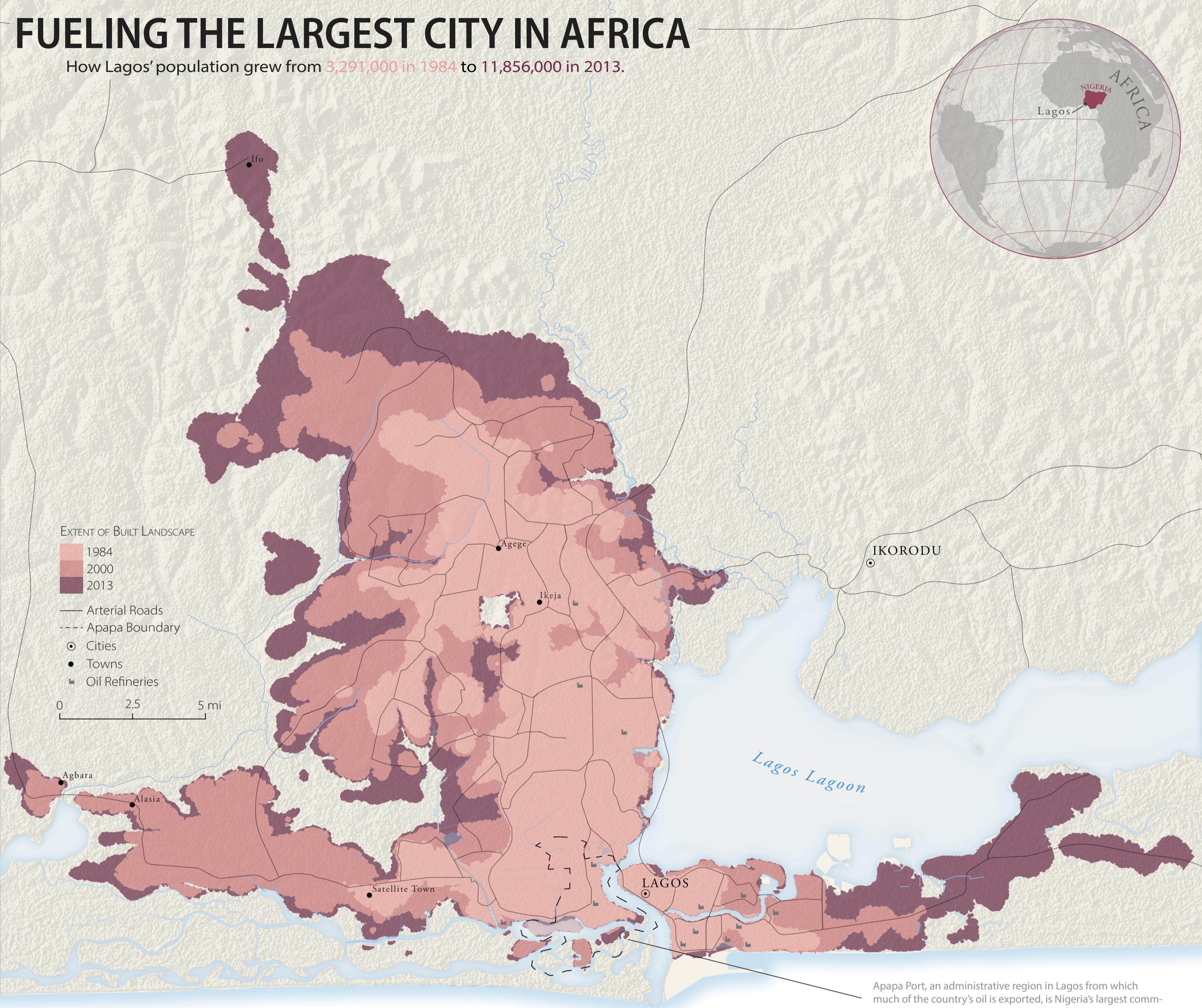


FUELING THE LARGEST CITY IN AFRICA

How Lagos' population grew from 3,291,000 in 1984 to 11,856,000 in 2013.



Apapa Port, an administrative region in Lagos from which much of the country's oil is exported, is Nigeria's largest commercial seaport. It is also considered the "busiest port in West Africa."

