

# Electioneering Campaigns, Solid Waste and Sustainable Physical Environment in Nigerian Cities: A Case Study of Lagos Metropolis

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**Abstract**—This work has studied the waste generated in the 2015 general election as well as the consequences, and made recommendations for a sustainable physical environment. Lagos Metropolis was used as a case study. 50 major streets and roads of the Metropolis were toured. Photographs of portraits, logos, billboards and handbills were taken. Internet browsing was carried out, interview were conducted with 2 chieftains each of 3 of the 29 political parties, and 3 Managers of 3 of the renowned printing companies that printed for the parties were interviewed. The investigators joined campaign trails and observed the display of campaign materials. Maps, charts, and tables were used for data analysis and presentation. Photographic shots taken were well represented. Degradable and non-degradable waste were generated: printing papers, clothes, fliers and billboards, party uniforms and attires, souvenirs, etc. made of wood, nails, iron rods, metal sheets, plastics, synthetic fibres, gum and yarn etc. were abandoned in the physical environment after the elections. The Metropolis had additional 31,020 kg undesirable material which became instruments of soaring and unabated environmental pollution, erosion blockage, hideouts for destitute and disease vectors. They made the once scenic environment ugly. Electoral programmes and policies should incorporate guidelines on the type of campaign materials and their likely impact on the physical environment. Politicians and the electorate also require adequate education.

**Keywords**— *Political activities, solid waste, sustainable physical environment, Lagos Metropolis.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Electioneering campaigns, that is, drives for votes and supports of electorate by political parties have always been part of politics [1]. The history of political thought and politicking can be traced back to early antiquity, with seminal works such as those of Plato *Republic*, Aristotle *Politics* and Confucius [1, 2]. *Politics* (from the Greek *politikos*, meaning "of, for, or relating to citizens") is the practice and theory of influencing other people. More narrowly, it refers to achieving and exercising positions of governance - organized control over a human community, principally a nation and or its major political divisions. It is the study or practice of the distribution of power resources within a given community (a hierarchically organized population) as well as the interrelationship(s) between communities and groups of people.

A variety of approaches are employed in politics. These include promoting one's own political views among people, negotiation with other political actors, formulating policies, making laws, and exercising power, as well as competition against opposition [3, 1, 4]. It is exercised on a wide range of social levels, from clans and tribes to sovereign states and international institutions. Often, it is said that politics is about power; and a political system is a framework which defines acceptable political methods within a given society [5, 3]. These authors are of the view that politics refers to the operation of constitutional system of government and publicly defined institutions and procedures. Thus, political parties, public policy or discussions about war and foreign affairs would fall under the category of *Formal Politics*. On the other hand, *Casual Politics* is understood to refer to forming alliances, exercising power and protecting and advancing particular ideas or goals - generally, anything affecting one's daily life, such as the way an office, company or household is managed, or how one person or a group exercises influence over another. *Casual (Informal) politics* is typically understood as everyday politics, hence the idea that "politics is everywhere," and "every man is a political animal" [5, 3, 2]. In both scenarios, a government is formed to run the affairs. Often, it is usually competitive to select and or vote into power the persons that will be in government. Electioneering processes and the intricacies of the processes and procedures for putting persons into political offices are beyond the scope of this work, but it is sufficient to know that resources, animate and inanimate, are expended and massive waste habitually results.

In the course of electioneering campaigns in Nigeria, as it is in other communities and nations, for electing individuals and groups to fill positions into elective offices, there is typically an enormous display of electioneering campaign materials to canvass for votes and to get the electorate convinced of the capability and or worth of a candidate over different contesting individuals and parties. But the quanta of campaign materials seem to be too weighty and abnormally massive in Nigeria, particularly in the last general election. Solid waste was hugely and enormously generated; and an unprecedented increase in the quantity and spread was experienced.

Hitherto, an appraisal of municipal solid waste in Lagos Metropolis was done and non-conformity of urban dwellers with waste management policies and practices were identified [6, 7]. It is averred that the challenges of urban waste in Nigeria can only be effectively addressed through private sector participation [7, 8]. In the conclusion of a study, it is recommended that outsourcing of waste disposal for sustainable waste management at Agege Local Government Area of the Metropolis may be the best practice [9]. Earlier, some scholars dwelt on issues and problems of solid waste with particular emphasis on "Sustainable Private Sector Participation (PSP) in Solid Waste Management" [10, 11]. Both works recommended strategies, programme and policies towards sustainable management of waste. But no heed has been paid to their recommendations. An outline of how to include the concept of waste and waste management in school curricula so as to create an awareness in schoolchildren about waste - to catch them young - using Lagos as a case study is the focus of the others [12]. But the challenges of waste and its management have kept on erupting and exacerbating in different dimensions in a way that it has become monstrous to metropolitan governments and urban dwellers in many developing countries [13, 14, 15]. However, in a succinct style, how such waste could be preserved, recycled and reused and or generally turned to wealth, and or minimized have been systematically outlined by a number of scholars too [16, 17].

