A STUDY OF THE RESIDENTIAL INERTIA OF THE URBAN SLUM DWELLERS OF AJEGUNLE, LAGOS STATE.

BY

B. O. ONAKOYA

Dept. of Estate Management & Valuation The Federal Polytechnic, Ilaro, Ogun State. tundeonakoya@yahoo.com (08125098064)

A. M. ADEDOKUN

Dept. of Surveying and Geo-Informatics
The Federal Polytechnic, Ilaro, Ogun State.

ddknadebayo@yahoo.com

(08067357885)

AND

S. Y. O. AYINDE

Dept. of Estate Management & Valuation The Polytechnic Ibadan, Ibadan, Oyo State. stella.ayinde@yahoo.com (08023502623)

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ABSTRACT

The impression of the society or general public that urban slum dwellers are restrained from seeking relocation to better and more decent housing environment by economic consideration informed this study. It is therefore an exercise embarked upon to either re-affirm this societal conviction or establish a refutation premised on findings from this study. The notorious Ajegunle area in Metropolitan Lagos, having all the characteristics of a slum neighbourhood provides the ideal template for the exercise. The methodology involved the administration of structured questionnaires on residents of the four zones into which the area was partitioned. Sampling was a combination of Random, Quota and Cluster techniques, an approach informed by the peculiarities of the zones. Statistical tools engaged were bar charts, tabular illustrations and simple percentages. The conclusion drawn was that social factor, more than any other factors, including economic elements have profound influence on the observed residential inertia of most Ajegunle residents to relocate, despite the unhealthy housing environment. It is recommended that a comprehensive urban renewal embarked upon by Government will go a long way to dislodge the entrenched social problem and subsequently raised the standard of housing in Ajegunle.

Keywords: Slum, Residential inertia and Housing.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Ajegunle is a prominent slum in Metropolitan Lagos. Located south-west of the mega conurbation, it is the headquarters of Ajeromi-Ifelodun Local Government Area. Although a settlement founded by individuals of Yoruba region, the area is currently populated by not only Nigerians from all nooks and crannies of the country but with foreigners mostly from Nigerian western neighbouring countries such as Benin Republic, Togo and Ghana. Today, no Nigerian tribe can reasonably claim dominance in Ajegunle, not even the Yoruba who historically own the place.

Unarguably, the thick human population of Ajegunle is made up majorly of petty-traders, craftsmen, artisans among other with a very low proportion engaged in vocation or services outside the area. They are either in the core civil service of state or local government or private organisations.

Popularly called the 'Jungle City', Ajegunle is notorious for its high degree of social delinquencies, poor housing and haphazard physical development with violation of planning rules. It is a haven for social miscreants. The haphazard physical planning of the area provides hideouts for the social miscreants who engage themselves in all manner of social delinquencies such as hemp smoking, rape, pick-pocketing etc.

Social infrastructures have been overwhelmed by the thick population. Roads are not only in deplorable conditions and littered with puddles and potholes, sidewalks where available, were littered with heaps of unclear refuse on account of poor and dysfunctional waste disposal system.

The housing environment is unhealthy, overcrowding and high-occupancy ratio. The following are notable problems of the housing environment of the area:-

- i. Very high occupancy ratio with an average of about 6 8 occupiers per room.
- ii. Most buildings were of the tenement type with shared facilities grossly inadequate for the large number of occupiers.
- iii. Spacing between houses has given way to unapproved structures, such as makeshift wooden homes, kiosks etc.

- iv. Setbacks play host to artisans' workshops. Examples are welders, carpenters etc.
- v. Shouted day and midnight conversations, use of portable electricity-generating plants etc, which generate a lot of noise and air pollution within residents.
- vi. Liquid waste disposal into open drains with stagnant foul water, which make residents vulnerable to air-borne diseases.
- vii. Unhygienic sources of water such as sunk wells and supply from truck-pushing water hawkers/vendors.
- viii. Occupation of bamboo and wooden make-shift buildings in swampy neighbourhoods, etc.

With all these features, we need not be reminded again that, by any stretch of imagination, Ajegunle is a slum.

This worrisome housing environment of the 'Jungle City' lends justification to the curiosity and concern of not only the immediate Lagos public but the general society at large. They therefore find it convenient to locate the continued residency of any human being in such environment in financial incapacity. It is this location that provides the template for this paper and its set goals.

