

THE CHALLENGES OF URBANIZATION

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Abstract

Rapid urbanization in Lagos, Nigeria presents a number of development challenges. Lagos is Africa's most populous city with a population of nearly 20 million people. It is the most prosperous city in Nigeria, where much of the nation's wealth and economic activity are concentrated. Although Lagos' standard of living is the highest in Nigeria, Lagos does not meet any of the targets set in the Vision 2010 agenda by the Nigerian government, or the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This paper examines the challenges of urbanization in Lagos, which include: political control, population growth and dynamics, socio-economics, infrastructure, and solid waste management. Urbanization controls and possible solutions are also discussed.

Keywords: Lagos; urbanization; challenges

1. Introduction

Lagos (Figure 1) was Nigeria's administrative capital until 12th December 1991 when Abuja became the seat of the Federal Government.

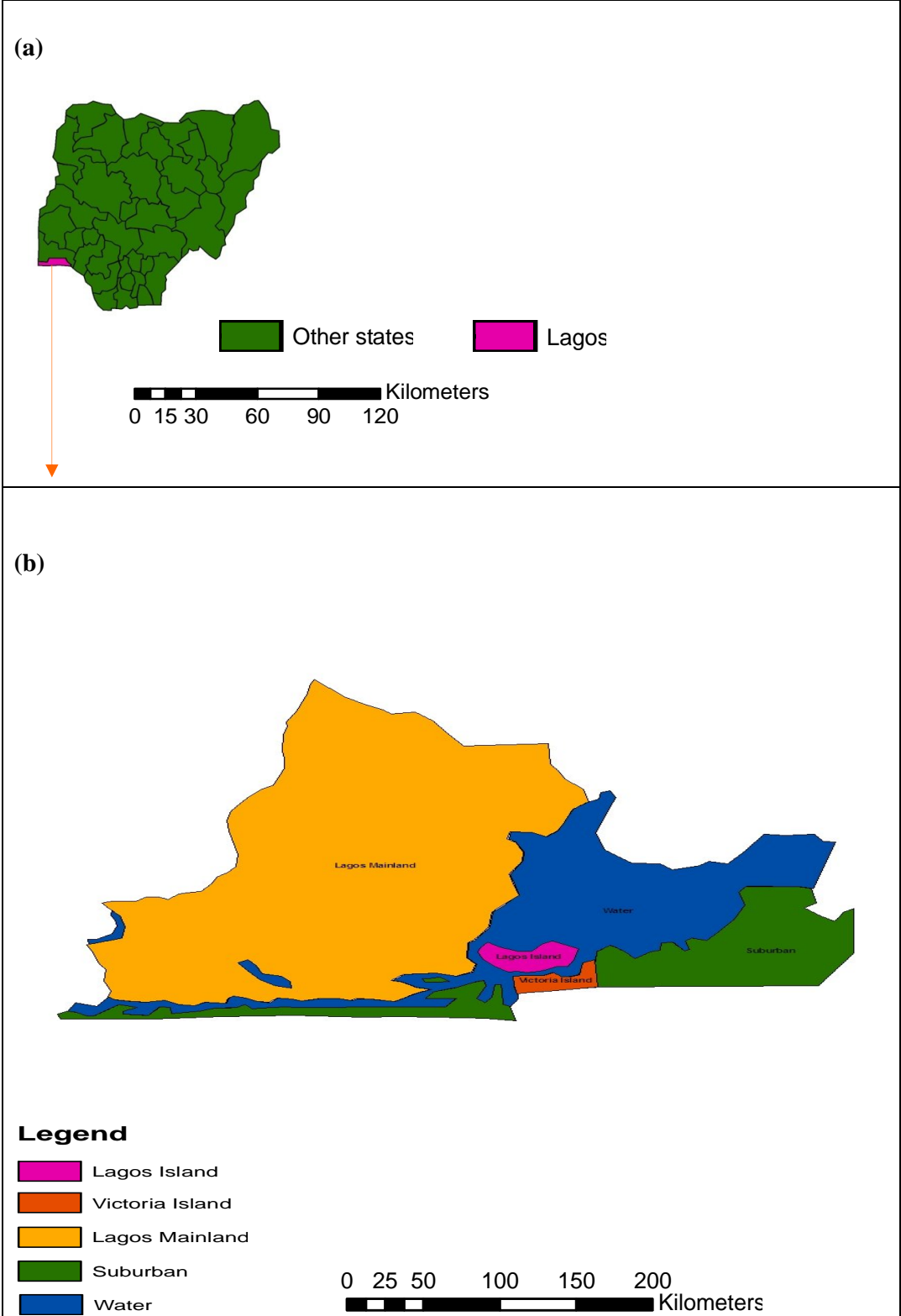


Figure 1: Lagos in relation to Nigeria: (a) Map of Nigeria, and (b) City of Lagos showing the main urban areas

African colonial cities developed not as industrial centres, but to facilitate the extraction of commodities and to provide the political administrative system on which this depended. Many coastal settlements that were already engaged in international trade expanded. Lagos is a good example in West Africa, and Tunis in North Africa. To fulfil their functions as administrative and commercial centres, transport infrastructure, especially railways, developed to connect the ports to their hinterlands (Gugler, 1978; Mehretu, 1983; Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1991).