More recently, there were studies of waste dumps in Lagos metropolis; and plastic waste in Nigeria [18, 19, 20, 21]. The consequences of poor management have been appalling and call for urgent attention [20, 6]. Notwithstanding, all of the works have not touched on waste that results from political campaigns and related activities. For instance, Aderogba's works on Christmas waste dwell on celebration waste, whose content/composition, volume, spread and concentration differ significantly from waste due to political activities. Hence, the need for this research.

The paper has examined waste generated during the electioneering campaign in 2014/2015. Lagos Metropolitan Area is used as a case study, and the 2015 general election was the focus. This paper did not touch on money wasted. Neither did it concern itself with the loss of lives and property. Also, the economic advantages that may have resulted were not considered.

#### A. Lagos Metropolis

Lagos was originally inhabited by the Aworis, a sub-group of the Yoruba of West Africa (Nigeria). They were conquered by the Benin Empire, and the island became a Benin war-camp called "Eko" under Oba Orhogba of Benin in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century. The residents still use the name Eko to refer to Lagos, which means "lakes" given to the settlement by the Portuguese. It was following its early settlement by the superior Awori and its conquest by the Benin warlords that the area came to the attention of the Portuguese in the 15<sup>th</sup> century [22]. The remainder of modern-day Nigeria was seized in 1887, and when the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria was established in 1914, Lagos was declared its capital, and continued as such after the independence from Britain in 1960. Along with migrants from all over Nigeria and other West African nations

were the returnee ex-slaves known as Creoles, who came from West Indies, Brazil, Sierra Leone and other countries. All these contributed to the modernization of Lagos.

Rapid growth and development throughout the 1960s and 1970s as a result of economic boom in Nigeria prior to the Civil War were experienced with a population explosion, unplanned economic growth, and massive rural-urban migration. This caused the outlying towns and settlements to develop rapidly, thus forming the *Greater Lagos Metropolis* seen today [23]. See also Fig. 1 (a) to (e): Lagos in early 1929; urbanized centres; and selected major areas of interest [22, 23]. On 14 November 1991, the city was stripped of its status when the Presidency and other federal government agencies were relocated to the purpose-built Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Fig. 1: [a] Aerial views of Lagos in 1929; [b] Map of Lagos major areas; [c] Lagos Skyline as seen from the harbour near Victoria Island; (d) Toll gates and roads on the Lekki-Epe Expressway, and (e) Two of the Four Stadia – Teslim Balogun and National Stadia.

The amalgamation can simply be referred to as Lagos Metropolitan Area. (See Fig. 1 [b]). She is nicknamed *Lasgidi* with the slogan *Eko o ni 'baje*. The origins of Lagos are still seen in the layout of the LGAs which display the unique identities of the cultures that created them. See Table 1 showing the 16 Local Government Areas by land area, population size; and density. The total land mass is 999.60 km<sup>2</sup> with a total population of 7,937,932 people and a density of 7,941 persons per km<sup>2</sup> (see Table 1).

According to the National Population Commission (2006), the population is over 5.00% of the national population. The Metropolis contains 88.00% of the population of Lagos State including the semi-rural areas; and among this proportion were the electorate for the 2015 general election in the Metropolis in particular, and the state and the nation by extension. She covers about 37.00% of the land area of the entire Lagos State which is home to 85.00% of the all-inclusive population of the entire State. It is the most populous city in Nigeria, the second fastest growing city in Africa, and the seventh fastest in the world [24, 25]. The United Nations [25, 26] also affirm that the Metropolis, with the present rate of growth may soon become the third largest mega city in the world, that is, after Tokyo in Japan and Bombay in India. The density depicts certain spatial distinctions: the highest concentrations were found at Apapa, Ajegunle, Mushin, Agege and Alimosho; and the least were at Victoria Island and Ikoyi. About 45.00% of Nigeria's electricity generated and about 50.00% of petroleum products are consumed in Lagos Metropolis [6, 27, 28]. There is a huge

spectrum of wealth distribution among the people that reside in the Metropolis. It ranges from the wealthy to the poor. She has attracted youth and families seeking better living standard from all other parts of Nigeria, the West African sub-region and beyond.

