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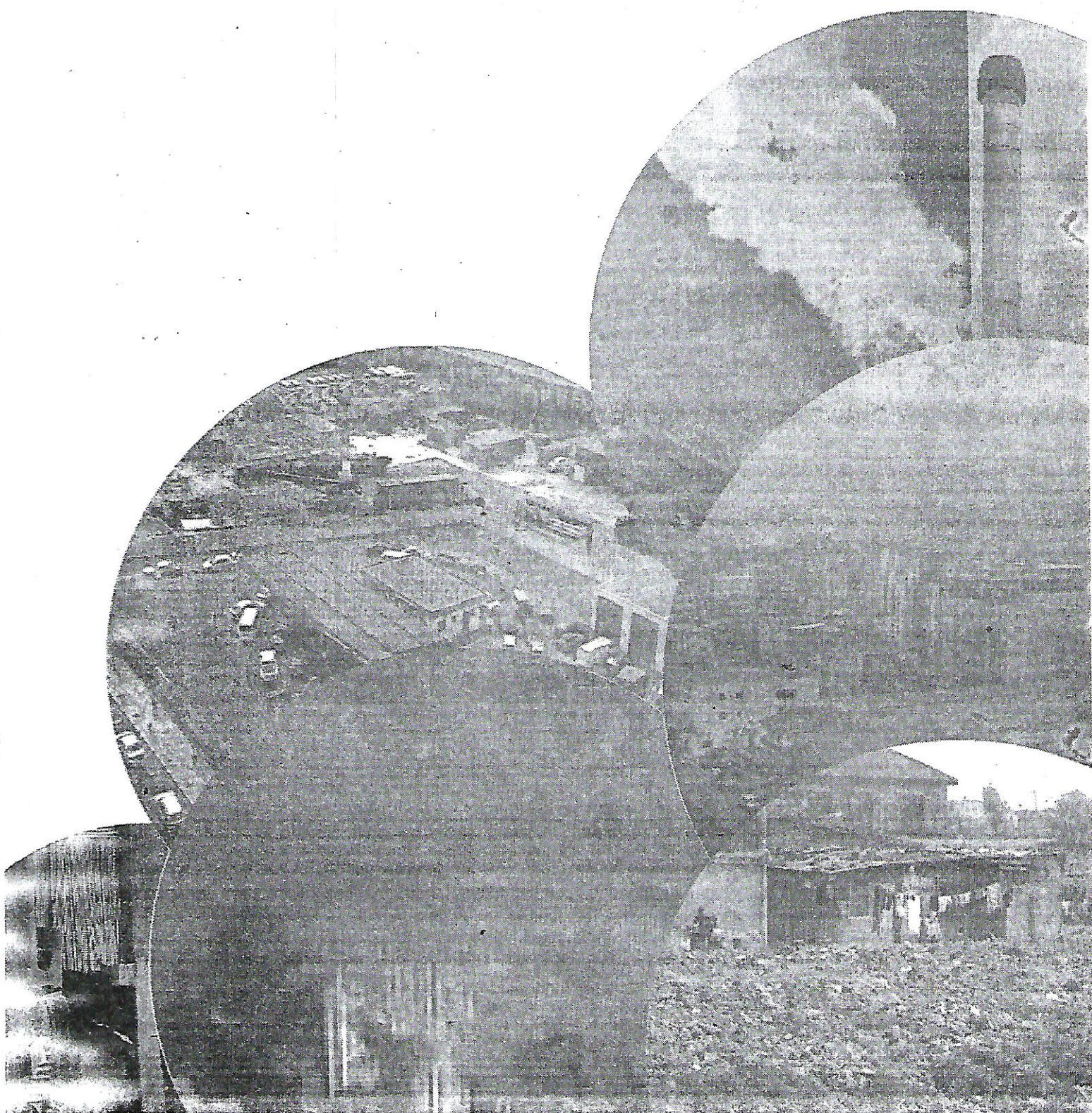
ENVIRONMENTAL ECONOMICS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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Readings in

