Previous studies could not trace the relocation patterns of both voluntarily and forcibly displaced persons but this study was able to do that and locate some of them along urban fringes and in various slums located in the city. Thus, the study was able to collect and analyse comprehensive description of the social, economic and political costs of gentrification-induced displacements based on the displaced persons' personal accounts.

- Contrary to the general notion that the government was the major actor in terms of gentrification-induced displacement, this study has found residential and commercial gentrification orchestrated by private wealthy individuals, as the major categories of gentrifiers as against the popular state-led gentrification in Lagos state.

- The study has also found the most vulnerable categories of urban residents to the phenomenon of gentrification to include the uncared for elderly (special aged), female-headed households as well as urban widows and orphans. Thus, the study has brought to fore the role of gentrification in entrapment, neglect and impoverishment of the elderly in gentrifying areas and how the consequences of these affect their mental and social wellbeing.

- While acknowledging the essentiality of more research in this regard, serious sociological, economic and even political issues can be addressed with the findings of this study.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

The Context of Gentrification in Lagos State

Introduction and informed consent

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to take quality time to complete the questionnaire as diligently as it requires. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. This is why names of respondents are not needed on the questionnaire.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Instruction for completing the questionnaire

Dear respondent, you will notice there are three types of questions in this questionnaire:

1. Questions with options (close-ended questions)
2. Questions without options (Open-ended questions)
3. Questions in form of statements requesting you to indicate your agreement/disagreement level (Likert scale)

For the close-ended questions, please circle the codes (in the fourth column) that represent your chosen option.

For the open-ended questions, please write your actual responses as exhaustively as possible in the blank spaces provided across the questions.

For the likert scale questions, please indicate whether you agree, disagree or you are simply undecided by ticking the appropriate column that represent your preferred position.

Respondents' Socio-Demographic Characteristics

The researcher would like to collect some personal information about you. Kindly, feel free to give accurate information as this is an important research process and has nothing to do with your security. I assure you that the pieces of information you provide here will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank You.

	Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents		
Module	Question	Response	Codes
101	Please what is your age as at last birthday?		Actual
102	What is your gender?	Male Female	1 2
103	What is your marital status?	Single Married/Cohabiting Widow/Widower Separated/Divorced Others, please specify ---------------- ------	1 2 3 4 66
104	Highest level of education	None Completed primary school Completed secondary school Tertiary institution Others -------------------------------- -------	1 2 3 4 66
105	Ethnic group	Yoruba Hausa/Fulani Igbo Others -------------------------------- -------	1 2 3 66
106	Religious belief	Islam Christianity Others -------------------------------- -------	1 2 66
107	What is your occupation?	Civil servant Bureau de change Private business Unemployed Student Cleric Others -------------------------------- -------	1 2 3 4 5 6 66
108	What is your residential status?	Tenant Landlord/landlady	1 2
109	Which local government area do you reside in Lagos?		Actual
110	What is your total monthly income?		Actual

Drivers of Gentrification in Lagos State			
Module	Question	Response	Codes
201	Are you aware of the process where rich people buy old low income houses in your area?	Yes No	1 2
202	If yes to question 201, how would you rate your knowledge of gentrification in your area?	Very well Good Fairly well Not so well Not at all	1 2 3 4 5
203	What does gentrification mean to you?	Displacement of poor people by wealthy individuals Displacement of low income earners by corporate organisations or government Redevelopment of a decaying area of the city Beautification of the city through demolition of bad looking buildings Construction of infrastructure such as rail terminals, road networks, sewerages and markets by government	1 2 3 4 5
204	Do you like the idea of gentrification?	Yes No	1 2
205	If yes, why do you like it?	It beautifies and gives the area a face value It reduces crimes and social vices It attracts businesses and government's attention to the area It reduces environmental and health-related hazards It attracts better educational and healthcare facilities	1 2 3 4 5
206	If no, why don't you like it?	It favours the wealthy elites at the detriment of the urban poor	1

		It aggravates urban poverty and homelessness through evictions and harassments	2
			3
		It raises the living standard of the area beyond the reach of the poor	4
		It changes the social character of the area	5
		It breeds envy, tension and conflicts between the gentrifiers and the gentrified	
207	Are people leaving your area due to gentrification?	Yes No	1 2
208	If yes, what factors are responsible for their leaving?	Rise in rent prices Increase in prices of commodities Change in social character of the area Growing urbanisation and urbanism	1 2 3 4
209	What propels gentrification in your area?	Emergence of new wealthy individuals Presence of public infrastructure such as roads, sewerages etc Influx of migrants in the area Population increase	1 2 3 4
210	Which other factor (s) can you identify as drivers of gentrification in your area?		
211	Is the process of gentrification being engineered by people from within or outside your area?		
212	Why do the indigenous young wealthy youths insist in acquiring old houses and replace them with modern buildings instead of moving to the suburbs of Lagos?		
213	Do corporate organisations also gentrify your area?	Yes No	1 2
214	If they do, why do they?		Actual

215	Which of the following plays a leading role in gentrifying your area?	Government (federal, state, local) Corporate organisations Private wealthy individuals Non-governmental organisations	1 2 3 4
216	Which roles do religion and cultural heritage play in driving gentrification in your area?		Actual
217	Which Nigerian ethnic group is the main gentrifier in your area?	Igbo Yoruba Hausa Others ------------------------------ ---------	1 2 3 66
218	Which gender is the main actor of gentrification in your area?	Male Female	1 2

Processes of Gentrification in Lagos State			
Module	Question	Response	Codes
301	How long have you been living in this area?	Less than 5 years 5 to 10 years Above 10 years	1 2 3
302	What are the eviction processes of a sold house	6-months quit notice is issued 1-year quit notice No quit notice at all 3-months quit notice	1 2 3 4
303	How is the process of quitting a sold house determined?		Actual
304	Are compensations paid to forcibly evicted victims?	Ye No	1 2
305	Where do the voluntarily displaced landlords relocate to?		Actual

306	Where do the forced eviction victims relocate to?		Actual
307	What types of buildings/changes are currently occurring in the area?	Private residences and estates Rental apartments and hotels Markets, plazas, malls and high rise stores Religious houses Redeveloping already developed buildings Schools and hospitals Amusement parks Government projects Luxury condominiums and tourist attractions	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
308	How does gentrification manifest in your area?	Through demolition of old residences to build new ones By evicting low income communities by government to construct infrastructure By acquiring houses of the urban poor and replace them with shops, malls, hotels etc by the wealthy people Through eviction of poor communities to build tourist attraction sites Through purchase of old houses surrounding tertiary institutions and replacing them with rental apartments for students Through displacement of low income households to construct rail terminals and other infrastructure	1 2 3 4 5 6
309	How are payments of compensations determined?		Actual