Table 1: The 16 Local Government Areas of Metropolitan Lagos

Local Government Areas	Land Area (in km <sup>2</sup> )	Population (2006 Census)	Density (per km <sup>2</sup> )
Agege	11.2	459,939	41,071
Ajeromi-Ifelodun	12.3	684,105	55,474
Alimosho	185.2	1,277,714	6,899
Amuwo-Odofin	134.6	318,166	2,364
Apapa	26.7	217,362	8,153
Eti-Osa	192.3	287,785	1,496
Ifako-Ijaiye	26.6	427,878	16,078
Ikeja	46.2	313,196	6,785
Kosofe	81.4	665,393	8,174
Lagos Island	8.7	209,437	24,182
Lagos Mainland	19.5	317,720	16,322
Mushin	17.5	633,009	36,213
Ojo	158.2	598,071	3,781
Oshodi-Isolo	44.8	621,509	13,886
Somolu	11.6	402,673	34,862
Surulere	23.0	503,975	21,912
Metropolitan Lagos	999.6	7,937,932	7,941

Source: National Population Commission (2006). *Results of 2006 Head Count and Population Census*. Abuja: National Population Commission.

Today, the word *Lagos*, most often, refers to the urban area called "Metropolitan Lagos" in Nigeria. The Metropolis hosts about 176 foreign embassies as well as the headquarters of international organizations, trade unions, non-profit organizations, lobbying groups, and professional associations [22, 25]. To sum it up, while distinguishing between the core economic activities of the different areas, it is asserted that Apapa is the home of modern ports of Lagos, Eti-Osa is the home of the largest business centres, and Lagos Island is the historical centre and commercial core of the Metropolis [28].

Undoubtedly, the Metropolis is not only significant politically, socially, economically and diplomatically to Lagosians, the state and Nigeria in general, but also to the world in many respects. Therefore, with the multiplicity of functions and multi-various social and economic activities, waste is bound to be generated in kinds and in large quantities too. However, this should not be to the detriment of the dwellers and the environment. The emphasis of this work is on

a single but significant segment of waste in Lagos, namely waste generated from electioneering campaigns by political contestants in the 2015 general elections.

## II. METHODOLOGY

50 major streets and roads of the Metropolis were toured between January 2014 and May 2015 when the electioneering campaign posters, flags and pamphlets were posted on different surfaces: walls of buildings, fences, culverts and bridges, existing bill boards, bus stops, waste bins, electric poles, trunks of ornamental plants, bodies of vehicles, road signs, etc. Internet browsing was extensively carried out. Every day, for six months – 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2014 to 27<sup>th</sup> March, 2015, three national dailies (*The Guardian, Vanguard and Punch*) were perused, and the number of pages on political campaigns for each paper for each day was reckoned. A questionnaire that contained 16 questions was administered to 70 residents of the Metropolis that were randomly selected irrespective of educational qualification, religion, political inclination and profession, but none of them was less than 40 years old, and both males and females were included in the sample. In-depth interviews were conducted with 2 chieftains each of 3 of the 29 political parties in the State. The State Resident Electoral Commissioner was interviewed and he provided some salient data and information. 3 Managers of renowned 13 printing companies that printed for the parties were interviewed.

The All Progressives Congress (APC) held a one-million-man rally on Saturday 7<sup>th</sup> March, 2015. The rally started by 8:00am (local time) in Lagos. It began from Maryland through Allen Avenue and ended at Alausa, behind the Ikeja City Mall. The investigator, joined the campaign trail and observed the display of campaign materials. A number of photographic shots of billboards, handbills, portraits, logos etc. were taken, and these were well represented in the findings. The material waste was classified into degradable, non-degradable and others. The likely consequences on the environment in the Metropolis were measured with 14 pre-determined answers. Qualitative Content Analysis was applied for data analysis and presentation [29]. Maps, charts, and tables of percentiles, and Likert scales were used for data analysis and presentation. The paper is devoid of detailed explanations of the fray and frenzy that attended the outcome of the elections, though it is constrained to touch tangentially on the attitudes of the politicians.

## III. FINDINGS

The first ever recognized and registered political party in Nigeria was the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), founded by Herbert Macaulay in 1923. But the NNDP and National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons/National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) existed between 1960 and 1966 [7]. With the demise of the First Republic, these became extinct. The Second Republic (1979-1982) had six political parties. The abortive Third Republic had just two political parties twisted by the then military government: National Republican Convection (NRC) and Social Democratic Party (SDP). Between 1996 and 1998, there were seven (7) registered political parties among which were National Democratic Coalition (NADECO), Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN) and Justice Part (JP). Currently, in the Fourth Republic, there were 29 registered parties. These include

Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), and the main opposition, All Progressives Congress (APC). Aggressive campaigns, and use of fliers and posters were engaged in by all of them [30]. The political offices that were scheduled for the 2015 general elections were the Presidency, Senate, House of Representative, Governorship and the State House of Assembly. Altogether, in the metropolis, there were 94 positions being contested for by over 420 candidates.

