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Urban Slum Upgrading and Participatory Governance (PG):
An investigation into the role of slum community-based
Institutions in tackling the challenges of slums
In developing nations—the case of Lagos state
Nigeria.

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This thesis is prepared in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Built environment with a focus on Sustainable Urban Management at Malmö University, Sweden. It is a multi-disciplinary international program aimed at providing students with theoretical and practical knowledge of working with urban development processes with the focus on urban sustainability. The student receives an in-depth knowledge of environmental, social and economic aspects of sustainability and learns to combine these perspectives in real-life cases. In addition, the programme helps in developing skills in managing projects and processes with multiple and diverse stakeholders.

Supervisor for this thesis is Dr Peter Parker, a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Urban Studies at Malmö University.

Summary

Course of Study: Masters in Sustainable Urban Management(2012-2013).
Thesis: Urban Slum Upgrading and Participatory Governance (PG): an investigation into the role of slum community-based institutions in tackling the challenges of slums in developing nations-
The case of Lagos state-Nigeria.
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This study looks at the role of slum upgrading, political culture, power structure and how these factors affect participation in slum upgrading in Makoko, Lagos. It also investigates how community-based institutions participate in identification of slum challenges, design action plans on curbing the challenges, implementation and monitoring of the plans in Lagos state. Factors that affect the successful implementation or hinder the implementation of participatory processes in slum upgrading effort in Lagos state have also been investigated; this was done in order to explore how implementation or the lack of implementation in the Makoko case relates to existing
theories of power structure and political culture factors in participatory slum upgrading. Furthermore, ways of improving participatory approaches to slum upgrading practices have been identified as a way of promoting sustainable practice in subsequent slum upgrade efforts in Lagos.

Literature was reviewed with regard to participation in slum upgrading. This was followed by a review of theories of participation, and a discussion of factors that hinder effective participation in slum upgrading process.

The single case study research strategy was adopted, in which the researcher interviewed some members of Makoko Community Development Association, community leaders and youths in Makoko community. The data revealed that participation in Makoko slum upgrading took two dimensions. A participatory approach was not adopted in projects initiated by the government. However, there was participation in a project initiated by international organizations. The data also show that power structures, political culture and lack of skills hindered participation. This is consistent with existing theory which argues that political culture, power structure, and skill factors hinder effective participation in slum upgrading. Meanwhile, international organizations’ commitments to participatory approach in slum upgrading enhance participation.

It was therefore suggested that to improve participatory approaches in future slum upgrading efforts in Lagos, the government must design state laws that will encourage the adoption of participatory approach in slum upgrading by government officials. While international organizations should encourage those who implement participatory approach to slum upgrading.

**Keywords:** Slum, Slum upgrading, Sustainable Urban Development, Political and cultural factors, Participation, Community.
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I am sincerely grateful to my brothers, Peter and Barry Ehigiator, for always being there for me at the most difficult times of this thesis writing and to my mum and my big sister—I say thank you for your unalloyed support.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UNDP.............................................................United Nations Development Programme
KAI.................................................................Kick Against Indiscipline
MCDA..............................................................Makoko Community Development Association
NGOs.............................................................Non-Governmental Organizations
CBOs.............................................................Community-Based Organisations
PB.................................................................Participatory Budgeting
ILO.................................................................International Labour Organization
UNRISD..............................United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
CAP.............................................................Community Action Planning
ECOWAS............................Economic Community of West African States
UN...............................................................United Nation
CHAPTER ONE
BACKGROUND

Problems of slums

The rapid process of urbanization has created extreme pressures on different governments, especially in developing nations of the world where public institutions are not prepared to handle the rising change that come with such pressure (Arcila, 2008). Very few local and national governments have acknowledged this phenomenon, considering their little provision of labour-planning for land, housing and other services which newcomers want (UN-HABITAT, 2003b). However, a rapid urbanization process, lack of good national and urban policies, inadequate housing policies, legislation and delivery systems, have led to the creation of slums and informal settlements in urban areas (Chang, 2009; UN-HABITAT, 2003b). The UN Millennium Project (2005) identified 3 alternatives determining the characteristics and location of a slum. The first option is to find shelter in existing inner city slums and informal settlements. A second alternative is to occupy vacant land in areas that are risky to inhabit or lacking in environmental protection for example wetland, near rivers and streams. A third and final option is to move to semi-legal settlements, where self-proclaimed landlords illegally subdivide existing plots of land lacking basic infrastructure and services. UN-HABITAT (2007) argued that a slum represents a group of persons living under a single roof in an urban area and lack one or more of the following: “a durable housing of a permanent nature that protects against extreme climate conditions; sufficient living space which means not more than three people sharing the same room; easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts at an affordable price; access to adequate sanitation in the form of a private or public toilet shared by a reasonable number of people and security of tenure that prevents forced evictions”.

Slums are characterized by inadequate housing conditions and risks associated with sometimes having to build houses on top of lagoons and near explosive power lines (Davies, 2004); deficient urban services such as sanitation, water supply, sewage system, drainage, and roads; unhealthy and dehumanizing living conditions; long travel distance to a place of job opportunity; and, high densities of people and dwellings (Majale, 2008). However, slum conditions may differ in different developing nations since problems found in one slum area may not be present in another. It could be suggested that lack of infrastructural facilities in slums are due to the fact that most of these slum areas and informal settlements are not recognized by relevant authorities, as they are not planned for and maybe occupied illegally by residents. Hence, sufficient effort may not be taken to improve living conditions in them. The lack of infrastructural facilities present in slums has led to untold hardship amongst slum dwellers, especially amongst women.
and children. For example, chronic diarrhoea kills up to 2 million babies in cities every year, caused by consumption of stream water contaminated by animal and human waste. People defecate into plastic bags and dump them into the lagoon or nearby open pieces of land, due to the absence of good sewage facilities. To get fresh water, women have to trek up to 10 kilometres in a day. People even rent roof tops to create slums in the air due to inadequate housing in these areas (Davies, 2004; Chang, 2009).

Problems of slum upgrading
The risk to life and other health challenges associated with living in slums has made it a critical problem that needs urgent attention from all stakeholders, especially governments. Slum dwellers have developed living techniques to respond to these challenges, through the creation of informal infrastructure. Over the last five decades, different governments in Africa have adopted different measures in dealing with the problems of slums and informal settlements. These measures include: benign neglect, forced eviction and demolition, resettlement and slum upgrading (Arimah, 2011). A more general solution to the challenges of slum living is slum upgrading.

Slum upgrading is widely seen as one of “the most proactive, pragmatic and effective ways to achieve MDG 7, Target 11” and to improve the lives of around 100 million slum dwellers around the world by the year 2020 (UN-Habitats and City Alliance, 2006). MDG goal 7, focus on ensuring environmental sustainability and provide the solution to economic development. Target 11, of the MDG 7; focus on achieving a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. It is believed that this can be achieved through slum upgrading initiatives. Upgrading of slums involves “physical, social, economic, organizational and environmental improvements” to the present informal settlement and slums. This is often carried out by residents of slums themselves via community-based groups, local authorities and external agencies. They work in partnership at the local level by collaborating on different projects that bring about slum upgrading. The results of which include: improvement of basic infrastructure, improvement of homes, rehabilitation of community infrastructure, removal of environmental hazards, improving access to health care and education, and improving opportunities for income-earning (UN-Habitats and City Alliance, 2006). Compared to other strategies, slum upgrading programs are cheaper and are associated with marginal loss of buildings or means of livelihood (Arimah, 2011). Certain fundamental shifts were revealed in a review of slum upgrading programs in Africa over a 30-year period (Guyani and Bassett 2007). First, slum upgrading moved from its sole intervention on housing to address wider issues of infrastructure and
services. Second, earlier upgrading programs have changed in scale and scope; modest programs with fewer objective sectors have replaced multi-sectoral projects. Third, the mechanism helping to achieve secure tenure has shifted from a more formal titling component to an innovative informal form of tenure, which includes group tenure.

Various forms of slum upgrading include: top-bottom approach, bottom-top approach and integrated or participatory approach (Cronin & Guthrie, 2011). The top-down approach to slum upgrading is an approach where by projects begin with government through centralized institutions, in which government agencies, acting independently without any consultation with local people, identify problems, determine the response, formulate and implement strategies, action programs and projects (Majale, 2008). This approach has failed to yield the expected results in cities and towns where the government has implemented it due to lack of participation by local people in the projects (Majale, 2008).

The bottom-top approach to slum upgrading begins with external actors/NGOs/CBOs initiating a project with decentralized institutions majority controlled by civil society, engaging local networks in the community with appropriate and repeatable impact on the poor. At the end they (actors/NGOs/CBOs) try to influence the government to play a role in the project. A major problem with this approach is that when it is external actors who initiate and mobilize community organizations towards implementing a project, the project is often abandoned after completion. This is because once the external actors have left, the government does not step in to continue the upkeep of the project. Considering the shortfalls of the bottom-top and the top-bottom approach to slum upgrading, international organizations have been calling for an integrated approach to slum upgrading.

