Circular Economy strategies of social enterprises in Lagos: a case study approach

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Abstract

The circular economy (CE) framework has the potential to play a vital role in facilitating a different kind of development in low and middle-income country (LMIC) contexts, due to its promise of improving resource productivity, creating jobs and minimizing environmental degradation from human and economic activities. This thesis addresses how the CE is conceptualized and how its principles can be established in an African context, such as Lagos Nigeria, focusing on social enterprises (SEs) as the object of study, thereby responding to calls that links SEs to sustainable development and that explores the socio-institutional or behavioral changes necessary for achieving circularity. It explores the overarching research question:

How are social enterprises establishing a circular economy in Lagos?

Following a case study strategy, nine SEs operating in the waste sector in Lagos were studied by triangulating the data obtained from in-depth interviews, documents, and archival records. This study demonstrates practical CE implementation examples as findings from the data analysis shows how SEs are organizing differently to collect, aggregate and upcycle waste materials, while also engaging in clean-up and advocacy programs to retrieve more recyclables from the environment. It highlights volume-drivers, core-transformers, and clean-advocates as examples of new circular models that can be advanced and adapted to make a living from waste in low-income and resource scarce environments.

By demonstrating how commercial, social, and environmental objectives are being pursued, this thesis contributes to the understanding of hybrid organizing in a LMIC context and shows how the CE embraces the social dimension of sustainable development beyond only job creation. Additionally, this thesis shows how institutional logics and institutional work can be combined to study the CE, contributing to calls on the concept's underexplored institutional perspectives. It highlights institutional work in an African context by showing that establishing the CE in Lagos requires disrupting the logic of waste mostly seen as a thing to be thrown away. By changing existing and legitimating new waste practices, while maintaining a formal organizational structure, SEs are disrupting the logic of waste and establishing the CE in Lagos. The effect of their purposive activities on informal waste pickers in Lagos were discussed, while also drawing out policy and practice implications of the findings for advancing CE initiatives in Lagos and Nigeria, as well as in other LMICs.

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List of abbreviations

3R	Reduce, reuse and recycle
ACEA	African Circular Economy Alliance
BLM	Black Lives Matter
CAs	Clean Advocates
CAC	Corporate Affairs Commission
CAMA	Companies and Allied Matters Act
CE	Circular Economy
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIC	Community Interest Companies
CL	Commercial logic
CLG	Company Limited by Guarantee
CLS	Company Limited by Shares
CoSo hub	Collection and Sorting Hub
CTO	Chief Technical Officer
CTs	Core Transformers
ECC	Essentially Contested Concept
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EIP	Eco-Industrial park
EL	Environmental logic
EMF	Ellen MacArthur Foundation
EPR	Extended Producer Responsibility
EU	European Union
Exec. Dir	Executive Director
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GST	General System Thinking
HDPE and LDPE	High- and Low-density polyethylene
IE	Industrial Ecology
LAWMA	Lagos State Waste Management Authority
LLC	Limited Liability Company
LMIC	Low-and-middle-income country
MORE	Middlesex Online Research Ethics
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PSP	Private Sector Participation
RAN	Recycling Association of Nigeria
RLESs	Resource Life-Extending Strategies
SD	Sustainable development
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SE	Social Enterprise
SEs	Social Enterprises
SL	Social logic
SME	Small and Medium-sized Enterprise
SWM	Solid Waste Management
UN	United Nations
VDs	Volume Drivers

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 <u>Introduction</u>

This thesis explores the circular economy (CE) concept within a low and middle-income country context studying how social enterprises (SEs) are organizing to establish its principles. In this chapter, the background and rationale to this study will be detailed, thereby providing broader theoretical and contextual information within which it is situated. This will be followed by motivations underlying the study; its aims and research questions, while also highlighting areas where this study contributes to knowledge. It will end with the research outline that summarizes the structure of the thesis.