Patterns of Gentrification in Lagos State			
Module	Question	Response	Codes
401	What are the most common types of building in your area	Rooming house (face me I face you)	1
			2
			3
		Detached	
			4
		Semi-detached	
			5
		Bungalow	6
		Bungalow duplex	
		Plazas and malls	7
		Condominiums and high rise structures	
402	What uses are the buildings mostly put to?	Private residential apartments	1
		Luxury condominiums, amusement parks	2
			3
		Malls, plazas, eateries, hotels	4
		Commercial rental apartment	5
			6
		Mosques/Churches, schools, hospitals	
		Markets, bus/rail terminals, road etc.	
403	What is the average age of the building?	1-4 years	1
		5-9 years	2
			3
		Over 10 years	
404	What is the physical manifestation of gentrification in your area?	Acquisition of rooming houses belonging to the urban poor by wealthy people	1
			2

		Eviction of low income communities by government	3
		Acquisition of dilapidated houses of the urban poor by estate developers	4
		Conversion of residential apartments surrounding tertiary institutions into commercial ones	5
		Displacement of low income households by government construct rail terminals	6
		Eviction of waterfront communities to build luxury residential and commercial apartments	7
		Displacement of traders by land owners or government	
405	What type of physical changes are taking place in your area?	Conversion of old residential houses into commercial buildings	1
		Purchase and conversion of old residential houses into estates by fencing them	2
		Conversion of old residences into schools, hospitals, worship places, eateries, hotels or guest houses	3
		Replacing old houses with commercial luxury apartments	4
		Construction of government owned projects such as rail transit terminals, overhead bridges, dualisation of roads by displacing the poor local residents	5
406	Which categories of people are gentrifying your area?	Government officials	1
		Private wealthy individuals	2
		Corporate organisations	3
		Religious bodies	4
		Educationists	5
		Medical doctors	6
		Foreign expatriates	7
		Financial institutions	8
		Transporters	9

407	Which houses in your area are the most preferred to the gentrifiers?	Old houses located along main roads	1
		Houses situated in motorable areas	2
		The most dilapidated houses which appear to be cheap	3
		Houses located in areas already inhabited by the gentrifiers' kinsmen	4
		Others --------------------------------------	66
408	Why do you think your choice in question 305 above is the most preferred building to the gentrifiers?		
409	Which Nigerian ethnic groups are the longest time inhabitants in your area?	Igbo	1
		Yoruba	2
		Hausa/Fulani	3
		Others ---------------------------------------	66
410	What type of gentrification processes can you identify in your area?		Actual
411	Which uses are most of the gentrified buildings in your area put to?	Private residential apartments	1
		Luxury condominiums, amusement parks	2
		Malls, plazas, eateries, hotels	3
		Commercial rental apartments	4
		Mosques/Churches, schools, hospitals	5
		Markets, bus/rail terminals, roads etc.	6
412	What is the magnitude of gentrification in your area?	Very high	1
		High	2
		Moderate	3
		Low	4

Costs of Gentrification in Lagos State			
Module	Question	Response	Code
501	What are the social costs of gentrification?	Shifts in the demographics of the city	1
			2
			3

		Loss of cultural heritage	4
		Loss of social diversity	5
		Increased level of conflicts	6 7
		Homelessness	8
		New categories of crime	
		Loss of affordable housing	
		Psychological issues	

[Likert scale]

a. Social Costs of Gentrification

Module	Statement	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	Code
502	Gentrification displaces long-time residents of an area				
503	Gentrification leads to homelessness through evictions and harassments				
504	Gentrification breeds ethnic tension and conflict between long-time residents and the new				
505	Gentrification promotes spatial inequality and marginalisation of the urban poor				
506	Gentrification exacerbates poverty through loss of source of livelihood				
507	Gentrification changes social character of an area by eroding core communal values of the long-time residents of a community				
508	Victims of gentrification (particularly landlords/landladies) are usually forced to relocate to suburbs or migrate to neighbouring state (often their state of origin)				
509	Evicted low income tenants are usually forced to move into poorer				

	areas (usually slums) where they can afford				
510	Gentrification further deepens the mistrust, envy and contempt between the new higher class and long-time lower income residents				
511	Gentrification disintegrates family network, long time established friendships and distorts demographic configurations of an area				

b. Economic Costs of Gentrification

512	The establishment of bigger shopping complexes in the gentrifying communities tend to displace long time small retail businesses through gentrification process				
513	Houses and shops have become too expensive to rent due to gentrification process				
514	Gentrification leads to commercialisation of residential houses				
515	The infiltration of wealthy individuals into low income areas affects prices of commodities				
516	Old stores and businesses in the gentrifying area are closing because they cannot afford the rent and taxes				

	Economic Costs of gentrification		
Module	Questions	Responses	Code
517	What are the economic costs of gentrification?	Displacement of petty traders, local kiosks and shops through construction of plazas and malls	1

		Rental costs for shops which affects small businesses	2
		High taxes on goods and services which affect small businesses	3
		Commercialisation of residential apartments	4
		Intentional neglect of inner city areas by powerful land-based interest groups	5
		Imbalance between job growth and housing supply	6
		Shutting down of low-income businesses	7
		By destroying our sources of living in our previous community	8

Adaptive Strategies of Long Time Residents of Gentrifying areas in Lagos State			
Module	Question	Response	Codes
601	Who are the real victims of gentrification?	Low-income urban residents The uncared for elderly urban dwellers The urban widows and orphans The female-headed households	1 2 3 4
602	Do you feel worried about the physical and social changes that occur in your area?	Yes No	1 2
603	What aspects of the physical changes are your major concerns?	Changing the rent houses from the previous single room type to self-contain and multiple bedroom flats Building of large supermarkets, restaurants, and pharmaceutical shops Construction of new mosques/churches which draws large number of people to the area	1 2 3

604	What do you do to overcome the effects of these changes in your area?		Actual
605	Do you care about the cultural heritage of your area?	Yes No	1 2
606	What do you do to minimise cultural displacements in your area?		
607	What do you do to adjust to the rising prices of groceries in your gentrifying area?	I only buy things that are not significantly costly in my area I buy anyway regardless of the price I don't buy anything in my area however small	1 2 3
608	Do you have local community leaders?	Yes No	1 2
609	What role do they play in ensuring peaceful coexistence among the people in your area?		Actual
610	What strategies do you put in place to coordinate the affairs of your neighbourhood in terms of security, morality, environmental health and sanitation?		Actual
611	Do you enjoy the support of the wealthy new comers in your area?	Yes No	1 2
612	Considering the change in the social character of your area, what do you do to ensure healthy social relations with others?		actual
613	What are the strategies adopted to cope with residential and commercial displacement	Use of refurbished containers Relocation to less desirable areas of the city Reliance on family and friends network for support	1 2 3

614	What are the strategies adopted to cope with cost of living?	Diversification of sources of income	1
		Seeking accommodation in less-gentrifying areas	2
		Purchasing groceries and other essential things in non-gentrifying areas	3
615	What are the coping strategies adopted to foster effective good relationship between long time and new residents?	Intra-communal interactions	1
		Formation of community associations	2
		Regular attendance and contribution to the community meetings and projects	3

