

Rural Household Waste Management Practices: The case of Ala Ajagbusi Rural Village, Nigeria

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Rural Household Waste Management Practices: The Case of Ala Ajagbusi Rural Village, Nigeria

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Abstract

Waste management practices in Ala Ajagbusi rural village, Nigeria, is a point of interaction among villagers, and between villagers and civil society organizations. The interaction is seen in the waste generation, waste sweeping, waste storage, waste disposal and collective management of waste in spaces perceived as commons. The interactions are at the level of intra household and inter household.

This thesis focuses on households' members' waste management practices. The relevant motifs of empirical findings are painstakingly chosen and theorized through well-connected theories - Michael Foucault's governmentality, Elinor Ostrom's governing the common pool resource, Jurgen Habermas's Public sphere transformation, and Susana Gal's semiotic of public and private. This aimed to answer the research questions. Such as how do members of households handle and make sense of their waste management practices? How do they distinguish between spaces concerning waste management? How the waste management is socially organized within village? And how the households interact with the state and other public entities concerning waste management?

This thesis presents waste management study as it makes sense to members of the households. In that sense, it adopts qualitative as a research approach and phenomenology as a research design. The former and the later served as bedrocks upon which the data collection methods were chosen (Interview, focus group, and participants' observation) and the interview questions were structured respectively.

The results show that villagers generate waste types like plastic materials, paper materials, metallic materials and organic materials. Waste is perceived as useless. Waste is stored unsorted in privately owned bowls and sacks. Sometimes waste is left at the back of the house in an arranged manner to dry. Waste disposal methods are burning and dumping. Burning of waste in the village is a common practice during the dry seasons. There are several dumping spaces in the village. Villagers walk some miles away from home before they can empty their waste bowl. They perceive that unemptied waste bowl is a breeding host for diseases' vectors. In this sense, the villagers and the civil society organization (NURTW) involve in waste management for fear of contracting diseases.

The villagers collectively sweep the surroundings of the households, usually every week in a rotational manner. They collectively burn and liberate waste under power line and inside drainage respectively. The study shows that spaces that villagers collectively managed are perceived as public spaces. The villagers regard the waste in the public spaces as public goods which should be managed by the local government. The perception of the villagers of a space whether it is a public space or private space with respect to waste management is informed by the social object of responsibility; as in who has the responsibility to manage waste in individual family room, waste in a household and waste outside a household. The villagers recalibrate the entire household as private space when collectively manage waste in a village public spaces, such as under power line, in a drainage, and in a waterway. Whereas, before the recalibration, the room and surroundings of a household are calibrated as personal and public spaces respectively.

The villagers have no engagement with state and local government concerning waste management. The village has no waste management structure at the village level. This is caused by the land dispute crisis in the village. Individual members of households and civil organization deploy self-technology to order and shape their waste management behavior. The villagers take waste management closer to their heart because of fear of contracting diseases.

Keywords: Waste, governmentality, commons, private space, public space, household

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to Ala Zoarab (Abu Ibrahim), may God forgive him and grant him the highest paradise.

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Abbreviations

NURTW

National Union of Road Transport
Workers

MWA

Market Women Association

1 Introduction

Waste management practices on the continent of Africa, whether in urban or rural communities, is one of the overarching social phenomena that has received significant attention from the researchers. Waste management practices in urban and rural Africa show no significant differences¹. Waste management practices in Africa have been evaluated in relations to the concepts of sustainability, development, poverty, health and wellbeing, environmental degradation, conflict, public and private participation, social relations and a host of others. Waste management chains in Africa range from separation, storage, collection, transportation, and disposal. These chains in Africa are not sustainable, lead to degradation of the environment, not well participated and fall below required development index. Poor waste management practice is a major risk for the outbreak of diseases².

This thesis not only seeks to understand how the members of households³ have been handling and perceive waste in contrast to cleanliness and dirt, their perception about spaces concerning waste management, how the households' members socially organize themselves regarding waste management, but also how the households interact with public entities concerning waste management practices. This thesis seeks no understanding to sustainability and environmental degradation of waste management practices in Ala Ajagbusi⁴ rural village, but argue the efforts of the members of the households to manage the waste situation in connection with how they have been handling waste and its meaningfulness.

1.1 Research problem

There is increasingly indiscriminate waste dumping behavior in Ala Ajagbusi rural village, Nigeria. Waste dumping spaces are being chosen

¹ Adogu et al 2015

² Md. Wahid Murad Nik Hashim Nik Mustapha 2010, Ifegbesan 2016, Mansur 2015, and Boateng et al., 2016.

³ ...group of individuals who live together under one roof, and share a common kitchen or cooking pot... (Burns and Keswell 2006)

⁴ Ala Ajagbusi is a disputed rural village located in between Idanre and Akure-North local government areas, Ondo State, South western Nigeria.

without care. These spaces are neither provided by the local authority nor village administration. Acknowledgement of this inspire the thesis which in turn prompt research in that respect. The research focuses on the waste situation in the village and how members of the households have been living through the situation. In this context, waste situation refers to waste handling and its meaningfulness. It is in this context that the research questions were framed. Consequently, the theoretical frameworks and empirical findings were brought together to understand the waste situation and how the members of the households have been living through the waste situation.

1.2 Research purpose

The purpose is to explore how members of households in the village, Ala Ajagbusi handle and make meaning of waste, which often ends up being burnt or dumped in spaces. And how members of the households make meaning of space in relation to waste management.

1.3 Research questions

1. How do the members of households in the village, Ala Ajagbusi, handle and make sense of their waste management practices?
2. Do they distinguish between spaces concerning waste management?
3. How is waste management socially organized within the village?
4. How do the households interact with the state and other public entities concerning waste management?

1.4 Study area

Ala Ajagbusi is a rural village located in the southwestern part of Nigeria. The village is a disputed land between Idanre local government and Akure North local government; both are units of Ondo State, which is one of the federating units of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The village is 30 km

Southeast of Akure, the capital city of Ondo state. The village receives rainfall all year round with maximum of 258 mm in the month of September and minimum of 8 mm in the month of January. The average temperatures of the village vary during the year by 3.9 degrees Celsius⁵. The village has more than five hundred households. A majority of the inhabitants are peasant cash crop farmers, cultivating cocoa and palm trees, while a few fields are cultivated for food crop production. Apart from farming, people engage in non-farm economic activities such as telecom accessories trading, mercantile, craftsmanship, and vocational jobs such as automobile repair, barbering, tailoring, hairdressing, welding, etc.

In addition, villagers engage in agricultural processing economic activities. The village has a periodic market which is held every five days and brings together several smaller villages. In addition, many educational, poultry, and fishery businesses have emerged within the last two decades. Ala Ajagbusi is a strategic community for Akure indigenes⁶ because of its vast and arable land. Migrants, who are mainly from nearby states are predominantly found in the nonfarm and off-farm rural economic sectors. This is because of the Ala Ajagbusi's well-entrenched inheritance land tenure system.

1.5 Thesis structure

This thesis starts with the introduction (Chapter One). In this section an introductory to the thesis was laid down with the aim of preparing the minds of the readers on what to expect on the handling of the waste in the village, Ala Ajagbusi. In this Chapter, I state the research problems, purpose, and questions. In the last segment of the chapter, an overview of the study area is presented. Chapter two discusses the concepts that this thesis relies on as analytical tools to drive its arguments. Chapter three presents the methodological approach that guided this thesis philosophical viewpoints and data collection methods. Chapter four presents empirical findings, while

⁵ Climate data of Ala Ajagbusi [Online]. Available at: <https://en.climate-data.org/location/362840>: [Accessed 05 May 2017].

⁶ People who are known for cocoa cultivation in the South western Nigeria. Culturally, they are connected to River Ala.

chapter five presents empirical analysis and general discussions. Chapter six and chapter seven present analysis/discussion and conclusion respectively.

2 Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

In this chapter the objective is to lay down the theoretical framework which I rely on to theorize the empirical findings in order to answer the research questions. Therefore, I seek to understand how the people of Ala Ajagbusi have been handling waste, how the waste management is socially organized among the households' members and to understand the distinct line drawn by the people of Ala Ajagbusi regarding space in relations to waste management practices. In this sense, I rely on Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality, Elinor Ostrom's research on 'the commons' and Habermas' notion of public space, and by extension, the Susan Gal's notion of public and private space dichotomy. Therefore, what follows is a short description of the concepts and how they can serve as analytical tools so as to analyze the empirical findings.

2.1 Michel Foucault's governmentality

Foucault's concept of governmentality is focused on how people's behavior are affected and framed by technologies of discipline, producing different subjectivities over time and over space (Dean 2010). The governmentality concept encompasses how the governmental techniques or political technologies and the individual techniques shape, regulate, and order the individual or group of individuals' behavior in spite of sovereignty of these subjects (Amos, n.d). Apart from state administration, "governmentality" also denotes self-control and even how households are organized and the members' behavior are affected and framed. (Lemke, 2000). Foucault, in a metaphorical manner opines that the government of oneself is about the morality, the government of family is about the economy and the government of the state is about the politics (Dallegrave and Ceccim, 2013).

The concept denotes an understanding that exercising power is not limited to the state, but also to individuals, groups of individuals, and civil societies that want to make a change through programs and interventions. For Murray Li, the exercise of government is not limited to the official state apparatus with its "diverse state agencies with competing visions, mandate

and techniques”; it also includes other actors from different sectors of society involved in different programs and interventions, or improvement schemes” (Li, 2007). Taking this notion into account I will be looking at technologies put in place by individuals or groups of individuals, civil societies or constituted authority, to understand how waste management is socially organized within spaces of the household and how do the households interact with the state and other public entities concerning waste management.