1.1 <u>Background of the study</u>

The environmental, social, and economic challenges facing the world today has accelerated interest in sustainable solutions that can help minimize or mitigate their effects. Climate change, deepening poverty and rising inequality are persistent and urgent concerns (UN, 2015; 2020). These interconnected issues were central to earlier calls by the United Nations for sustainable development (SD) that highlighted the need for a renewed economic approach conducted in a manner that tackles poverty, does not deplete natural resources and that protects the planet for future generations (WCED, 1987). Alongside such calls, there have been increasing arguments to move from a linear economic system of development that is considered wasteful, to a CE that is not only economically viable, but also minimizes waste and its effect on the environment (EMF, 2013; Haas et. al., 2015; Ghisellini, Cialani & Ulgiati, 2016; Schroeder, Anggraeni & Weber, 2018).

It (i.e., the CE) has also been hailed as a promising alternative strategy for economic development, job creation and skills development, particularly for low and middle-income countries (LMICs) (Preston, Lehne & Wellesley, 2019). This thesis further explores this concept in a developing country context because there has been a dearth of literature in most key SD discourses, including the CE, on such contexts and therefore warrants studies that further explores any concept on sustainability and development from the positionality of LMICs in order to evaluate, challenge or improve them (Schroder et. al., 2019).

The CE have been framed around waste and resource management that promotes cycling practices to keep material and energy resources in a loop (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017). General understandings of the concept in literature have been that it is a strategy to deal with the problem of waste, with some perspectives arguing for a need to design out waste in order to minimize its generation and other views emphasizing how to retain the value in generated waste materials or how to generate high quality recyclates that can be put back into industrial systems (EMF, 2013; 2015; Kirchherr et. al., 2017; Burgess et. al., 2021). This thesis is more interested in this latter perspective of the CE that focuses on creating and maintaining value from already generated waste, due to the environmental pollution challenges in the context of focus, which warrants consideration of alternative development approaches (Wright et. al., 2019; Desmond & Asamba, 2019).

Notably, the central idea of the CE is that by minimizing waste generation through cleaner production and consumption processes, as well as, the recycling of waste, global environmental and socio-economic challenges such as climate change and poverty can be addressed. Also, better cycling practices can result into the extension and preservation of the earth's finite resources for future generations. As a result, the CE is increasingly seen as a pathway to achieving the United Nations (UN)'s three-pronged economic, social and environmental SD goals (Schroeder et. al., 2018).

While the CE is an emerging concept in theory with lack of definitional clarity, it has long existed in practice both in developed and low and middle-income country (LMIC) contexts (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017; Kirchherr et. al., 2017; Preston & Lehne, 2019). Such ancient approaches all share the same resource cycling idea and involve examples such as waste collection, dismantling, sorting, recycling, and reusing. There are several practices and principles that have been combined and housed under the CE idea, hence why it was regarded as an 'essentially contested concept' (Korhonen et. al., 2018). Some countries have used the reduce, reuse, and recycle (3R) principles to capture resource-life extending strategies that minimizes and manages waste such as the CE promotion law of China (Geng et. al., 2012). There have been similar evidence of circular practices and principles found among informal waste collectors or scavengers in most LMICs. Their organized roles in waste recovery and recycling are well known globally and was said to be a common feature of such developing contexts (Ezeah et al. 2013; Amick, 2014; Chaturvedi et al. 2015).

In Lagos Nigeria, an example of a LMIC context and the city of focus in this thesis, circular practices demonstrating waste reusing, redistributing, repurposing, and recycling among households have long existed (Olukoju, 2018). Activities among family members such as waste conversion into something used for another purpose and waste bequeathing in which used materials e.g., clothes, are passed down to other generations for reuse culturally takes place (ibid). However, aside waste pickers or households, there are also entrepreneurial ventures providing waste recycling services in local communities across the state. These small enterprises are said to incentivize a network of households to collect and sort their used recyclable wastes at home by exchanging it for points, which can then be later redeemed for household items, food, cell phone minutes etc. (Ojo, 2015). Olukoju (2018, pg. 98) referred to such enterprises as "*success stories*" because of their ability to respond formally to community recycling needs, which has been a challenge for the state government (Nzeadibe & Ejike-Alieji, 2020).