The views expressed in this volume are entirely
Those of the individual authors and do not
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Urban Violence, Land Rights And The Environment:
An exploration of the nexus and the panacea for sustainable development

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Introduction

Urban areas are engines of economic, scientific and cultural development. They often foster democratic movements. The urban economy is crucial for national economic development. Indeed, two-thirds of the GDP of many countries is already generated in major urban centres, and 80% of future anticipated economic growth would take place in cities. The performance of urban areas will be the most important factor for poverty prevention and alleviation, and will determine the economic fate of nations and regions. Appropriate urban development is not only beneficial for cities but enhances rural development as well; these are not alternatives to each other, but rather mutually reinforcing. Urban areas are often also centres for an engaged civil society, as well as for knowledge, information and other social resources that provide foundation for democracy. The challenge is to recognize, nurture and use this potential to the benefit of urban development that is both pro-poor and sustainable (SIDA 2006).

Urban areas in developing countries are characterized by extreme differences in income and living conditions across population groups and

often have high rates of poverty. In fact, the extent of urban poverty is difficult to measure. According to Crutch (2005), various deficiencies in statistical systems and inconsistencies in definitions make international aggregates uncertain. The poor in urban areas, the majority of whom are under the age of 20, face multiple problems. They are extensively dependent on a cash economy and have limited productive assets, such as land and housing. Many pay excessive prices for necessities such as shelter and water, and live with the continual threat of eviction from their dwellings. The urban poor in cities of developing countries often reside in informal settlements slum dwellers represent about 925 million people globally. Informal settlements exist primarily on marginal or sensitive lands with health risks from environmental and industrial hazards. The urban poor are also exposed to air pollution and accidents linked to overcrowding. Social bonds are often weak in rapidly growing urban areas, which affect family life and security. Crime and violence, including domestic violence and lack of opportunities, have a dramatic impact on the living environment in urban areas. Households headed by females or children are especially vulnerable.

According to Mack (2006), in terms of number of people being killed, violent crime kills far more people than those who die in combat both troops and civilians caught in the crossfire. Indeed, a 2002 report by the World Health Organization (WHO, 2002) estimated that about 500,000 people worldwide are murdered each year- compared with about 300,000 who die in combat, and that gap is growing. He asserted that the responsible factors include the end of the Cold War and an increase in United Nations peacekeeping missions. This has led to a dramatic drop in armed conflicts over the past 15 years. Since 1992, the report went further to claim that the number of armed conflicts worldwide has dropped by 40 per cent, and the deadliest wars (those with more than 1,000 deaths) have plunged by 80 per cent. The trend in violent crime, however, is not nearly so hopeful.

The international community has been slow to respond to the growing threat of violent crime. "The UN Security council doesn't debate homicide, even though homicide kills more people than war does," said

Mack. War is seen as a threat to international peace and security. Homicide is seen as something that is the responsibility of national governments, he lamented. According to Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs, the two groups face "comparable threats to their human security" and that the differences between them are "a matter of semantics". The sheer scale of violent crime in places like Lagos and Niger Delta areas, makes the search for solution a challenge especially because those cities have nowhere near the financial resources of cities in the developed world. The permeation of violence into daily life is becoming an ever more common reality in many countries in the South. Variously referred to as "endemic," "common," or even "unbound" violence (Moser and Mcllwaine, 2004), this "everyday violence" is not unique to urban areas, but escalating urban violence in particular is increasingly discussed in these terms.

This increasing violence world over is related to the complex social, economic, political and institutional process that help to make violence a prevalent means of resolving conflict and gaining power. This, in turn, is related to the existence and exacerbation of so-called "cultures of violence". The trend is characterized, furthermore, by an increased blurring of the line between different types of violence and, accordingly, between the actors involved in its perpetration (Moser and Mcllwaine, 2004).

The diversity and wide scope of contemporary violence has led to it being seen as the" democratization" of violence, resulting in "endemic fear". Most often associated with countries that have recently undergone political transformation, or with those in transition, increasingly arbitrary and random violence has significant effects both in terms of insecurity and in terms of the perpetuation of violence as a means of expression and defense. As Simpson (1993) suggests in the case of South Africa, the immediate result of violence of this sort is that it further entrenches widespread feelings of insecurity and fear, which in turn often lead to forms of violence, which are rationalized as being defensive in nature.