Social Relations of Gentrification in Lagos State			
Module	Question	Response	Codes
701	What does the arrival of gentry mean to long-time residents of gentrifying areas?	Systematic invasion	1
		Distortion of long time held norms and values	2
			3
		modernisation and development	
			4
		Civilisation and exposure to western life style	
702	What is your reaction to the displacement of residents in your area?	It is a bad thing	1
		It is a good experience	2
		I do not care	3
703	Do you have preference as to whom you would sell or rent out your property (house or shop) to?	Yes	1
		No	2
704	Who do you prefer to sell or rent your property (house/shop) to?	Igbo	1
		Yoruba	2
		Hausa	3
		Anyone	4

705	What informed your preference for the choice you make in question 503 above?		
706	Have there been ethnic-based conflicts or tensions resulting from the gentrification process in your area?	Yes No	1 2
707	Which ethnic groups are mostly involved in conflictual social relations in your area?	Hausa versus Yoruba Yoruba versus Igbos Igbos versus Hausa None Others ------------------------------ -------	1 2 3 4 66
708	How do the tensions manifest in your area?		Actual
709	What usually causes government-induced displacement of households and businesses in your area?	When a community developed on a piece of land belonging to the government When government wants to construct infrastructure such as terminal, schools, hospitals etc When the government feels the area is an eyesore in the city When the government decides that the area has become a den of criminality The government's need for expansion of existing facilities	1 2 3 4 5
710	How are the social relations between traditional heads in your area?	Cooperative and supportive of each other Very cordial and harmonious They have little influence Very antagonistic	1 2 3 4
711	Considering the income differentials between the wealthy new comers and the long-time lower income residents, how do the members of gentrifying communities relate particularly in areas of security, community services		Actual

	and other communal activities that require cooperation among the interacting members of the society		
712	Is the security of your area being threatened by the influx of gentrifiers?	Yes No	1 2
713	What role does the government play to either encourage or discourage your stay in the gentrifying neighbourhood?		
714	Are there ethno-based associations in your area?	Yes No	1 2
715	How do they influence the decisions of long time or new residents to either stay or leave a gentrifying neighbourhood?		Actual

APPENDIX 2: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Number _____ Time Started_____

Interview Date_____ Time Ended_____

"The Context of Gentrification in Lagos State Nigeria"

<u>In-Depth Interview Guide For Long Time Landlords (Those Struggling To Stay)</u>

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Profile of the Long Time Residents

S/N	Variable	Response
1	Age as at last birthday	
2	Gender	
3	Marital status	
4	Occupation/profession	
5	Residential area	
6	Family role	
7	Household size	
8	Monthly income size	
9	Religion	
10	Ethnicity	

1. Social history of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Awareness of gentrification
   ii.   What it means to the residents
   iii. Length of stay in the area
   iv.   Status of the property (bought or inherited)
   v.   Nature of the social character of the area
2. Patterns of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Type of residences in the area
   ii.   Observed physical displacements in the area
   iii. Categories of people being displaced in the area
   iv.   Type of buildings being constructed as replacement of the old houses in the area
   v.   Type of people engaged in gentrification processes in the area (socio-demographic attributes of the gentrifiers)
   vi.   Extent/ magnitude of gentrification processes in the area
3. Social drivers of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Discussion on social factors such as poverty, unemployment, security etc
   ii.   Discussion on economic issues such rise in property values, short supply of housing in the face of high demand
   iii. Discussion on government policies driving the process of gentrification in Lagos State
4. Processes of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Discussion on landlords' reactions to the physical changes in the area
   ii.   Discussion on the socio-demographic configurations of the area
   iii. Description of the patterns of inter-group relations in the area (ethnic factors, religious factors, cultural issues, indigene-settler crisis, integration/discrimination)
   iv.   Tenancy/land disputes and tenants-landlords conflicts in the area
   v.   Issues of rents, quit notices and evictions practices
   vi.   Commercial and trading activities and relations in the area

vii.   Interplay of public policies and private profit motives

viii. Legal issues involved in the gentrification processes in the area

ix.   Role of government urban policies, projects and programmes in the area

5. Consequences of gentrification in Lagos state
     Probe for:

   i.   Social costs of gentrification processes (mistrust, ethnic crisis, religious conflicts, cultural displacement, erosion of traditional core values)

   ii. Economic costs of gentrification processes (property values, essential services, tenancy rates, essential commodities, values of landed properties)

   iii. Effects of gentrification on family networks, friends circles, worship cliques, business cohorts, leisure activities and other social engagements

   iv. The effects of gentrification on the interaction patterns of the residents (tenants/landlords, new residents/long-time residents, indigenous ethnic groups/settler ethnic groups, government/residents, poor/wealthy residents, business activities/residents)

   v.   Other effects of gentrification on the members of gentrifying communities (education, health accessibility and affordability, overcrowding, slums generation, poverty, diseases, loss of 'place', [loss of social character], overstretching available basic amenities)

   vi. Displacement of small scale businesses due to the transformation of the physical and social character of the area

   vii. Loss of local jobs and rising unemployment

   viii. Increase in taxes

6. Adaptive strategies of long time landlords
     Probe for:

   i.   Identification of stressors for long time landlords

   ii. Adaptive strategies to rising prices of commodities in the area and other basic necessities

   iii. Adaptive strategies to the changing social character of the area

   iv. Strategies adopted by long time landlords in the gentrifying area to preserve their cultural heritage and belief systems

   v.   Strategies adopted by long time landlords in dealing with intergroup ethnic or religious-based conflicts; security threats such as burglary and armed robbery; environmental hazards such as flooding and waste pollutions etc.

7. Social relations of gentrification

     Probe for:
     Relationship between long and new time residents
     Relationship between traditional heads
     Relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification
     Relationship between various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas

APPENDIX 3:   IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Number _____ Time Started_____

Interview Date_____ Time Ended_____

"The Context of Gentrification in Lagos State Nigeria"

In-Depth Interview Guide For Long Time Tenants (Those Struggling To Stay)

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Profile of the Long Time Residents

S/N	Variable	Response
1	Age as at last birthday	
2	Gender	
3	Marital status	
4	Occupation/profession	
5	Residential area	
6	Family role	
7	Household size	
8	Monthly income size	
9	Religion	
10	Ethnicity	