Historically, common to all general elections and political parties in Nigeria and elsewhere is the electioneering campaigns that usually precede the exercise [4, 3]. Also associated with it are campaign materials [1, 31]. In Nigeria, these have not been uncommon, and have been experienced in various dimensions, but the 2015 elections took a different form. The rest of this paper examines the quantum and kinds of materials used by or on behalf of the over 395 candidates.

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is the government organ saddled with the responsibility of conducting the elections. It had at its disposal enormous resources including; Information kits for the 2015 General Election, manual for Election (2015), basic Security arrangement for election duties, Political Parties Code of Conduct, Permanent Voters Cards (PVC) for the electorate, Electronic Card Reader Machines, Trained and trainable electoral officers, and Others.

In addition, there were considerable campaigns and appeals on radio, television and newspapers to individuals, groups and organizations to support and guard against violence, but turn out en masse to vote for candidates of their choice.

The 2015 elections were scheduled to hold on 8<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2015 for the Presidential and National Assembly seats, and the gubernatorial and State Houses of Assembly respectively, but the dates were later shifted in order to give the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) time to adequately prepare. The two streams of elections were eventually held on 28<sup>th</sup> March and 11<sup>th</sup> April, 2015.

The deployment of massive logistics – materials and machines – resulted in the generation of enormous waste. There was rancour but also peace talks were held between the parties, their chieftains and especially their flag bearers. For instance in a peace meeting, Akinwunmi Amubode and Jimi Agbaje - the gubernatorial candidates of the most prominent parties, the APC and PDP, both expressed commitment to the promotion of peaceful participation before, during, and after the elections and also agreed to accept the outcome of the polls, whatever it may be and to seek redress for any perceived injustice through legal and legitimate means. In respect of the peace meeting alone, huge materials were expended: billboards, handbills, fliers, party uniforms and attires, umbrellas, brooms, etc.

Fig. 2 shows the portraits of the two most prominent gubernatorial candidates, those of the APC (Akinwunmi Amubode) and the PDP (Jimi Agbaje), that is, among the several portraits and other campaign items applied just at the accord meeting. There were also floods of flags, portraits of individual and party chieftains strategically mounted on walls, fences, electric poles, tree trunks, vehicles

and other objects pasted and hung to showcase the accord for peaceful elections only.



Fig. 2: Portraits of Jimi Agbaje and Akinwumi Ambode of the PDP and APC respectively after signing the Peace Pact

#### A. Waste Materials:

Apart from formal and informal verbal speeches, in churches and mosques, and among youth and community leaders and the elite, and through communications service providers, radio and television stations, there were fliers, handbills, billboards, house to house campaigns with souvenirs and other items that were ostentatiously and massively pasted, stapled and pinned while others were just hung and or placed at strategic locations, sometimes, through animated billboards to woo the electorate. All party houses/offices in the Wards, and at the State Headquarters were adorned with portraits of contenders from the Presidential/Vice Presidential candidates to the Senatorial, Gubernatorial, House of Representatives and state Houses of Assembly candidates.

The materials were made of metal rods, bolts and knots, nails, washers, metal sheets, cardboard papers, printing sheets of varied grams, plastics, clothes, concrete poles of various sizes and shapes, wood and planks, thread and yarn, gum and starch and others. In weight, concrete poles-the heaviest- were estimated to be about 2,960 kg, followed by metal rods (2,880 kg) and plastic materials (2,320 kg). The least in weight were cello tapes and masking tapes (500 kg), foil (110 kg), thread and yarn (100 kg), and gum/starch (220 kg). Table 2 shows the quantum by type, weight and relative proportion of one to the others. In other words, within the period, the Metropolis added additional 31,020 kg undesirable materials around the houses, along the roads, on the walls and fences of buildings, etc. Concrete poles accounted for 9.54% of the total, and metal rods, nail washers, bolts and nuts, put together, were as much as 9.29%, gum and starch (0.71%) and foil (0.36%). Thread and yarn (0.32%) were the least in proportion. The challenge is that the usage and usefulness of these materials were transient as – almost immediately after, the elections they were discarded and abandoned.