2.2 Elinor Ostrom`s common pool resources; governing the common, the evolution of the institutions for collective actions

Ostrom`s theoretical analysis (Ostrom, 1990) was a response to the work of Hardin⁷ 1968, “the tragedy of the common” – degradation of the environment to be expected whenever many individuals use a scarce resource in common. Hardin uses the illustration of the herders, when herders deploy their individually rational strategies-introducing more and more cattle in a grazing land, this lead to overgrazing – collectively irrational outcome. All herders suffer delay cost from deterioration. Hardin advocated that the “common” should either be privatized or managed by the state in order to liberate the tendency to free ride and selfish use. In contrary, Ostrom posited that individual efforts to collectively manage the common through a robust institutional arrangement could mitigate what Hardin called the “tragedy of the common”. The common are resources used by several individuals such as ocean resources, river, lakes, forest, land resources, grazing land and a host of others. In addition, Ostrom opines that such are commons because it is difficult to exclude individual from use and the benefit consumed by individual reduces the benefit to others.

Ostrom (1990) presents various assumptions in organizing and governing of the common pool resources collectively by individuals. The assumptions are linked to situations of the appropriators, providers, and producers and the attribute of the resources. An appropriator is the person or group of person who withdraws resource units from the resource system. The

⁷ Garrett James Hardin (April 21, 1915 – September 14, 2003) was an American ecologist and philosopher who warned of the dangers of over population. Source @ Wikipedia.com accessed on the 5th October, 2017.

resource system is the whole stock of the resources and resource unit is the used resource by individual or group of individuals in the resource system e.g. spaces filled in the parking garage. Providers are those who provide the common pool resources, while the producers are those who ensure sustainability of the resource system. The assumptions are, the quantity of the resource, the number of appropriators, and the transaction cost of collective behavior, the individual benefits of collective behavior, the attribute of the resource e.g. subtractable or non-subtractable, renewable or non-renewable, replenishment or non-replenishment, the average rate of withdraw and the average rate of replenishment. In addition, Ostrom (1990) emphasized the importance of internal variables (individual decision) to the outcome of governing the common pool resources. The individual's expected benefits, expected cost, internal norms (fulfilling the promise, trust, and devoid of opportunistic behavior), and discount rate will affect individual's choice of strategies. Ostrom (1990) opines that when the transaction costs of collective behavior of individual are relatively low, when the benefits are limited to a small number of appropriators, when resource is substantial scarce, when a reasonable level of trust is guaranteed, when resources are not substantially destroyed, and when there is significant discount rate; the individual will devise institutional arrangement and collectively manage the common pool resources.

Nevertheless, the concept of Common pool resources might not be explicitly fit to understand the objectives of this thesis, but arguably the central notion of this concept is the possibilities of institutional arrangement to manage the spaces that the villagers trash with waste such as waterway, under the power line, inside drainage and a host of others, in order to escape the tragedy of those spaces. I consider those spaces as commons because they remain resources to the villagers, resources in the sense that these are the spaces where they empty their waste sack and the benefit to one villager reduces the benefit to others as posited by Ostrom with the example of parking garage.

2.3 Jürgen Habermas- The structural transformation of public sphere

“The Structural Transformation of Public Sphere is a historical-sociological account of emergency, transformation, and disintegration of the bourgeois public sphere” (Habermas, 1991). Habermas delves into trajectory of bourgeois political life from seventeenth through mid-twentieth centuries (Habermas, 1991). Calhoun (1992) argues that Habermas’ imagination of the public sphere emphasized the questions “what” and “when”; as in what are the qualifications of private individuals who participate in a public discourse? Such as economy, politics, market system, etc. What are the social conditions for participation in those public debates? Such as being educated or being owner of property. And when could the public debate on economy, market system become a subject of political actions? All in all, Habermas states that in the context of bourgeois public sphere in the early 19th century, participants wanted argument, not statuses to determine decision.

The notion of Habermas about the words “structural transformation of public sphere” as opined by Calhoun (1992), is about the continual inclusion of more and more participants and at a point, this brought degeneration in the quality of discourse. One could say that he discusses the transformation of a representational public sphere into one based on communicative action and then back again into a representational state. The transformation theme by continual expansion has no nexus with the gender composition of early bourgeoisie’ public sphere. Therefore, Habermas’ public sphere is defined as space where private individuals meet to have a rational-critical discourse on public matters with specific qualifications to be considered for admission into the public sphere such as education and ownership of property. In a simpler mode, is a space where individual can come together, pick up social problem, and discuss, and through that discussion action could be taken.

Habermas opines that the first transformation of the public sphere was about the expansion of participation. The second transformation is about metamorphosing of the function of public sphere from rational-critical discourse to negotiation. The process of the politically relevant exercise and equilibration of power now takes place directly between the private bureaucracies, special-interest associations, parties, and public administration

(Calhoun 1992).

The second process of Habermas public sphere is about the civil society, interest group using public sphere to demand social right and welfare benefits for its members. The social conditions to participate are no longer ownership of property and education. Good examples are workers and employer, students and school administration, transporters and the authority and a host of others (Calhoun). The members of civil societies are no longer speak for themselves, but do so through the mediation of representative. The public sphere is no longer a space for rational-critical discourse, but a space for consumption of opinions and substandard participations. The propertied men have withdrawn to their private noncommittal leisure time leaving public space to lower class people. On the other hand, Habermas (Calhoun, 1992) presents empirical evidence to demonstrate the explicit relationship between consumption of opinion and the level of wealth, status and urbanization. He argues that those whose wealth has outrun their education consume more opinions than other. Habermas was heavily criticized for non-consideration of social movement, religion, identity and culture, power relation, hegemony, multiple public spheres, and so forth (Calhoun, 1992).

I will be applying this concept in relations to Habermas notion of public sphere as a negotiation arena for civil societies. In Ala Ajagbusi rural village NURTW secretariat is a space where members form opinion on action to be taken. In addition, villagers have their discussion concerning waste management during the monthly sanitation exercise at the level of household and occasionally held landlord meetings at any of the landlord house.

The understanding of the private and public dichotomy transcends the notion of Habermas. Since the beginning of the Nineteenth century social scientists (Gal, 2002) have opined that everyday life is organized in a contrasting way, for example rationality vs. sentiment, community vs. individual, public vs. private, money vs. love etc. Therefore, the dichotomy of public and private space could be applied in many contexts. “The distinction between public and private can be reproduced repeatedly by projecting it onto narrower contexts or broader ones. Or it can be projected onto different social “objects”- activities, identities, institutions, spaces and interactions- that can be further categorized into public and private parts”

(Gal, 2002). In the light of Susan Gal's argument, I look into how the villagers make sense of their space in relation to waste management practices in Ala Ajagbusi rural village.

3 Methodology

The thesis was informed by the fieldwork I undertook and methodologically I have been inspired by a phenomenological approach. In this chapter I present the qualitative approach which is the bedrock of the fieldwork, the research design and the methods of data collection for this thesis.

3.1 Worldview of qualitative research

The history of qualitative research could be traced to the field of anthropology, sociology, the humanities and evaluation (Creswell, 2014). Qualitative approaches explore the meaning actors or group of actors give to social phenomena, for example how Haitians experience and react to an outbreak of a disease in Haiti, how they perceive this and what it means to them. The data collection process is inductive, i.e. generating theory from particular to general contexts through interpretations of the meaning of the data (Creswell, 2014). Silverman (2015) argues that qualitative research describes a phenomenon in context, interprets processes or meanings, uses theoretically based concepts and seeks “understanding”. The qualitative research explores the several dimensions of the social world, attempting to understand the experiences of the research participants, the manner social processes (activities and actions that involve the interaction between people) bring about the social structures (e.g. family) and the how the actors perceive and act within their lifeworlds and everyday life (Mason, 2002). Mason (2002, pg. 4) further states that “it is a great strength of qualitative research that it cannot be neatly pigeon-holed and reduced to a simple and prescriptive set of principles, and I think it is exciting that so many researchers from so many different traditions and disciplines are interested in doing research which is, in some way or another, qualitative in nature”. Many critiques of qualitative approach often degrade the approach by referring to “mere description” in data analysis and presentation (Silverman, 2015). In a response to this, Bechhofer and Paterson (2000) opine that “no social situation or behavior can be described exhaustively, we must always select from a

potentially infinite wealth of possible observations and in making them we implicitly compare what we see with something else”.

Many researchers adopt a quantitative approach in waste management studies more than the qualitative approach. They were able to grasp the situation of waste, and how people do not separate waste, the composition of households' waste and the spatial differences in waste composition (Boateng et al, 2016, Ifegbesan 2016, Mansur 2015 and Adogu et al, 2015). In order to do something differently I adopt a qualitative approach because it seeks understanding of the everyday lives of actors, develop subjective meaning and relies on the participants' perception for analysis of the situation being studied (Creswell, 2014). Whether quantitative or qualitative, the research approach or method should fit research question. Its focus should be achievable and should work best for the researchers (Silverman, 2015).

3.2 Phenomenology (research design)

The word 'phenomenology' takes its root from two Greek words 'phenomenon' and 'logo' which translate to “an observable occurrence” and “analyses of something” respectively (Inglis and Thorpe, 2012). Bourdieu and Giddens opine that phenomenology provides very important notions on how people perceive and act, that it is necessary to draw the attention of “objectivist” and “structuralist” notions that overemphasize the power of wider social forces to order and shape agencies' behavior (Inglis and Thorpe, 2012). Essentialism is one the characteristics of phenomenology which denotes that phenomenology is not only interested in the empirical account of various phenomena, but seeks to understand the constant structure embedded in the empirical account such as the stream of consciousness, embodiment, and perception (Merleau Ponty's notion mentioned by Zahavi, D. n.d.). “Phenomenology is concerned with how particular persons or groups of people see, perceive, understand, experiences, make sense of, respond to, emotionally feel about and engage with, particular objects or circumstances” Inglis and Thorpe (2012 pg. 86). Furthermore, phenomenology is about how consciousness, perception, and the conception of individual agency's everyday life construction accord them to act and interact with one another.