In some parts of Africa, earlier urban systems had decayed and "new" colonial settlements were established. Sometimes these evolved from the sites of earlier settlements and at other times from nothing (O'Connor, 1983). Elsewhere, colonial settlements were superimposed on, and attached to existing towns and cities. The choice of transport routes either gave a boost to, or bypassed, existing settlements. Port cities thrived at the expense of inland settlements (Bonine, 1983; Findlay, 1994).

There has been a renewed focus on the study of urban systems in the last few years. However, urbanization remains a major development challenge. It exerts awesome pressure on social, economic, and environmental sustainability (Pickett et al., 2001). The world's urban population experienced a 15 fold increase from 200 million in 1900 to about 2.9 billion in 2000. It is estimated to increase to about 5 billion by 2030 (United Nations, 2002). In developing countries, urbanization is associated with natural population growth, rural-urban migration, convergence in rural and urban lifestyles, and the economic and political processes, associated with globalization (Cohen, 2004).

Africa's urban transition is partially accompanied by economic growth derived mainly from non-agricultural value-added (Kessides, 2005). However, the growth is largely un-sustained, and far below the level required to significantly reduce poverty levels. As the urban areas sprawl at their peripheries the core areas break down with the burden from increasing demand for social services. They consequently become homes of the poor, and the sites and sources of environmental pollution. This phenomenon makes the study of urbanization patterns more crucial in the development agenda of African countries. Nowhere in West Africa has the rate of urbanization in the last few years been as great as in Lagos City-State, the economic focal point of Nigeria.

Lagos occupies a unique position in the economic processes of the West African sub-region for several reasons. As the economic and financial nerve-centre, it accounts for over 70% of Nigeria's industrial and commercial establishments. They provide 70% of the country's manufacturing value-added. Lagos has extensive infrastructural facilities, the busiest international airport, seaport, and the most extensive road and telecommunication networks in Nigeria. It is also the host to the most active Stock Exchange in West Africa. These same reasons have made the conurbation of Lagos the hub of intense settlement; and the prime destination of local and international migrants. The remarkable population growth translates to ever increasing pressure on land for housing and business premises. This has profound environmental implications. Despite its economic importance, the environmental sustainability of Lagos has not received the kind of attention it requires in development research. Inadequate housing has led to the emergence of slums, spatial inequity in access to land and infrastructure, haphazard land development, infrastructure decay, persistent flooding, widespread poverty, and unemployment. These are symptoms of

unsustainable expansion of the city requiring the intervention of land use planners and managers. To prevent grave urban crises, ensure future liveability of the city, and minimize environmental impacts, land use planners require information about the location, spatial extent, rate, and driving forces of urban expansion (Braithwaite and Onishi, 2007). This study therefore reviews the major challenges that affect urbanization in Lagos.

2a. Political control

The Benin Kingdom founded Lagos following conquest. They called it 'Eko' (meaning 'war camp'). Till date Lagosians still refer to Lagos as 'Eko'. Lagos was named after Lagos in Portugal, by Portuguese explorers who visited the area in 1482. Lagos served as a major slave trade centre between 1482 and 1889. It was annexed as a British colony in 1861. When the colony and protectorate of Nigeria was established in 1914, Lagos was declared its capital; it maintained this status until the 12th of December, 1991 when the capital was formally moved to Abuja.

Politics is the lifeblood of Lagos... Land rights, employment, industry and other sources of wealth rely on political interaction. This involves patron-client relations, bribery, corruption, nepotism and/or "long-legs" (contacts). Almost everyone knows someone with a link, however tenuous, to power. Political leadership operates at many levels. There is considerable interaction (some would say interference) between leaders at national, state, and local levels and at least some sectors of the general public. Chieftaincy councils, landlords' and market women's associations, trade unions, and other pressure groups operate through particular face-to-face networks to further the goals of members and clients. These lower-level groups are particularly efficacious in local government, pressuring for building permission, exceptions to sanitary regulations, licences, and tax reductions. Councillors are necessarily dispensers of patronage, and civil servants are under considerable pressure from kin, friends, and neighbours to humanize the bureaucracy. Frequent investigations and even penalties for those found guilty of bribery, corruption, nepotism and so on are unlikely to change the system. This is because it serves the needs of many people who would be ignored if bureaucratic norms were followed and civil probity was more widespread (Peil, 1991).