It is therefore in the context of this location that this paper is focused on two key issues:

- i. Conforming or refuting the position of the public that the average dweller in Ajegunle would not embark on relocation to a better housing environment on account of the lack of funds not just for the incidental logistics but sustaining his residency in a better neighbourhood.
- ii. When and where residential inertia (immobility) is established, adducing observed reason for it.

2.0 RELATED CONCEPTS

Three basic concepts are germane to the Kernel of this paper. They are Housing, Slum and Residential Inertia.

2.1 HOUSING

Housing is a basic human need ranking a very close second to food in the all-important hierarchy of man's requirement for survival. With housing, man's health, prevention from the effects of weather vagaries and the safety of his life and property are all guaranteed. Therefore, the need for decent housing cuts across the socioeconomic strata. It is a necessity for both the rich and the poor. This perhaps accounts for the concern of individuals, governments and international bodies.

Agbola (2005) sees housing as a process. This perception perhaps draws the thin line of difference between a 'house' and 'housing'. While the former is a dwelling (structure) that serves as living quarter for one family or more. Hence it is a building. The latter, 'Housing' as a process which basically captures conception, construction and the ultimate occupation and use of a dwelling. Shri (2005) contends that housing is a pre-requisite for individual intellectual and economic growth and social stability. Its importance to mankind is succinctly captured by Onakoya (2004) thus – Whenever and Wherever housing need is unmet, the resultant effects are usually chaotic; a situation evidenced by fragmented and dislocated families, poor health, vagrancy and sometimes social upheavals. And at the governmental level too, housing has not escaped the attention although cosmetic of successive governments, civilian or military. It occupies conspicuous spaces in virtually all National Housing policies and programmes of Nigeria over the past 30 years. For instance, Housing for all by the year 2010 was a slogan that spanned through the opening decade of this current millennium.

On the global scene, Housing has attracted meaningful attention. Adedeji (2006) says housing encompasses the immediate environment, sanitation, drainage, recreational facilities and all other economic and social activities that make life worthwhile. The UN (1992) states that "access to safe and healthy shelter is essential to a person's social and economic well-being and should be a fundamental part of national and international action".

2.2 SLUM

Slum simply means a squalid district or neighbourhood. It is characterised by physically deteriorated buildings and grossly inadequate infrastructure. It is an area that affronts human dignity and defies any known physical planning regulations. A slum is usually a residential district where population of the residents far overwhelms social services and communal facilities.

George (1999) describes a slum as an environment in which a set of forces interact to give rise to devalued physical and social image of an area by a larger community. Payne and Maielle (2004) see slum as a contagious settlement where the inhabitants are characterised by having inadequate housing and basic facilities.

Global bodies have shown very serious concern on the need to access decent housing environment by all and sundry regardless of race, colour or economic status. Of note is the position of Target II of the Millennium Development Goal which describes a slum, particularly in developing countries as unplanned settlement where access to services is minimal or even non-existent and where overcrowding is the norm. The summary of all the definitions and descriptions of slum is that it is a human settlement where the totality of its environment is unhygienic and also unhealthy for human habitation.

2.3 RESIDENTIAL INERTIA

Residential Inertia is a term that has gained little or no attention from scholars and researchers. Simply put, it can be described as 'non-response' or 'non-movement' in terms of residential relocation (mobility) where the need for it arises. Scholars have long settled on the fact that residential mobility is spurred by certain determinants which are generally classified as the push factors and pull factors. The push factors, they claim, are much compelling, sometimes leaving the affected resident with no options to movement. Notable among these push factors are natural disasters (earthquakes and flooding), civil strife, increasing rentals, expanding family size amongst others. On the other hand, the pull factors as determinants of residential mobility are friendly. The occurrence or existence of any one or a combination of two

or more of the pull determinants sometimes lures a resident away from a neighbourhood. Factors in this category of mobility determinants are housing satisfactions, security, closeness to place of work etc.

However, when the occurrence or existence of any of the push or pull factors fail to spur a resident to seeking relocation then we have 'residential inertia'.

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The large geographical size of Ajegunle, its physical peculiarities, demographic characteristics and available logistics influenced the approach adopted in this exercise. These factors also informed the use of a combination of sampling techniques. Four (4) prominent locations were chosen for the purpose of questionnaire administration, although cognisance was taken of the imperative of spread and adherence to the principles of statistical regularity. The four locations were JMJ Quarters, Alakoto, Boundary and Coconut. A total of One Thousand (1,000) structured questionnaires were administered on equal numbers. The retrieval pattern was as follows – JMJ Quarters (218), Alakoto (151), Boundary (142) and Coconut (140).