Phenomenology explores the actors' lived experiences from the context of meaning and the consequences of actors' experiences (Inglis and Thorpe, 2012). Alberto Melucci cited by Frykman and Gilje (2009) said "phenomenology offers an analytical path by focusing on the consequences of actions rather than causes". Departing from the context of meaning and consequences, this research focuses on how householders create meaning to waste management? How they have been handling waste? And how they create meaning to space in relation to waste management. In a broader sense, the waste meaning and how they handle waste should not only be seen as point of views of householders, but also as they appear to their consciousness (Moran 200: 6 cited by Frykman and Gilje, 2009).

The power relations and the "social construction of reality" can be explained by the idea of practical consciousness which is central to the main notion of phenomenology (Inglis and Thorpe, 2012). In this sense, phenomenology will help to discern how waste management is socially organized through mechanisms or technologies enacted by the state to shape the waste management conduct of the householders. Therefore, phenomenological approach is purely a qualitative study with more focus on the lived experience of individual living through a specific situation.

I described and interpreted the outcome of the fieldwork. Description was theory-laden not just mere description, the description through the lenses of concepts bring about inductively generating theory out of data (Silverman, 2015).

3.3 Method of data collection

The data were primarily sourced through my participation in the field for six weeks. The three methods of data collection used were participant observations, in-depth interviews of actors, and focus group interview with the objective of validating findings (Creswell, 2014). The participants are of age bracket (20 years- 65 years). Each of the three method is further explain below.

3.3.1 In-depth interviews

This is a qualitative research method of data collection by conducting intensive interviews of individuals in order to explore their perspective on a particular situation. In some cases, participants may not feel comfortable in a focus group, therefore an in-depth interview would be better instead (Boyce, C., & Neale, P. 2006).

In this thesis, I interviewed seventeen participants regarding how the members of the households have been handling waste, and how they make sense of their waste management practices. And the meaningfulness of space to them in relation to waste management. Four were men among the participants interviewed. They are farmer, educational proprietor, vehicle driver and traditional chief. The other participants were women with a few engaging in trading while the rest of them are full house wives. The participants were randomly selected. The interview questions were open-ended but structured around the major questions and concepts. This allowed participants to construct meaning of a situation being studied and give full details of their perception (Creswell, 2014).

3.3.2 Focus group

Focus group is a data collection method, it cannot replace the kinds of research that are well conducted by either individual interview or participant observation, but it is often used to fill the data shortfall from either one or both individual interviews and participant observations (Morgan, n.d.). In this sense, it provides data that cannot be easily accessed through other methods. Sometimes an individual need someone else's ideas or to have a group discussion before such a person can form an opinion. In the light of this, I engaged participants in a focus group with the objective of seeking to understand the research questions within the framework of theoretical concepts. In the focus group, the group was a ten-member-group to ensure active participation of the participants (Creswell, 2013). The participants were all women. The majority are full house wife. The discussions were heavily informed by the research questions and the concepts.

3.3.3 Participant observation

Participant observation is a method that allows the observer to create a rapport with participants so as to get natural feelings about the situation being studied. Kawulich (2005) submits that “Participant observation involves the researcher's involvement in a variety of activities over an extended period of time that enable him/her to observe the cultural members in their daily lives and to participate in their activities to facilitate a better understanding of those behaviors and activities”. Departing from this notion, I was involved in some activities that were of interest to the research objectives in order to get the natural feelings of the participants. I had an added advantage of being able to speak, write and understand the local language, therefore interaction with the participants in an observational mode was not a problem.

4 Background/Literature review

Most research focus mainly on the waste management in urban settlement, while the waste situation in rural settlement are poorly researched. Nenkovic-Riznic (2011) states that “the problem of waste management in rural areas has not been the subject of detailed specific research since most of the research has been directed towards the study of means, mechanisms, and procedures of waste elimination in urban settlements. The reason for the reduced scope of research in this field lies in the fact that rural settlements cannot be considered as "grateful" subjects due to usual deficiency of specific data (population number, fluctuations, the amount of waste, waste composition, methods of waste elimination, etc.)”.

In this chapter I review some relevant literatures in connection to household waste management practices in Sub-Saharan Africa. I look at the households' waste situation which was linked to the research problem. In addition, literatures were reviewed in order to understand the embedded social relations in households' waste management practices.

4.1 Background

In Africa, households waste is a problem, mainly due to inadequate waste management infrastructure and implementation. Poor waste management practices have been associated with inadequate basic waste management infrastructure (incinerator, recycling plant, and high-tech landfill), poor waste management awareness and lackadaisical attitude of a significant percentage of the respondents (Ifegbesan 2016 and Mansur 2015). In a study of waste management practices in Southwest Nigeria, Ifegbesan (2016) opines that the waste separation practices were very poor. Adogu et al (2015) state that the majority of people do not separate their waste before disposal. Poor waste management affects both rural and urban areas (Adogu et al, 2015), and is linked to outbreaks of contagious diseases (Ifegbesan 2016, Adogu et al., 2015, Mansur 2015, and Boateng et al., 2016).

Part of the waste problem is caused by the use of polythene materials, which is often used for packaging of various commodities. The producers of packaging items are more interested in profit making than waste

management (Abila and Kantola, 2013). The situation is different in Europe, consumers return plastic and non-plastic packaging bottles in lieu of money as an incentive. The most common waste disposal practices are open dumping and burning, mainly along highways, within cities and open spaces (Ifegbesan 2016). Mansur (2015) points out that open dumping and open burning are unsustainable method of disposal.

4.2 Waste and its composition

Wastes are viewed as an invaluable and useless materials that cannot be recycled for actual use (Abila and Kantola, 2013). Waste management is the process that involves waste control, storage, separation, collection, and disposal. The sources of waste in Africa include industrial, sewage, agricultural, domestic or residential (household), municipal, process, institutional, medical and electronic waste (Adebayo and Ismail, 2016). The household waste in most cities in Africa compose of biodegradable materials. Asmamaw et al 2017, concluded that the households waste in Addis Ababa and Gonder towns are composed of biodegradable materials which includes cardboard and papers. In Harare, paper and plastic are of the same proportion in waste composition (Rodney, and Sydney 2012). In Imo State, Nigeria, the households waste is mainly composed of food remnants (Adogu et al, 2015).

The waste composition in many Africa households has an implicit relationship with the income level of the members of the households and the types of houses in which they are living. Isaac et al, 2013, posited that organic and inert materials (sand, ashes, and charcoal remnants) are common waste components especially among the low-income earners, although they do generate low kilogram of waste per capita compare to high-income earners. The inert materials are common among the members of the households who are living in an unpaved surroundings and those who cannot afford stove or cooking gas. They added that waste composition among the high-income earners comprise of packaging materials from food and non-food packages due to high purchasing power resulting from high-income.

4.3 Waste management situation

The most disturbing fact about the commonest waste management practices (Open dumping and Burning) in Africa is as a result of lack of infrastructure to manage waste (Ifegbesan 2016 and Mansur 2015). Waste management infrastructure is absolutely not available in rural areas of Africa and is insignificant in urban areas of Africa (African Review on Waste Management, 2009). In many African cities the waste situation is very poor, a significant part of households' waste is composed of food waste, plastic containers, polythene material and in some cases human feces. Many do not separate their waste, there are no waste bins in some cases, many use sack bags and plastic container as a means of storage (Abila and Kantola, 2016). The collection, transportation and disposal are very insignificant on the part of local authority due to lack of waste management infrastructure. This resulting to open dumping, open burning, and burying as means of getting rid of waste. (Solomon, 2011, Adogu et al 2015, Asmamaw et al, 2017 and Isaac et al, 2013).

4.4 Social relations in household waste management

Waste management practices cannot be done in isolation, it requires interaction between two or more people, this interaction often produces social relation. Such interaction could be between the individual and the public/state or between members of a household. Alin (2011) analyzed the social relations in waste management with two case studies on Somanya and Agormanya in Ghana. In this study, she concluded that lack of small bins in public areas, except big containers in certain spots, has caused the local people to throw garbage on the ground in hope that the Zoomlion workers will do their job by sweeping the streets every day. The lack of small bins creates twice as much work for the workers and pollutes the environment. In the light of this, the indiscriminate behavior of the local people that soil the environment with dirt, thus creating more work load for the sweepers is akin to social relations between sweepers and the local people. In addition, she said that there are some old beliefs that are inappropriate relating to waste

management. Some of the local people believe that to dump the waste in their area will provide them with a good fertilizer and manure for the plants.

Mukisa (2009) analyzed the challenges and prospects of public participation in solid waste management in Kira town council, Uganda. She concluded that the level of public participation in solid waste management at present in Kira Town Council is low. There is no structure that allows for a more synergistic relationship between the public and the Town Council authorities. The Town Council, being less than a decade old is more preoccupied with infrastructural projects at the moment leaving the solid waste management issue less attended to. Solomon, 2011, analyzed the relationship between households, waste contractors and the waste informal pickers in Dar es Salam, Tanzania. She posited that the waste contractors see the informal pickers as a threat to their profit generating opportunity. Households are not encouraged to patronize the waste contractors due to unreliable and insufficient waste collection and disposal services. Informal pickers are seen as one that need to be helped. Informal pickers service is cheap and affordable.