Metropolitan Lagos has been administered under a variety of different territorial schemes. Historically, Lagos started around the Island and Mainland areas as a fishing and agricultural village. It then grew into a small town. When it was "ceded" to the British in 1861, it was administered as a city-state with its own separate administration. In 1866 it was included in the "West African Settlements" under a Governor-in-Chief resident in Sierra Leone, but it retained a separate legislative council and a "local" administration. Various changes followed, through its status as a separate colony, to its merger with Western Nigeria in 1951. In 1953 a federal territory was carved out of former Western Nigeria, including the colony of Lagos, in response to two sets of problems that had emerged in 1951. First, political and administrative authority was split between two antagonistic governments. The federal government, was dominated by the Northern Peoples' Congress, and controlled the federal territory. The Action Group administered the rest of the province. This resulted in fragmented political authority, which in its turn led to a gross lack of coordination in service provision over what then constituted metropolitan Lagos. The

second problem derived from the first. Owing to the much greater financial resources and administrative capacity available at the federal level, the federal territory of Lagos had a much higher degree of infrastructural development than the outer metropolitan area. Thus, there were evident contrasts in the quality of urban services available in the two areas within the metropolis (Abiodun, 1997).

From 1958 there was political agitation for a separate Lagos State. This was achieved in 1967. Ikeja, within the Lagos metropolis, became the capital of the new state. Since its inception, the state has been ruled by a succession of military administrators. This pattern was interrupted by only two periods of civilian administration between 1979 and 1983; and again between 1991 and 1993. Lagos State inherited two divergent legal, administrative, and financial systems from its federal and Western Region territories. In 1967, a committee was set up to study the existing laws applicable in the city of Lagos and the former Colony Province, and to recommend laws that should apply throughout Lagos State. Following the recommendations of the committee, there was a reorganization of the local councils. Most of them had been unable, even if willing, to promote the welfare of the communities for which they were responsible. Another change took place in 1976 as a result of the federal government inspired national reform of local government. In that reform the two urban councils that exceeded 1 million people were each split in two. This created Lagos Mainland and Lagos Island, as well as Mushin and Somolu. During the civilian administration of 1979-1983, 20 local governments were created within Lagos State to replace the 8 previous governments. This created problems of viability, efficiency, and effectiveness. When the military administration took over again in 1983, there was a return to the earlier 8 local government areas (Olowu, 1990).

Lagos statutorily has 20 local government areas; but, created an additional 37 local government councils. One of the ways the Nigerian federal government allocates its resources to its federating units is the use of number of local councils in each state. This puts Lagos at a gross disadvantage, considering its enormous population. Lagos State Government has recently created an additional 37 local government areas, which it called developmental centres, awaiting approval from the federal parliament. The past civilian dispensation of President Olusegun Obasanjo insisted that Lagos should revert to its original 20 local councils. The Lagos State Government rejected this proposal categorically. As a consequence of the face-off between the two governments, the federal government decided to withhold Lagos State's allocation. The action of the federal government brought untold hardship to the civil servants who are employees of Lagos State. Though the Lagos State Government went to court, and won its case against the federal government, the past civilian regime still refused to release the money to Lagos State. The money has just been released by President Umar Yar'Dua. Political scientists have argued that one of the reasons why Lagos has not been enjoying the federal government's support is because Lagos has often not been ruled by mainstream political parties. The present Lagos State Government is controlled by the Action Congress (AC), while the federal government is controlled by the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP).

2b. Population growth and dynamics

The United Nations predicted in 1999 that the population of Lagos will exceed 20 million by the year 2010. A steady increase in the population of Lagos between 1978 and 2010 is shown in Table 1. Figure 2 shows a consistent growth in urban areas from 1900 to 2000.

Table 1: Analysis of population growth of Lagos

Year	Metropolitan Lagos	Lagos State	% of Metropolitan Lagos via-a-vis Lagos State
1978	3,779	4,300	87.88
1980	4,518	5,092	88.72
1985	6,414	7,132	89.93
1990	8,406	9,290	90.92
1995	10,406	11,471	90.71
2000	12,949	14,232	90.98
2005	15,754	16,903	93.20
2010	19,167	20,075	95.47

Source: Akinmoladun and Oluwoye (2007)

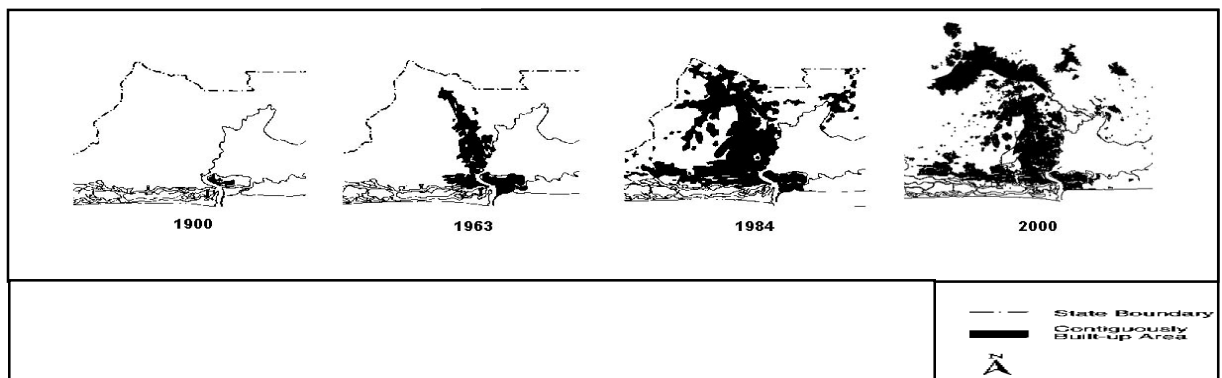


Figure 2: Growth of metropolitan Lagos from 1900 to 2000

Source: Abiodun (1997)