Pursuant to achieving the dual goal of this paper, that is, affirming or refuting the impression of the large public that financial constraint was predominantly the reason for the observed residential inertia of the average Ajegunle slum dweller and adducing any other reason(s) if not financial. Residents were confronted with residential mobility determinants on the basis or event of occurrence of any of the determinants. This did not only eliminate the likely excuse of having not experienced any of the push or pull determinants but also guaranteed full response by the dweller-respondents.

Responses from the retrieved questionnaires (65.1%) were compiled and analysed. Findings, conclusion and recommendations were all rooted in the statistical analysis.

4.0 RESEARCH ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 RESEARCH ANALYSIS

Based on the imperative of spread, statistical regularity and available logistics, four (4) locations in Ajegunle, the study area were chosen for the primary purpose of administering the well-structured and sectionalised questionnaires. With a total of 1,000 questionnaire spread equally among the four locations, the pattern of retrieval was as follows – JMJ Quarters (218), Alakoto (151), Boundary (142) and Coconut (140).

Responses from the 651 retrieved questionnaires were collated, analysed and formed the basis for the tabular presentations shown in Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Table 1: Responses on Push Determinants

	RESPONSES						
DETERMINANTS	Yes (x)		No	(y)	Undecided (z)		
	Freq	0/0	Freq	0/0	Freq	0/0	
Natural disaster	278	42.70	302	46.39	71	10.91	
Insecurity	113	17.36	443	68.05	95	14.59	
Civil Strife	207	31.80	356	54.69	88	13.52	
Increased Rentals	193	29.65	391	60.06	67	10.29	
Family Life Cycle	179	26.73	374	57.45	98	15.05	

Source: Field Survey (2015)

Mean Percent (%)

i. Mobility:
$$\bar{x} = \frac{\sum x}{n}$$

$$= \frac{42.70 + 17.36 + 31.80 + 29.65 + 26.73}{5} = \frac{148.24}{5}$$

$$= 29.65\%$$

ii. Inertia:
$$\overline{y} = \frac{\sum y}{n}$$

$$= \frac{46.39 + 68.05 + 54.69 + 60.06 + 57.45}{5} = \frac{286.64}{5}$$

$$= 57.33\%$$

iii.
$$\underline{\text{Undecided}}: \bar{\mathbf{z}} = \frac{\sum \mathbf{z}}{n}$$

$$= \frac{10.91 + 14.59 + 13.52 + 10.29 + 15.05}{5} = \frac{64.36}{5}$$

$$= 12.87\%$$

Table 2: Responses on Pull Determinants

	RESPONSES						
DETERMINANTS	Yes (p)		No (q)		Undecided (r)		
	Freq	%	Freq	0/0	Freq	%	
Housing satisfaction	290	44.35	331	50.84	30	4.61	
Security	198	32.41	362	55.67	91	13.98	
Better Neighbourhood Quality	201	30.88	316	48.54	134	20.58	
Social Ties	56	8.60	417	64.06	178	27.34	
Proximity to Workplace	155	23.81	395	60.68	101	15.51	

Source: Field Survey (2015)

Mean Percent (%)

i. Mobility:
$$\bar{p} = \frac{\sum p}{n}$$

$$= \frac{44.35 + 32.41 + 30.88 + 8.60 + 23.81}{5} = \frac{140.05}{5}$$

$$= 28.01\%$$
ii. Inertia: $\bar{q} = \frac{\sum q}{n}$

$$= \frac{50.84 + 55.67 + 48.54 + 64.06 + 60.68}{5} = \frac{279.79}{5}$$

$$= 55.96\%$$
iii. Undecided: $\bar{r} = \frac{\sum r}{n}$

$$= \frac{4.61 + 13.98 + 20.58 + 27.34 + 15.51}{5} = \frac{82.02}{5}$$

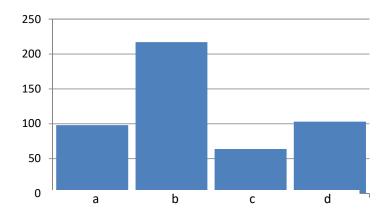
= 16.40%

In the other section of the administered questionnaires, respondents were requested to give just the most important factor responsible for their continued residency in the slum. Of the 651 respondents, only 482 addressed this issue. Table 3 shows the four broad reasons derived from the summary of the responses.