Recent literature argues that slum upgrading should be addressed through the participatory or integrated approach where public organizations, private organizations, NGOs, slum dwellers and community based institutions collaborate in order to improve the living conditions in slums (Cronin & Guthrie, 2011; Majale, 2008; UN-Habitat and City Alliance, 2006). The role which slum dwellers and their community groups should play in developing cities, towns and in settlements where they live and work should be recognized, as they (slum dwellers) are in a better position to identify what needs doing and how best to go about it (Majale, 2008). There seems to be a close connection with trends such as participatory governance, in which participatory processes help to prioritize key issues, develop plans and monitor results. Despite the level of success recorded by the integrated approach or participatory approach in slum upgrading, it is associated with other problems like the huge cost and time involved (Stense, 2009). Previous research also reveals that political culture and power structure factors hinder
participation. However, participatory approach in slum upgrading enhances sustainability of the project if implemented well and maintained (Majale, 2008).

**Sustainability in slum upgrading**

Enough evidence exists which shows the benefits of participation for sustainable development, if implemented well and maintained (Majale, 2008). Participation brings about the sustainability in a project. Sustainability means “meeting the needs of present and future generations while substantially reducing poverty and conserving the planet’s life support systems” (Kates, 2011: 19449; see also World Bank, 2010). A sustainable project permanently augments a community’s resources and reduces its vulnerability (Imparato and Ruster, 2003). Therefore, sustainability is the most adequate measure of the final success of a project. Sustainability cuts across three major dimensions: economic, environmental and social dimensions. Involving the people in the process of upgrading their own community gives them greater satisfaction, in the sense that it enables them to take their own decisions and be responsible for those decisions. This recognition and identity elevates the community dwellers to a higher level (APMCHUD Report, 2010). Community participation in terms of slum upgrading also has economic benefits. It can effectively generate small economic activities at the community level, benefiting the entrepreneurs and semi-skilled and unskilled labour (APMCHUD Report, 2010). Finally, community involvement in slum upgrading projects has some environmental benefit. Community dwellers will accept such a project as their own and will do anything possible to maintain such project. Sustainability may take two major dimensions: continuity of the development process after the project completion and conservation of the benefits derived from the project after completion (Imparato and Ruster, 2003).

**Makoko slum upgrading**

Makoko is one of the slum communities built around the coastal area of Lagos, in Nigeria. Houses in this community are built with stilts on top of water with a number of these houses built on near power lines. With a population of about a 100,000 people; the community lack basic infrastructural facilities such as: pipe borne water, electricity, drainage system, sewage system, roads, schools and health centres (Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009). This is due to the continued influx of rural and urban migrants to Lagos, which has far outstripped infrastructural and housing facilities in the area. As a result, a high number of residents in Lagos live in slums. Efforts have been made in the recent past by the community dwellers to improve the standard of living in the community. To achieve this goal they had to set up the Makoko Community Development
Association (MCDA); which has been involved in the maintenance of paths and other public places in the community. However, recent efforts to upgrade the slum community by the Lagos state government and international organisations (NLE Works and UNDP) have led to a recent demolition exercise and the construction of the Makoko floating school, by the government and the international organisations respectively. Previous slum upgrading projects in Lagos recorded lack of support for local participation. This is a result of the lack of commitment to participation in slum upgrading by the Lagos state government.

**Aim**

Previous studies which investigated Participatory Budgeting (PB) have revealed that factors such as political culture, power structure, knowledge, skills, and corruption enhances support for participation and the lack of support for participation (Seekings, 2012; Goldfrank, 2012; Denter & Klok, 2010). This study is inspired by the work of Seeking (2012) to explore how political culture and power structure factors affects participation in Makoko slum upgrading in Lagos, Nigeria. The study will adopt a single case study of Makoko slum upgrading in Lagos. Data will be collected through semi-structured interviews, and a secondary source of data collection, to explore how political culture and power structure factors displace participation in slum upgrading in Lagos, and how this relates to the existing theory on political and cultural factors on slum upgrading.

It is expected that for projects involving government institutions, there will be little implementation of participatory processes. This is due to the fact that political culture and power structure does not encourage participation in Lagos, and elsewhere. In Lagos local people were completely ignored in the different slum upgrading initiatives in the recent past. But for projects funded by international donors, implemented by NGOs and community organizations, there will be implementation of participatory processes as international organizations encourage the use of participatory approaches in slum upgrading.

This section provides an in-depth study of the problems of slums, problems of slum upgrading and slum upgrading approaches. This will help to provide an idea of participation in slum upgrading and the Makoko case; which will be treated in detail in chapter four of this report.

**RESEARCH PROBLEM**

Theoretically, since the 1990s, peoples’ participation has been adopted in Nigeria within the mainstream discourse of development and slum upgrading projects. The problem with slum upgrading has to do with the issue of who owns the land where these slum dwellers reside and
whether it is legal for occupants to be residing in the area. In a sense, slum residents have in most cases been excluded from participating in the economic, social, political and cultural spheres of cities (Arimah, 2011). Can Makoko slum dwellers be regarded as stakeholders; enabling them to participate in the upgrading of their environment?

Despite the popular acceptance of a more decentralized approach (participatory approach) to urban planning initiatives and slum upgrading projects, most government authorities have not been able to fully practice the approach in terms of involving local people and their groups/representatives in planning, decision making, and monitoring of project implementation. Even when national laws in these countries provide for such involvement/participation (Goldfrank, 2012). Seekings (2012) in his study of Participatory Budgeting reveals that different political culture and power structure in different parts of the world affects the way people participate, the extent to which they participate, and even the effects of participation to a very large extent. This research explores how a similar approach may be applied in relation to slum-upgrading in Lagos. It somewhat extends the range of Seekings previous arguments and also makes a contribution to knowledge of the specific Nigerian context.

**Importance of research**

In order to explore the importance of political culture and power structure factors, it is necessary to review the literature in these areas. This study will contribute to the understanding of how political culture and power structure factors contribute to participatory development in slum upgrading in Lagos, and to the more general question of how these factors affect slum upgrading.

**RESEARCH QUESTION**

1. Did community-based institutions participate in identification of slum challenges, design action plans on how to curb the challenges and implement and monitor the plans in Lagos state?
2. How does implementation or the lack of implementation in the Makoko case relate to power structure and political culture factors in participatory slum upgrading?
3. What factors hinder the successful implementation or lack of implementation of participatory processes in slum upgrading effort in Lagos state?
4. How can participatory approaches to slum upgrading practices be developed in subsequent efforts in Lagos?

The research questions guides the review of theories and serve as a useful tool in analysing the results from the Makoko slum upgrading project.
DISPOSITION

The next chapter (two) presents an overview of the research and the different theoretical perspectives to participatory approach in slum upgrading. Chapter three will focus on the methods adopted in the collection of data and analysis. Chapter four explores details of the Makoko case presentation of empirical data and analysis. Finally, chapter five summarizes and discuss the analysis of the research—thereby making suggestions for future research.
CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH OVERVIEW AND THEORITICAL PERSPECTIVES/INPUT

The preceding chapter focused on the development of the research problem, set the research questions and the objectives of the study. This chapter is comprised of review of the literature and discussion of the theoretical perspectives. The study explores community participation in slum upgrading. The first section of the chapter reviews the literature on participation. While the second section presents a discussion on theory of participation and factors that hinder effective participation.

Research overview

Definition of Participation within the context of slum upgrading

Arguments for the use of participatory methods in slum upgrading are receiving increased attention both locally and internationally (Arcila, 2008). According to the Oxford English Dictionary (p. 268) participation is “the action or fact of partaking, having or forming part of; the fact or condition of sharing in common, with others or with each other”. While participation could be moral or amoral; it is seen as an exercise where people may choose to participate or not to participate (El-Gack, 2007). Definitions and concepts of participation in slum upgrading have evolved over time. Their origin can be traced back to the 1950s and 60s—when there were community and popular participation—promoted by mainly Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs). In the late 1970s into early 80s multilateral organisations such as International Labour Organization (ILO) and United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) also started promoting people’s participation in development programmes (El-Gack, 2007). In the context of slum upgrading plans, participation is understood as a “process in which people, and especially disadvantaged people, influence resource allocation and the planning and implementation of policies and programs, and are involved at different levels and degree of intensity in the identification, timing, planning, design, implementation, evaluation, and post implementation stage of development projects” (Majale, 2008). This implies that participatory approaches should above all ensure that those most affected by a policy are heard, and been used to increase transparency and deliberation in different phases of policy development.
Indebt study of Participatory slum upgrading

Top-bottom approach, bottom-top approach and the integrated or participatory approach are different approaches that can be adopted in upgrading slums (Cronin and Guthrie, 2011). Cronin and Guthrie argue that the top-down approach begins with government programs with centralized institutions, which build state capacity for handling the project; these projects have large scale impacts. They also build mechanisms for funding and collaborate with the recipient community and their organizations. Majale (2008) in his study on participatory urban planning and slum upgrading argued that the centralized top to bottom approach to slum upgrading has failed to yield the expected results in cities and towns where the government has implemented it. The result of this is that the local people were not incorporated into such projects. Shortcomings associated with various slum upgrading efforts, implemented with a top-down execution and centralized planning is responsible for the failure to scale up successful pilot projects—expanding the scale, scope, and effectiveness of a promising upgrading strategy (Cities Alliance 1999; World Bank Group 2001).