Waste management has become a point of contact for different actors in a different arena, the contact often leads to several levels of structures. In Africa, the households, the local authority and the private individuals are always involved in the chain of waste management practices as posited by Solomon (2011).

5 Empirical findings

In this chapter I present the empirical findings regarding the waste management practices in Ala Ajagbusi rural village. I start with the description of the dwellings to draw a picture of how the village is composed, subsequently I present a narrative of the land dispute crisis between Idanre⁸ and Akure-North⁹ local government in the village. The focus is on the waste and its composition, waste handling, structure in waste handling, waste perception, the land owners and the dumping sites, the monthly sanitation, the NURTW¹⁰, the Market Woman Association, and the people's experiences.

5.1 The dwellings

In Ala Ajagbusi rural village, the houses, both old and new, have four or six rooms each. Each house has a single corridor or passage that is common to all inhabitants and through where each family accesses its room. In some of the households, there are two or three families or a single family or an extended family living together. The houses have detached kitchens and bathrooms. In most cases, the kitchens are close to the households' waste storage space; where it is stored before it is burned or left in the bush. The kitchens have roof covers, are partly side covered, without doors and ventilation windows in some. Each member of the households has its own stone made cooking device within the kitchen; although there are cooking facilities located in front of some houses. Fire wood is the main source of cooking energy. The majority of the bathrooms have no roof covers, no doors, and are less in height. Members of the households shield themselves from passers-by with fabric wrapper while taking shower. When I passed such a shower at one time I could see the feet of the participant up to his shin and his chest up to his head, while taking shower.

The Olu of Ala¹¹ stated that: "this is a dirt ridden village, as you can see, there is dirt all over the place. Hardly would you see ten households with

⁸ Municipality

⁹ Municipality

¹⁰ National Union of Road Transport Workers.

¹¹ One of the disputed traditional leader

toilet”. Lack of toilets in houses is a common phenomenon in the village. Some of them have buckets at the back of their houses where they defecate, some defecate in the bush, while other still answer the call of nature in an open space under the power line before dawn every day. Villagers expressed their worries about these conditions and they are concerned about the risks of contracting diseases. Mr. Kehinde Sekoni narrated his experience and states “that power line, (pointing to its direction) especially before dawn, they often defecate under it and do line up in and some of them are not shy of their behavior, they send me greetings when I am on my way to mosque. We worried of this behavior because we don’t want cholera. The only police station in this village has no toilet, anytime a suspect has to answer the call of nature, such suspect would be led by a constable to the power line where the suspect would empty his or her bowel”.

5.2 The disputed village

Ala Ajagbusi is a disputed village, the village is located on the boundary between Idanre local government and Akure-North local government. The village has two leaders, one representing Idanre and the other Akure-North. The Olu of Ala¹² is representing Akure-North, while Elefonson¹³ is representing Idanre. The police station which is one of four government institutions, apart from the two primary schools and one secondary school in the village, was built after the year 2000 land dispute crisis between the Olu of Ala and Elefoson parties that claimed several lives. Many villagers adduced the poor village arrangement for waste management to the land dispute crisis at hand in the village. On that note, they are confused about which party they should address concerning village waste management arrangement. Mr. Abdulhakeem Dinad, a member of NURTW, said that “literally, this is not our responsibility, but we take it on us because of lack of government presence and the fact that this village is a disputed area between the local government of Idanre and Akure-North. This makes village

¹² Traditional title

¹³ Traditional title

arrangement so difficult. The questions are, who give order and where do we report to? Is it the first chief or the second chief? So we are at the crossroad”.

Furthermore, the lack of development projects in the village has been adduced by the villagers to the land dispute crisis between the Olu of Ala and Elefonson’s parties. Each party opposes the development projects proposed by the opposing party. Elefonson’s party often work against any project from Akure-North while Olu of Ala’s party do the same for any project initiated by Idanre. An old woman in the village has this to say; “there are two leaders in this village, despite the big size of this village, the polarization of the leadership has done more harm to this village by blocking several development projects”.

When asked about the rationale behind this I was told that each party was afraid of dominance of the opposing party which could reduce the influence of the other party in the village. Mr. Kehinde Sekoni said that “during the just concluded administration a market project was allocated to Ala Ajagbusi from the state government through Akure-North local government. The contractor was frustrated by Elefonson’s party and the project was abandoned. All the construction materials already on the site were stolen by the villagers”.

5.3 Waste and its composition in Ala Ajagbusi

The understanding of waste by the residents in Ala Ajagbusi is not different from the results of other waste management studies. My informants regarded waste as something that is useless and that should be kept away from the dwellings. “Waste is something one should not live with, is it possible to buy a loaf of bread and keep its plastic packaging in my room? It should be discarded because it is useless” (Focus group, March 2017). However, during the focus group discussion some villagers argued that there are plastic containers that could be reused to bottle water, kerosene, and palm oil. Some said that chaffs from maize and palm kernel are often reused as energy for cooking. “Anytime we buy something packaged in a plastic container, we reuse it to bottle our palm oil, kerosene, and water until we conclude that it is

no longer useful. We don't discard chaffs from palm kernel and maize because we do use it as cooking energy" (Focus group, March 2017).

Therefore, there is waste being discarded immediately on one hand, and there are reused and later discarded waste on the other hand. The chaffs from maize and palm kernel are usually classified as agricultural waste, but are classified as households' waste in this study. In front of a few houses there are big containers where some villagers cook palm kernel with the objective of extracting palm oil. The chaffs become part of household waste composition.

The waste composition in Ala Ajagbusi ranges from the plastic materials, metallic materials, and organic materials. "The household waste consists of food and non-food plastic packaging, plastic containers, paper containers, paper cartoons, emptied sachet water, organic materials (yam peel, cassava peel, plantain peel, vegetable remnants, chaffs from maize, chaffs from palm kernel, and animal feces), metal bottles and inert materials (sand, ashes, and charcoal)" (Focus group, March, 2017). When I moved around some households observing their waste sacks, waste bowls, and small dung-hills behind their houses, I could see that they were mostly composed of plastic materials of various types and inert materials (sand, charcoal, and ashes). In my opinion, this is so because of increased presence of urban merchants in the village and the increased use of firewood as energy.



Figure 1 Showing Composition of Waste at the back of Household. Figure 2 Showing Waste Composition in Open Space at back of Household. Photo: Saheed Abdulwakeel Adebayo, 2017.

5.4 Waste handling in Ala Ajagbusi

The narrative of the villagers regarding the way the waste is being handled is not different from one another. All members of the households generate waste on daily basis as they fulfill their needs. In a household, there is a division based on personal space and common space. The personal space usually consists of private rooms, while common spaces are the passage or corridor, the front, the back and the two sides of the house. During the day the commons spaces are littered with dirt by the members of the households. There are usually swept in the subsequent morning before dawn. Members of the households sweep each personal space individually and commons are usually swept collectively. Both spaces are swept in relations to notion of cleanliness and dirt. Each wife of the families living in a household agree on terms to sweep the commons on weekly basis; especially in a rotational manner. Mrs. Toyin Johnson stated that: “we are more than one family living under a single roof, each family is responsible for cleaning the surroundings

for one week till it goes around and each family is responsible for cleaning its room every morning”.

“In most households, except a household where there is a single family, the sweeping of the surroundings is done by all the families living in such a household in a rotational manner especially on a weekly basis. Although, there are no penalties for a housewife who fail to adhere to the institutional arrangement of sweeping, but she will be tagged as a bad house wife. Those who adhere see themselves as upholders of morality. Children and their mother sweep surroundings of the house in a single family household, each with a designated portion to sweep every day” (Focus group, March 2017). “I am the owner of my house, I and my children are responsible for sweeping of the house, each has his or her own portion to clean every day” (Interview with Mrs. Fasilat Ibrahim, March 2017).

I believe that the practices of littering the “commons” (spaces shared by those living in a specific house) with dirt during the day and get it swept before dawn through a socially organized manner is caused by a lack of waste bin in the public spaces i.e. streets, markets, viewing centers, and religious centers. I observed that there are no waste bins on the streets, in the markets and other public spaces, thus, villagers do throw dirt indiscriminately. When the generated waste is being swept, the waste is often stored in a sack bag, unseparated, before being burnt or emptied into the bush or under the power line or into the drainage. Each family has its own waste sack and with different methods for disposing of waste. “We do pack the household waste in a sack unsorted and take it to the motor park there (using her finger to point me the direction of the motor park), besides this motor park there is a wide waterway where we do empty the waste especially during the rainy season with the expectation that the running water will take it down the stream” (Interview with Mrs. Omolayo Rafiu, March 2017).

In another observed case, the waste being swept would neither be stored in a sack nor in a bowl, but would be put beside the drainage in front of the house where it would be either burnt or emptied into the drainage. It may also be put at the back of the house where it would be burnt. An old woman stated: “When day break each household in this street sweep its surroundings and gather the waste generated near the water drainage from

where it would be either burnt, emptied into the drainage or emptied into the bush”.



Figure 3 Showing the Waterway in between NURTW Office and Market. Figure 4 Showing the Water Way and the Motor park. Photo: Abdulwakeel Saheed Adebayo, 2017.

5.5 Structure in waste handling

Structuralism is one of the ways certain social scientists look at how actors make sense of and socially organize their life world. Structuralism is the use of binary opposition to make sense of the world for the people. Examples are human being into men and women and religion into sacred and profane (Inglis and Thorpe, 2012). In the tropical environment, the atmospheric season is divided into dry and wet (rainy) seasons, Ala Ajagbusi village is located in the tropical environment, thus the waste handling in the village has been structured in relation to the binary opposition between the two atmospheric season, dry and rainy season. The villagers' everyday actions concerning waste management are being adjusted to the seasonal variations in weather. This is reflecting a structuration of actions. In the dry season, the common practice of waste disposal in relations to the notion of

cleanliness is burning while the waste disposal practice is dumping in an open space or empty into drainage in the wet or rainy season.