Table 3: Reason for Continued Residency

Reason	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Weak financial strength (a)	98	20.33
Social variable (b)	217	45.02
Security (c)	64	13.28
Work/Home proximity (d)	103	21.37
Total	482	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2015



The four broad categories which emerged from the classification of reasons for residential inertia were Social Ties, Proximity to Place of Work, Security and Financial Constraints. Curiously, and as against publicly held view, social variable (45.02%) and imperative of residence – workplace closeness take precedence over financial constraints or in capabilities of the slum dwellers to prosecute residential mobility. The strength of the four broad factors are presented in the Bar Chart (Fig. 1).

4.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS

- i. 57.36% and 55.96% of sampled Ajegunle residents would not relocate in the eventual occurrence of push and pull factors of residential mobility respectively. These two figures suggest reasonable residential inertia although not in the magnitude commensurate with the confounding impression of both the immediate Lagos public and the general society at large.
- ii. Possible residential mobility of 29.65% and 28.01% of Ajegunle sampled dwellers in the event of push and pull factors respectively suggests that not all the slum dwellers were contended with their unhealthy housing environment.

- iii. The occurrence of some devastating push factors of residential mobility could not readily influence very reasonable proportion of sampled residents of Ajegunle. This position finds justification in figures in Table 1 Insecurity (68.05%), civil strife (54.69%) and Natural disaster (44.39%).
- iv. As shown in Table 2, none of the pull factors of residential mobility could be compelling enough to influence residential relocation of most sampled residents. This position is illustrated as follows: Social ties (64.06%), Home/workplace proximity (60.68%), Security (55.67%), Housing satisfaction (50.84%) and Better neighbourhood quality (48.54%).
- v. On the aggregate, the occurrence of push factors and pull factors in the study area would only spur residential relocation of 29.65% and 28.01% of sampled Ajegunle residents respectively.
- vi. Sampled residents who were undecided in response to the occurrence of push or pull factors of residential mobility were 12.81% and 16.38% respectively.

5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 CONCLUSION

This paper has established the fundamental fact that residential inertia exists in Ajegunle, the sprawling slum in metropolitan Lagos. This position is much in consonance with the widely-held belief of the average Lagosian, outside Ajegunle and indeed, the larger Nigerian public.

However, rather than concurring with same public on financial constraints as the predominant causal factor of the inertia, it curiously contends that social variables (slum social life, peer association and similar social ties) and the imperative of closeness of residence and place of work take precedence over financial considerations as reasons for the observed residential inertia in Ajegunle. Therefore, it needs be stated that the workplace – residence closeness rationally finds expression in the fact. Ajegunle is peopled majorly by self-employed residents such as welders, painters, auto-mechanic, tailors, cobblers, panel beaters and similar artisans. Only a very small proportion of its large populace were engaged in vocations outside the immediate

precinct of the area such as unskilled labourers in factories, industries, corporate and private organisations, amongst numerous others. A reasonable number of the sampled residents were based in Ajegunle where they eke their living.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper, the general public and indeed the government, severally admit that Ajegunle is a slum. It is slum today for the primary reason of long-term neglect by government and the progressive degeneration of its neighbourhood values over decades. This has taken a very devastating toll on the psyche of the average Ajegunle slum dweller who now hardly sees nothing untoward in his environment. To him, 'a slum is a slum to whom it is a slum'.

However, government need to take pragmatic and proactive measures to dislodge this warped orientation of the slum dweller and bring social sanity to his housing environment. It is on this note that the following suggestions are made:

- In the short-term, government should necessarily embark on mass education on the need for healthy living environment for all and sundry both with special attention and focus on slum communities. Incentives could be used to encourage public adoption; and
- ii. As long-term solution, government should necessarily plan and execute a comprehensive and all-encompassing programme. Such programme must not only identify and capture the housing and environmental problems of slum neighbourhood; it must also proffer the desired solutions.

Both approaches have the tendency towards making life much more meaningful to the slum dwellers. And in addition, they could eliminate or at least reduce the push residential mobility factors and subsequently discourage temptations to be lured away by housing trappings outside their 'healthy' neighbourhood.

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A STUDY OF THE RESIDENTIAL INERTIA OF THE URBAN SLUM DWELLERS OF AJEGUNLE, LAGOS STATE.