1. Social history of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   vi. Awareness of gentrification
   vii. What it means to the residents
   viii. Length of stay in the area
   ix. Attractive factors to the area
   x. Nature of the social character of the area
2. Patterns of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   vii. Type of residences in the area
   viii. Observed physical displacements in the area
   ix. Categories of people being displaced in the area
   x. Type of buildings being constructed as replacement of the old houses in the area
   xi. Type of people engaged in gentrification processes in the area (socio-demographic attributes of the gentrifiers)
   xii. Extent/ magnitude of gentrification processes in the area
3. Social drivers of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   iv. Rise in property value
   v. Short supply of housing in the face of increasing demand
   vi. Profit motive of property investors desiring to utilize the opportunity of rent-gap
   vii. Direct government policies such as urban renewal/ upgrading
   viii. Rapid urbanization and increasing city size
   ix. Wide income-gap between the poor and the middle/upper class
   x. Wide disparity between the city and suburbs in terms of infrastructure, social services, and standard of living
   xi. Reduction in violent crime rates in the gentrifying areas
4. Processes of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   x. Residents' responses to the physical displacements in the area
   xi. Socio-demographic configurations of the area
   xii. Patterns of inter-group relations in the area (ethnic factors, religious factors, cultural issues, indigene-settler crisis, integration/discrimination)
   xiii. Tenancy/land disputes and tenants-landlords conflicts in the area
   xiv. Issues of rents, quit notices and evictions practices
   xv. Commercial and trading activities and relations in the area
   xvi. Interplay of public policies and private profit motives
   xvii. Legal issues involved in the gentrification processes in the area
   xviii. Role of government urban policies, projects and programmes in the area
5. Consequences of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:

ix.   Social costs of gentrification processes (mistrust, ethnic crisis, religious conflicts, cultural displacement, erosion of traditional core values)

x.   Economic costs of gentrification processes (property values, essential services, tenancy rates, essential commodities, values of landed properties)

xi.   Effects of gentrification on family networks, friends circles, worship cliques, business cohorts, leisure activities and other social engagements

xii.   The effects of gentrification on the interaction patterns of the residents (tenants/landlords, new residents/long time residents, indigenous ethnic groups/settler ethnic groups, government/residents, poor/wealthy residents, business activities/residents)

xiii.   Other effects of gentrification on the members of gentrifying communities (education, health accessibility and affordability, overcrowding, slums generation, poverty, diseases, loss of 'place', [loss of social character], overstretching available basic amenities)

xiv.   Displacement of small scale businesses due to the transformation of the physical and social character of the area

xv.   Loss of local jobs and rising unemployment

xvi.   Increase in taxes

6. Adaptive strategies of long-time residents
   Probe for:
   vi.   Identification of stressors for long-time residents
   vii.   Adaptive strategies to rising prices of commodities in the area, tenancy rates, and other basic necessities
   viii.   Adaptive strategies to the changing social character of the area
   ix.   Strategies adopted by each ethnic group in the gentrifying area to preserve their cultural heritage and belief systems
   x.   Strategies adopted by long-time residents in dealing with intergroup ethnic or religious-based conflicts; security threats such as burglary and armed robbery; environmental hazards such as flooding and waste pollutions etc.
7. Social relations of gentrification

   Probe for:
   Relationship between long and new time residents
   Relationship between traditional heads
   Relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification
   Relationship between various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas

APPENDIX 4:   IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Number _____   Time Started_____

Interview Date_____   Time Ended_____

"The Context Of Gentrification In Lagos State Nigeria"

<u>In-Depth Interview Guide For Displaced Tenants</u>

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Profile of the displaced tenants

S/N	Variable	Response
1	Age as at last birthday	
2	Gender	
3	Marital status	
4	Occupation/profession	
5	Former residential area	
6	New residential area	
7	Family role	
8	Household size	
9	Monthly income size	
10	Religion	
11	Ethnicity	

1. Social history of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. Awareness of gentrification
   ii. Individual conception of gentrification
   iii. Number of years spent in the former area/ house
   iv. When gentrification started in the area
   v. Changes/processes that can described as gentrification
2. Patterns of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. Type of changes that occur in a typical gentrifying area (physical/ social).
   ii. Typical gentrifiers (people involved in gentrification processes)
   iii. Type of activities that are most affected
   iv. Residents' responses to the physical and social changes in the areas
   v. Type of buildings that are replaced with the old houses
3. Social drivers of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. Change in social services provision in the former area
   ii. Whether the changes are negative or positive
   iii. Options considered before taking final decision to quit the house
   iv. Whether the decision to quit the house was voluntary or forced
   v. Factors considered as promoting gentrification (social, economic, cultural etc.)
4. Processes of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. Initial tenant's responses to gentrification
   ii. Whether there were legal issues involved
   iii. Whether the tenants were forcefully evicted
   iv. Discussion on whether the displacement process involved giving quit notice or refund from landlord
   v. Processes of securing another rental apartment
   vi. Discussion on whether any assistance to find alternative shelter was sought
5. Consequences of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. The effects of displacement on the tenants
   ii. Discussion on the losses suffered due to gentrification
   iii. Discussion on the displaced tenants' view of the gentrifiers
   iv. The nature of interaction between the tenants and the landlords (cordial/conflictual)
   v. Negative impacts of leaving the former area (family, friends, services, schools, worship hubs etc).
   vi. The effects of relocation on the jobs of the displaced landlords

   vii. Examination of the ethnic tensions and conflicts arising as a result of the acquisition of the low income houses by the wealthy individuals

        viii.   Discussion on evictions, harassments and homelessness

6. Adaptive strategies of tenants
   Probe for:
   i.   Main challenges faced by the displaced tenants
   ii.   Strategies adopted to cope with the identified challenges
   iii.   Adaptive strategies to children school, commuting to work, other social activities etc
   iv.   Identification of any other issue the tenants have to cope with due to gentrification

7. Social relations of gentrification

   Probe for:
   Relationship between long and new time residents
   Relationship between traditional heads
   Relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification
   Relationship between various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas

APPENDIX 5:   IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Number _____   Time Started_____

Interview Date_____   Time Ended_____

"The Context of Gentrification In Lagos State Nigeria"

In-Depth Interview Guide For New Landlords/Homeowners

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Profile of New Landlords

S/N	Variable	Response
1	Age as at last birthday	
2	Gender	
3	Marital status	
4	Occupation/profession	
5	Residential area	
6	Family role	
7	Household size	
8	Monthly income size	
9	Religion	
10	Ethnicity	

1. Social history of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. Awareness of gentrification
   ii. Meaning of gentrification
   iii. Discussion on the previous resident/residential area

2. Patterns of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. Type of houses being gentrified in the area
   ii. Discussion on what informs their preference for the new area
   iii. Categories of people being displaced in the area
   iv. Which type of property did buy in the area
   v. What the property was converted into (residential/commercial)

3. Social drivers of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. Discussion of factors motivating the purchase of houses in the blighted areas
   ii. Short supply of housing in the face of increasing demand
   iii. Discussion of factors motivating the purchase of houses in the blighted areas
   iv. Profit motive of property investors desiring to utilize the opportunity of rent-gap
   v. Direct government policies such as urban renewal/upgrading
   vi. Rapid urbanisation and increasing city size
   vii. Reduction in violent crime rates in the gentrifying areas