Although Lagos state is the smallest state in Nigeria, with an area of 356,861 hectares of which 75,755 hectares are wetlands, yet it has the highest population, which is over five per cent of the national estimate. The state has a population of 17 million out of a national estimate of 150 million. The UN estimates that at its present growth rate, Lagos state will be third largest mega city in the world by 2015 after Tokyo in Japan and Bombay in India. Of this population, Metropolitan Lagos an area covering 37% of the land area of Lagos State is home to over 85% of the State population. The rate of population growth is about 600,000 per annum with a population density of about 4,193 persons per sq. km. In the built-up areas of Metropolitan Lagos, the average density is over 20,000 persons per square km. Current demographic trend analysis revealed that the

State population growth rate of 8% has resulted in its capturing of 36.8% of Nigeria's urban population estimate at 49.8 million people of the nation's million population. The implication is that whereas the country's population growth is 4/5% and global 2%, Lagos population is growing ten times faster than New York and Los Angeles with grave implication for urban sustainability (Lagos State Government, 2006).

The surging population of Lagos has persistently put a strain on its social and economic infrastructure. Most of the migrants into Lagos come from rural areas all across the country. To check the rural urban drift, successive federal governments have put in place developmental projects in rural communities in order to discourage people from drifting to the cities in search of opportunities and better life.

No post independence census exercise has been accepted by the Lagos State Government. This is because published figures have lagged people's expectations. Population is one of the indices upon which statutory allocations and parliamentary representation are based on. Therefore, census exercises in Nigeria have both political and economic implications.

According to the preliminary results of the 2006 census done by the Nigerian federal government, there are 7,937,932 inhabitants in Metropolitan Lagos (National Bureau of Statistics, 2007). This 2006 census preliminary figure is a far-cry from the figures projected by the United Nations and the Lagos State Government. Lagos State rejected the census figures outright and, instead tallied and published its own figures, which shows that Lagos has a population of 17,552,942 (Lagos State Government, 2006).

2c. Socio-economics

Lagos is Nigeria's commercial nerve centre, where Nigeria's wealth and economic activity are concentrated. The annual budget is \approx US \$700 million which is definitely too small for 20 million people. More than 50% of Nigeria's industrial capacity is located in Lagos's Mainland suburbs. The Port of Lagos is Nigeria's leading port and one of the largest in Africa. It is administered by the Nigerian Port Authority (NPA) and is split into three main sections: Lagos port, in the main channel next to Lagos Island, no longer used much; Apapa Port (site of the container terminal); and Tin Can Port; both located in Badagry Creek which flows into Lagos Harbour from the west (Ota Africa line, 2008). Trading activities have always been predominant in the informal sector of the metropolitan economy. Manufacturing and other services are also significant (Ayeni, 1981; Fapohunda, 1985; Peil, 1991).

For the whole of Lagos State, primary production activities (fishing, mining and quarrying, agriculture, and forestry) accounted for less than 2% of total workers in 1978. The main formal sector employment-generating activity during the 1970s was manufacturing (Lagos State Government, 1981). Metropolitan Lagos accounted for 38% of total manufacturing employment in Nigerian cities in 1976; and over 60% of the total value added in manufacturing in the six major industrial centres (Enterprise Consulting Group Ltd., 1988). Commercial activities have always been very strong in the city and are carried out at both the formal and informal levels. Agriculture and fishing and distributive trade are the largest employers of people without formal education. The role of agriculture within metropolitan Lagos is, however, less than

2% of the workforce. The precise figure of employment in this sector is not available. It finds expression in market gardening and other forms of agriculture, mostly on the outskirts of the metropolis. About one-quarter of all workers are in distributive trade. Public administration accounts for another one-quarter and other services have about one-fifth of the employment in the formal sector. During the oil boom years, the multinational companies were very strong in both manufacturing and trade. However, with the downturn in the economy, the trend has been for many of them to divest their operations. Relevant figures are, however, not available. With the federal political decision-making organs, and key federal ministries having moved to Abuja, industry and commerce continue to be the live wires of the economy of the metropolis.

The Nigerian capital market was founded in Lagos, with the setting up of the Lagos Stock Exchange in 1961. This was the first stock exchange in West Africa, and the sixth in Africa. In 1978 the exchange was transformed into the Nigerian Stock Exchange, with two additional trading branches at Kaduna and Port Harcourt. About 90% of the companies quoted on the Nigerian Stock Exchange have their headquarters in metropolitan Lagos, with their market capitalization running into billions of naira (Abiodun, 1997).