Table 2: Election Materials- Wastes by Type and Estimated Quantity in the Metropolis

Items Type	Estimated Quantity ('000 Kgs.)	% Proportion
Metal Rods, Nails, Washers, Bolts & Nuts	2.88	9.29
Metal Sheets	2.14	6.90
Cardboard sheets	1.84	5.93
Printing Paper	2.11	6.80
Plastic Materials	2.32	7.48
Clothes	2.21	7.12
Banners (Cloths)	1.91	6.16
Polyester sheets	1.84	5.93
Cello tapes and Masking Tape	0.50	1.61
Concrete poles	2.96	9.54
Gum/Starch	0.22	0.71
Tinfoil	0.11	0.36
Wood & Planks	1.94	6.25
Particle Boards	2.01	6.48
Paints and Chalk	0.92	2.97
Thread & Yarn	0.10	0.32
Foods & Snacks	1.08	3.48
Drinks & Beverages	2.31	7.45
Others (Specified)	1.62	5.22
Total	31.02	100.00

Source: Field Work

Between 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2014 and 27<sup>th</sup> March, 2015, three national daily newspapers were perused; and the number of pages in political campaigns on each paper for each day was not less than 14. It was more than 18 pages on some days for some papers. Newsprint for the period that was devoted to electioneering campaigns was conservatively estimated to be about 2,860 kg.

#### B. Types of Waste

The waste in its various forms, colours and makes, was posters, handbill, portraits, paintings, and other forms on available surfaces except where the concern had written *POST NO BILLS*. Otherwise, all major roads, streets, crescents and lanes were inundated with all manners of these. In some instances, all spaces on the walls and fences of any street, road, crescent, lane or public walls were covered over, see Fig. 3, [a] to [i]. They are a sample of photograph of the different presidential candidates and their running mates, gubernatorial candidates of Lagos State, and the logos of the two most prominent political parties (PDP and APC), all displayed within the Metropolis. The posters were not been arranged in any particular order.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)



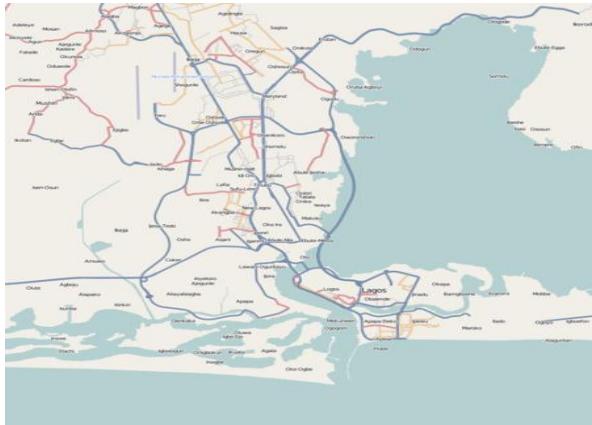
(h)

Fig. 3: [a] GoodluckEbele Jonathan of PDP; [b] Muhammadu Buhari of APC; [c] Jimi Agbaje of PDP; [d] Akinwumi Ambode of APC; [e] and [f] APC and PDP Logos; [g] Muhammadu Buhari/Yemi Oshinbajo; and [h] Portraits of GoodluckEbele Jonathan/Mohammed Namadi Sambo.

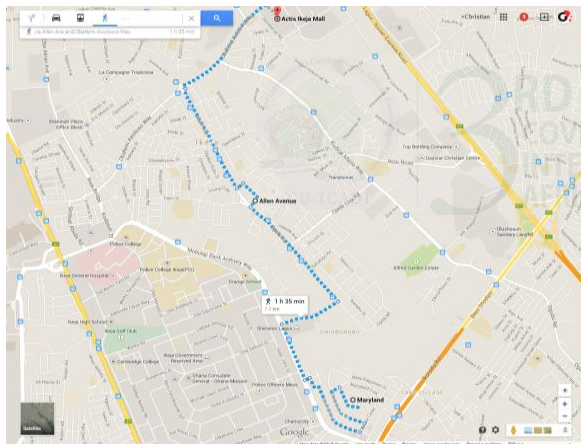
Each candidate had as many as 19 different kinds of their portrait. No candidate had less than 7. There was none of the commissioned printing firms that expended less than 22.22 kgs of printing materials (paper, ink, binding materials etc.). The sizes of the portraits ranged from 0.2 x 0.2 m to 2.0 x 16.0 m with the names of the contenders and the inscriptions of their respective party names and abbreviations – the broom and the umbrella as well as those of candidates of other parties.

Some other handbills were as small as the size of complimentary cards. There were souvenirs – bags, purses/wallets pencils, biros, exercise books, note pads, plastic plates, jugs, drinking glasses, dishes, baseball caps, brooms, umbrellas, diaries, wall clocks, table clocks, T-shirts, key holders, weighing machines and others. Most prominent among them were those of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), but all of them had an array of colours that were beautifully combined.