Mrs. Oropo Oluwatosin stated that “We always keep the dirt beside the waterway in front of the house, when rain starts the dirt is pushed down the waterway. Meanwhile, we do burn our waste during the dry season”. During the rainy season we do empty our trash sack into the drainage and sometime we empty it in an open space. In the dry season we burn it and members of the households that are very close to the dumping sites (under power line and other illegal dumping sites) arrange amongst themselves to burn the waste during the dry season (Interview with Mrs. Toyin Johnson, March 2017).

5.6 Waste perception

The conscious understanding of waste by the villagers is well related to cleanliness in order not to contract diseases. Villagers are of the opinion that waste should be kept away from the dwellings because non-discarded waste attracts houseflies which could be a vector for certain diseases. “We cannot keep our waste within the house because of the fear of diseases, but outside the house is good in order to keep diseases away to some extent” (Interview with Mrs. Oropo Oluwatosin, March 2017). “We do keep the waste outside before open dumping in order to avoid diseases” (Interview with Adamolekun Christiana, March 2017). “We do clean up our houses for fear of contracting diseases” (Interview with Mrs. Fasilat Ibrahim, March 2017). “Dirt can cause diseases via houseflies and harmful insects” (Interview with Mrs. Toyin Johnson, March 2017).

I observed that there are small open spaces at the back of some houses where the members of the households place their waste unpacked. I was told that the waste was left there to dry and it would be burnt later, therefore, it would be safe and it would not attract houseflies. The understanding of waste as a host for houseflies is not limited to when the waste is placed near a house, but also to when it is burnt, and when it is emptied in an open space far away from house. Whereas in my observation, the villagers are more conscious of hazardous effect of waste near the house and when not burn than the burnt waste and waste dumped far away from houses.

The informants see waste as a problem especially in relation to diseases. For them when waste is emptied in a dumping site they are relieved because they get rid of the waste of the household, but they also know that the waste in the dumping site is a problem, especially in relation to diseases and flooding. Apart from the waste, there are other problems mentioned by the villagers, like the lack of electricity, roads, and water. Olu of Ala stated that: no presence of government, no water, no electricity, no road and no sanitation programme from the government to help this village.

5.7 The land owners and dumping site

The common waste disposal practice in Ala Ajagbusi, if not burnt or emptied into the drainage, is dumping in an open space. In most cases the lands owners where villagers dispose their waste are living far away from their lands and when see that their lands have been turned to dumping site they are always in conflict with those who are living close to the lands. The practice becomes a point of conflict between the land owners and the villagers. “The land owners where we empty our trash bags are always in conflict with us and it always causes trouble”, states by Mrs. Gabriel Janeth. The constant conflict between the lands owners and the villagers, coupled with other factors, have forced the villagers to empty their waste bags under the power line and inside bushes. Mrs. Linda states that “because of the constant conflict between us (members of the households) and the land owners, the increased population, and the increased development of open lands have forced us to dump our waste under the power line”. When I asked about rationale behind under power line as a chosen place for waste dumping, the response was that the space does not belong to anyone. Therefore, the villagers see this place as a public space to which no one can claim ownership.

There are lands where the owners have erected bamboos as a perimeter fencing around the boundaries of such lands. In between the bamboos there are lines joining the bamboos to one another and in between the lines there are pieces of red fabric as knot. The objective is to tell the villagers not to trash the land with waste. If they do, the red fabric signals that such persons would be attacked diabolically. Many of the landowners employ this strategy

to stop villagers from converting their lands to dumping sites. All the dumping sites in the village are illegal. There is no specific waste management arrangement prescribed by the government. The villagers express their feelings regarding the failure of expectations on the part of the government; they do not only see waste as a problem in the village, but also the lack of water, electricity, and roads. The villagers make numerous demands on the government. An old woman stated that “we need roads, electricity, and water, the politicians promise us all these especially during election campaigns, but do not live up to their expectation”.



Figure 5 Showing One of the Dumping Site in Ala Ajagbusi. Figure 6 Showing Perimeter Fencing of bamboos and Lines. Photo: Abdulwakeel Saheed Adebayo, 2017.

5.8 The monthly sanitation

Ondo State, which is one of the federating units of the federal republic of Nigeria, has a sanitation law that compels everyone living within its geographical location to stay at home between the hour of 7:00 am to 10:00 am on the last Saturday of every month. On this day no one is expected to be roaming about, instead every member of the households is expected to

collectively clean their environment, empty drainage, gather waste into a waste bin or waste sack or waste bowl. Therefore, on one hand, the local government is expected to send sanitation officers to enforce sanitation law and prosecute those who may disregard the law, on the other hand, the local government is expected to make evacuation trucks available so as to transport the waste to the dumping site designated by the government. In Ala Ajagbusi rural village, the villagers are well aware of this law, but they disregard it.

Mrs. Gabriel Janet stated that: “The state government sanitation law compels everyone to stay at home between 7:00 AM and 10:00 AM every last Saturday of the month. During this period each household clean their surroundings, empty the drainage and jointly burn the waste under the power line. In the case of the city, anyone who fails to comply would be arrested and prosecuted”.

In reality this law is not practiced in Ala Ajagbusi. No sanitation officer on ground will enforce the law, there are no evacuation trucks, every villager goes about his daily businesses until some village leaders encourage them to observe the hours for their own good even if no sanitation officer is available. Despite this only a few observe it. “Our expectation was that the local government would be here to enforce the sanitation law, but the reality is that we don’t see them. Rather women leaders and the local chiefs always encourage us to observe the stay at home hours for our own good” (Interview with Sunday Afolabi, March 2017).

The villagers have adduced the non-implementation of the sanitation law to the land dispute crisis between the two local governments (Idanre and Akure-North) in the village, this is because the local government is responsible for assigning sanitation officers to various districts and for providing evacuation trucks. Therefore, the two local governments that lay claim to the village find it difficult to perform those functions for fear of escalating the crisis. A villager, Mrs. Toyin Johnson states: “the dispute in this village between Idanre local government and Akure North local government makes sanitation law implementation impossible”.

Lack of toilets in houses in the village is adduced by the villagers to a lack of enforcement of the sanitation law. There are no officers to arrest and prosecute violators, especially those who are defecating in buckets at the back

of their houses. Mrs. Fasilat Ibrahim states that “we would be happy if the sanitation program could be extended to this village, this is because there are houses without toilets, some do use bucket toilets and this is not healthy. These people could be arrested and prosecuted and it would serve as deterrent to others”. This shows that the unhealthy behavior of some villagers is understood to lack of sanitation programme in the village.

In the light of the villagers’ willingness to get rid of the waste which underscored by their body languages, I asked the villagers about their readiness to pay if private investors could come in and provide waste management services. They said they would pay if such services could be rendered effectively, i.e. provisioning of legal dumping site, provisioning of evacuation trucks, provisioning of waste bins, and among others.

5.9 The NURTW

“The dumping site besides the motor park has become a major concern, if not for the concerted efforts of the NURTW the dumping site would have turned to death trap” (Interview with Mrs. Omolayo Rafiu, March 2017).

This statement led me to arrange an interview with the National Union of Road Transport Workers, (NURTW). NURTW is a trade union with mandate to look after the welfare if its members. NURTW Ala unit involves in waste management in order to fulfil its members’ mandate. The NURTW Ala unit has an office close to one of the dumping spaces in the village, therefore it becomes imperative for the trade union to stop villagers from trashing the space, and reduce waste in the space for fear of contracting diseases.

Initially, I asked for the Chairman of the union, but I was told that the union activities had been suspended due to change in the leadership at the state level. Eventually, one of the members of the previous leadership made himself available for the interview. The informant acknowledged that the waterway had become a dumping site for the villagers for decades due to lack of waste management structure in the village. “Many bring their households waste and empty it into the waterway and during the market day, the plantain sellers do litter the side of the waterway with waste. On the market days, the

waste from the bunches of plantain are always left beside the waterway constituting environmental nuisance and making our movement difficult” (Interview with Mr. Abdulhakeem Dinad, NURTW Member, March, 2017).

As a result of this practice, the motor pack and the nearby market have been experiencing recurring flooding for years. I could see the hill of waste very close to the waterway, although there are bamboos pegs serving as a shoreline between the motor park and the waterway. The union does burn the waste as part of its efforts to get the waste reduced. The NURTW member states: “we not only burn the waste during the dry season but we also push it down the stream during the rainy season. Most times when we burn the waste there are households who complain about the smoke emanating from the burning”. During the market days, the marketers are allowed by the union to leave the plantain stalks in a small space near the waterway, aligned with the bamboo pegs. The union takes care of it by hiring someone who will pack and dump in the bush. The union further delegates a person who monitor marketers for compliance during market days. “As a union, we don’t have the power to enforce law, sometimes we contribute money and ask some Fulani¹⁴ to pack the waste especially the waste on the road beside the waterway. The delegate, called Haruna, monitor people on every market day to ensure compliance” (Interview with Abdulhakeem Dinad, NURTW Member, March, 2017).