One of the major constraints faced by manufacturing companies is inadequate power supply. Other problems are telecommunications, water supply, poor road network and maintenance, drainage, waste disposal, fire services, and public transportation. The Nigerian telecommunication problem has been solved largely with the deregulation of the communication sector, and the introduction of the Global System of Mobile communications (GSM). Since GSM more than five reputable companies have been licensed by the Nigerian Government to provide mobile or wireless communication services throughout the country. Nigerian Telecommunications Limited (NITEL) is the only Nigerian Government owned Telecommunications Company. It is responsible for providing both wire and wireless services for the country. Nigerians have no confidence in NITEL. They say NITEL has been unproductive right from inception, which is evident by its inability to compete with the licensed private companies. The Nigerian Government has privatised NITEL to make it viable. Over one million jobs have been created in Nigeria since the liberalization of the telecommunications sector of the economy. An estimated 10,000 people are directly employed by the mobile network (GSM) operators alone. No fewer than a million more persons are indirectly employed in the industry, earning their living as equipment vendors, advertising and public relations consultants, recharge card distributors, retailers and phone booth operators. Other benefits of the full liberalization of the sector include the drop in tariffs and charges for fixed telephones and digital mobile lines. Fixed lines which sold for an average of N100,000 at the end of 1999 are now as low as N15,000. The cost of acquiring digital mobile lines crashed from about N60,000 to less than a hundred naira over the same period (Wireless Jobs, 2008).

Previous and present Lagos State Governments have initiated large projects aimed at improving the lives of every Lagos resident. Lagos Energy City (an initiative of the incumbent Lagos State Government) is envisioned to be the first fully integrated business hub for the oil and gas industry on the Africa continent. It will provide life, work, and play elements not limited to energy companies. It is a 763 hectare development strategically located in Badagry Town of Lagos. It is in close proximity

to the ECOWAS market (Economic Community of West Africa States) and will be divided into 2 zones. Zone 1 aims to be the region leading convention and tourist destination; Zone 2, or the Energy City Zone, will provide a world class business and residential environment that will cater for the entire energy industry and all companies in its value chain (Lagos Energy City, 2008).

Unemployment is one of the major challenges facing urbanization in Lagos. Secondary and university graduates, and artisans migrate to Lagos on a daily basis in search of job opportunities and a better life. This phenomenon has continually strained the economy of Lagos, in the face of limited financial resources available to the Lagos State Government. The International Labour Organization (1981) defined unemployment to be within the following categories:-

1. Workers available for employment but whose contracts of employment have been terminated or temporarily suspended; and who are without jobs and seeking work for pay or for profit
2. Persons who are available for work (except for minor illness) during the specific period and were previously employed; or whose most recent status was other than that of employee, or those who had been in retirement
3. Persons without a job, and currently available for work, and who have arrangements to start a new job at a date subsequent to the specified period
4. Persons on temporary or indefinite lay-off without pay

On the other hand, persons not considered to be unemployed are:

1. Persons intending to establish their own business or firm, but who have not arranged to do so, and are not seeking work for pay or for profit
2. Former unpaid family workers who are not at work, and who are not seeking work for pay or for profit

The National Manpower Board labour force sample survey in 1974 recorded an unemployment rate of 7.2% for metropolitan Lagos. The statistical survey of Lagos State in 1976 revealed that the unemployed constituted 7.6% of the labour force (Lagos State Government, 1977). Therefore, a simple regression analysis of the figures reported by Lagos State Government (1977) gave a projection of 13% unemployment rate in 2008. A recent World Bank study found a 17% national unemployment rate; reaching 25% for university graduates in cities such as Lagos (Mail & Guardian online, 2008). Figure 3 shows that the level of poverty in Lagos is not significant. Lagos being a town of opportunities readily offers the best avenue to adventurous Nigerians to transform their standard of living.