The APC's logo has a green-white-blue background with a broom on the white background, and a red base. The group also adopted "Justice, Peace and Unity" as its motto, and "Change" as its slogan; see Fig. 3 (i). On the other hand, the PDP has an umbrella with Green, White and Red colours as the background, and on each colour segment of the umbrella, the inscription, P, D and P and or the slogan, "Power to the People" is the slogan (see Fig. 3 [j]). All other political parties similarly have fliers, posters, uniforms, costumes, souvenirs, logos, slogans and colours by which they identify themselves.



(a)



(b)

Fig. 4: (a). Map of major road links in greater Lagos; and (b) Route through which an Opposition Party toured with massive campaign items during an Electioneering Campaign on 7<sup>th</sup> March, 2015.

Fig. 4 [a] is map of major roads, streets, crescents and lanes that were emblazoned with posters, billboards, etc.; and Fig. 4 [b] is the route of the mega rally that was carried out by one of the political parties on 7<sup>th</sup> March, 2015 respectively. The rally that started by 8:00am from Maryland through Allen Avenue and ended at Alausa behind City Hall lasted almost eight hours. There was also a massive display of campaign materials on vehicles of all brands and makes, walls of buildings, electricity poles, commercial sign posts, road signs, motorcycles, tricycles and others. A considerable amount of fliers were given out as the campaign trail moved from Maryland to Alausa. Some of the fliers and the handbill were chunked out indiscriminately

onto the roads and streets. This is not peculiar to one political party but all, that is, during campaign in particular.

The material items were not arranged in any particular order, and neither was any set allowed to stay for up to three days before being defaced or pasted over with fresh ones of the same candidates or of different candidates of other parties. The opposition destroyed and defaced the portraits of their opponents. Sometimes, posters were pasted in layers of up to 10 in some instances.

Typically the Lekki - Epe Expressways, the Third Mainland Bridge, Lagos - Badagry Expressway, and Mushin Isolo and Apapa Isolo Expressways and other highways were massively deployed on both sides of the highways. The materials were also made of iron rods, washers, nails, electricity cables, and pieces of wood, plastics, planks, clothes and cloths, plastic materials, degradable and non-degradable types. Where it was dual carriageways, the road divides were equally tremendously posted over with the materials. There was scarcely any space, road, street or lane without portraits and fliers in huge quantities. Indeed, at each electioneering campaign and mere gathering of the politicians, there were great loads of printed materials.

### C. Structure, Pattern and Trend of the Waste

The waste were classified into three: degradable, non-degradable, and others. Only 43.10% were degradable (wood, paper, planks, palm fronds, etc.). 56.40% (plastics, iron rods and nails, etc.) were non-degradable, but 0.50% could not easily be classified by this work. Table 3 shows the spatial pattern of the quantum and concentration of all the waste (degradable, non-degradable and unclassified) by Local Government Area. It was found that this was most substantial at Alimosho (2,980 kg) followed by Shomolu (2,830 kg), Surulere (2,620 kg) and Apapa (2,600 kg). There was nowhere it was less than 1,710 kg, (see Table 3). The total for the Metropolis is 31,020kg. The average level of waste concentration was lowest in Agege, Ajeromi, Ifelodun, and IfakoIjaye Local Government Areas only; but high in EtiOsa, Lagos Island, Lagos Mainland and Surulere Local Government Areas. It was rated medium on the average in the others, namely Alimosho, AmuwoOdofin, Apapa, Kosofe, Mushin, Ojo, Oshodi-Isolo and Shomolu Local Government Areas, (see Table 3).

Fig. 5 shows the trend by area of coverage, weight and number of posters, handbills and others in the 17 months between January 2014 and May 2015. The total estimated area of coverage in January, 2014 was about 500 m<sup>2</sup>. It increased to over 1,590m<sup>2</sup> in March, 2015 though it started waning from that month. The decline continued until May, 2015. The number of posters was 180,000 in January 2014, but increased gradually over the period to over 480,000 in March 2015; and by May 2015, the number started plummeting, to about 400,000, that is, when the elections had been over, posters, fliers etc. were no longer used; and the existing ones had started fading off.