Cities in North America and Europe, already relatively safe, have seen moderate decline in crime during the past decade. But in some of the world's most dangerous cities, especially in Latin America and Africa,

things have only gotten worse. Some Central American countries are actually more dangerous now than they were when engulfed in civil war. Places like Rio de Janeiro, Johannesburg, and Kingston, Jamaica, have murder rates anywhere from 10 to 40 times as high as in Vancouver, Canada. One recent study found that nearly half of all Latin American cities have slums so dangerous that they are essentially off-limits to police. Many reasons had been put forward as factors that are responsible for wide spread violence in different parts of the world. Some of these are examined in this paper with careful effort made to see if these factors are also prevalent in Lagos.

International and National Perspective of Urban Violence: Literature Review

The Legacy of Political Repression
In recent decades, many developing countries have been subjected to intense political conflict and/or authoritarian political regimes. Notwithstanding, significant contextual differences, it is possible to identify some major repercussions of sustained state repression.

The state has an important influence on cultural constructions of violence. Much has been written on the so-called "normalization" of violence, particularly in the Latin American context. Especially useful and insightful in this regard are the comprehensive accounts of violent legacies throughout the region in the *Societies of Fear: the Legacy of Civil War, Violence and Terror in Latin America* (Koonings and Kruijt, 1999), which trace the roots of violence and democracy suggesting that the normalization of violence requires a system of norms, values of attitudes, which allow, or even stimulate the use of violence to resolve any conflict or relation with another person. This value system may pervade behavior in all spheres of life. Similarly, it is argued that the legacy of apartheid has bequeathed to South Africa a violence which has become normative rather than deviant, and which is quite easily visible across the entire political spectrum.

In Nigeria, the Echo of the state of Biafra gets louder every passing day. The Nigerian state has witnessed political violence for too long a time. The 'Operation Wet E' of 1965, the "Wild Wild West" has not been tamed thereafter. Military intervention and actions by the civil societies to discourage them from politics had always resulted into violence in the urban area of Nigeria. Hence, there have been riots in Kano, Lagos, Bauchi, Jos, etc. Using violence to resolve political differences in Nigeria has almost become 'normal.' The increase in political violence led to the invitation of Inspector of Police to the National Assembly on Tuesday, 11th of July, 2006 (Punch, 13th July 2006). In Plateau state, those that have shown interest in Governorship had been murdered in recent time. What emerges in these contexts is a multifarious network of (increasingly indistinguishable) violent actors, who severely affect the communities in which they function.

Duncan and Woolcock (2003) noted that, while Jamaica has been a democracy for many decades since independence, it is neither "cohesive" nor "democratic", and indeed the political system in Jamaica lends itself to fierce inter-group power struggles in urban communities. They find that many poor communities in Kingston are subject to strict clientelism and "political tribalism" by the two dominant political parties, whereby" …competing groups in Jamaica are killing one another for control of the state, and with it its corresponding prestige, patronage and power. These situations are also visible in Nigeria at various levels of government, political killing and destruction of political opponent properties and business is on the increase in Lagos. 'Area boys and girls' are usual.

Drugs, Gangs and the Interface of Institutional and Economic Violence

The drug trade provides an interesting example of the intersection between institutional and economic violence. While it is largely an economic phenomenon, the drug trade has also assumed an important institutional role, partly as a result of the gap left by weak state institutions. The violence caused by the institutional dominance of drug groups in many communities in Latin America specific mention. As Moser

and Mcllwaine (2004) identify, drugs are integral to many forms of violence at a local level; from gang warfare (controlling the drug market) to robberies and assaults (when money for drugs is scarce) to the murder of drug addicts by social cleansing groups and constant quarrels in the home. Police have reported in Lagos that beggars are carriers of dangerous weapons for the armed robbers. (

The Failure of the State and Informal Justice: Intersecting Institutional and Social Violence