Cronin and Guthrie in the same study argued that the bottom-top approach to slum upgrading begins with external actors/NGOs/CBOs initiating a project—with decentralized institutions—which could be majorly controlled by civil society, engaging local networks in the community with appropriate and repeatable impact on the poor—and at the end they (actors/NGOs/CBOs) try to influence the government. Arcila (2008) in his study on participatory slum upgrading revealed that the problem with the approach where external actors initiate and mobilize community organizations towards its implementation is that the project is often abandoned after completion, as the external actors have left and the government not been concerned. Because of the shortcomings associated with the top-bottom and bottom-top approach to slum upgrading international organizations and NGOs have strongly recommended the integrated approach to slum upgrading.

Imparato and Ruster (2003) in their study on participation and slum upgrading in Latin America, found out that implementing a participatory process in projects helps to improve project performance and increase the project impact and sustainability. They argued that participatory approaches are directly connected to the nature of urban upgrading and the reasons for initiating such a process. At the very heart of urban upgrading projects are needs and demands of people—these needs and demands need to be clearly identified, prioritized and understood; hence, there is the need for participatory processes. Motivation for the implementation of a participatory approach in a slum upgrading project is possible if any of the following are needed: the use of local information and knowledge to make sure that the project management team
makes more informed decisions; overcoming resource constraints through financial contributions or community labour; improving project targeting, through knowing more about the needs of the different groups in a community and the beneficiary community; enhancing accountability and transparency in managing public funds; encouraging decentralization and democratization in the allocation of resources; and promoting sustainability through stakeholder ownership, developing local capacities and making information available to different users, to strengthen all odds for further development initiatives post project. In the account of the World Bank (1999-2001) applying participatory approaches in slum upgrading promotes key aspects for attainment of successful results in slum upgrading. Among these key aspects are: development of partnerships, commitment on the part of community and the government, meeting expected needs and priorities, and most importantly institutional arrangements that allow the different stakeholders to get informed, coordinated and have their roles clearly defined and passed across to them. That is the reason Landaeta (2004) argues that participatory approaches provide local residents with the opportunity to develop networks and skills they require when addressing social exclusion. This implies that people will have more responsibility on the results of development and will be less disappointed with project results and delays. The UN-Millennium project has recognized that the best examples of participatory slum upgrading could be found in projects carried out through the use of participatory processes into ‘holistic approaches of neighbourhood improvement’ taking serious account of health improvement, education, gender and livelihood (UN-Millennium project, 2005). The UN-Millennium project (2005) also suggests that more sustainable outcomes have resulted from the processes in which the different approaches and projects are a part of the strategy and development plan of the area, with interventions from across its urban area.

**Participatory slum upgrading—who participates**

This study theoretically depends on the Community Action Planning (CAP) model, developed by Hamdi and Goethert (1997) and focus on who participates and at what level. Effective development plans must clearly state those who will participate—inviting every person is difficult to manage so it is always better to design a strategy that will ensure a fair representation of everyone (Arcila, 2008). Majale (2008) in his study on employment creation through participatory urban planning and slum upgrading, argued that three key societal sectors (public, private and civil society) can play a role at various levels (global, regional, national and local) in addressing the urgent challenge of slums. He went on to argue that, to do so, however, call for the formation of partnerships between the public, private sectors, and civil society (civil society includes the urban poor and their different organizations). For such a partnership to be successful
the urban poor and their associations must be made to participate meaningfully and realize their full potential in dealing with the problems they face (UNCHS, 2001). The representation framework should encourage all stakeholders to participate. In the sense that, stakeholders should not only be invited to deliberate on issues; there opinion should also be implemented if found to be realistic (White, 1996). All the groups in a community have different interests and needs—hence; there is the need to identify the needs and interests of the different groups (Arcila, 2008). When designing a system of representation it is important that those belonging to the most vulnerable groups—such as the elderly, women and ethnic minorities—should be considered (Arcila, 2008). Imparato and Ruster (2003) also encourage working with community based institutions since they have key contacts in the community.

Levels and stages of participation
Participation can be practiced in different levels and stages. Hamdi and Goethert in their work Action Plan for City Alliances; cited in Perten (2011); identified five different levels of participation that can possibly be applied in a slum upgrading project: None, indirect, consultative ,shared control, and full control. In practice the control and importance enjoyed by external support agents decreases with each step (Imparato and Ruster, 2003). This is represented in a table below.
Table 1: Table showing the levels of control and importance enjoyed by external agents and communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of participation</th>
<th>Community control and importance</th>
<th>External agents control and importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Very high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Very low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultative</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared control</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full control</td>
<td>Very high</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Imparato and Ruster (2003)

The table above shows that from none to full control levels of participation—community control and importance increased, whereas that of the external agencies decreased.

**Stages of Participation in slum upgrading**

Having examined the different levels of participation in slum upgrading projects, it is important to point to the fact that levels of participation in slum upgrading project are not static during the course of an urbanization plan; rather they are dynamic over time (White, 2010). The community and the city needs to be involved in a relationship which serves their mutual interest best—at every stage of a slum upgrading project (Perten, 2011). Arcila (2008) therefore argued that the goal in a participation process should be to use it in its most effective way, rather than to achieve its highest level. The different stages of participation include: initiation, planning, design, implementation, and maintenance stages of participation.

**Initiation stage:** At this stage, the consultative, shared control, or full control levels of participation can be used (Perten, 2011). Community participation is very important at this stage, because the project should originate from the community need. The technical team shouldn’t have any preconceived notions about the solutions to the community’s problem during this time—as this will undermine various participatory processes in the subsequent stages.

**Planning stage:** Community involvement in the planning stage is very important as this stage is the stage where key decisions are made and the project is defined. The shared control level should be considered at this stage.

**Design stage:** The indirect, consultative, or shared control levels of participation are recommended at this stage (Perten, 2011). This is because community input is less crucial in the...
design stage, because with very clear decisions in the planning stage, the design stage is only required to create the technical details of the project.

**Implementation stage:** In the implementation stage, participation can vary through all the levels. In some cases, the community is in a better position to lead implementation, while in others, the technical team, city authorities, or consultants are in a better position to carry out implementation. As a means of generating employment, if possible, community members should be hired for the construction of projects (Perten, 2011).

**Maintenance stage:** Both community and technical team should be involved in the maintenance of a completed project. In a sense, the daily maintenance of the completed projects should be the responsibility of the community residents, while repairs that require technical skills and resources should be carried out by technical teams or other outside agencies (Perten, 2011). However, for maintenance to be successful, an agreement must be in place prior to implementation of the project; designating task to the different actors according to their different capabilities.

**THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES/INPUT**

**Community Action Plan model**

The community action plan model was developed by Hamdi and Goethert (1997). The central claim of the model is that communities and their groups should be responsible for the initiation, planning, design, implementation and maintenance of development projects in their environments. Community participation has significantly been adopted in urban slum development over the years. Desai (1995, p.42) defines community participation as an arrangement where local people participate in the decision making process of issues that affect their living conditions. Desai (1995) argued that “Grass-roots development” and development from below” could also describe some aspect of community participation. Community participation serves as a framework which explains that residences of a community must be made to participate in any development project in their environment. As community residents know their problems more than any other outside consultant or government. Therefore getting their input and having them to help decide the design of the project brings a sense of ownership and success of the project (World Bank, 1999-2001). Community participation should be at all the stages of a development project. Hamdi and Goethert (1997) identified stages of participation as follow: planning, design, implementation and maintenance stages. Participation may be at the; indirect, consultative, shared control or full control level. Hamdi and Goethert (1997) identified
levels of community participation as follow: none, indirect, consultative, shared control, and full control.

Community level planning should embrace the new level of realism in urban development projects. According to Hamdi and Goethert (1997) the new realism of development requires a new definition of public responsibility and a new role for development practitioners. By moving away—from the orthodox trend where consultants plan, politicians decide and the people receive—towards a trend that promote community empowerment; involving people who are directly affected by the development project; and promoting the appropriate technologies in the planning process (Hamdi and Goethert, 1997, p.26-29). There is need for direct communication with community residence in identifying community needs and in planning a project for execution. A survey and direct discussion with individuals or groups is invaluable. Hamdi and Goethert (1997) argued that the planning team should undertake a direct observation by looking, listening and talking. Care must be taken to ensure that various interests in the community are represented. Payne (1984) revealed that there is always a problem in finding out what people really want. Leaders or community-based associations or other representatives, may not always reflect the whole groups in a community. The project team has the responsibility to ensure that the community’s interest is established; the various tasks of identifying opportunities, setting a project goal, identifying resources and constraints, and setting the project’s team and task should be carried out with the community involved in every task.