4. Processes of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. Parties involved in the acquisition/purchase of houses in the area
   ii. The process of identification, pricing, negotiation and selling of the property
   iii. The determinants of the form of redevelopment (residential, commercial, religious building etc)
   iv. The roles played by property agents in letting out a property
   v. Discriminatory practices in either selling or letting out houses or shops (eg preference to some specific ethnic groups or religious groups)
   vi. Processes of settling the existing tenants of the sold property
   vii. Legal issues in the purchase or letting out property in the area

5. Consequences of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. Social costs of gentrification processes (mistrust, ethnic crisis, religious conflicts, cultural displacement, erosion of traditional core values)
   ii. Economic costs of gentrification processes (property values, essential services, tenancy rates, essential commodities, values of landed properties)
   iii. Effects of gentrification on family networks, friends circles, worship cliques, business cohorts, leisure activities and other social engagements
   iv. The effects of gentrification on the interaction patterns of the residents (tenants/landlords, new residents/long time residents, indigenous ethnic

groups/settler ethnic groups, government/residents, poor/wealthy residents, business activities/residents)

    v.   Other effects of gentrification on the members of gentrifying communities (education, health accessibility and affordability, overcrowding, slums generation, poverty, diseases, loss of 'place', [loss of social character], overstretching available basic amenities)

6. Adaptive strategies of long time residents
   Probe for:
       i.   Adaptive strategies to the changing social character of the area
       ii.   Strategies adopted by each ethnic group in the gentrifying area to preserve their cultural heritage and belief systems
       iii.   Strategies adopted by new homeowners in dealing with intergroup ethnic or religious-based conflicts; security threats such as burglary and armed robbery; environmental hazards such as flooding and waste pollutions etc.

7. Social relations of gentrification
   Probe for:
   Relationship between long and new time residents
   Relationship between traditional heads
   Relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification
   Relationship between various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas

APPENDIX 6: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Number _____   Time Started_____

Interview Date_____   Time Ended_____

"The Context of Gentrification In Lagos State Nigeria"

In-Depth Interview Guide For Traders/Business Owners

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Profile of Traders/Business Owners

S/N	Variable	Response
1	Age as at last birthday	
2	Gender	
3	Marital status	
4	Type of business	
5	Residential area	
6	Family role	
7	Household size	
8	Monthly income size	
9	Religion	
10	Ethnicity	

1. Social history of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Awareness of gentrification
   ii.   Meaning of gentrification from the viewpoint of the trader
   iii.   Location of the business unit (attached to house or independent shop)
   iv.   Nature of the business
   v.   Discussion on the origin of gentrification in the area
2. Patterns of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Type of houses being gentrified in the area
   ii.   Type of commercial buildings in the area
   iii.   Categories of people involved in business activities in the area
   iv.   Type of commodities sold in the area
   v.   Discussion on the capital base of the traders in the area
3. Social drivers of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Factors responsible for structural changes in the area
   ii.   Short supply of housing in the face of increasing demand
   iii.   Profit motive of property investors desiring to utilize the opportunity of rent-gap
4. Processes of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Discussion on the nature of interaction between the business owners and their customers
   ii.   Discussion on issues threatening the growth of business in the area
   iii.   Discussion on the rent, price hikes etc
5. Consequences of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Effects of gentrification on family networks, friends circles, worship cliques, business cohorts, leisure activities and other social engagements
   ii.   The effects of gentrification on the interaction patterns of the residents (tenants/landlords, new residents/long time residents, indigenous ethnic groups/settler ethnic groups, government/residents, poor/wealthy residents, business activities/residents)
   iii.   The effects of physical and social changes on businesses
   iv.   Discussion on customers' patronage
   v.   Displacement of small scale businesses due to the transformation of the physical and social character of the area
   vi.   Loss of local jobs and rising unemployment
   vii.   Increase in taxes

6. Adaptive strategies of long time residents
   Probe for:
   i. Adaptive strategies to tenancy rates and other basic necessities
   ii. Adaptive strategies to the changing social character of the area
   iii. Strategies adopted by the business owners to maximize profits and sustain their businesses
7. Social relations of gentrification
   Probe for:
   Relationship between long and new time residents
   Relationship between traditional heads
   Relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification
   Relationship between various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas

APPENDIX 7: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Number _____   Time Started_____

Interview Date_____   Time Ended_____

<center>"The Context Of Gentrification In Lagos State Nigeria"</center>

<u>In-Depth Interview Guide For Estate Developers/Property Buyers/Agents</u>

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Profile of Estate Developers/Property Buyers/Agents

S/N	Variable	Response
1	Age as at last birthday	
2	Gender	
3	Marital status	
4	Occupation/profession	
5	Residential area	
6	Family role	
7	Household size	
8	Monthly income size	
9	Religion	
10	Ethnicity	

1. Social history of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. Awareness of gentrification
   ii. Meaning of gentrification from the property developers/buyers/agents' viewpoint
   iii. Years in the profession
   iv. Nature of the profession
   v. Discussion on the origin of gentrification in the area
2. Patterns of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   vi. Type of houses being gentrified in the area
   vii. Preferred locations and buildings to the developers/buyers
   viii. Categories of people being displaced in the area
   ix. Type of properties being developed/bought in the area
   x. Discussion on the purpose of the purchase of the properties
   xi. Discussion on the uses the new buildings are put to in the area
3. Social drivers of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   xii. Discussion of factors motivating the purchase of houses in the blighted areas
   xiii. Short supply of housing in the face of increasing demand
   xiv. Profit motive of property investors desiring to utilize the opportunity of rent-gap
   xv. Direct government policies such as urban renewal/upgrading
   xvi. Rapid urbanisation and increasing city size
   xvii. Wide income-gap between the poor and the middle/upper class
   xviii. Wide disparity between the city and suburbs in terms of infrastructure, social services, and standard of living
   xix. Reduction in violent crime rates in the gentrifying areas
4. Processes of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   xx. Parties involved in the acquisition/purchase of houses in the area
   xxi. The process of identification, pricing, negotiation and selling of the property
   xxii. The determinants of the form of redevelopment (residential, commercial, religious building etc)
   xxiii. The process of determining the rent dues and scouting for tenants
   xxiv. The roles played by property agents in letting out a property
   xxv. Discriminatory practices in either selling or letting out houses or shops (eg preference to some specific ethnic groups or religious groups)
   xxvi. Processes of settling the existing tenants of the sold property
   xxvii. Legal issues in the purchase or letting out property in the area
5. Consequences of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   xxviii. Social costs of gentrification processes (mistrust, ethnic crisis, religious conflicts, cultural displacement, erosion of traditional core values)

xxix.   Economic costs of gentrification processes (property values, essential services, tenancy rates, essential commodities, values of landed properties)

xxx.   Effects of gentrification on family networks, friends circles, worship cliques, business cohorts, leisure activities and other social engagements

xxxi.   The effects of gentrification on the interaction patterns of the residents (tenants/landlords, new residents/long-time residents, indigenous ethnic groups/settler ethnic groups, government/residents, poor/wealthy residents, business activities/residents)

xxxii.   Other effects of gentrification on the members of gentrifying communities (education, health accessibility and affordability, overcrowding, slums generation, poverty, diseases, loss of 'place', [loss of social character], overstretching available basic amenities)

6. Adaptive strategies of long-time residents
   Probe for:

xxxiii.   Adaptive strategies to rising prices of commodities in the area, tenancy rates, and other basic necessities

xxxiv.   Adaptive strategies to the changing social character of the area

xxxv.   Strategies adopted by each ethnic group in the gentrifying area to preserve their cultural heritage and belief systems

xxxvi.   Strategies adopted by long-time residents in dealing with intergroup ethnic or religious-based conflicts; security threats such as burglary and armed robbery; environmental hazards such as flooding and waste pollutions etc.