In the face of increasing economic and social violence, and without either sufficient protection from the state or the resources to enlist private security, research from a range of contexts suggest that many inhabitants of poor marginal urban areas consider that they have no option but to resort to informal justice through rudimentary vigilance. As Simposon (1993) argues, a lack of legitimate authority in South Africa has led to a "Climate of lawlessness:, which has facilitated the resort to so-called "legal self-help". Consequently, state failure can lead to a number of non-state informal institutions associated with local neighbourhoods committing acts of violence on local community members. Together with somewhat sporadic group lynching, more established vigilante groups are a powerful presence in many low-income urban communities. This act is referred to in Nigeria as "jungle justice."

Harris (2003) reports that vigilante violence revolves around fear, and frequently creates a silencing effect within communities. Community silence is taken by vigilante group as tacit support for their actions. But interviews of some residents in Lagos suggest that this silence is caused more by the fear of victimization by the vigilantes. This fear may contribute to a short-term decline in crime within a specific area, but it displaces crime to surrounding neighbourhood, and also risks increasing the violence of crime in the initially affected area in the long-term. The emergence of militant groups in different parts of the country confirms the above assertion. In Lagos, Oduduwa People's Congress (OPC), Bakassi Boys in the East, Egbesu Boys in Benin area, Almajiris in Kano and other groups in Port Harcourt etc have virtually replaced police and other states registered security operatives. There were various cases

where they have caused breakdown of law and order. Their operations are more pronounced in low quality, poverty infested neighbourhoods where they reign with terror.

Youth Gangs: Social and Economic Violence as a Response to Multiple Exclusions

Violence is not a spontaneous phenomenon but, above the product of a society characterized by inequality and social structures family, school, peer group, neighbourhood, police, justice which can no longer fulfill their roles.

According to Vanderschueren (1996 & 93), violence is rooted in a range of exclusions, operating at all levels. One of the most overt outcomes of multi-level exclusions is that of youth gangs. Youth gangs are an increasingly familiar sight in many low-income urban communities, but have received particular research attention in Latin America and South Africa due to their heightened proliferation, violence and impact there. In Lagos 'Area boys' is a brand of youth gang as earlier mentioned, this category of urban dwellers are behind most disturbances in Lagos. 'Area boys' are the unemployed youths who have formed themselves into gangs and often wrought havoc in the society.

Lagos as a Case Study

Lagos metropolitan area is located to the Southwest of Nigeria. It is bounded on the south by the Bight of Benin, on the east by the Lagos Lagoon and Majidun Creek, on the north and on the west by Ogun state. The metropolis in early 1990s covered an area of about167,700 hectares (1667 sq. km) - about 50 per cent of the state out of which the lagoon and water bodies occupy 20,900 hectares (209 sq.km). Considering its growth ever since, especially along the major axis of Badagry road, Ikorodu road, Lagos-Ibadan express road and Epe-Lekki road, the metropolis now covers about 70% of the state land mass. Lagos state population was put at 7.5 million in 1987- about 7% of the national population then. About 88% of the population resides in the metropolitan area.

The development of Lagos from the time of its settlement went

through various stages coinciding with important events in the history of the area. In particular, the metropolis was affected by slave trade, the early missionaries especially in 1852, the commencement of colonial rule in 1862, the political independence of Nigeria in 1960, the creation of states in 1967 and 1976, accelerated growth over master-plan prepared for the period of the oil boom (1972-1982) and, most recently, the implementation of the regional master plan prepared for the period 1980 to 2000. The development of infrastructure also brought about an influx of migrants. These include the construction of a railway linking Lagos to the sources of raw materials in the hinterland in 1895. Others are the development of the Lagos harbor between 1908 and 1917, which linked the Lagos Island with the Lagos mainland. In addition, the introduction of social amenities banks, schools, hospitals, electricity, pipe-borne water, modes of transport to a modern architectural outlook; together with the relative glamour of city life brought more influx of people and transformation of the urban centres.