Design and implementation of the project after planning is another important stage where community participation is significant. In terms of designing a project that requires a high technical skill, community may participate in a mere indirect, consultative or shared control level. But for implementation of the project, participation may be at the shared control level. Community participation at the implementation stage of a project may be in one of the following forms: technical support, material support, financial support, and organizational support (World Bank, 1999-2001). Community maintenance of the completed project is mostly carried out by the community. According to Perten (2011) community residents may decide to contact a technician if the problem is a technical problem which cannot be handled by the locals. Hamdi and Goethert (1997, p.77) argue that community participation at the shared control level is the key to effective community action planning.

For effective community participation to take place, skills, knowledge and technical-knowhow is required. According to Denters and Klok (2010) the right institutions and framework must be designed by the constituted authority to allow effective participation. Participation is also a time consuming exercise. According to Rakodi and Schlyter (1981), investment in community
involvement should be considered as long-term; rather than a short-term investment. To achieve meaningful local participation—projects should allow flexible time schedules, since the projects only give sufficient assistance to encourage the users to take responsibility for their environment. When flexible time schedules are allowed the people will fully take advantage of participation. The advantage of community action plan model is that the model provides a clear cut direction on how effective community participation can be realized. However, the model’s pit fall is that it fails to mention how political power structure and cultural factors poses a challenge for participation. Recent literature has revealed that political power structure and cultural factors are some of the challenges that hinder effective community participation (Mwaura, 2009; Goldfrank 2012; Seekings, 2012).

The community action plan model will be adopted and used in the analysis of results from Makoko slum upgrading project. The model is suitable for the study because it sets a clear guideline on effective community participation in development projects. This can explain Makoko community participation in Makoko slum upgrading.

**Political power structure and cultural factors of participation**

The preceding section addressed theory of community participation. This section will focus on theories of political power structure and culture, and how they may hinder effective community participation in a slum upgrading project.

**Power structure and participation**

There is a rapidly expanding body of literatures on how political power structure affects participation (Seekings, 2012; Goldfrank, 2012; Rodgers, 2010; Reiter, 2008; Benit-Gbaffou, 2008). A common view shared by the authors, is that political power structure can hinder effective community participation in a development project. According to Benit-Gbaffou, (2008) despite the debates on decentralization and participation, no real power is vested at the local level by the state. Participation is in practice considered a nuisance, waste of time and money; this is whether the people are made to participate through councillors (elected representatives of the people) or through informal relations with communities. On the part of the local ward councillors they are not empowered enough to fully represent their communities during consultations. Even when their opinion is solicited, such opinion may not be implemented (Benit-Gbaffou, 2008). On the other side Reiter (2008) argued that even when citizens are organised to participate, state are often reluctant in shifting power to civil forums.
According to Goldfrank (2012) the absence of a law that enhance participation leads to a lack of support for participatory processes in a development project. Providing a law in the constitution that encourage and enhance community participation in the decision making of issues that border on their interest has also been ignored by most states. Rodgers (2012) noted that there is no concrete institutionalisation of such law, even in places where there is an extensive mention of participation in the constitution. Even at times when these local people are made to deliberate on certain issues that affect them; their opinion is never made to count towards implementation. According to (Reiter, 2008) inviting them to a deliberative forum is a way of informing the public of what the government wants to do.

Power relations amongst participants in a deliberative process require a careful examination (Rodgers, 2010). Baiocchi (2001) noted that inequality within the deliberative process is a challenge to the deliberative process. As certain participants may be dominant because they are linked with the state or party in power. This is to the point where such participants may actually seek to dissolve any arrangement that may challenge their powers. Rodgers (2010) argued that it is nearly impossible to imagine an effective participatory process in an arrangement where individuals and groups have disproportionate amount of power created by existing political framework. The chances that a state apparatus will shift power away to society is dependent on the link that connect the state to specific sectors of the society, characteristics of the state, and its level of democratization (Reiter, 2008). These factors could be linked to the political culture of the state. The next section discusses cultural factors and participation.

Political culture and participation
Political culture factors have gained significant attention in explaining participatory processes in slum upgrading (Werlin, 1999; Mwaura, 2009; Reiter, 2008; Seekings, 2012; Goldfrank, 2012). For successful participation in slum upgrading to take place there is a need for the political class to embrace a culture that is favourably disposed towards community participation. According to Mwaura (2009) political and cultural challenges are some of the challenges that face slum upgrading. Reiter (2008) noted that culture and identity are the new battle ground for participation.

Having a political culture that perceives community participation as nuisance, waste of time and money (Benit-Gabaffou, 2008); and a lack of commitment by the political class will lead to the state developing characteristics that are not favourable to participation. For instance failure to empower participant’s by the political class (Appadurai, 2001); empowering participants in a deliberative process disproportionately by existing political framework or entrenching practices
of clientelism and political patronage in the participatory process (Rodgers, 2010); failure to put in place the right institutions and structures that will enhance participation (Werlin, 1999), are state characteristics that can hinder effective participation. In fact the lack of a political commitment to participation will make politicians often prefer to exploit or ignore slum conditions (Werlin, 1999). Mwaura (2009) noted that cultural challenge hinders effective participation in slum upgrading. This was corroborated by Werlin (1999) when he argued that political hostility to decentralization undermine participation. It should be noted that a political culture that is favourably disposed to participation will enhance participation in slum upgrading. The political power structure and political culture theories will be adopted in explaining factors that hindered effective community participation in Makoko slum upgrading. Both factors will be used because they are suitable in explaining factors that can hinder effective participation.

To sum up, this chapter has developed our understanding of what participation in slum upgrading is, and how it involves collaboration between public sector, private sector and civil society actors. Stakeholders in a slum upgrading project can participate at five levels; none, indirect, consultative, shared control and full control. Participation in slum upgrading could be organised in five stages; initiation, planning, design, implementation, and maintenance stages. The chapter, however, has also shown that a number of factors (political culture and political power structure) hinder successful participation in slum upgrading. The Community Action Plan model will be adopted in analyzing participation in Makoko slum upgrading. Meanwhile, political culture and political power structure factors of slum upgrading will be used to explain factors that hinder participation in Makoko.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This study adopts the qualitative single case study research strategy. A case study research strategy was considered appropriate in order to explore the kind of questions asked about participation in slum upgrading in the study. According to Yen (2003) case studies are the preferred strategy to adopt in a research when “how” and “why” questions are being asked—when the researcher has little control over the situation—whereby the focus is a contemporary problem in a real life situation. The data is primarily qualitative, which again has to do with the type of questions I am asking about cultural and political factors of participation, which is not possible to explore in any other way than to see how people understood participation. The single case study was considered appropriate, as the Makoko case will help to test whether existing prepositions that state that (1) Implementation of participation in slum upgrading are different in different cities and (2) That political culture and power structure displace participation—are correct.

Both primary and secondary data were collected in the study. This enabled the use of secondary data to supplement primary data. Primary data was collected through the semi-structured interviews (see appendix 1). The semi-structured interview was used as it enables the interviewer to probe the interviewees about issues that needs clarification during an interview. This claim is supported when Bryman and Bell (2007, p.474) say questions could be raised outside the interview guide as the interviewer pick on the things said by the interviewee. Secondary data were also sourced from existing literature, newspaper reports, and NLE Works document.

Interviews were used to collect data from residents of the Makoko community in Lagos, especially Makoko Community Development Association, youths, and leaders. These groups and persons were interviewed because they are the direct stakeholders in the Makoko slum upgrading project, and therefore have sufficient information about participation in the area. Four community leaders were interviewed, four youths were also interviewed, specifically those who participated in the construction of the Makoko floating school, along with four members of the Makoko Community development association. The different group representatives were interviewed to bring out the different experiences of the groups in the process, as they were all stakeholders in the Makoko project. The interviewer had an interview guide where questions were laid out for the interview (see appendix 1 for the interview guide). The reason for the guide was to enable the interviewer to remember the areas to be covered during the interview. Questions in the interview guide were designed after an extensive literature review. This is to
enable the researcher to have a comprehensive idea on the subject, which will enable the right questions that will answer the research questions to be asked. (See chapter 1 for the research questions). During the interview, the interviewee’s responses were noted in the interviewer’s diary. This enabled the interviewer to remember important themes that came up during the interview during the writing up phase. Bryman and Bell (2007, p.489) argue that recording and transcribing interviews allows a thorough study of what interviewees say and also allows the repeated examination of such. After the interview, the researcher wrote out the major themes in the interview from the interview diary, read through the themes and major issues repeatedly which were then written in this report.

Interviews were conducted twice on two different weekends. Interviews were carried out twice, as a total number of 12 people could not be interviewed in a day. Therefore two Saturdays were the days assigned to the task. Saturday evenings were chosen as most of the interviewees were working class people and can only spare time for the interviews at weekends. This was made to create convenience for interviewees who may not have the time during week days. Interviews were carried out in two venues; the house of one of the leaders and the Makoko floating school. The house of one of the leaders with an upper chamber was used in interviewing the four leaders. This side of the house was used to avoid noise and distraction coming from anywhere. Members of the community development association and youths were interviewed in the Makoko floating school complex. This was to enable an interview process free from all form of noise and distraction from families and other pollution. Bryman and Bell (2007, p.481) noted that to avoid interruption, noise and distraction in an interview, it is important to find a convenient place.