When I asked the informant about the who has the responsibility to reduce the waste dumped beside the waterway, I was told that the responsibility is not theirs, but the local government. Because of the absence of local government, the informant said that the union has to take up the issue because of its own interest. The union office is located very close to the waterway and some of the staff eat inside the union office, therefore it is obligatory for them to reduce the waste in order not to contract diseases. Mr. Abdulhakeem Dinad states: “this place (pointing to an incursive hill of waste into the wide waterway) is a responsibility of local authority to manage it, but we don’t see the local authority officers and this is where we stay, this is our motor pack. We are doing this in order to escape the possibilities of

¹⁴ A largely nomadic tribe mainly in the Sahara/Sahelian Africa.

contracting diseases. This is very close to the union office, we eat and we have our meetings here. Therefore, we have to do that for fear of diseases”.

As part of the union strategy to manage the waste in the water way, Mr. Abdulhakeem Dinad states that the union engages each member every day to be at the motor pack before dawn, the delegate stays in his car and when he notices any villager attempting to dump waste the delegate put on his vehicle’s headlamp to brighten the area. If a culprit is discovered, he/she runs back for fear of arrest. I was told that the strategy has forced some of the villagers to empty their waste under the power line.



Figure 7 Showing Market day. Figure 1 Showing NURTW office. Photo: Abdulwakeel Saheed Adebayo, 2017.

5.10 The market women association

Unlike in the city, markets in Ala Ajagbusi are not held on daily basis, but periodically. The market day is often five days after the former one. It means that there is a five-day interval between the present market day and the subsequent market day. On the market day, I moved around the market to

observe the waste situation in the market, there was waste littering the ground, there were children pushing the remnants of plantain with wheelbarrows, and villagers were engaging themselves in buying and selling. When I had finished the interview with the Olu of Ala, I asked him to connect me with the Chairperson of the Market Women Association, I was told that she left for the city to attend political errands. A sales woman at the market told me the waste handling experiences of market women association. Many marketers come from different villages to engage in marketing activities, marketers generate various types of waste such as plastic waste, paper waste, and agricultural waste. The common practice among marketers is that the waste is left in the market until the subsequent market day before being swept, the marketers only sweep their stalls before they start sales. “On the market day the environment is littered with papers, plastic bags, and other sorts of waste. These are left until another market day before being swept if surface runoff has not moved it down the stream. On every market day, before each marketer starts sales, each has to clean up her stall and its surroundings” (Interview with a Market Woman, March 2017).

Marketers take sweeping of their stalls very close to their hearts because of cultural belief attached thereto; the fear of not making profit if stalls are not swept. Otherwise, many of them are not really ready to sweep their stalls before marketing activities. In this context, there is a nexus between dirtiness and losses on one hand, on the other hand, there is a connection between cleanliness and profits. Therefore, in this case, we can rightly say that cultural beliefs produce sweeping behavior among the marketers.

The market women association through its leadership hires Fulani and some underage children to manage waste generated on the market day. When the generated waste is being swept by the marketers the engaged Fulani and the underage children move around the market to pack the waste and empty it into the far away bush or under the power line. “The waste generated before, during and after the market day is often managed by the market women association by hiring Fulani. Fulani usually packs waste and empty it in far distance especially bushes along the highway or under the power line” (Interview with a Market Woman, March 2017).

On a non-market day when I was observing the waste situation in the market I saw two Fulani boys emptying one side drainage of unpaved road that passes through the market. I was told that the market woman association hired the two boys to free the drainage in preparation for heavy rain in the second quarter of the year in order to preventing flash flooding.



Figure 9 Showing Hired Fulani. Figure 10 Showing Hired Underage Child. Photo: Abdulwakeel Saheed Adebayo, 2017.

5.11 People's experience

The villagers also recall some horrible experiences. The villagers on the one hand attempt to get rid of the waste and on the other hand escaping the tragedy of others' poor waste management practices. As stated before empty waste into a drainage is a common practice in the village. When one empties her trash sack into a drainage, somehow she is relieved because she gets rid of the waste, but the waste becomes problem for those living down the street. It is in the sense that many encountered horrible experiences while trying to escape the tragedy of poor waste management practices of others.

“The common practices here in Ala Ajagbusi is that people often empty their households waste into the drainage in front of their houses during the

rainy season and this often causes blockage of the drainage. Thus, it leads to flash flooding having my shops full of water damaging the stocks. In order to avoid this, I have always been in the rain whenever it is rainy to divert the waste being emptied into the drainage. I remember a day when I was diverting the waste I dug my hand into human feces, I hated myself and I was not happy. I had to wash my hand thoroughly with a very strong detergent” (Interview with Mrs. Omolayo Rafiu, March 2017). Mrs. Rafiu wanted to avoid her stocks being damaged by the flood, so she deployed what she knew was best, but she became angry with herself being forced to dig her hand into human feces.

In addition, one of the disputed traditionally leaders told his experiences with the marketers in the village. He said when it became obvious that the marketers were not heeding to his advice of taking care of generated waste immediately after the marketing session, he singlehandedly organized some youths with the responsibility to ensure cleaning of the stalls by marketers immediately after the marketing session. The youths involved were attacked fiercely by Juju¹⁵, and several of them suffered severe injuries. The Olu of Ala state: “as a leader of this community, we encourage them to clean their surroundings and imbibe the culture of cleanliness. We can only encourage them; we have no power to enforce any penalty. Previously we organized a group of youths to move around the market and some households. The group used to ensure that the market women clean their stalls and households’ members clean their surroundings, but the group withdrew as a result of Juju”.

¹⁵ Spiritual attack

6 Discussion and analysis

In chapter six, I present discussion and analysis on some of the empirical findings. In doing so, the concepts and theories stated in chapter two are being applied inductively to generate theories out of empirical findings.

6.1 Government of oneself

As I stated in chapter three, Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality includes the government of oneself, which is about technologies of discipline that shape or order the behavior of individuals. The technologies of oneself allow individuals themselves to influence their bodies, their souls, their thoughts, and their behavior. In a metaphorical way, Michel Foucault opines that the government of oneself is about morality. Applying the notion of morality as posited by Michel Foucault, which implies that actors produce certain behaviors based on morality or behaviors that could be termed normative. In this sense, individual actor employs individual technologies or mechanism to shape his or her behavior under the guise of morality.

In Ala Ajagbusi rural village, members of households socially organized themselves in an informal institution arrangement to get rid of waste in the household every morning before dawn. Each family sweep all space in a household on a weekly basis in a rotational manner, except members' rooms which are swept by family itself every day. Fulfilling this responsibility require villagers' self-technology. Here, self-technology is by waking every morning with the aim of getting rid of dirt in household's public space (surroundings) and personal space (room). This is synonymous to Michel Foucault's morality as government of oneself. In this case I argue that the villagers influence themselves to take up early morning behavior of cleaning based on morality. This is because it requires morality for someone to keep to early morning mechanism in order to produce behavior of getting rid of the dirt. The household is a multiple living household, I mean there are more than one family living in the household, in an event where a house wife in one of the families is not playing to the social organization of cleaning the

surroundings such house wife would be tagged a bad house wife. Furthermore, the social organization of handling waste among the members of the households is an informal institution arrangement that requires no penalty or penalties, therefore, anyone who adhere to the rules does that on the bases of morality. In this end, I opine that morality comes to play for members of households to fulfill their responsibilities as set out by the informal rules.

Like I stated above, villagers deploy technology of discipline to get rid of waste based on morality that is well connected to the sweeping behavior. This position is further cemented with the fact that the state apparatus that ought to enforce sweeping behavior is not available. I further argue that in an event where there is no state apparatus to enforce order, social control becomes the object that shape or order behavior. In Ala Ajagbusi, there is no state institution to enforce sanitation law. The villagers take sweeping and cleaning of their surroundings in relation to the notions of cleanliness and dirt based on the social control that villagers see as morality.

One of the informants asked a rhetoric question; is it possible to buy a loaf of bread and keep its plastic packaging in my room? The informant was asking the question not for the interviewer to answer, but to reiterate the embedded immorality in keeping the packaging of a loaf of bread in her room beyond necessity. It further tells that right behavior could be ascertained without compulsion or force, but could be directed in relation to morality.

What appear to be contrast to the above villagers' social control argument, beyond household, the villagers fail to uphold the virtue of morality when disposing their waste. Villagers do not align to social control, but rather dispose waste indiscriminately. They fail to align with the social order from the village chief and market women association concerning waste management. It is imperative to point here that the contradiction in waste management behavior in a household and beyond a household is a pointer to the fact that the government of oneself and that of state complement one another. In that sense, I argue that the absence of state apparatuses to enforce sanitation law and prosecute violators diminish villagers' social control that is well maintained within a household waste management practices.

6.2 Civil society and political technology

Exercising the “conduct of conduct” is not limited to the government apparatuses, but includes the civil organizations that want to make change through programmes and intervention. For Li, the exercise of government is not limited to the official state apparatus with its “diverse state agencies with competing visions, mandate and techniques; it also includes other actors from different sectors of society involved in different programs and interventions, or improvement schemes” (Li, 2007).

The National Union of Roads Transport Workers (NURTW) is a well reputable trade union in Nigeria. The union has a very formidable division which range from the unit level to federal level. The division somewhat similar to Nigeria political division, but a bit different. The NURTW has several units’ division that are subjected to branches division directive. The delineation of units and branches is vague and is a function of state executive’s whims and caprices. The interlinkages of units and branches form the state division which is led by a chairman while that of states form federal division that is led by a president. The NURTW, as part of its mandate provide welfare benefits for its members. The union officials mount road blocks to collect subscriptions from its members, sometimes by force. The NURTW Ala Ajagbusi is one of the units control by a specific branch.