By the time Nigeria gained independence in 1960, the city had expanded to approximately 70 square kilometers having engulfed the nearest villages existing on the mainland. In 1976, the metropolitan area covered 17,228 hectares and housed more than 3,300,000 people translating to an overall population density of nearly 200 people per hectare of developed land. By 1963, Lagos had become Nigeria's most populous city and was growing at a rate of about 11% per annum four times that of the entire country. Today the metropolitan Lagos is classified as the world's second fastest growing city. By the United Nations population project, Lagos will likely be the second most populated city by the year 2015 with a population of about 16 million. The main transport system is by road; though there are other means of inter city transportation, like railway and waterways. Lagos landscape is dominated by a network of highways, collector roads and access roads. Land uses like industrial uses in Ikeja and institutional uses are connected with residential areas of Ikoyi, Ikeja, Festac, Ikorodu, Ketu, Agege, Alagbado through a network of roads. The volume of movement is usually heavy leading always to road congestion. This factor is one of the reasons for increasing street trading and a rapid degeneration of the built

environment. The rapid growth of the tiny settlement that transformed from a farm in late 19th century to trading centre and then to international city in the 20th century led to overcrowding and the bubonic plague of 1920s which led to the first urban renewal and resettlement scheme at Surulere in the 1940s. Among the problems that emanated from this urbanization experienced is acute housing shortage. This has given rise to spontaneous settlements and slums. More than 70% of the built up areas of metropolitan Lagos were declared slums in 2002 (Lagos State Development and Property Corporation).

SLUM .

Slums can be defined as a group of buildings or an area characterized by overcrowding, deterioration, unsanitary conditions and absence of facilities or amenities such as potable water, drainage system, schools, health facilities, recreational grounds, post office etc, which endanger the health, safety or morals of its inhabitants or the community.

In other words, slums may be defined as being physically, socially and emotionally harmful to the residents at large. They are areas where the social and environmental factors are proven to cause problems and pathologies. In essence, there are two types of slums:

a. Districts which had been slums right from inception, with unsanitary and wretched housing conditions existing because of the original arrangement, construction and type of building materials used in the area.

b. Squalid housing resulting from misuse of dwelling units originally planned for less intensive use.

A slum therefore can be described as an environment in which a set of forces interact to give rise to a devalued physical and social image of an area by a larger community.

Characteristics of Slums

The characteristics of the devalued image of an area by the community

include:

i. Poor sanitary surrounding caused by indiscriminate dumping of litter or refuse and poor sewerage;

ii. Dilapidated structures;

iii. High occupancy ratio;

iv. Inadequate provision of or complete lack of public facilities ;

v. Ownership by absentee landlords who are not interested in maintenance of the property;

vi. Physical dullness in term of landscaping and other social amenities;

vii. Haphazard architectural design characterized by low rent; and

viii. General features of vandalism.

Of all these, the environmental characteristics are most prominent and often pose the greater challenge to planners who actively seek their reversal

Relationship between Security, Crime, Slum and Quality of Neighbourhood

There is a striking relationship between security, crime, slum and neighbourhood quality. In a crime free society, security would be the last thing to arouse concern. In other words, security of life and property is necessitated by various crimes, which are committed in the neighbourhood or society. Slums have all the attributes, which are necessary for crime to exist in a residential neighbourhood and elsewhere. Obviously, a well-planned neighbourhood where infrastructural facilities are provided will harbor less crime.

Slum in Lagos today include Ajegunle, Mushin, Oshodi, Iyana-Ipaja, Ojota, Bariga. Going by reports in newspapers, these are the most volatile parts of Lagos. In these areas, various crimes such as rioting, raping, kidnapping, assault, murder are very rampant. There have been occasions when properties had been razed down with fire.

Tension in these neighbourhoods is very high. Overcrowding and struggle for services like transportation, queuing to buy basic product like water

and kerosene, often result into violence. As these places remain under perpetual tension, violence often erupts without warning. The rate of unemployment in these neighbourhoods is often high, giving room to gangsterism. Table 1 below shows average monthly crime report in different parts of Lagos in 2005.

Table 1: Types of crime reported in different parts of Lagos in 2005.