Data about participation in slum upgrading, factors that impede participation and ways of improving subsequent slum upgrading effort in Lagos were collected. These data were very relevant because they give a fairly good idea about participation in Makoko, Lagos. It also enables the researcher to answer questions about; the levels and stages at which Makoko residents participated in Makoko slum upgrading, factors that impede participation in Makoko, how participation in slum upgrading in Makoko relates to existing theory in the area, and how to improve future effort in slum upgrading in Lagos. However, the data is limited in a sense, as it does not provide any information as to why the Lagos state government wanted to demolish the whole of Makoko slum, against the earlier agreement between the state government and the community, that only houses built under power lines should be demolished. This data could not be collected as every means made to interview local governments officials failed, while other groups interviewed claimed they were not aware of any reason for the change in decision,
however, their response was based on assumption. This data would have provided more detail on how political factors impede participation.

In collecting the data no harm was done to anybody. Due authorization was obtained from the community head of Makoko, before the commencement of the study. The community head then instructed some boys in the area to show the interviewer to the different stakeholders in the project. Responding to questions about participation in slum upgrading does not portend any danger for respondents in Makoko. However, interviewees were still not very sure about what the data were going to be used for, especially now that the state government was bent on demolishing the entire community, which is against the agreement reached by both parties in an earlier consultation. After a convincing discussion with the community head, the community head convinced residents to participate in the study, as the study is geared towards identifying ways of improving participation in slum upgrading in the future in Makoko. However, interviewees did not want their names written out in the report.

In writing the report, the researcher had to keep the names of respondents anonymous. By referring to respondents as “respondent A or B” in different sections were they were quoted in the report. This is to ensure that promises made to the respondent (as not to put their names in print) were fulfilled.
CHAPTER FOUR
EMPIRICAL CASE AND ANALYSIS

Makoko case details

Lagos is Africa’s largest city, located in south West Nigeria, on the Western Coast of Africa (Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009). Water and wetlands cover more than 40% of the land area within the State and another additional 12% of the land is subject to seasonal flooding (Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009). The population of Lagos as of the last census count is over 21 million, (Vanguard of November 22, 2011) and it is predicted to reach a staggering figure of 24 million in 2020 (Agbola and Agunbiade, 2009). About two-thirds of this population lives in slums (Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009). The city records an annual 600,000 increase in population due to immigration (Cities Alliance, 2008). Different ethnic groups in Nigeria, and people from nations who are members of the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS), flock to Lagos because of the opportunities which the city offers (Cities Alliance, 2008). Based on the population build-up, it is not surprising to experience unusual land and demographic pressure leading to unprecedented demand for land. Because of this pressure, most undeveloped lands are taken over by rural immigrants to meet their land needs (Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009). Such invasion often leads to disorganized and unplanned development, while such communities do not have infrastructural facilities. These communities constitute slum areas (Itare, Makoko and Ajegunle) in Lagos (Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009).

There are many challenges confronting the city of Lagos. These include overburdened and inadequate infrastructure resulting from lack of maintenance and uncontrolled urban sprawl,(which leads to regular power failure, traffic congestions, inefficient transport system, pollution, congestion, poor waste management system and economic dislocation), inadequate housing due to a very wide gap between demand and supply, high unemployment among young people, and economic and social exclusion resulting from not engaging a wider segment of the citizens in decision making (Cities Alliance, 2008). Despite these challenges, Lagos is seen as the land of hope for an average Nigerian.

Previous slum upgrading efforts carried out in Lagos identified a number of slum areas in the city. The Lagos State Urban Renewal Board, which later became Lagos State Urban Renewal Authority, was set up to deal with the problem of slums. However, the agency embarked on a renewal scheme that failed due to lack of community input. An example of this was the Olaleye-Iponri Urban Renewal Project. The project results were a low level of implementation, sustainability and success (Cities Alliance, 2008).
Recent slum upgrading initiatives have been set up in Lagos. This includes the Oluwole Business centre district, and more recently the Makoko slum upgrading project. Using Makoko as a case, this study investigates participation in the Makoko slum upgrading project and how political culture and power structure affects participation in Makoko slum upgrading.

Makoko is one of the slum communities located on the coastal area of Lagos (Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009), and is one of the communities governed by the Yaba/Iwaya Local Government Council. An estimated 100,000 people live in houses on stilts built over water (NLE Works, 2013). Despite the large number of residents, the community does not have roads and other basic infrastructure to support daily survival. To make things worse, only one school is available to serve the community (Guardian Newspaper of 13 March, 2013). The school is located in an area constantly threatened by flood and sadly the inability of the building to withstand increasing rainfall and flooding has often threatened the opportunity for children to access education (NLE Works, 2013). In the face of these difficulties, residents of this community have developed their own form of self-sustenance and a self-governance mechanism (NLE Works, 2013). Development initiatives are supervised through the Baale (Traditional head) of Makoko, Makoko Community Development Association, and youths in the community.

As a result of its slum upgrading effort, the Lagos state government - in a bid to upgrade the Makoko community - consulted residents (Baale, leaders, representatives of Makoko Community Development Association and representatives of the youth) of the community to deliberate on how to demolish and upgrade the area. It was agreed that only the shanties built within 100 metres of the power lines should be demolished. Contrary to the agreement, the Lagos state government embarked on the demolition of the entire community. This act was strongly resisted by members of the community (Punch Newspaper of 13, 2013).

The Makoko upgrading project also included the recent construction of the Makoko floating school. Stakeholders who participated in the project include; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), NLW Works (Nigeria), Makoko Community Development Association and, Heinrich Boell Foundation of Germany (Guardian Newspaper of 13 March, 2013; Punch Newspaper of 8 April, 2013). Neither Lagos state government or Yaba/Iwaya local government participated. When the NLE Works team who designed and constructed the project came, they consulted with the community residents (Baale, Makoko Community Development Association, leaders), though the idea was that of Adeyemi - the director of NLE Works. The community quickly bought the idea and provided land for the project, as it needed another school suitable for the community to complement the existing school. The architect (Adeyemi) had the plan ready so construction work started in October, 2012, and was completed in February, 2013 (Guardian
UNDP and Heinrich Boell Foundation of Germany funded the project. Eight youths were employed and involved in the construction of the floating school as assistants. Representatives of Makoko Community Development Association were often on site overseeing construction work progress. The school is a two-story building that can educate up to a 100 people at a time (Guardian Newspaper of 13 March, 2013). The building was constructed with locally sourced materials. The design is a triangular A-frame section, with classrooms located on the second tier of the building. There is a playground in the compartment below and the roof has an additional open air classroom. Classrooms are rounded up by public green space (www.archdaily.com). To make the floating school sustainable, PV cells were applied to the roof and a rainwater collection system was incorporated into the structure. The building is designed in such a way that it will be naturally ventilated. The structure of the floating school rests on a base of plastic barrels. These barrels can be used to store excess rainwater from the collection system of the building (NLE Works, 2013) and keep the school afloat.

After the completion of the floating school project, maintenance of the project has been left completely in the hands of the residents. However, when problems that require the services of an expert come up, technicians will be contacted to assist.

PRESENTATION OF EMPIRICAL DATA ON PARTICIPATION IN MAKOKO SLUM UPGRADING

Participation by Makoko Community Development Association

The Makoko Community Development Association was involved in the upgrading project of Makoko community. In fact other various groups including the local youth, community leaders and the Baale of the community were involved. But local participation in Makoko was limited as Lagos state government did not seem to want local participation. To answer the question whether or not Makoko Community Development Association participated in the community upgrading, this is what two of the interviewees had to say. Respondent A:

“I will say yes because during the construction of the floating school the NLE, Works team tried to carry the community residents, leaders, Baale, and Makoko Community Development Association along. I can tell you this because I am a member of the association.

But the other interviewee who thinks participation in Makoko slum upgrading was not supported by the Lagos state government looked at the issue from two angles. Respondent B:

“I will say no and yes. Yes, Makoko Community Development Association participated in the construction of the floating school project initiated by UNDP and NLE, Works. But for the Lagos state slum upgrading project which started with demolition of the community, I will say no. At
the beginning of the whole slum upgrading project, Lagos state government consulted residents of the Makoko community, who were represented by representatives of Makoko Community Development Association, and a few leaders from the community. The government said it wanted to upgrade the community but first has to demolish the whole community as most houses are built very close to power lines. The community representatives argued that it will be difficult to relocate every person before the upgrading project is completed, hence that the government should demolish only houses that are within 100 meters of the power lines. They also told the government officials that sufficient time should be given to those whose houses will be demolished to relocate before the exercise. The government agreed and we thanked them. After three days, very early in the morning we saw police men and officers of operation Kick Against Indiscipline (KAI), demolishing houses. I do not call this participation because the government did not act in line with our agreement”.

In terms of the levels and stages at which participation in Makoko slum upgrading took place, one of the interviewees has this to say. Respondent C:

“Participation took place at the initiation, implementation and maintenance stages. And for the other levels it was merely consultative”.