Applying the Li’s notion of “conduct of the conduct”, I argue that NURTW Ala unit wants to make change by stopping the villagers from dumping waste into the waterway. In the light of this the union deploys technologies synonymous to political technologies as in the case of government to order the behavior of the subjects without force as posited by Michel Foucault. The delegation of each member of the union to be at the motor park before dawn and the strategy of putting on the vehicle’s headlamps are likened to political technologies deployed by the union to order the waste disposal practices of the villagers. In spite of the fact that the union has no power of apprehension and prosecution, the deployed mechanisms are effective. On one hand caused villagers to change their dumping site to under power line and on the other hand by reducing the waste besides and inside the waterway.

The changing of waste dumping site from the waterway to under the power line is neither directed nor encouraged, but is being achieved through the deployment of political technologies by the union in an indirect way. In this end, I argue that not until individual actor or group of actors poses the power of apprehension and direction before the behavior of the second or third party could be shaped or ordered. This can be achieved through indirect means. This position is similar to that of Michel Foucault when he posited that individual behavior could be steered or directed in an indirect way. Further the “conduct of conduct” in the context of Ala NURTW is the deployment of member to the waterway before dawn to produce subjectivities; the conduct of the villagers regardless of their sovereignty.

6.3 Land owners and political technology

The land owners are always in conflict with the villagers as a result of villagers’ indiscriminate waste disposal practices on their lands. As a result of this, the land owners erected bamboos as a perimeter fencing around the boundaries of such lands, in between the bamboos there are lines joining the bamboos to one another and in between the lines there are pieces of red fabrics as knots. The objective is to tell the villagers not to trash the land with waste. The red fabric shows that such person would be attacked diabolically. The deployed mechanism by the land owners similar to Michel Foucault's notion of a political mechanism that directs the behavior of actors without force. In this context, the land owners erected bamboos as perimeter fencing with red fabrics as knots without having personal contact with the villagers, this can be likened to use of force over a distance by the land owners.

The bamboos perimeter fencing indicates the boundary of the land while the red fabric symbolizes diabolic threat against anyone who may trash the land. In an African context, the spiritual threat is handled with care. This is because everyone knows the great extent such attack could have on their lives. In this context the strategy of the bamboos and the red fabric produce new waste disposal behavior without compulsion or direction. The behavior is directed in an indirect way as posited by Michel Foucault that one set of behavior could be encouraged or steered at without force. Albeit, the land

owners do not provide alternative dumping site, they do not want the villagers to turn their lands into dumping site. Therefore, villagers choose new dumping site where to them it would not be a point of conflict with anyone. In this context, the waste disposal behavior remains dumping, but villagers are directed indirectly through the technologies of bamboos and red fabrics to change their dumping site from private space to public space.

6.4 Managing the common

As posited by Elinor Östrom, “commons” are resources that everyone can lay claim to, or resource that its ownership could not be claimed by individuals or groups of individuals. In Ala Ajagbusi, with respect to waste management, in the context of a house the commons are the corridors and the surroundings. Whereas in the context of the village the commons are the streets, the waterway and the space under the power line (dumping site). In the context of Ala Ajagbusi, the lack of waste management arrangement on the part of local government results in indiscriminate trashing of the “commons” by the villagers. The members of the households freely trash the commons during the day and get it swept before dawn every day in an informal institution arrangement. The members of the households are synonymous to appropriators while the resource system is similar to the corridor, the surroundings and the disposal sites which are “commons”. Elinor Östrom opines that individuals will devise institutional arrangement and collectively manage the common pool resources when the transaction costs of collective behavior of individual are relatively low, when benefits are limited to a small number of appropriators, when there is substantial scarcity, when there is a reasonable level of trust, when resource is not substantially destroyed, and when there is significant discount rate.

Before dawn each household in the street sweep its surroundings and gather the waste generated near the water drainage from where it is either burnt or emptied into the drainage or emptied into the bush. Further, like I stated earlier sweeping of the household is often done by members of household on weekly basis in rotational manner. This behavior is likened to the institutional arrangement as posited by Elinor Östrom among the members

of the households in order to manage the commons. In a household, the tenants and the owner, clean designated portion allotted to each member every day. In another case, it is a weekly routine cleaning among the members of the households. Applying Elinor Ostrom's notion of collective management of "commons", in the context of Ala Ajagbusi, I argue that the members of the households are able to devise the collective institution arrangement because of the low transaction cost of sweeping "commons". The benefits are limited to small number of members of households. There is reasonable level of trust among the members of households and the resource are not substantially destroyed as posited by Elinor Ostrom.

Regarding the low transaction cost, managing the commons in the context of Ala Ajagbusi requires low cost. This is because the cost of materials such as brooms, waste sacks, and plastic parkers are cheap. Unlike in the city where members of the households pay the operators of the evacuation trucks to get rid of waste. Furthermore, the benefits of managing "commons" are limited to few appropriators, most households are either with two or three families. At times a household has only a single family. The smaller size of the family in a household makes collective managements of the "commons" effective as posited by Elinor Ostrom. Further, the collective management of the "commons" is effective due to trusts among the members of the households, and no member act opportunistically. In what appear contrast, but further buttress Elinor Ostrom argument; when resource is substantially destroyed collectively managing the "common" remain impossible. There are few abandoned dumping lands appear like a dung hill in the village. Collectively managing this land resource, as in to get rid of its waste, remain impossible. This is because the lands have been substantially trashed. When asked about whose responsibility to manage such lands, villagers responded by saying that only government can afford the cost of managing the lands. Which means that the transaction costs for doing this based on local organizing are too high.

6.5 Collective waste management

Like I stated earlier that this thesis does not seek an understanding to whether the waste management practices of the villagers in Ala Ajagbusi are sustainable or environmental friendly, but answer overarching question of how they have been handling and perceive waste in relation to the notions of cleanliness and dirt. Starting from the notions of cleanliness and dirt, villagers engage themselves collectively to manage waste in a household and by extension collectively manage waste under power line, inside the drainage, and the waste on unpaved road. The collective waste management is often done on the last Saturday of every month to get rid of the waste in the public spaces as stipulated by the sanitation law. In spite of the fact that there are no sanitation officers to enforce the law, members of the households are encouraged by leaders in the village to collectively manage the waste and clean their environment for their own good. Households that are very close to under power line take this responsibility at heart than those living far away from the dumping site. Monthly, households come together by delegating two to three members usually men that collectively manage the waste under power line by burning. They collectively liberate drainage for free passage of water.

Applying Ostrom notion of the commons, under power line and inside paved roads' drainage are synonymous to "commons". The villagers perceive waste in these commons as public goods that should be managed by local government. It becomes imperative for villagers to collectively manage the "commons" in the absence of the local government. As posited by Elinor Ostrom that when the benefits are limited to a small number of appropriators the collective management of the common would be effective. I rely on this notion to argue that the collective efforts are effective because benefits of liberating the drainage is limited to those living in the street and the benefits of burning the waste under the power line is limited to those who are living very close to the dump site. The members of the households living close to the power line see the waste as a threat to their health. In this sense, they are much more concerned than those living far away from the power line. It is for this reason that the households' members engage themselves to burn the waste under the power line monthly.

The burning of the waste under the power line and emptying into the

drainage are done on monthly basis within three hours. This indicate that participation in the exercise by the members of the households is relatively not difficult. This is synonymous to transaction cost of collective management of the common as opined by Ostrom. Applying this notion, I argue that each delegate of the households is able to participate in the collective efforts of getting rid of the waste under power line and inside the drainage because of the low transaction cost of collective behavior to all delegates.

6.6 Escaping the tragedy of the commons

Hardin 1968, as described by Ostrom 1999, argues that the tragedy of the commons is inevitable when users of the commons behave opportunistically. He uses herders in a grazing meadow to illustrate his argument. He opines that when herders introduce more herds into the meadow with the objective to free ride, the tragedy of the commons is inescapable. In this sense, Ostrom argues that when appropriators (users of the resource) devise collective management of the commons, the tragedy of the commons could be escaped. This notion can be applied to the collective waste management of the villagers in Ala Ajagbusi. Informants said that poor hygiene is well related to the outbreak of diseases which is synonymous to tragedy of the commons. Informants' perceptions on the need to get rid of the waste is parallel to the notion of the cleanliness in order not to contract diseases.

The members of the households sweep their houses and keep waste outside before being emptied into open space for fear of contracting diseases. They say waste can cause diseases via houseflies and harmful insects. Members of the households handle waste in this way in order to escape the possibilities of contracting diseases. On the side of the NURTW, the union handle waste in the waterway for fear of contracting diseases. This is because members eat and attend meeting in the union office which close to the waterway. Applying the concept of the "commons" if the common areas in a household or in a public space are trashed with waste without collective efforts from the members of the households to get rid of the waste. The

members of the households or public are vulnerable to tragedy of the commons. In the context of Ala Ajagbusi, I argue that the informal social arrangement to manage the commons by the members of the households and members of NURTW is synonymous to collective efforts as posited by Ostrom. The objective is nothing but to escape the “tragedy of the commons”¹⁶. Furthermore, the Market Women Association collectively hire Fulani in the village to liberate drainage in the market, which is trashed by marketers, in order to reduce flooding. In this sense, the effort of Market Woman Association is similar to collective management of the “commons” and the objective of reducing flood is synonymous to “escaping the tragedy of the common” as posited by Ostrom.

In the case of households, the objective is not realistic due to poor waste disposal practices, such as burning and dumping, in a space a few meters away from home, and lack of toilet in most houses. Although, the villagers get rid of the waste in their personal space and household public spaces, but to take it further become problematic. This waste situation is adduced to the absence of state waste management structure. In the case of the village, the market women association and the NURTW, the waste situation is same. This is because the waste situation of individual households is a function of the village level waste situation. Despite the efforts of the trade unions the waste situation remains problematic and very difficult to escape the tragedy of the common.