Local Government Area	Entry & Stealing	Robbery	Bank robbery	Threaten-ing and Violence	Common assault	Murder	False Pretence	Car Theft	Sudden & unna-tural death
Kosofe	15	25	2	10	65	20	48	129	13
Surulere	8	14	4	6	44	11	44	186	4
Oshodi Isolo	12	16	4	28	188	12	13	200	10
Apapa	8	12	2	4	34	4	51	120	2
Eti-Osa	10	16	1	4	23	1	22	62	1
Agege	128	80	2	63	205	41	82	232	1·8
Shomolu	122	100	1	87	300	22	54	102	12
Ikeja	12	34	6	8	23	8	22	101	3
Ikorodu	12	22	5	12	52	6	34	98	2
Ibeju Lekki	8	10	0	8	21	1	22	44	5

Source: Nigeria Police Crime Report (2005)

It is obvious from the above that areas with low level of slum like Eti-Osa, Surulere and Ibeju Lekki recorded less crime while local government areas with many slums like Agege, Shomolu, Kosofe and Oshodi Isolo all in Lagos had a high rate of crime. It is important to note that police record does not show the full picture of the level of crime in Lagos as many cases often go unreported.

Some noticeable characteristics of slums are: social/economic inequality, deprivation, Poverty and Land insecurity.

Social/Economic Inequality

What appears to set high crime cities apart is not poverty, but inequality

wide gap between rich and poor, which fuels resentment and violence. If a country is very poor though the difference between rich and poor is not that great, in general, one don't see as much violence as places with very rich and very poor communities (D'Evie, 2003)

Deprivation

Deprivation in this sense includes not only differences in income but also the lack of access to basic social services, the lack of opportunity for self actualization and advancement, the lack of universal state security protection, along with the severe corruption, inefficiency and brutality that generally hit the poor hardest, and the lack of social cohesion (Vanderschueren, 1996). It is argued that this "structural violence" creates "reactive violence" - be it criminal or political in response (Briceno-Leon and Zubillaga, 2002). As Vanderschueren (1996) argues, in situations of widespread and severe inequality, the urban poor are undervalued and marginalized, and their daily living conditions heighten the potential for the emergence of conflict, crime or violence. Simpson (1993) also notes in the context of South Africa, that poor social and economic conditions provide the foundation for pervasive social, political and economic violence. It is generally acknowledged in Nigeria that the poor are getting poorer while the rich are getting richer. The sudden disappearance of the middle class in the last two decades confirms this. The general responses to this is the cry against marginalization across the country, this in the recent time has resulted into cry for resource control and the associated violence. In Lagos, the response has been in the form of looting and destruction of properties.

Poverty

Poverty has been defined by social and political economists using certain criteria. Among these are Income, Overall and Housing poverty.

Income Poverty: Lack of income to satisfy basic food need on the basis of minimum calorie requirement.
Human Poverty: Lack of basic human capability illiteracy, abbreviated life span, material, health, illness from preventable diseases   indirect

measures are: lack of access to good services and infrastructures energy, education, communication, necessary to sustain basic human capabilities. While income had been the measure of poverty in the past whereby $1 per day was accepted as base line for poverty measure, UNDP (2000) introduced the concept of Human Poverty. Ingredients of human Poverty are: deprivation of long and health life, as increased by percentage of people not expected to survive to age 40.

Overall Poverty: Lack of income necessary to satisfy essential non-food needs, such as for sanitation, clothing, energy and shelter as well as potable water.

Housing Poverty: The concept of housing poverty was introduced in 1996 by UNCHS (Habitat), global Report in human settlement. Housing poverty measures the individual and household who lack safe, secure and healthy shelter with basic infrastructure such as pipe borne water and adequate provision of sanitation, drainage and the removal of household waste.

Studies on poverty based on the above definition revealed a frightening scenario world over including Nigeria. The urban poor in developing nations according to this information have reached 950 million by the year 2000 (i.e. 49% of the urban population). The World Bank's World Development Report (2000/2001) broadens the notion of poverty to include inability and exposure to risks, voicelessness and powerlessness. All these forms of deprivation severely restrict the capabilities that a person has, that is, the substantive freedom he or she enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she values. Majority of slum dwellers in Lagos manifest the above and different forms of poverty which often engender violence.