7. Social relations of gentrification
   Probe for:
   Relationship between long and new time residents
   Relationship between traditional heads
   Relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification
   Relationship between various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas

APPENDIX 8:   KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Number _____   Time Started_____

Interview Date_____   Time Ended_____

"The Context Of Gentrification In Lagos State Nigeria"

Key Informant Interview Guide For Displaced Landlords

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Profile of Displaced Landlords

S/N	Variable	Response
1	Age as at last birthday	
2	Gender	
3	Marital status	
4	Occupation/profession	
5	Former residential area	
6	New residential area	
7	Family role	
8	Household size	
9	Monthly income size	
10	Religion	
11	Ethnicity	

1. Social history of gentrification

Probe for:

i. Awareness of gentrification
ii. What it means to you and the area you lived in
iii. Number of years spent in the former area
iv. When the process of gentrification started in the area
v. Changes/ processes that can be described as gentrification
vi. Whether the former house was solely or jointly owned by you

2. Patterns of gentrification in Lagos state

i. Type of changes that occur in a typical gentrifying area (physical/ social).
ii. Typical gentrifiers (people involved in gentrification processes)
iii. Type of activities that are most affected
iv. Residents' responses generated by the physical and social changes in the areas

3. Social drivers of gentrification in Lagos state

i. Decision to sell the former house
ii. Decision not to relocate to another place in the same area
iii. Change in social services provision in the former area
iv. Whether the changes are negative or positive
v. Options considered before taking final decision of selling the house
vi. Whether the decision was voluntary or forced
vii. The major source of worry in the former area

4. The processes of gentrification in Lagos state

i. Discussion on the ideal pattern of social relations in an area
ii. Discussion on the experiences of the displaced landlord on the processes of getting buyers of the house
iii. Discussion on the value of the house
iv. The processes of settling the tenants after selling the house
v. Whether there were conflicts between the displaced landlords and their tenants

5. Consequences of gentrification in Lagos state

i. Discussion on whether you regret the decision of selling your former house
ii. Discussion on what informed the choice of your new area
iii. Discussion on the projects done with the money gotten from the sale of the former house
iv. Discussion on satisfaction level of social character of the new area
v. Negative impacts of leaving the former area (family, friends, services, schools, worship hubs etc).
vi. The effects of relocation on the jobs of the displaced landlords
vii. Sacrifices made in order to change the location

6. Adaptive strategies of the displaced landlords

i. Main challenges faced by the displaced landlords
ii. Strategies adopted to cope with the identified challenges
iii. Discussion on how the displaced landlords adapt to the separation from friends and family members
iv. Discussion on strategies adopted to ensure continuity of their children's education
v. Discussion on the accessibility of the displaced landlords to health facilities and other basic social amenities.

8. Social relations of gentrification

Probe for:
Relationship between long and new time residents
Relationship between traditional heads
Relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification
Relationship between various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas

Interview Number _____   Time Started_____

Interview Date_____   Time Ended_____

"The Context Of Gentrification In Lagos State Nigeria"

Key Informant Interview Guide For Legal Practitioners

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Section A:

Profile of the chamber

    a. Name of the chamber
    b. Job role of the informant
    c. Rank/position
    d. Period of service
    e. Jurisdiction

Section B: The context of gentrification in Lagos state

1. What is the social history of gentrification in Lagos state?
   Probe for:
   a. Awareness of the phenomenon of gentrification
   b. Discussion on the first gentrification related cases handled
   c. Nature of the cases
   d. Early structural and social changes in the gentrifying areas

2. What are the patterns of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   a. Categories of urban residents that are being gentrified
   b. Description of the categories of the gentrifiers
   c. Discussion on the type of buildings and activities that replace the old gentrified structures
   d. Discussion on the government role in facilitating or discouraging gentrification

3. What are the social drivers of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   a. Cultural factors promoting gentrification in the area
   b. Economic issues stimulating gentrification
   c. Security concerns encouraging or discouraging gentrification

    d.   Demographic changes and emerging wealthy class

    e.   Social factors responsible for the growth of gentrification processes

4.   What are the social processes involved in gentrification in Lagos state

    a.   Determinants of property choice by the gentrifiers

    b.   Circumstances leading to the eviction of tenants of gentrified house

    c.   Relationship between the landlords and the tenants upon selling the house

    d.   Eviction, quit notice and acquisition of another rent processes

    e.   Legal issues involved in these processes

5.   What are the consequences of gentrification in Lagos state

    a.   Social effects of gentrication (mistrust, quarrels, inter religious and ethnic conflicts)

    b.   Economic implications of the gentrification processes

    c.   Security costs of gentrification

    d.   Impact of gentrification on family income, children education, commuting to work etc

6.   What are the adaptive strategies of those struggling to stay in the gentrifying areas

    Probe for:

    a.   Challenges being faced by gentrifying areas

    b.   Adaptive strategies of coping with the challenges

    c.   Conflictual issues in the gentrifying areas that require some adaptive mechanisms from legal perspective

    d.   Overall strategies of the low income residents to the effects of gentrification

7.   Social relations of gentrification

    Probe for:

    Relationship between long and new time residents

    Relationship between traditional heads

    Relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification

    Relationship between various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas

APPENDIX 10:   KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Number _____   Time Started_____

Interview Date_____   Time Ended_____

"The Context Of Gentrification In Lagos State Nigeria"

Key Informant Interview Guide For Lagos State Urban Renewal Agency

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Section A:

Profile of the agency

    f.   Brief history of LASURA
    g.   Mandate of LASURA
    h.   Job role of the informant
    i.   Rank/position
    j.   Period of service
    k.   Jurisdiction

Section B: The context of gentrification in Lagos state
1. What is your conception of gentrification in Lagos state?
    Probe for:
    e.   The purpose of establishing LASURA
    f.   The year of its establishment
    g.   Major functions of LASURA
    h.   Operational methods of LASURA
2. What are Lagos state's goals for the city and its citizenry
    Probe for:
    e.   Discussion on the state's urban renewal policies
    f.   Strategies adopted in effecting the policies
    g.   The government's conception of features of an ideal city
    h.   Discussion on the processes involved in slums clearance (eviction practice, compensations, determinants of blighted areas)
3. What types of projects usually replace the evicted areas?
    Probe for:
    a.   Government urban renewal projects

    b. Fate of waterfront fishing communities and other low income inner city slums dwellers

    c. Government intervention policies regarding dislocation of businesses

    d. Compensation policies for rail transit-induced displaced communities

4. What are the legal backings for the government eviction practices in Lagos state

    a. Discussion on the legal framework for eviction

    b. The decision making process for various government led eviction practices

    c. The measures taken by the state to ensure equal access to the city by all citizens

    d. The state's response to the 'right to city' advocacies of non-governmental bodies such as SERAP, Amnesty International, Red Cross, UN-Habitat etc.