On why participation was limited to only initiation, implementation and maintenance stages and not also to planning and design stages, one of the respondents has this to say. Respondent D:

“Residents of Makoko community did not have the requisite skill to participate at this stage. Hence, only the architects (Adeyemi and others) did that”.

However, data from a secondary source classified the different collaborators in the floating school project into: NLE team, technical team and Makoko Waterfront Community (See NLE Works, 2013).

Participation in Makoko upgrading and how it relates to theories of political power structure and culture

The interview data shows that political culture and power structure factors in Makoko slum upgrading hindered participation in slum upgrading. According to one of the interviewees, Respondent E:

“our political leaders are not committed to involving local people in addressing issues that concerns local people, there are no laws in the land that provides that local people must be allowed to take part in the upgrading of projects that affects their lives, and our leaders are corrupt, hence they will not allow the people to take part in projects so as to avoid being transparent and accountable to the people”.

Another respondent also has this to say. Respondent F:

“…there are no laws that support residents' participation in Lagos or in any other place in Nigeria. So the government can do whatever it likes”.
Data from secondary sources support the interview data on political culture and power structure factors on participation. Seekings (2012), in his work in Participatory Budgeting argued that political culture and power structure factors hinder participation. Existing literature by Goldfrank (2012) puts it that the lack of political commitment and the lack of national laws displace participation.

**Factors that hinder or enhance the implementation of participation in Makoko slum upgrading**

Data from the interviews reveals the different factors that enhanced participation in Makoko upgrading. According to respondent G:

“Commitment on the part of Makoko residents enhanced participation. Some of our neighbours, if you ask them to come for a community gathering to deliberate on issues about community they will tell you they are going to work. Only few of us actually sacrifice the time to attend meetings. If nobody had time the participation will not be possible”. (Sic)

Concerning factors that enhanced participation in Makoko upgrading, respondent H said:

“Adeyemi (architect) was always contacting the community at every given time. He was constantly seeking our opinion about issues”.

Also on what factors enhanced participation, another respondent (I) said:

“Commitment on the part of residents to participation and international organizations commitment to participation in slum upgrading...”

Finally, another interviewee (J) remarked:

“Thanks to NLE, works team, UNDP and Heinrich Boell Foundation. Their commitment to our needs encouraged participation. They always wanted to know our opinion about issues”.

On factors that hindered participation in Makoko upgrading, one interviewee (K) remarked that:

“I will say there are no laws that encourage participation in the country. Because of this no government in the country is committed to involving the people in slum upgrade”. (Sic)

Another interviewee, (L) remarked that:

“Nobody cares about slum dwellers, let alone involve them in slum upgrading efforts...no laws that support resident participation in Lagos...”

In terms of participation at the planning and design stage of the floating school, another interviewee (M) remarked that:

“Residents of Makoko community did not have the requisite skill to participate at this stage. Hence, only the architects (Adeyemi and others) did that”.
The secondary data reveals that the lack of political culture, power structure, knowledge and skill discouraged participation (Seekings, 2012, Goldfrank, 2012, Denters & Klok, 2010).

Ways of improving participatory slum upgrading approaches in future slum upgrading in Lagos

In terms of how to improve participation in slum upgrading in Lagos in the future, one of the interviewees (N) suggests that:

“Federal government must come to our rescue by designing national laws that will ensure that state and local government involves the local people in the development of their area. This will lead to the provision of projects that are useful and meet the people’s needs”.

While another interviewee (O) suggests that:

“A forum where we the community residents will meet with our government representatives monthly or every quarter to deliberate on the problem of our community and the way forward should be set up. The community through forum may be contributing some amount of money towards future upgrading project. And through this kind of arrangement we the residents can come together maybe weekends and maintain gutters, foot path, markets and school complex”.

Finally, another interviewee (P) suggests that:

“Identify ways to motivate governments that collaborate with the people in slum upgrading. This will encourage others who are not committed to participation in slum upgrading”.

ANALYSIS

The Makoko case result reveals that the Makoko Community Development Association and residents of the community participated in Makoko upgrading. However, the degree of participation was minimal. Participation in Makoko upgrading is said to be minimal because there was no participation in the deliberation process that led to the demolition exercise of the community carried out by the Lagos state government. Initially, the state government consulted the people, where it was agreed that only houses that are within 100 meters of the power lines will be demolished. Unfortunately, the government started demolition after three days outside of the agreed boundary, contrary to the agreement with Makoko residents. There was participation by Makoko Community Development Association and residents of Makoko in the construction of the floating school project funded by international organizations (UNDP, NLE, Works, and Heinrich Boell Foundation), as international organizations encouraged participation in Makoko. Participation in Makoko is also said to be minimal participation as residents of the community and their institutions only participated in the initiation, implementation and maintenance stages
of the floating school project. At the initiation stage leaders and members of Makoko Community Development Association were consulted and in that meeting the need to construct a school was identified. At the implementation stage only eight youths in the community were involved in the construction as residents of Makoko do not have the skill required to participate. Participation by the eight youths is classified as participation for material incentives because they only participated for money. The level of participation at this stage is classified as shared control. Since both the youth and the NLE Works team carried out the implementation. In the maintenance stage, the community has full control. Especially in terms of cleaning and keeping the property safe. Technical problems in the building in future will require the community to hire the services of a technician. There was no participation at the planning and design stages of the floating school project because planning and design of the project mainly required technical skill. And Makoko residents and their organizations did not have these skills and therefore could not participate at these stages in the project.

From the data it is suggested that a lack of political commitment, power structure, and a lack of requisite technical skill by Makoko residents discouraged participation in Makoko. There are no state laws that provides for local participation in slum upgrading projects in Lagos. The presence of such law may have encouraged local government officials in Lagos to provide the required structure and institutions needed for community participation. A previous study has shown that legal reform has the capacity to encourage participation in a nation (Imparato & Ruster, 2003). In their study, Imparato and Ruster reveal how the 1994 legal reform in Bolivia, “People’s Participation Law” which established Participatory Budgeting (PB) at the local level, had a far reaching and immediate impact in terms of the legal recognition of community organizations. The reverse may have also been the case as previous studies have revealed that there are cities where municipality officials have failed to comply with such national laws that provide for local people participation (Goldfrank, 2012). The lack of compliance to such laws encouraging participation by municipality officials may perhaps be due to the lack of a law against non-compliance.

The political beliefs and values of politicians in Lagos did not encourage local peoples participation. A lack of political will, belief, and value for participation leads to the lack of political commitment to participation. Lagos state government lack a commitment to participation and therefore did not set up institutions and structures that will support participation in Makoko. This became very obvious when the Lagos state government failed to honour the agreement reached between the government and Makoko residents on how to upgrade the area. By that act, participation was discouraged. In trying to make sense as to why Lagos state
government did not stick to the earlier agreement between the government and residents of Makoko community, two things come to mind. First, one may suggest that maybe the government felt Makoko slum residents were illegally occupying the land and therefore do not want to have any dealings with them. This would have been a good thing to do if the government had gone ahead to prevent the various international organizations involved in the construction of the floating school project and the community from spending so much time and resources in providing the school as government intends to demolish the entire Makoko slum community. Second, it may be a way of informing the community of what the government intends to do. This act (trying to demolish the whole of Makoko) is capable of making international organizations with plans to initiate development projects in Lagos in the future to have a rethink in terms of going ahead with such plans, as the government may decide to destroy the project upon its completion. Based on the results from Makoko, which reveals how political culture and power structure factors discouraged participation in slum upgrading, one can conclude that the research has extended the work of Seekings. However, the Makoko case revealed an important factor which was not addressed in Seekings: the role international agencies played in encouraging participation in Makoko.

The lack of requisite technical skills by Makoko residents reduced the people's level of participation in Makoko upgrading project. Because of a lack of technical skills Makoko residents and their institutions were restricted from participating in the planning and design stages of the floating school project. Community participation at the planning and design stages was not to be, because both stages require a level of technical skill to carry out. They were also limited in terms of participation in the implementation stage of the project, where only a few youths provided services for the construction team (NLE, Works) for paid incentives. This is termed participation for incentive.

Two factors enhanced participation in Makoko upgrading: international organizations and Makoko resident’s commitment to participation. First, commitment of the international organizations that participated in the construction of the floating school project led to the implementation of participatory processes. The UNDP, NLE, Works and Heinrich Boell Foundation collaborated with the Baale, leaders of the community and Makoko Community Development Association to build the floating school. The international organizations encouraged residents to form groups, and attend meetings at the Baale’s (Traditional head) house to make plans on how to successfully execute the floating school project. This shows their level of commitment to the needs of Makoko residents as they claim that only Makoko residents knows what is best for them. A previous study has also shown that international organizations
encourage participation (Imparato & Ruster, 2003). In their work, the authors were able to show how a German NGO (Association of Volunteers for International Corporation) encouraged local participation in the upgrading of favelas in Brazil. Various national governments must ensure that international organizations are encouraged to enable them continue such practice in every city where they embark on a development program. Lagos state government’s failure to participate in the floating school project suggests either the governments lack of commitment to participation, or the lack of recognition for Makoko slum dwellers as legitimate owners of the land, which requires that the government evict the people from the land.