OIL, INFRASTRUCTURAL INVESTMENT, AND RURAL MIGRANTS

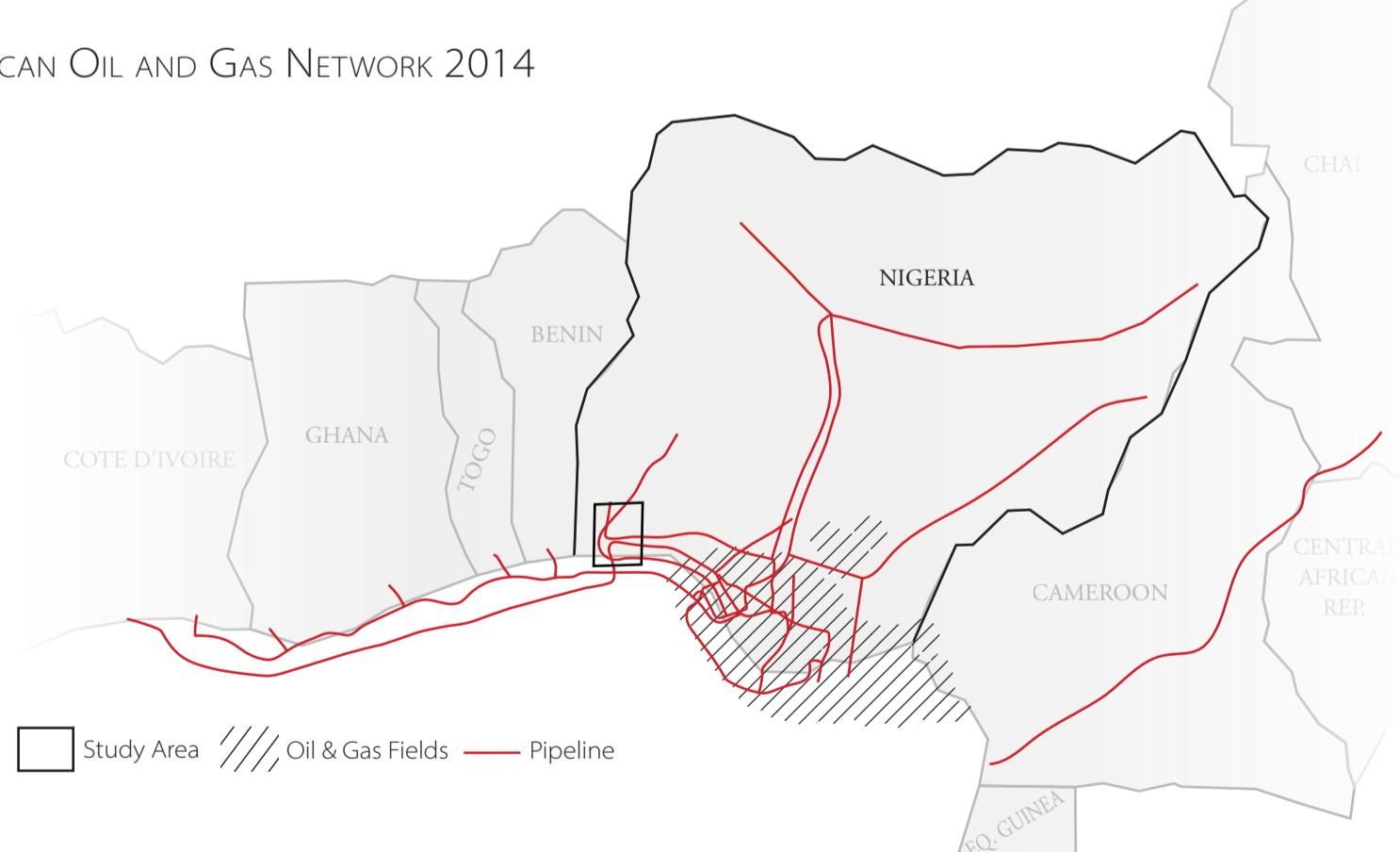
From 1984 to 2013, the population of Lagos nearly quadrupled. The extent of its built landscape expanded from 73,666 acres to 205,118 acres, nearly tripling. This growth reflects a national trend of rural to urban migration in Nigeria. Yet, unlike other Nigerian cities, Lagos has experienced unprecedented growth. In 2014, it was three times more populated than the second largest Nigerian city, Kano. In 2015, it became Africa's largest city.

Although Lagos' economic and population growth is not solely driven by the oil industry, its early infrastructural investment was tied largely to oil. Functioning as one of Nigeria's primary export shipping ports, an increase of investment in Lagos' urban infrastructure coincided with Nigeria's emergence as a transnational provider of gas and oil. Consequently, Lagos saw the construction of three new bridges, development of residential spaces, and privatization of its electricity administration in the 1980s and 1990s.

Despite its provision of modern amenities, Lagos' oil driven growth has intensified environmental degradation. The pace and magnitude of this expansion has left the city with highly polluted air and water sources, congested traffic, and flood-threatened residential areas.

Furthermore, rural to urban migration in Nigeria is a complex process with a range of drivers. While some migrants might be driven to a city like Lagos to seek employment or utilize its urban amenities, many do not undergo their journey by choice. Climate change and corporate land grabs (including oil seeking companies on the Delta) displace rural Nigerians and push them to cities like Lagos by force. Understanding the driving economic force of the oil industry in Lagos can help us understand its recent growth, but it does not tell us the city's entire story.

WEST AFRICAN OIL AND GAS NETWORK 2014



INFRASTRUCTURAL AND ECONOMIC DISPARITIES