APPENDIX 11:   KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Number _____Time Started_____

Interview Date_____ Time Ended_____

"The Context Of Gentrification In Lagos State Nigeria"

<u>Key Informant Interview Guide For Human Rights Groups</u>

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Section A:

Profile of the organisation

    Name of the organisation

    Job role of the informant

    Rank/position

    Period of service

Section B: The context of gentrification in Lagos state
1. What is the mandate of your group?
   Probe for:
     a. The primary concerns of your organisation
     b. The modus operandi of the organisation
     c. Sources and reliability of your data
     d. Sources of funds for the organisation
2. What is your conception of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   a. Awareness of gentrification
   b. What it means to your organisation
   c. The physical manifestation of gentrification
   d. Categories of urban residents that are being gentrified
3. What are the social drivers of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:

a. Identification of perpetrators of gentrification in Lagos
b. Social factors of gentrification in Lagos state
c. Cultural factors promoting gentrification in the area
d. Economic issues stimulating gentrification
e. Security concerns encouraging or discouraging gentrification
f. The role of government in gentrification process

4. What are the social processes involved in gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   a. Identification of blighted areas
   b. Circumstances leading to the eviction of residents
   c. Relationship between the residents and authorities
   d. Eviction, land contest, quit notice and resettlement processes
   e. Legal issues involved in these processes

5. What are the consequences of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   a. Social effects of gentrification (mistrust, quarrels, inter religious and ethnic conflicts)
   b. Economic implications of the gentrification processes
   c. Security costs of gentrification
   d. Impact of gentrification on family income, children education, commuting to work etc
   e. Discussion on legal status of the inhabitants of some of the low income areas of Lagos state such as the Ilubirin waterfront fishing community, Otodo-Gbame and Ijora Badia

6. What is your opinion on the right-based approach to development in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   a. The practicability of the right-based approach in nigeria
   b. Discussion on the established rights for the low income urban residents to have access to the city
   c. Your opinion on the right to city being advocated by particularly the UN-Habitat

7. What other issues do you think need attention as far as urban production of space is concerned
   Probe for:
   a. Opinion about the eviction of low income urban residents by the government
   b. Discussion on resettlements consideration for the victims
   c. Issues surrounding compensations and other government palliatives
   d. The role of your organisation in aiding the evicted communities

APPENDIX 12:   KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Number _____   Time Started_____

Interview Date_____   Time Ended_____

"The Context of Gentrification in Lagos State Nigeria"

Key Informant Interview Guide For Lagos State Building Control Agency

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Section A:

Profile of the agency

    l.   Brief history of LASBCA
    m. Mandate of LASBCA
    n.   Job role of the informant
    o.   Rank/position
    p.   Period of service
    q.   Area of jurisdiction

 Section B: The context of gentrification in Lagos state

8. What is your conception of gentrification in Lagos state?
    Probe for:
    i.   The mission of LASBCA
    j.   The year of its establishment
    k. Major functions of LASBCA
    l.   Operational methods of LASBCA

9. What is the vision of Lagos state for the city and its residents
    Probe for:
    i.   Discussion on the state's building control policies
    j.   Strategies adopted in effecting the policies
    k. The Lagos state ideal city plan
    l.   Discussion on the processes involved in building plans, designs, inspections, regulations and control

10. What types of buildings are legally permitted in Lagos State?
    Probe for:
    e.   Government's building regulations
    f.   Fate of violators or defaulters

  g. Government's policies regarding restructuring of the city
  h. Discussion on whether there are compensation policies for demolished properties
11. What are the legal issues concerning building control practices in Lagos state
  e. Discussion on the legal framework for building permits
  f. The decision making process for various government led demolition practices
  g. The measures taken by the state to ensure equal access to the city by all citizens
  h. The state's response to the 'right to city' advocacies of non-governmental bodies such as SERAP, Amnesty International, Red Cross, UN-Habitat etc.

APPENDIX 13: LIFE HISTORY GUIDE

Interview Number _____   Time Started_____

Interview Date_____   Time Ended_____

"The Context of Gentrification in Lagos State Nigeria"

Life History Guide For Community Leaders

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Profile of the Community Leader

S/N	Variable	Response
1	Age as at last birthday	
2	Gender	
3	Marital status	
4	Occupation/profession	
5	Residential area	
6	Title	
7	Household size	
8	Monthly income size	
9	Religion	
10	Ethnicity	

1. Social history of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i. Awareness of gentrification
   ii. What it means to the community leaders
   iii. Length of stay in the area
   iv. Duration on the occupied position
   v. Nature of the social character of the area
2. Patterns of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   xiii. Type of residences in the area
   xiv. Observed physical displacements in the area
   xv. Categories of people being displaced in the area
   xvi. Type of buildings being constructed as replacement of the old houses in the area
   xvii. Type of people engaged in gentrification processes in the area (socio-demographic attributes of the gentrifiers)
   xviii. Extent/ magnitude of gentrification processes in the area
3. Social drivers of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   xii. Discussion on social factors such as poverty, unemployment, security etc
   xiii. Discussion on economic issues such as rise in property values, short supply of housing in the face of high demand
   xiv. Discussion on government policies driving the process of gentrification in Lagos State
4. Processes of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   xix. Discussion on the community leaders reactions to the social physical changes in the area
   xx. Discussion on residents' reactions to the physical changes in the area
   xxi. Discussion on the socio-demographic configurations of the area
   xxii. Description of the patterns of inter-group relations in the area (ethnic factors, religious factors, cultural issues, indigene-settler crisis, integration/discrimination)
   xxiii. Tenancy/land disputes and tenants-landlords conflicts in the area
   xxiv. Issues of rents, quit notices and evictions practices
   xxv. Commercial and trading activities and relations in the area
   xxvi. Interplay of public policies and private profit motives
   xxvii. Legal issues involved in the gentrification processes in the area
5. Consequences of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   xvii. The effects of gentrification on the authorities of the community leaders
   xviii. Social costs of gentrification processes (mistrust, ethnic crisis, religious conflicts, cultural displacement, erosion of traditional core values)

xix.   Economic costs of gentrification processes (property values, essential services, tenancy rates, essential commodities, values of landed properties)

xx.   Effects of gentrification on family networks, friends circles, worship cliques, business cohorts, leisure activities and other social engagements

xxi.   The effects of gentrification on the interaction patterns of the residents (tenants/landlords, new residents/long-time residents, indigenous ethnic groups/settler ethnic groups, government/residents, poor/wealthy residents, business activities/residents)

xxii.   Other effects of gentrification on the members of gentrifying communities (education, health accessibility and affordability, overcrowding, slums generation, poverty, diseases, loss of 'place', [loss of social character], overstretching available basic amenities)