This paper examine the impression of the general public that urban slum dwellers are restrained from seeking relocation to better and more decent housing environment by economic consideration. The notorious Ajegunle area in Metropolitan Lagos is our case study

The aim is to either re-affirm this societal conviction or establish a refutation premised on findings from this study.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Ajegunle is a prominent slum in Metropolitan Lagos. Located south-west of the mega conurbation, it is the headquarters of Ajeromi-Ifelodun Local Government Area.

The thick human population of Ajegunle is made up majorly of petty-traders, craftsmen, artisans among other with a very low proportion engaged in vocation or services outside the area. They are either in the core civil service of state or local government or private organisations.

Ajegunle is notorious for its high degree of social delinquencies, poor housing and haphazard physical development with violation of planning rules. It is a haven for social miscreants.

Social infrastructures have been overwhelmed by the thick population. Roads are no in deplorable conditions and littered with puddles and potholes.

Sidewalks, where available, were littered with heaps of unclear refuse on account of poor and dysfunctional waste disposal system.

The following are notable problems of the housing environment of the area:-

- ix. Very high occupancy ratio with an average of about 6 8 occupiers per room.
- x. Most buildings were of the tenement type with shared facilities grossly inadequate for the large number of occupiers.
- xi. Spacing between houses has given way to unapproved structures, such as makeshift wooden homes, kiosks etc.

- xii. Setbacks play host to artisans' workshops. Examples are welders, carpenters etc.
- xiii. Shouted day and midnight conversations, use of portable electricity-generating plants etc, which generate a lot of noise and air pollution within residents.
- xiv. Liquid waste disposal into open drains with stagnant foul water, which make residents vulnerable to air-borne diseases.
- xv. Unhygienic sources of water such as sunk wells and supply from truck-pushing water hawkers/vendors.
- xvi. Occupation of bamboo and wooden make-shift buildings in swampy neighbourhoods, etc.

2.0 RELATED CONCEPTS

Three basic concepts are germane to the Kernel of this paper. They are Housing, Slum and Residential Inertia.

2.1 HOUSING

Agbola (2005) sees housing as a process. This perception perhaps draws the thin line of difference between a 'house' and 'housing'. While the former is a dwelling (structure) a building that serves as living quarter for one family or more. The latter, 'Housing' as a process which basically captures conception, construction and the ultimate occupation and use of a dwelling

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Residential inertial can be described as 'non-response' or 'non-movement' in terms of residential relocation (mobility) where the need for it arises.

Scholars agreed that residential mobility is spurred by certain determinants which are generally classified as the push factors and pull factors.

The push factors are:

- 1. Earthquakes and flooding
- 2. Civil strife
- 3. Increasing rentals
- 4. Expanding family size amongst others.

The pull factors lure a resident away from a neighbourhood. These are:

- 1. housing satisfactions
- 2. Security
- 3. Closeness to place of work etc.

However, when the occurrence or existence of any of the push or pull factors fail to spur a resident to seeking relocation then we have 'residential inertia'.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology involved the administration of structured questionnaires on residents of the four zones into which the area was partitioned.

Sampling was a combination of Random, Quota and Cluster techniques, an approach informed by the peculiarities of the zones.

The four locations were JMJ Quarters, Alakoto, Boundary and Coconut. A total of One Thousand (1,000) structured questionnaires were administered on equal numbers. The retrieval pattern was as follows – JMJ Quarters (218), Alakoto (151), Boundary (142) and Coconut (140).

Pursuant to achieving the dual goal of this paper, Residents were confronted with residential mobility determinants on the basis or event of occurrence of any of the determinants. Responses from the retrieved questionnaires (65.1%) were compiled and analysed. Findings, conclusion and recommendations were all rooted in the statistical analysis.

4.0 RESEARCH ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

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Source: Field Survey (2015)

Mean Percent (%)

iv. Mobility:
$$\bar{x} = \frac{\sum x}{n}$$

$$= \frac{42.70 + 17.36 + 31.80 + 29.65 + 26.73}{5} = \frac{148.24}{5}$$

$$= 29.65\%$$
v. Inertia: $\bar{y} = \frac{\sum y}{n}$

$$= \frac{46.39 + 68.05 + 54.69 + 60.06 + 57.45}{5} = \frac{286.64}{5}$$

$$= 57.33\%$$
vi. Undecided: $\bar{z} = \frac{\sum z}{n}$

$$= \frac{10.91 + 14.59 + 13.52 + 10.29 + 15.05}{5} = \frac{64.36}{5}$$

= 12.87%

Table 2: Responses on Pull Determinants

	RESPONSES						
DETERMINANTS	Yes (p)		No (q)		Undecided (r)		
	Freq	0/0	Freq	0/0	Freq	%	
Housing satisfaction	290	44.35	331	50.84	30	4.61	
Security	198	32.41	362	55.67	91	13.98	
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Proximity to Workplace	155	23.81	395	60.68	101	15.51	