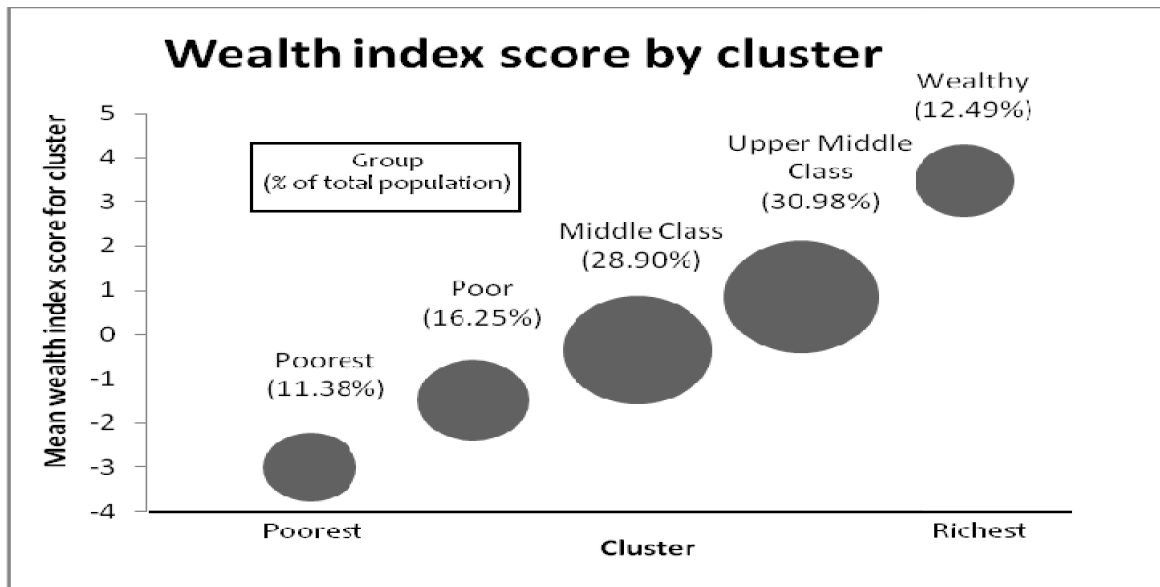


Figure 3: Understanding the wellbeing Lagos' inhabitants
Source: Tewari (2008)

Abosedo (2008) highlighted the following as the major challenges of urbanization in Lagos:

- Overburdened inadequate infrastructure
- Unmanageable sprawl
- Sustainability issues
- Unemployment, poverty, and urban violence
- Inadequate housing
- Inadequate funding
- Social and economic exclusions
- Frightening and challenging
- Urgent need to manage the growth adequately

2d. Infrastructure

Transportation

Lagos no doubt has benefited immensely from its former status as the administrative capital of Nigeria. It has the best infrastructure in the country. Lagos flourishes with modern road networks, water ways and ferry services, cyclists (known as Okada), two sea ports, and local and international airports. The mass transit bus (called 'Molue') carries large amount of commuters across all parts of Lagos. There are also the smaller buses called 'Danfo'. Only specific categories of (smaller) buses are allowed into the Island. Buses ordinarily do not ply all the streets of Lagos; therefore,

Lagosians rely on the cyclists for street movements. This is because most people cannot afford the high cost of hiring taxis. Lagos has the worst traffic problems in Africa. More than 80% of transportation in the country is provided by the private sector. Rail transportation and the use of waterways should have eased the burden on the roads. Unfortunately the railway company is inept, while the ferry services are poorly run, and there is low patronage because of loss of confidence by commuters.

A contract was awarded by the Lagos State Government to build a metro line for Lagos. Unfortunately this project that could have resolved the transportation problems in Lagos was cancelled by the incoming military government (on the allegation that the contract was over quoted). Millions of dollars were paid to the French consultants/contractors for breach of contract by the Nigerian Federal Government. Most roads in Lagos are owned by the federal government; and these roads have been poorly maintained. The Lagos State government has times decided to maintain the federal roads themselves out of frustration of waiting for the federal government to do so. The aviation industry in Nigeria is efficient and solely controlled by the private sector. The Lagos local and international airport terminals are the busiest in Africa.

Housing

Both the federal and the state governments have been unable to provide adequate and sustainable housing for Lagosians. The Third Development Plan period (1975-1980) represented the first serious attempt by the federal government to meet the housing needs of Nigerians through direct construction (Akinmoladun and Oluwoye, 2007); as a result FESTAC TOWN was built in 1977.

Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC) is the corporation responsible for providing housing for Lagosians. It was established in 1972. In 1999, the Millennium Housing Scheme was launched by Lagos State Government. Its goal was to provide numerous and affordable houses for ordinary Lagosians. The categories of houses to be built are: high, upper medium, medium, and economic (or low income) houses (see Table 2). Research done by Tewari (2008) shows that there is no wide disparity between the rents paid by the poor and the rich in Lagos (Figure 4). The rent affordability index between the poor and rich is a not very significant. Most Lagosians can afford to pay their rent bills.

Table 2: The total number of housing units completed by Lagos State between 1998 and 2005

Housing type/ Year	Economic	Medium	Upper medium	High	Total
Jubilee housing Scheme					
1999	120	-	-	-	120
2000	1507	-	-	-	2515
2001	-	912	96	-	-

Alliance housing

2002	-	454	-	-	454
2003	-	-	-	-	-
2004	138	270	1560	-	1830
2005	-	68	52	64	321
Total	2219	1250	1708	64	5,240

Source: Ministry of Housing (2005)