6. Adaptive strategies of community leaders
   Probe for:

xi.   Issues threatening the authority of the community leaders

xii.   What they are doing to ameliorate the effects

xiii.   Strategies employed to remain relevant amidst losing followership

xiv.   Adaptive strategies to the changing social character of the area

xv.   Strategies adopted by the community leaders in the gentrifying area to preserve their cultural heritage and belief systems

xvi.   Strategies adopted by the community leaders in dealing with intergroup ethnic or religious-based conflicts; security threats such as burglary and armed robbery; environmental hazards such as flooding and waste pollutions etc.

7. Social relations of gentrification
   Probe for:
   Relationship between long and new time residents
   Relationship between traditional heads
   Relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification
   Relationship between various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas

APPENDIX 14:   FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Interview Number _____   Time Started_____

Interview Date_____   Time Ended_____

"The Context of Gentrification in Lagos State Nigeria"

Focus Group Discussion Guide For Religious Leaders

Dear Respondent,

I am a doctoral student of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, conducting a research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree. This questionnaire is designed, in line with the global debate on urban development, to elicit information on the context of gentrification in Lagos state, Nigeria. I seek your understanding and confidential commitment to participate in this academic exercise. All responses are strictly for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation.

Ayuba M.R.

Profile of the Religious Leader

S/N	Variable	Response
1	Age as at last birthday	
2	Gender	
3	Marital status	
4	Occupation/profession	
5	Residential area	
6	Title	
7	Household size	
8	Monthly income size	
9	Religion	
10	Ethnicity	

1. Social history of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Awareness of gentrification
   ii.   What it means to the religious leaders
   iii. Length of stay in the area
   iv.   Duration on the occupied position
   v.   Nature of the social character of the area
2. Patterns of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Type of residences in the area
   ii.   Observed physical displacements in the area
   iii. Category of people being displaced in the area
   iv.   Type of buildings being constructed as replacement of the old houses in the area
   v.   People engaged in gentrification in the area (socio-demographic attributes of the gentrifiers)
   vi.   Extent/ magnitude of gentrification processes in the area
3. Social drivers of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Discussion on the role of religious organisations in driving gentrification in the area
   ii.   Discussion on social factors such as poverty, unemployment, security etc
   iii. Discussion on economic issues such as rise in property values, short supply of housing in the face of high demand
   iv.   Discussion on government policies driving the process of gentrification in Lagos State
4. Processes of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   Discussion on the religious leaders reactions to the social physical changes in the area
   ii.   Discussion on residents' reactions to the physical changes in the area
   iii. Discussion on the socio-demographic configurations of the area
   iv.   Description of the patterns of inter-group relations in the area (ethnic factors, religious factors, cultural issues, indigene-settler crisis, integration/discrimination)
   v.   Tenancy/land disputes and tenants-landlords conflicts in the area
   vi.   Issues of rents, quit notices and evictions practices
   vii. Commercial and trading activities and relations in the area
   viii. Interplay of public policies and private profit motives
   ix.   Legal issues involved in the gentrification processes in the area
5. Consequences of gentrification in Lagos state
   Probe for:
   i.   The loss of followership to gentrification in the area

 ii. Social costs of gentrification processes (mistrust, ethnic crisis, religious conflicts, cultural displacement, erosion of traditional core values)

 iii. Economic costs of gentrification processes (property values, essential services, tenancy rates, essential commodities, values of landed properties)

 iv. Effects of gentrification on family networks, friends circles, worship cliques and other social engagements

 v. The effects of gentrification on the interaction patterns among different religious faiths

6. Adaptive strategies of religious leaders
   Probe for:
   i. Issues weakening the strength of the religious leaders in the area
   ii. What they are doing to strengthen their followership base
   iii. Strategies employed to command relevance in the face of losing followership
   iv. Adaptive strategies to the changing social character of the area
   v. Strategies adopted by the religious leaders in the gentrifying area to preserve their religious belief despite the changing social character of the area
   vi. Strategies adopted by the religious leaders in dealing with intergroup religious or ethnic-based conflicts; security threats as well as environmental challenges.

7. Social relations of gentrification
   Probe for:
   Relationship between long and new time residents
   Relationship between traditional heads
   Relationship between state actors and victims of gentrification
   Relationship between various ethnic groups in gentrifying areas

APPENDIX 15:   OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

Observation Date_____

Observation Time _____

Location Observed_____

"The Social Context of Gentrification in Lagos State Nigeria"

S/N	ISSUES TO OBSERVE
1	Residential houses facing the risk of being gentrified
2	Residential houses currently undergoing demolition
3	Residential apartments under construction
5	Newly built residential/commercial houses
6	Mosques/churches replacing old houses
7	Schools replacing old houses
8	Hospitals replacing old houses
9	Shops, plazas, malls, restaurants etc
10	Roads, bridges, rail terminals etc
11	Estates and luxury apartments which displaced low income areas
12	Commercial buildings displacing low income residences (banks, companies, market complexes etc.)
13	Home to office space conversion
14	Business unit renovation and redevelopment
15	Typical gentrified residence, high perimeter walls, electrical fencing and additional security
16	Tourist attractions
17	State-led displacements of low income residences
18	Government projects at the displaced waterfront fishing communities
19	Commercial buildings being gentrified
20	Newly building being 're-gentrified'

APPENDIX 16:   EVICTION NOTICE FOR ILUBIRIN COMMUNITY

0000013

LAGOS STATE GOVERNMENT
MINISTRY OF PHYSICAL PLANNING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
BLOCK 15
ALAUSA SECRETARIAT, IKEJA

Office of Issue _HONOURABLE COMMISSION_
_M·P·P· X ·U·D·_
Block 15 Alausa
T·S·D – Room 6

The Owner/Occupier

The Owners of Shanties
(197 No) in all
Situated along the Lagoon
Shore, Ilubirin.

LAGOS STATE URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT LAW 2010
QUIT NOTICE

S/NO. _M/P·P/UD/TSD/16/QN/_
_013_

Sequel to our previous Stop -Work Order, Contravention and Demolition Notices served on you, you are hereby informed to vacate the property within .... days from the date of Service of this Notice.

You are also advised to remove all the valuables within the specified time.
Please note that the Ministry will not be liable for any loss whatsoever suffered by you on any removable property destroyed during the demolition exercise.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Dated this ...._7th_............ day of ...._MARCH_......... 20._16_.........

....
For: Honourable Commissioner