Source: Field Survey (2015)

Mean Percent (%)

iv. Mobility:
$$\bar{p} = \frac{\sum p}{n}$$

$$= \frac{44.35 + 32.41 + 30.88 + 8.60 + 23.81}{5} = \frac{140.05}{5}$$

$$= 28.01\%$$
v. Inertia: $\bar{q} = \frac{\sum q}{n}$

$$= \frac{50.84 + 55.67 + 48.54 + 64.06 + 60.68}{5} = \frac{279.79}{5}$$

$$= 55.96\%$$
vi. Undecided: $\bar{r} = \frac{\sum r}{n}$

$$= \frac{4.61 + 13.98 + 20.58 + 27.34 + 15.51}{5} = \frac{82.02}{5}$$

$$= 16.40\%$$

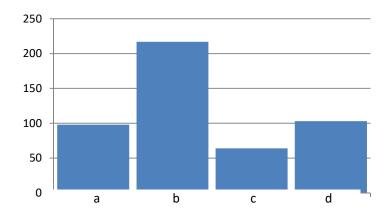
In the other section of the administered questionnaires, respondents were requested to give just the most important factor responsible for their continued residency in the slum. Of the 651 respondents, only 482 addressed this issue. Table 3 shows the four broad reasons derived from the summary of the responses.

Table 3: Reason for Continued Residency

Reason	Frequency	Percentage (%)		
Weak financial strength (a)	98	20.33		

Social variable (b)	217	45.02
Security (c)	64	13.28
Work/Home proximity (d)	103	21.37
Total	482	100.00

Source: Field Survey, 2015



Graph showing precedence of factors for continued residency

Social variable (45.02%) and imperative of residence – workplace closeness, take precedence over financial constraints or in capabilities of the slum dwellers to prosecute residential mobility.

4.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS

- 1. 57.36% and 55.96% of sampled Ajegunle residents would not relocate in the eventual occurrence of push and pull factors of residential mobility respectively. These suggest reasonable residential inertia.
- 2. Possible residential mobility of 29.65% and 28.01% of Ajegunle sampled dwellers in the event of push and pull factors respectively suggests that not all the slum dwellers were contended with their unhealthy housing environment.
- 3. The occurrence of some devastating push factors of residential mobility could not readily influence very reasonable proportion of sampled residents of Ajegunle. This position finds justification in figures in Table 1 Insecurity (68.05%), civil strife (54.69%) and Natural disaster (44.39%).

- 4. As shown in Table 2, none of the pull factors of residential mobility could be compelling enough to influence residential relocation of most sampled residents. This position is illustrated as follows: Social ties (64.06%), Home/workplace proximity (60.68%), Security (55.67%), Housing satisfaction (50.84%) and Better neighbourhood quality (48.54%).
- 5. On the aggregate, the occurrence of push factors and pull factors in the study area would only spur residential relocation of 29.65% and 28.01% of sampled Ajegunle residents respectively.
- 6. Sampled residents who were undecided in response to the occurrence of push or pull factors of residential mobility were 12.81% and 16.38% respectively.

CONCLUSION

This paper concludes that residential inertia exists in Ajegunle, the sprawling slum in metropolitan Lagos.

It is also concluded that social variables (slum social life, peer association and similar social ties) and the imperative of closeness of residence and place of work take precedence over financial considerations as reasons for the observed residential inertia in Ajegunle.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper, therefore recommends as follows:

1. In the short-term, government should necessarily embark on mass education on the need for healthy living environment for all and sundry both with special

- attention and focus on slum communities. Incentives could be used to encourage public adoption; and
- iii. As long-term solution, government should necessarily plan and execute a comprehensive and all-encompassing programme. Such programme must not only identify and capture the housing and environmental problems of slum neighbourhood; it must also proffer the desired solutions.

Both approaches have the tendency towards making life much more meaningful to the slum dwellers. And in addition, they could eliminate or at least reduce the push residential mobility factors and subsequently discourage temptations to be lured away by housing trappings outside their 'healthy' neighbourhood