6.7 The public sphere

Like I stated earlier that the public sphere is a space where individual can come together, pick up social problem, and discuss, and through that discussion action(s) could be taken. In the case of Ala Ajagbusi rural village there are spaces where opinions are formed on public matters, of course waste management is inclusive. Such spaces are religious houses where the members of such faith participate in the framing of opinion, traditional chief palaces where the village leaders discuss public issues, NURTW offices where its members discuss welfare benefits, the market where market women

¹⁶ Diseases in the context of Ala Ajagbusi waste management practices.

opinionate, and during the monthly sanitation exercise where delegates from each household discuss waste management matter.

Habermas' public sphere transformation notions are of two folds, on one hand the expansion of participation as in the social conditions for participation are no longer ownership of property and education, on the other hand the degeneration of public sphere from rational-critical discourse to negotiation. The second fold is a sphere occupied by the civil society in order to demand social rights and welfare benefits for its members. "The process of the politically relevant exercise and equilibration of power now takes place directly between the private bureaucracies, special-interest associations, parties, and public administration" Calhoun (1992). The second process of Habermas public sphere is applicable to the NURTW. The NURTW is a civil society organization with the mandate of negotiating social rights and welfare benefits for its members.

In the context of Ala Ajagbusi in relation to the waste management practices, NURTW Ala Ajagbusi Unit engages itself with the public (Villagers) in order to achieve welfare benefits for its members. Nevertheless, this is not an exercise and equilibration of power between NURTW Ala Unit and public administration, but between NURTW Ala units and the villagers in an indirect way. The welfare benefits in this context is synonymous to fear of contracting diseases by the NURTW Ala unit members. The fear of contracting diseases become the focal point upon which the union makes its efforts to manage waste in the waterway. Furthermore, each member of the union is a private individual meeting in a social arena as a civil society organization to discuss the welfare of members. The social condition for participation in this context is not necessarily to own a vehicle, but be the driver that subscribe to the unit's route. In the light of this, I argue that the union office is a social arena. This is where opinions are formed to manage waste in the waterway which close to the union office. The opinions are akin to strategies devised by the union in order to negotiate the needed welfare of its members.

Departing from Habermas notion of public sphere as negotiation arena for civil society, in the context of Ala Ajagbusi NURTW, the negotiation with the villagers is in form of strategies indirectly devised to

shape or other the waste disposal behavior of the villagers. The villagers agree with the NURTW by changing their dumping site from the waterway to the power line. The process of achieving the agreement is not through discussion, but through strategies deployed by the NURTW. In this sense, I argue that individual or groups of individuals could achieve negotiation without discussion. That can be achieved through the deployment of strategies as in the case of NURTW Ala units in relation to waste management practices. Although, villagers still find their way to trash the water way, but NURTW efforts have reduced the intensity of the trashing.

In the case of the village leaders, the palace is a social arena or public sphere where the discussion on waste management led to formation of opinion on the delegation of youths to enforce sanitation order in the market and the households. Unfortunately, the youth were attacked diabolically and the waste situation remains problematic.

6.8 Private space vs public space

The dichotomy of private and public is a very wide concept that could accommodate several social objects as posited by Gal 2002. It could be placed side by side with social objects like institutions, identities, space, activities, responsibilities and interactions in order to give meanings to those social objects. In the context of Ala Ajagbusi waste management practices, the concept was used to understand the waste handling of the members of the households in relation to space where they interact.

Like I stated earlier each family in a household is responsible to clean the surroundings in a rotational manner usually for one week. Each family is responsible for cleaning its room every morning. It is clearly shown that members of the households draw a line of distinction between the rooms and the surroundings of the household. In this context, the distinction is about responsibilities with similar activities. On the one hand a family would be responsible for cleaning its room and the surroundings simultaneously for one week, on the other hand, depending on the number of family living in a household, a family would be responsible for cleaning its room only for weeks. The room is akin to personal space while the surroundings is similar

to public space. Surroundings of the household is public because the responsibility of getting rid of waste is shared among the household members. While individual family room is personal because a house wife doesn't share the sweeping responsibility with other family housewife. The surroundings of households are social arenas where private individuals of the members of the household interact concerning waste management practices in the context of Ala Ajagbusi rural village.

Nevertheless, as posited by Gal 2002, a house which is contrast with the public character of the streets around it could be recalibrated into private and public, that means the living room of a domestic private space could become public; the public of domestic private space, depending on the activities, functions, and interactions. She further opines that the distinction between store swept and cleaned by private owner in contrast to walkway and roads which is the responsibility of the municipal to sweep and clean also rely on the differences of public and private. Whereas, when recalibrated in another context the space where store, walkway, and roads are located is public. This assertion denotes that a sphere could change from either being private or public over time and over space depending on the functions and activities. Applying it now in the context of Ala Ajagbusi waste management practices. I argue that over time the rooms and the surroundings of the households which are private and public space respectively in relation to waste management become a private space of individual members of the households. This is so when they collectively manage waste under the power line, inside the waterway, on the street, and inside the drainage. And by extension, the waterway, under power line, the street, and the drainage are perceived to be public space by villagers when managed by private individuals.

The villagers draw the line of distinction in relation to whose responsibility it is to manage the waste in the households and the waste outside the households. Villagers see waste in the households as private goods that should be managed by members of the households, but when the waste is being emptied into waterway or under power line it becomes public goods that should be managed by the public. The perception of the villagers is that the public dumping sites such as water way, under power line, and inside

bushes is responsibility of local government to manage. In the absence of local government, the villagers take it upon themselves to manage waste in those public spaces through deployment of self-technology and informal institutions arrangement by the villagers.

Regarding waste under the power line, first of all the villagers see the space as a public space that they can trash without conflict because it belongs to no one and a space where its waste should be managed by all households that trash it in the absence of local government. In this sense, I argue that responsibility could draw a line of distinction between private and public by calibrating a space into private space and public space.

7 Conclusion

The theoretical frameworks that this thesis adopt are painstakingly adapted to answer the research questions. In the end, the arguments presented in this thesis answered the research questions in a concise way. And it is easier to follow the arguments present herein.

The research question of how do the members of households in the village, Ala Ajagbusi, handle and perceive waste management is addressed scientifically. The empirical findings show that the handling of the waste in the village is done at the household level without any engagement with local or state government. There is an engagement among the villagers at the intra and inter households level. The engagement is seen when they collectively manage waste in a space perceived as “commons”. The villagers generate waste on daily basis. The waste is swept and kept unsorted in a sack or bowl or in an open space in front or at the back of house before burnt or emptied into a drainage or on a dumping site. This is so because of lack of local government structure concerning waste management in the village. The lack of waste management structure in the village is well related to the land dispute crisis in the village. This scenario brings about poor waste handling in the village.

With respect to the concepts adopt in this thesis, members of the households adopt morality/social control as guiding principle to play into the informal rules of waste management practices. The members of the households on a weekly basis rotate the sweeping of the households. This is strictly adhered to as a result of morality involved. This is so because there is no penalty or penalties against violators of the informal rules. In addition, there is no local government presence to enforce sanitation law. Another point of call, the fear of contracting diseases caused members of the households and the NURTW to collectively manage waste in households and spaces perceived as “commons” respectively. The lands owners, members of the households and the NURTW devised technologies, through which they manage waste with respect to the notions of cleanliness and dirt.

The villagers perceived spaces that of its ownership or its total control cannot be claimed by individuals or groups of individuals as public spaces.

With respect to this perception, villagers trash those spaces with waste freely. This perception is one of the objects that draw the line of distinction between private space and public space in the mind of villagers. In addition, the object of responsibility also draws line of distinction between private space and public space in the mind of villagers. The villagers perceived that waste in the waterway, under power line and abandoned lands as a responsibility of local government to manage.

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Appendix 1: Presentation of informants interviewed.

W	Woman
M	Man
G	Group
W1	Oropo Oluwatosin, 21 years old, a house wife living in a family household, and a tailor by profession.
W2	Omolayo Rafiu, 25 years old, a second wife of her husband, all living together. She trades in raw foods and household items.
W3	Adamolekun Christiana, 40 years old, a landlord (a house owner). She acts as middle man between farmers and buyers.
W4	Gabriel Janeth, 19 years old, a newly wedded house wife. She lives in a nuclear family household setting.
W5	Mrs. Obogbayiro, an elderly woman who is at her 60s. She is a food vendor and a landlord.
W6	Mrs. Linda, 45 years old, she is a marketer. She is a non-indigene of Ala Ajagbusi.
W7	Jamilat Moruf, 30 years old, she is a full housewife living as a nuclear family.
W8	Fasilat Ibrahim, 45 years old, she is a very blunt woman. She is a landlord. She trades in agricultural produces, especially palm oil.
W9	Toyin Johnson, 28 years old. she is a tailor by profession.
M1	Sunday Afolabi, 51 years old. He is a father of many and a farmer.
M2	Olootu kayode, an elderly man in his 60s. He is a farmer.
M3	Clement Idagu, 38 years old, a non-indigene. He is a farmer.
M4	Olu Ala, an elderly father in his 70s. He is one of the disputable traditional high chiefs in Ala. He is known to Ala Ajagbusi and other chief is known to Ala Elefoson.
M5	AbdulHakeem Dinad, he is in his 40s. He is a driver and a former executive member of NURTW, Ala Unit.
M6	Mr. Kehinde Sekoni, he is in his late 40s. he is a co proprietor of a private primary and post primary schools in Ala Ajagbusi.
G	Toyin, Aina, Bola, Folashade, Ruth, Adeola, and Alimot. They are all house wife except Toyin and Adeola, who are yet to marry.