Commitment to participation by a few Makoko residents encouraged participation in Makoko slum upgrade. These are the few residents who are members of Makoko Community Development Association and some leaders of the community. They gave up their time to attend meetings to take decisions as to what needs doing and how it should be done. This act by such residents is no mean feat to improve the decisions reached to construct the floating school. The community was seriously in need of a school to support the only other school previously in the community serving a population of about 100,000 people. Other residents who could not give up their time for such meetings did so for economic reasons. Most of them did so because they did not want to lose money by not going to their place of work. This finding makes the creation of a forum that will hold meetings at convenient days (mostly weekends) for all members imperative. At least this will enable all viable residents including the working class amongst them to be involved in such projects in the future.

The results reveals that: the lack of political will, values and belief by local government officials in Lagos, the lack of state laws encouraging participation in Lagos, and the lack of requisite technical skill by Makoko residents, discouraged participation in Lagos. These findings are consistent with existing theories on political culture and power structure factors of participation (Seeking, 2012; Goldfrank, 2012). Seekings (2012), in his study of Participatory Budgeting reveals that political culture and power structure factors hinder participation. In line with this Goldfrank (2012) pointed out that lack of political commitment and lack of national laws hinders participation.

The Makoko case revealed the urgent need for a state law, a forum (made up of community residents, government representatives, NGOs, and Makoko Community Development Association), and support from international organizations, that will help to encourage participation in future slum upgrading efforts in Lagos. Creating a state law that encourages implementation of a participatory approach in slum upgrading projects in the future in Lagos, is one of the ways participation in slum upgrading can be enhanced in Lagos. Such a law will
compel local government officials who do not see the benefit of participation in slum upgrading to implement participatory processes in slum upgrading, as they (Government officials) are aware that failure to act within the law may mean appearing before a law court. Lagos state government should also try to fight corruption at any level. The Makoko case revealed that corrupt government officials fear involving local people, since they will be accountable and not therefore have the opportunity to divert funds meant for upgrading projects. Ability to address the problem of corruption will help to encourage participation in Lagos in the future. The Makoko case result also reveals that to improve participation in slum upgrading in Lagos in the future, international organizations should encourage city governments that adopt participatory processes in slum upgrading. This could be in the way of providing more development projects in such cities where the government support local participation. This may compel these government officials who are not committed to participation to have a rethink about involving the people in issues that affect them. It might be very difficult to realize as most governments (especially military) in Africa often pay deaf ears to such foreign influence. But the recent democratic governments in most African countries and Lagos may be encouraged by such initiatives. This is due to their (African governments) adherence to recent Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Finally, the Makoko case result reveals that every community should set up a forum where community representatives and government officials will meet to deliberate on the challenges of the community and how to address them. During slum upgrading the problems of the community would have been known by both sides.

The case data shows that there was participation in slum upgrading process in Makoko. However, participation was minimal. For projects that involved the government there was no participation, but for projects initiated by international organizations there was collaboration between different stakeholders. The data also shows that political culture, power structure, and lack of skills hindered participation. That political culture, power structure, and lack of skill discouraged participation in slum upgrading in Makoko confirms the existing theory on political culture, power structure and skill factors in participation in slum upgrading. The study further revealed that commitment to participation in slum upgrading by international organizations and a few Makoko residents enhanced participation in Makoko slum upgrading. Finally, ways of improving participation in slum upgrading in the future in Lagos were suggested. The next chapter concludes the study.
CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION
This chapter in turn considers the below-listed headings in the research.

- Participation in Makoko slum upgrading
- Factors that affect the successful implementation or lack of implementation of participatory approach in slum upgrading
- Participation in Makoko slum upgrading and how it relates to theories of power structure and political culture
- Ways of developing participatory approaches in future slum upgrading in Lagos

Participation in Makoko slum upgrading
The study revealed that participation was minimal in Makoko slum upgrading. Makoko Community Development Association and residents did not participate in the Lagos state government upgrading exercise, which started with a demolition exercise. This was because the government did not honour the agreement reached by the government and community representatives as planned. Rather, the government made a U-turn, took a different decision and started the demolition exercise. On the reason why the government made the sudden change in plan; it may be suggested that the government realized that these residents of Makoko community were not legal occupants of the land and not true stakeholders. This would have been an honest thing to have done if the government had prevailed on the residents and international organizational that built the floating school, not to build. Since it will be a waste of effort and resources as the entire community would be destroyed by the government. It may also be argued that the deliberative process that led to the earlier agreement between the government and the community was a way of informing the community of what the government intended to do. Hence, the government changed its plan.

In case of the Makoko floating school initiated by UNDP, NLE, Works, Heinrich Boell’s Foundation, residents of Makoko community and their institutions participated at the initiation, implementation and maintenance stages. This was due to the fact that these international organizations are highly committed to people’s participation as they believe that it brings about sustainability of the project and eliminate poverty. They therefore encouraged the people to participate.
Factors that affect the successful implementation or lack of implementation of participatory processes in slum upgrading

Power structure, political culture and lack of skill are factors that hindered participation in Makoko slum upgrading. Meanwhile, international organizations and Makoko residents’ commitment to participation enhanced participation in Makoko slum upgrading.

Power structure factor in participatory slum upgrading: there was no state law and institution in Lagos to support the implementation of participatory processes in slum upgrading. And government officials who were not committed to participation in slum upgrading did not involve people in participation. However, international organizations that constructed the Makoko floating school organized Makoko Community Development Association, leaders of the community and other residents to partner together to build the floating school.

Political culture factor in participatory slum upgrading: lack of political values, will, and belief by government officials in Lagos for participation in slum upgrading, hindered participation in Makoko upgrading. Lack of these values for participation by these officials led to lack of commitment to setting up institutions and framework that will support participation in slum upgrading. However, international organizations values, belief and commitment to participation encouraged the implementation of participatory processes in Makoko slum upgrading.

Skill factor in participatory slum upgrading: though Makoko residents were involved in the construction of the Makoko floating school, lack of skills limited their capacity to participate in some major stages of the project. For example Makoko residents were involved in the initiation, implementation and maintenance stages of the floating school projects. If they (residents) had skills in design they would have participated in other stages in the project such as planning and design.

International organizations commitment to participation in Makoko slum upgrading: UNDP, NLE, Works, Heinrich Boell Foundation were strongly committed to involving the local people in the construction of the floating school. This enhanced the level of participation by residents and their institutions.

A few Makoko residents and members of Makoko Community Development Association were strongly committed to participation in the community upgrade. These few residents ensured that they attended meetings where important decisions were made concerning the needs of people in the community.

Participation in Makoko slum upgrading and how it relates to theories of power structure and political culture
The lack of national law and political values, and belief by government officials, led to their lack of commitment to participation in Makoko slum upgrading. The result from the Makoko case about political culture and power structure factors hindering participation in slum upgrading is not ground breaking; it only confirms existing explanations provided by Seeking (2012) where he argued that political culture and power structure factors displace participation. The data also confirms the result of the study by Goldfrank (2012) in his study of PB where he argued that lack of national laws and lack of political commitment hinders participation.

Ways of developing participatory approaches in future slum upgrading in Lagos

To improve participatory approaches in future slum upgrading efforts in Lagos, it is suggested that the following approach be adopted:

• A state law, which stipulates that local residents must participate in the upgrading of their community, must be designed by the Lagos state government in Nigeria. Community residents know the problems of their community more than any other stakeholder from outside the community. Previous research has shown that this worked in Bolivia (Imparato & Ruster, 2003). However, Goldfrank (2012) has shown that in some cities with such national laws, municipal officials still fail to implement participatory approach in slum upgrading projects. Therefore, it is further recommended that the federal government in Nigeria should also design a law that will sanction any act of non-compliance to such law. This will ensure that municipal officials and state governments implement participatory approach in slum upgrading. This will also help to encourage participation in slum upgrading in Lagos in the future.

• Lagos state government should put in a bit more effort into fighting corruption at the state and local government level. This will complement the effort of the Nigerian federal government in fighting corruption in the country. When local government officials are free from corruption they tend to be more transparent and accountable to the people, thereby creating more opportunity for the people of Lagos state to participate more in future upgrading projects. This may not be immediate, but gradually the government can achieve this.

• International organizations and agencies that are committed to an integrated approach to solving slum challenges, should encourage governments that adopt such approaches to slum upgrading, by providing more development projects in their city. This may not sound realistic; however, it is further suggested that international organizations or
agencies should go to these cities where governments do not adopt the participatory approach in slum upgrading, and supervise any project they are willing to implement there by themselves. At least this will ensure that the people have a say in matters that directly affect them by being involved in projects and programmes designed to improve their community. This will also encourage participation in slum upgrading in Lagos in the future.

• Finally, Lagos state government should create a forum where slum community residents and government officials will meet monthly or quarterly, to identify problems as they come up in the community, and come up with solutions to address them. This will help to reduce the challenges associated with participation in slum upgrading in terms of reaching the people and holding meetings to deliberate issues.