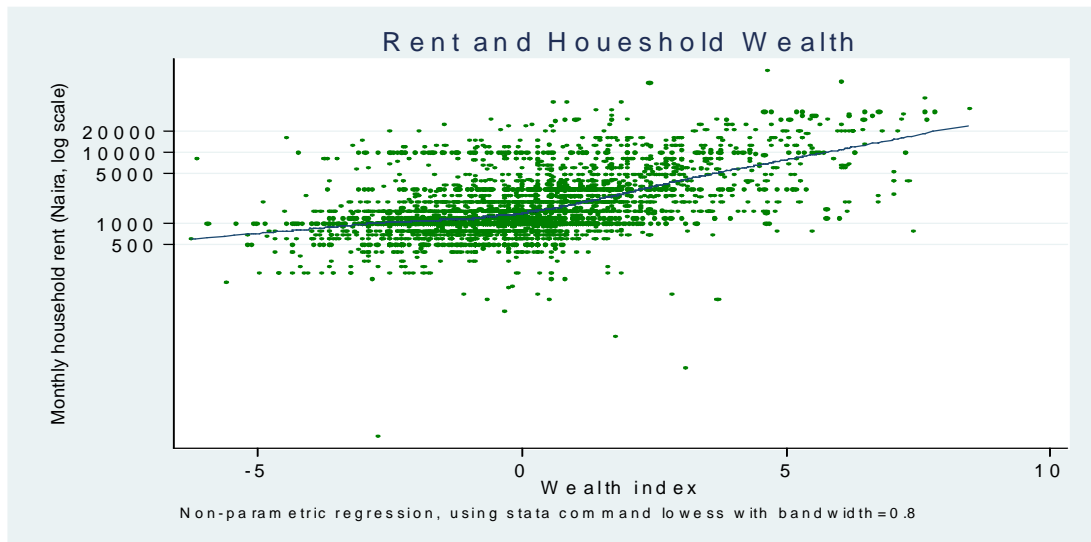


Figure 4: Plot showing that the poor and middle class in Lagos pay similar rents

Source: Tewari (2008)

Akinmoladun and Oluwoye (2007) highlighted the following housing challenges in Lagos:

- High population growth and density
- Limited land supply and acquisition obstacles
- Lack of adequate physical planning/development control
- High cost of building materials
- Lack of proper coordination of public agencies and laws
- Poor infrastructure

Electricity

In Nigeria, electricity provision is on the exclusive legislative list. The Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) is a public owned company vested with the responsibility to provide electricity for the entire country. The PHCN has suffered neglect from past military governments; hence it now functions at barely 20%

efficiency. Lee and Annas (1992) reported that establishments are forced to install generators as back-up for their electricity supply needs and to provide their own boreholes to obtain water. These problems still persist. Most manufacturing companies have relocated to neighbouring countries like Ghana where basic amenities are more assured. At the moment, achieving an uninterrupted power supply in Nigeria still remains a dream.

Water

Most Lagosians get water from private boreholes. The present civilian government both at the federal and state levels, have inherited moribund public owned parastatals, from past military governments. Concerted and proactive efforts are presently being exerted by the present regime to get all public agencies to function well again. Only about 30% of Lagosians are covered by the state water corporation, known as Lagos Water Corporation (LWC) (Akinmoladun and Oluwoye, 2007). The challenges LWC face are: poor power supply from Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN), poor service coverage because of limited reticulation which is at about 40%,; ageing plants, vehicles and machineries; and non-revenue water (Lagos Water Corporation, 2008).

2e. Solid waste management

According to Rossel and Jorge (1999) waste management planning strategies should advocate avoiding waste generation, using cleaner technology, promoting waste recycling and recovery, using suitable treatment for generated waste and adequate waste final disposal.

The management of urban Municipal Solid Waste (MSW) is a big problem in cities because of the lack of sufficient equipment to collect the waste. This situation is no different in Lagos, Nigeria. There are three major aspects of MSW management (Ezeigwe, 1995). These are: storage; collection and transportation; and treatment and disposal (Kofoworola, 2007). The composition and properties of MSW in Lagos are expressed in Table 3:

Table 3: Composition and properties of Lagos Municipal solid waste

Components	Mass (%)	Properties	Composition (%)	Mode of disposal	Potential uses
Vegetables and putrescibles	68	Biodegradable and malodorous compactable	29.77	Dumping	Compost
Paper	10.0	Combustible, biodegradable, compactable and recyclable	10.24	Recycling	Paper products
Textiles	4.0	Compactable, combustible & biodegradable	3.75	Dumping/ open burning	Compost
Metal	3.0	Mostly corrosive &	4.08	Informal fabrication	Metallic and non-metallic

Plastic	7.0	recyclable Combustible, less compactable, recyclable	7.59	Recycling	Plastic products
Glass	4.0	Rigid but recyclable	2.78	Dumping	Glass products
Miscellaneous inerts (others)	3.0	Non-combustible	18.79	Dumping	None
Bones	0.70	Non-combustible	1.80	Dumping	Feed mills
Ashes, dust	0.30	Non-combustible	21.20	Dumping	Compost and stones
Total	100	Total	100		

Source: Adebayo and Ojetayo (2001)

Concerted effort has been made by successive governments (both at the federal and state levels) to combat the menace of solid waste in management in Lagos. Management of solid waste did not become a major problem in Nigeria until the early 1970's.