Table 3: Spatial Pattern and concentration of the Waste by Local Government Areas

Local Govt. Area	Estd. Quantum of Waste ('0 kg)	Ave. Levels of Concentration
Agege	2.41	Low
Ajeromi-Ifelodun	1.85	Low
Alimosho	2.98	Medium
Amuwo-Odofin	1.71	Medium
Apapa	2.60	Medium
Eti-Osa	1.82	High
Ifako-Ijaiye	1.80	Low
Ikeja	2.31	High
Kosofe	2.32	Medium
Lagos Island	2.05	High
Lagos Mainland	2.01	High
Mushin	2.21	Medium
Ojo	2.01	Medium
Oshodi-Isolo	2.21	Medium
Somolu	2.83	Medium
Surulere	2.62	High
Metropolitan Lagos	31.02	Medium

Source: Field Work

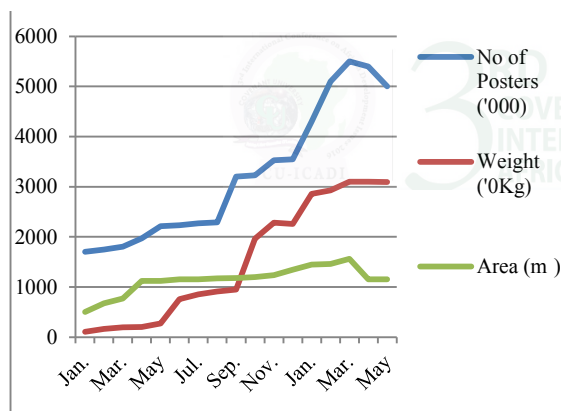


Fig. 5: Trend of Area of Coverage, Weight and Number of Posters (January 2014 to May 2015)

The estimated weight displayed a similar trend: It was about 10,700 kg in January 2014. It increased to 29,260 kg in February 2015 and to 31,021 kg in March; see Fig.5. These figures were confirmed with the estimates and actual amount of printed work done by principal printing companies that worked for the political parties and their agents.

#### D. Poor Management and Consequences

Immediately after the elections (11<sup>th</sup> April, 2015), in a matter of days, the campaign materials were no longer in use. There was no need for them again. They thus became waste - political waste, an aftermath of elections. But how were they managed? Table 4 shows how.

Table 4: How the Waste was managed

Method of Disposal	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Cleared and Kept	2	2.86
Collected and Re-used	1	1.43
Collected and Burnt/Disposed of	6	8.52
Kept as Adornments	19	27.14
Abandoned	70	100.00
All of the Above	41	58.57
None of the Above	0	0.00
Others (Specified)	3	4.27

Source: Field Work

A respondent picked more than one of the pre-determined responses (8). 55.71% kept them as an adornment. 2.86 % cleared and kept them. But only an insignificant proportion 1.43% collected and re-used the materials, probably directly and or re-cycled. All the respondents, 100.00% agreed that the waste were generally abandoned and allowed to fade away as time passed by, Table 4.

There were unprecedented increases in waste generated in the months of December 2014 to March 2015 when the campaigns were fieriest. Importantly, the World Health Organization (WHO) [32], United Nations (UN) [25, 26] and environmentalists have consistently warned against the implications of printing material waste in the environment of man [25, 28, 33]. The materials printed and generated were not just mere degradable substances but also non-degradable, toxic and some carcinogenic. Like what may be called traditional waste, it results in a gangrenous and unsustainable physical environment. The quantity and the density were highest in the high densely residential areas where handbills were chunked out and freely distributed unsolicited; as well as in those places where there were enough spaces to paste and display fliers and install billboards of various sizes and shapes. Unfortunately, they also turned out to be subject of admiration to ordinary folks.

After the elections, along streets, roads, expressways, crescents, lanes and even along pathways, the materials overshadowed and surpassed normal commercial billboards and road signs. Walls, gates, and fences of political offices at the party wards, constituency and State headquarters offices were awash with portraits of the different contestants, and of course, the logos of the respective political parties also.

The materials became instruments of soaring and unabated environmental pollution, erosion blockages, hideout for destitute and breeding ground for disease vectors. Above all, the waste turned the scenic environment horrendously ugly.

Incidentally, none of the resources available to the INEC was scheduled for, and or meant to take care of the waste; and neither were there any policy statements and or programmes that anticipated the management of the waste resulting from electioneering campaigns. It was weird, and embarrassing to the urban dwellers and probably to the Metropolitan, local and state governments.

There is indeed a policy whereby the Lagos State Government, like some other States, restricts residents to their



homes for three hours (between 7a.m. and 10a.m.) every last Saturday of the month to clean their environment. However, the exercise may have been quite inadequate to cope with the enormity and extent of election materials waste generated, even if waste close to residential buildings was taken care of in such exercises. Despite that, while delivering judgment in a suit filed by a human rights lawyer, a judge held that “the policy of restricting the movement of citizens during the monthly environmental sanitation exercise was unlawful and illegal, because, he said, there was no law in force in the state by which any citizen could be kept indoors compulsorily.” An excerpt from the newspaper report says that [33]:

*The court found that the 1999 Constitution grants freedom of movement to every citizen, and such freedom cannot be taken away by executive proclamation in the absence of any law to that effect. [It] found that there is no regulation in force presently in Lagos State, which authorizes the restriction of movement of citizens, on the last Saturday of the month, for the purpose of observing environmental sanitation. The court therefore voided the power of the state government and its agents to arrest any citizen found moving between 7a.m. and 10a.m. on the last Saturday of every month when the environmental sanitation exercise is observed.*

In other words, not even the monthly environmental exercise can tackle the waste generated in this way. A resident of Mushin, a suburb of the Metropolis lamented that:

*No other adverts [billboards] surpasses them in number, spread, and aesthetics .... The APC, PDP, Labour, ADC, KOWA ....all have what it takes to put up the best billboards for the campaign... on the pages of newspapers, on radio, television and so on; in every nook and cranny, a candidate is represented by over 10 posters of different kinds strategically placed. Some were operated and controlled electronically. Rain has come; see the gutters filled; the drainage channels are filled already. Those on the walls shall be washed down. It is nothing but floods that will follow .... nobody thinks of removing any, .... everywhere is littered and remains unkempt, dirty and filthy. During future elections, INEC may have to make it as part of the regulations that political parties make arrangements to clear the rubbish .... or governments (Metropolitan, State or Federal) will accept the responsibility.*

....

During electioneering campaigns, waste abound and there were no policies nor programmes to take care of them. The consequences of poor disposal were challenging.

On the consequences for the physical environment, each respondent picked more than one choice. Only 2.86 % picked “No Effect.” All other statements: “Competes with Commercial Adverts” (87.14 %), “impedes driving on Highways” (82.86 %), “Creates Human Traffic at busy Spots” (74.29 %), “Becomes a breeding ground for Vermin, Rodents, etc.” (54.39 %), “Becomes a Hideout for Destitute and Hoodlums” (58.57 %), “Hinders Free Flow of Traffic” (74.29 %), “Dirties the Environment” (97.14 %), “Creates Unwholesome Scenery” (91.43 %), “Blocks Drains” (94.29 %), “Causes Social Adversities” (62.86 %) and “Others (Specified)” (54.29 %) were well assented to as being consequences of poor management of the election materials

waste. (Table 5). However, 67.14% affirmed that the waste had some economic advantages. Further discussion on that viewpoint is beyond the scope of this work. But, the implication is for the governments and people of the Metropolis and of the state in general to earnestly proffer solutions to occasional waste such as that of political electioneering found in every nook and cranny of the Metropolis during electioneering campaigns.

Table 5: Consequences of Poor Disposal

Consequences	No. of Responses	% of Total Responses
Competes with Commercial Adverts	61	87.14
Impedes driving on Highways	58	82.86
Creates Human Traffic at Busy Spots	52	74.29
Becomes a Breeding ground for disease vector	30	42.86
Becomes a breeding ground for Vermin, Rodent, etc.	38	54.29
Becomes a Hideout for Destitute and Hoodlums	41	58.57
Hinders Free flow of Traffic	52	74.29
Dirties the Environment	68	97.14
Creates Unwholesome Scenery	64	91.43
Blocks Drains	66	94.29
Leads to Social Adversities	44	62.86
Has Economic Advantages	47	67.14
No Effect	2	2.86
Others (Specified)	38	54.29

Source: Field Work.

#### IV. DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The work has established that political solid waste were spontaneously and enormously generated during the campaigns for the last 2015 general elections, more than the Metropolis had ever experienced. The physical environment suffers the adversities. The menace will repeat as often as there are general elections in the Metropolis. This is not peculiar to Lagos Metropolis but also in all the cities and towns of Nigeria. There is no adequate machinery for storage, collection and disposal. It is important therefore that adequate measures are put in place to ensure sustainable environment before, during and after elections in the metropolis in particular and generally in all Nigerian cities and towns.

Special management of political solid waste and other kinds particularly by recycling and turning them to wealth is

desirable for sustainable environment and economic advantages, (not only in the Metropolis but also in other developing climes around the globe). INEC has a prominent role to play in this respect: It must stipulate the maximum amount of materials that may be printed; and also stipulate that the display must be orderly and restricted; and that concerted efforts must be made to remove the items after the exercise, that is, for proper disposal. Green campaign should be encouraged. INEC may alternatively take it upon itself to clean up and properly dispose of the materials. In that case, the candidates and or their political parties may be made to pay for such task ahead of registration. INEC would then put in place a machinery for cleaning up after the exercise. Research and development may be encouraged and supported by governments and political parties towards turning such special waste to wealth. Adequate education of politicians and the electorate alike on waste generation, its management as well as the consequences of poor disposal is thus imperative.

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