Land Insecurity

Land tenure system has played a major role in the development of Lagos like other places in developing world. The violence and killing that struggles for land ownership generated in the 1960s and 1970s in Nigeria led to the enactment of the Land Use Act of 1978. In Lagos today, almost

60% of the land area fall under one government acquisition or the other. The need for land to build houses has led to extensive encroachment on these lands under government acquisitions. This has led to illegal/informal development. About 70% of the slums in Lagos today are on these acquired lands. According to De Soto (1999) every effort to destroy this settlement often leads to violence and eventually leaves the slum worse off because worse and inferior settlement often emerge to replace the old ones.

The Land Rights Connection

The literature is replete with research findings that established the link between lack of land rights and slum formation (De Soto, 2002; Hernandez, 2003; Home et. al 2004, etc.). The application of inhuman approaches to slum clearance has also accentuated feelings of exclusion leading to frustration and vengefulness on the part of affected person who in a bid to get their own back on the rest of society resort to armed robbery, kidnapping and rape among others. Efforts to assert government's control and eject illegal occupants have led to forceful eviction, destruction of shanty shelters, population displacement and attendant feelings of resentment, frustration and vengefulness against ordered society on the part of the displaced persons. Figure 1 shows the map of various government acquisitions in metropolitan Lagos. Incidentally, most of the acquired land that were not put into immediate use were encroached upon and are the slums of today. Not only is the philosophy of slum shifting being played out as the displaced persons congregate in the nearest available marginal area and immediately start up another slum, but also a heightening of criminal activities as displaced youths have no credible source of livelihood.

Table 2: Policy Approaches to Violence and Associated UrbanFocused Intervention.

Policy Approach	Objective	Types of violence	Innovative urban Focused Intervention
Criminal justice	Violence deterrence and arrest, conviction rates and more severe punishment	• Crime • Robbery • Corruption	Judicial reform
		• Crime • Robbery	Police reform
		• Delinquency • Robbery • Family violence	Accessible justice systems mobile court
		• Family violence	Community policing a All-women police stations
Public health	Violence prevention through the reduction of individual risk factors	• Youth violence	Youth polices/social protection Educational reform Enterpreneurship
		• Youth violence	Vocational skills training cultural and recreational activities promotion of behavioural change
Conflict transformation/human rights	Non-violence resolution of conflict through negotiation and legal enforcement of human rights by states and other social actors	• Institutional violence • HR abuses • Arbitrary detention	Government human rights advocates or ombudsman Civil society advocacy NGO's Municipal-level programmes
CPTED/urban renewal	Reduction in violence opportunities through focusing on the settings of crime rather than on thenperpetrators	• Economic violence • Social violence	Municipal-level programmes
Social capital	"Rebuilding" social capital trust and cohesion in informal and formal social institutions	• Youth gangs/ maras	Community-based solutions
		• Domestic/Family violence	Crisis services for victims ongoing support and prevention communication campaigns school programmes for perpetrators

Source: Adapted from Moser, et al (2000)

WAY FORWARD
- Formalization of Illegal Settlement
- Inclusiveness in Government
- Upgrading/Rehabilitation
- Social Capital Development

Formalization of Illegal Settlement - Land and housing are central, since they constitute major assets and are the key for people having access to most public services, a more secure existence as well as a sense of inclusion in society. Secure housing also opens opportunities for home-based formal or informal, small-scale production. Equal rights of access to housing require improved property rights and other forms of secure tenure, especially for the poor, who are most at risk to forced evictions and other violations of human rights. Land markets and market-based housing finance systems are crucial for adequate housing for all segments of the society, slum upgrading and overall economic development. They also catalyse the development of domestic investment and local capital markets. Land security has been identified as the first step towards resolving slum and poverty problem in developing nations. The importance of "LAND TITLE" as a means of wealth creation was extensively discussed by De Soto (1999). Since most of the slums in Lagos are on government-acquired land, the first step is to excise such areas from acquisition and create a ratification process that will confer ownership rights on the occupiers in an easy and affordable manner. This will encourage private investment and flow of capital for the development of this area.