The oil boom, which compounded the emerging industrialization and urbanization, resulted in the high volume of waste and was becoming increasingly difficult for the local government councils in Lagos State to manage. By 1977, when Nigeria hosted FESTAC '77, the world press classified Lagos as the "dirtiest" city capital. Consequently, in April 1977, the first waste management outfit in West Africa was instituted. This was the Lagos State Refuse Disposal Board (LSRDB) in Nigeria, under Edict 9 of 1977, with Powell Duffen Pollution Control Consultants of Canada as managers. In 1981, its name was changed to Lagos State Waste Disposal Board (LSWDB). This was because of the added responsibilities for industrial-commercial waste collection and disposal, drain clearing, and disposal of derelict/scrapped vehicles. In December 1991, its current name, the Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA) was christened under Edict No. 55, which made the agency to be responsible for the collection and disposal of municipal and industrial waste, as well as for the provision of commercial waste services to the state and local governments.

LAWMA manages 3 dump sites located at Abule Egba, Olushosun, and Solous; their ages ranging between 12 - 25 years cover 63.67 hectares. The sites are strategically located on the Northern part of the state within the Quaternary lateritic clay deposit. In the last decade (1997 - 2007) the cumulative weight of waste deposited in the 3 landfill sites was about 27,599,825.94 metric tons. The typical Lagos waste stream consists of vegetable (45%), plastics (15%), papers (10%), putrescible (8%), fine (8%), metals (5%), and textiles (4%).

The state government recently granted approval for the construction of a new landfill site in Epe (South East of Lagos). Two other sites are being proposed at Ikorodu (NE) and Badagry (SW). There are also 2 other waste conversion plants in the state, the compost plant at Odogunyan, Ikorodu; and the Plastic Recycling Plant at Ojo Local

Government Area. Youths are encouraged to bring in plastic trash, in return for money value.

LAWMA's objectives are:

- (i) To provide unprecedented efficient waste management services to all its domestic, industrial, and commercial clients, government inclusive
- (ii) To provide unparalleled professional services to government, especially in the area of landfill management
- (iii) To ensure adequate provision of waste receptacles, as an alternative to indiscriminate waste dumping
- (iv) To promote unequalled professionalism and efficiency in public service administration
- (v) To ensure adequate public enlightenment and education for reorientation and, decent waste collection and disposal habits
- (vi) To ensure effective partnership with the private sector and other stakeholders in waste management
- (vii) To ensure a conducive work environment and promote good working relationship, among its internal and external public
- (viii) To make the organization a household name in the area of waste management and other related services

LAWMA's major challenges include: climate condition, low level of professionalism, local capacity to manage the transfer of foreign technology, cultural and socio-economic factors, high cost of funds (local and foreign), substandard spare parts, and energy (Lagos Waste Management Authority, 2008).

3. Controls

Federal Government efforts

Vision 2010 is a projected economic plan for Nigeria to improve economically. Nigeria is a developing country, whose politics has been shaped by chronic military dictatorships, dependence on oil, ethnic and social cleavages, and a population too large to feed.

Vision 2010 was initiated with the following objectives:

- Politics: stable federal democracy
- Economy: decrease dependence on oil
- Education: free and functional education for all
- Urbanization: rural urban drift
- Unemployment

- Corruption: tackle prebendalism

Critics have indicated that with less than a couple of years to go, none of the objectives of Vision 2010 has been met.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are eight international development goals that 189 United Nation's member states and at least 23 international organizations have agreed to achieve by the year 2015. Nigeria is a signatory to this document. The objectives of MDGs are:

- Reducing poverty
- Fight disease and epidemics (such as AIDS)
- Developing a global partnership for development

Critics are particularly sceptical about African countries realising any of these goals in the face of political and economic uncertainty that pervades the entire continent.

Lagos State Government efforts

The incumbent Lagos state administration has initiated its own plan of action towards improving the quality of life of all Lagosians. According to Tinubu (2006) these efforts include:

- Sourcing funding
- Resource optimisation
- Restructuring the physical development pattern
- Infrastructure development and maintenance
- Provision of housing
- Environmental management
- Poverty reduction
- Economic sustainability

4. Conclusion

Lagos, being the melting pot of all ethnic nationalities that make up Nigeria, presents the apparent development challenges that pervade the entire country. Most infrastructure in Lagos was built in the 70's (during the Nigerian oil boom). Successive military regimes have failed to manage or improve on the basic infrastructural and socio-economic needs of Lagosians as the population keeps surging. Recent democratic governments inherited a backlog of mismanagement of state resources. Critics are still sceptical that the present government is doing enough to solve the problem. Over time, Lagosians have resorted to self-help out of frustration (primarily in the area of electricity, water, and security of life and property).

Pundits have diagnosed the African economic and social problems as purely political. "As soon as Africa gets its politics right everything else will definitely fall in place" (Okwuashi, 2001). There is also concern about the lack of patriotism by the leaders and the led. Some have argued that these objectives can be achieved by insisting on

democracy and constitutionalism based on free, fair, and credible elections. Other attributed shortcomings are: waste, corruption, mismanagement, misappropriation, maladministration, sycophancy, tribalism, and nepotism.

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