DISCUSSION

It is acknowledge that certain things would have been done better. The researcher tried to ensure that all stakeholders in Makoko slum upgrading were interviewed. However, Officials of Lagos state government could not be interviewed. Based on this fact it is suggested that any future research in this area should be able to target government officials for interview purpose as this may produce more insight in future studies.
References


APPENDIX 1-INTERVIEW GUIDE:

This study is directed at investigating whether or not participatory processes are implemented in slum upgrading processes—and what factors could be responsible for the lack of support or support for participatory processes in slum upgrading.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION
Male….Female…..?
Do you live in Makoko water community?
How long have you live in the community?
What level of education do you have?
What is you occupation?

RESEARCH QUESTION(1)How did community-based institutions participate in identification of slum challenges; design action plans on how to curb the challenges and implement and monitor the plans in Lagos state?

Question for research question (1)
- Did Makoko Community Development Association/residents participate in recent Makoko upgrading project (demolition of houses/construction of floating school)?
- How where those (residents/association representatives) who participated selected?
- If yes, at what level (none, indirect, consultative, shared control or full control) and at what stage (initiating, planning, design, implementation or maintenance)?

RESEARCH QUESTION (2)What factors affects the successful implementation or lack of implementation of participatory processes in slum upgrading effort in Lagos state?

Questions for research question (2)
- What possible factors can you identify that enhanced participation in Makoko upgrading project?
- What factor hindered support for the successful implementation processes in Makoko upgrading project?

RESEARCH QUESTION (4)How can participatory approaches to slum upgrading practices be developed in subsequent efforts in Lagos?
Questions for research question (4)
- From your experience so far-in what ways do you think participatory approaches in slum upgrading can be improved in the future in Lagos?

It has been nice talking to you.
I appreciate the time and effort you have given up for this interview. Is there anything you may want to add to what you have said so far?
Thank you.
Appendix 2: Interview conversation A

BACKGROUND INFORMATION
Male….Female…..? Male
Do you live in Makoko water community? Yes
How long have you live in the community? 12 years
What level of education do you have? National Certificate of Education (NCE)
What is you occupation? Teaching

Question for research question (1)
- Did Makoko Community Development Association/residents participate in recent Makoko upgrading project (demolition of houses/construction of floating school)?

Answer: I will say no and yes. Yes, Makoko Community Development Association participated in the construction of the floating school project initiated by UNDP and NLE, Works. But for the Lagos state slum upgrading project which started with demolition of the community, I will say No, because ”at the beginning of the whole slum upgrading project, Lagos state government consulted residents of the Makoko community-who were represented by representatives of Makoko Community Development Association, and a few leaders from the community. The government said it wanted to upgrade the community but first have to demolish the whole community as most houses were built very close to power line. The community representatives argued it will be difficult to relocate every person before the upgrading project is completed, hence that the government should demolish only houses that are 100 meters close to power line. They also told the government officials that sufficient time should be given to those whose houses will be demolished to relocate before the exercise. The government agreed and we thank them. After three days, very early in the morning we saw police men and officers of operation Kick against Indiscipline (KAI), demolishing houses. I do not call this participation because the government did not act in line with our agreement”.

- How where those (residents/association representatives) who participated selected?

Answer: Members of the association selected them and the leaders who also participated decided among themselves and sent some of the leaders. I am not aware of how the youth who worked at the construction stage selected themselves.

- If yes, at what level (none, indirect, consultative, shared control or full control) and at what stage (initiating, planning, design, implementation or maintenance)?
Answer: participation took place at the initiation, implementation and maintenance stages. And for the levels it was merely consultative.

**RESEARCH QUESTION (2)** What factors affects the successful implementation or lack of implementation of participatory processes in slum upgrading effort in Lagos state?

**Questions for research question (2)**

- What possible factors can you identify that enhanced participation in Makoko upgrading project?

Answer: Adeyemi (architect) was always contacting the community at every given time. He was constantly seeking our opinion about issues.

- What factor hindered support for the successful implementation processes in Makoko upgrading project?

Answer: I will say there are no laws that encourage participation in the country. Because of this no government in the country is committed to involving the people in slum upgrade

**RESEARCH QUESTION (4)** How can participatory approaches to slum upgrading practices be developed in subsequent efforts in Lagos?

**Questions for research question (4)**

- From your experience so far-in what ways do you think participatory approaches in slum upgrading can be improved in the future in Lagos?

Answer: laws should be made to encourage participation of local residents at all levels of development.
Appendix 3: interview conversation B

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Male…Female…..? Male
Do you live in Makoko water community? Yes
How long have you live in the community? 18 years
What level of education do you have? Senior Secondary Certificate (SSC)
What is you occupation? Printer

RESEARCH QUESTION(1) How did community-based institutions participate in identification of slum challenges; design action plans on how to curb the challenges and implement and monitor the plans in Lagos state?

Question for research question (1)

- Did Makoko Community Development Association/residents participate in recent Makoko upgrading project (demolition of houses/construction of floating school)?

  Answer: I will say yes because during the construction of the floating school the NLE, Works team tried to carry the community residents, leaders, Baale, and Makoko Community Development Association along. I can tell you this because I am a member of the Association.

- How where those (residents/association representatives) who participated selected?

  Answer: we members of the association delegated executive members of the association; I believe the leaders did the same thing. Oh! Youth I think those who were are around were luck to be hired

  - If yes, at what level (none, indirect, consultative, shared control or full control) and at what stage (initiating, planning, design, implementation or maintenance)?

    Answer: when Adeyemi the architect came he consulted the people of Makoko. It was even the Baale that gave the land for the floating school. We decided that we wanted a school and Adeyemi and the other organizations such as UNDP rallied around and they started work. But they were always consulting the people.
RESEARCH QUESTION (2) What factors affect the successful implementation or lack of implementation of participatory processes in slum upgrading effort in Lagos state?

Questions for research question (2)

- What possible factors can you identify that enhanced participation in Makoko upgrading project?

Answer: commitment on the part of Makoko residents enhanced participation. Like some of our neighbors if you ask them to come for a community gathering to deliberate on issues about community they will tell you they are going to work. Only few of us actually sacrifice the time to attend meetings. If nobody had time the participation will not be possible.

- What factor hindered support for the successful implementation processes in Makoko upgrading project?

Answer: our political class are not committed to involving local people in addressing issues that concerns them, there are no laws in the land that provides that local people must be allowed to take part in the upgrading of projects that affects their lives, and our leaders are corrupt, hence they will not allow the people to take part in projects so as to avoid been transparent and accountable to the people”.

RESEARCH QUESTION (4) How can participatory approaches to slum upgrading practices be developed in subsequent efforts in Lagos?

Questions for research question (4)

- From your experience so far-in what ways do you think participatory approaches in slum upgrading can be improved in the future in Lagos?

Answer: I would say that monthly meetings should be organized between all the residents and government where problems of this community will be discussed and how to address them. So that when there is an upgrading project there will be no need for serial meetings and organizations
Appendix 4: interview conversation E

BACKGROUND INFORMATION
Male….Female…..? Female
Do you live in Makoko water community? Yes
How long have you live in the community? 10 years
What level of education do you have? Degree
What is you occupation? Civil servant

RESEARCH QUESTION(1)How did community-based institutions participate in identification of slum challenges; design action plans on how to curb the challenges and implement and monitor the plans in Lagos state?

Question for research question (1)
- Did Makoko Community Development Association/residents participate in recent Makoko upgrading project (demolition of houses/construction of floating school)?

Answer: Yes in terms of the floating school project, supervised by UNDP, NLE, Works, Heinrich Boell Foundation. But for the Makoko demolition project which involved the state government there was no participation because the government betrayed us. When the made a U-turn on the agreement between the community and the government.
- How where those (residents/association representatives) who participated selected?

Answer: that was internal to the different group that where consulted.
- If yes, at what level (none, indirect, consultative, shared control or full control) and at what stage (initiating, planning, design, implementation or maintenance)?

Answer: participation at the floating school level was mainly consultative.

RESEARCH QUESTION (2)What factors affects the successful implementation or lack of implementation of participatory processes in slum upgrading effort in Lagos state?

Questions for research question (2)
- What possible factors can you identify that enhanced participation in Makoko upgrading project?
Answer: commitment on the part of residents to participation and international organizations commitment to participation in slum upgrading. I must also commend the architect (Adeyemi) he was always carrying the community along.

- What factor hindered support for the successful implementation processes in Makoko upgrading project?

Answer: Nobody cares about slum dweller, let alone involve them in slum upgrading effort. This is because there are no laws that support resident participation in Lagos or in any other place in Nigeria. So the government can afford to do whatever it likes.

**RESEARCH QUESTION (4)** How can participatory approaches to slum upgrading practices be developed in subsequent efforts in Lagos?

**Questions for research question (4)**

- From your experience so far-in what ways do you think participatory approaches in slum upgrading can be improved in the future in Lagos?

Answer: international organizations should identify ways to motivate governments that collaborate with the people in slum upgrading. This will encourage others who are not committed to participation in slum upgrade.