Inclusiveness in Government There has been a paradigm shift in the pattern of government from centralization to decentralization in most developed countries. Over centralization is the bane of poor performance of government in Lagos. In 2004, Local government staff went on industrial action and the state was still running as usual, poorly. The Local government is the closest to the people and is the only means of bringing about inclusive government. There are several cases of projects that are

not of direct benefit to the people. Example of these are the waste cans, the millennium schools, etc. when people are involved in government through participatory Budgetary Approach, they will be involved in determining the list of preference in government workers.

Sustainable urban development requires local governments that are capable, transparent and efficient and work in partnership with private and non-governmental institutions for better urban management. Democratic practices and human rights are critical elements of good governance. Local governments need to manage urban finances to improve living standards for all groups in society and to facilitate local economic development. Local Government must be supported to acquire the tools and capabilities needed for efficient and effective urban planning and management based on fiscal responsibility, accountability, democracy, human rights and environmental protection. This may include support for reforms, training in municipal development, technical assistance to associations of local governments, or other means to strengthen local or regional institutions. Local Government should promote the involvement of the private sector, NGOs and CBOs in urban development as well as the strengthening of civil society by supporting participatory processes.

Upgrading/Rehabilitation It is a general belief that when the slum is upgraded, poverty and violence will be arrested. There is urgent need to embark upon urban renewal in different parts of Lagos. Upgrading or rehabilitation should be given priority. Total clearance has been condemned world over and Maroko experience must not be repeated. The upgrading must include all the stakeholders the people, Local government, State government and the NGOs, (Nubi 2004). Lagos is a mega city, it requires separate master plan for different areas and these include Ketu, Surulere, etc.

Provision of Infrastructure And Municipal Services Infrastructure and municipal services such as water, sanitation, energy, urban transport and solid waste management provide the backbone for economic

development and long-term poverty reduction. These services need to be provided in a way that is financially viable and environmentally sustainable. The public sector will have to continue to play a major role in both the provision of services and the financing of needed investments. Similarly, the private sector and community groups can if given the right circumstances, play a useful role in service provision. A significant part of the capital for further investments can be mobilized from private investors and financial markets.

Integration of Local and National Development- Efforts to alleviate urban poverty must reflect a deep understanding of the causes and characteristics of urban poverty; a clear articulation of urban poverty dimensions in local development plans, and a comprehensive treatment of urban development in national plans and priorities to combat poverty. Urban development and poverty alleviation within urban areas also require an integrated effort across all levels of government, to support efforts at both the local and national levels. Given that many countries are presently engaged in decentralization processes, efforts will be needed to ensure that increased local responsibilities are coupled with increased fiscal and human resources.

Social Capital Development Social capital is simply measured by the level of trust among the inhabitants of a community. It is this trust that makes people live together happily. There cannot be trust when there is inequality. Efforts should therefore be made to promote equality. This will be in form of open space, pedestrian and cycle tracks, a more efficient transportation system and creation of job opportunities.

Most people are unemployed because they lack skills and are focused on white-collar job. There should be a conscious re-orientation and encouragement to embrace blue-collar jobs and self-employment. This can be achieved by establishing enterprise centres in all neighbourhoods where new skills can be acquired especially in house building. These include: Carpentry, Plumbing, Electrical installing, Painting, Plastering, Masonry, Tilling, etc. The   building sector is an important sector in a

nation's development that generally lacks required skill. Growing this industry will solve the problems of unemployment and poverty.

Conclusion

The study indicates that urban violence is increasing in the developing world. This is attributed to poor land rights which encourage slum formation. Slum in turn breeds urban violence as increase in slums lead to increase in violence. The study among others is recommending that land rights must be resolved while slum regeneration must pay close attention to the development of social capital. The authors are persuaded that great danger awaits the country if nothing is done to address the problems from an ever-increasing slum.

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