It was also stated that these enterprises combine both waste management with environmental activism in their activities (Olukoju, 2018). Despite the important role such enterprises are playing at the grassroots working with several households to recycle their waste, literatures that helps to further the understandings of their organizing strategies and rationales are currently limited. This need addressing as organizations (e.g., businesses, NGOs, cooperatives, social enterprises etc.) have a central role to play in improving resource productivity, promoting sustainable consumption and production, as well as, reducing environmental impacts of waste, which are all the aims of the CE agenda (Schroeder et. al., 2019).

Scholarly papers on solid waste management (SWM) in Lagos and Nigeria have focused more on the challenges of managing waste collection and disposal or on the habits of people towards recycling or reuse (Kofoworola, 2007; Nzeadibe & Iwuoha, 2008). Other works that suggested the way forward for SWM at the state and national level did not mention the contributions that small enterprises can make towards finding solutions to the waste challenges bedeviling the state (Kofoworola, 2009) or in promoting a recycling culture among the citizens and residents of the state. Olukoju (2018) agreed that majority of these type of enterprises would be of immense benefit to the city of Lagos and beyond, as it concerns solid waste management and sustainability, but the scope of his work did not cover details on how the enterprises can organize or relate with other players in the waste management sector in a mutually beneficial way.

While the network within which the informal recycling operators carry out their activities have been widely documented (Nzeadibe & Iwuoha, 2008; Adama, 2012), such studies to illuminate the network within which these formally organized enterprises operate in, to carry out their recycling activities in Nigeria, are still unknown. These types of enterprises and their works within the waste management ecosystem in Lagos are the focus of this study, in order to investigate how they are organizing to establish CE principles in Lagos state.

However, to study such enterprises, this thesis builds on previous works that have employed the social enterprise lens to study organizations carrying out waste related activities in LMIC contexts, as explained in the following section.

1.1.2   <u>Role of social enterprises</u>

As mentioned earlier, enterprises have important role to play in global efforts towards sustainable development. According to Barkemeyer et. al. (2014), the involvement of organizations is critical in building awareness of environmental issues, such as climate change. In LMICs, small enterprises have been identified for their innovative solutions to the persistent issue of waste pollution (Jambeck et. al., 2018). Several studies have conceptualized such organizations as social enterprises (SEs) e.g., Holt & Littlewood (2017) explored the practices of two SEs and over 25 informal economy actors in Kenya; Akanle & Shittu (2018) highlighted the contextual challenges SEs face as they engage in recycled products trade in Lagos, while Gall and colleagues' recent work explained the role of a single SE acting as a middle agent between informal collectors and manufacturing companies also in Kenya (2020). These conceptualizations provide the foundations upon which this thesis can build by further employing the SE lens to study organizations establishing CE principles in Lagos.

The SE concept has been used to capture organizations with a core social and environmental purpose (Doherty, Haugh & Lyon, 2014). Holt & Littlewood (2017) described such enterprises in their study as organizations that built their business models around waste while promoting positive social impact, such as supporting people in low-income or poverty contexts. Their commercial, social, and environmental objectives make SEs different from pure private sector model that seeks to maximize profit for personal benefits only or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that rely more on donations (Alter, 2007; Doherty et. al., 2014). With the linking of the CE as a pathway to achieve the SDGs, SEs offer an alternative enterprise model for the fulfilment of such goals. (Iwueke & Nwaiwu, 2014; Schroeder et. al., 2019).

However, recent calls for more practical circular implementation examples; for empirical analyses of existing CE models; and for how current conceptualizations of the CE are practiced (Kirchherr et. al., 2017; Schroder et. al., 2020), have created further opportunities to build on previous works exploring the SE concept within the CE discourse. This becomes even more important when the focus is on a LMIC context, where most scholarly works relating to waste and recycling, have emphasized the activities of one set of actors– the informal waste pickers or scavengers engaged in common sets of collection, sorting, and trading activities (e.g., Ezeah et al. 2013; Chaturvedi et al. 2015; Down & Medina, 2000; Smet & Linder, 2019). The majority of works on informal waste pickers have led to the belief that circular activities such as waste recycling are mostly economically motivated in developing countries (Down & Medina, 2000; Preston & Lehne, 2017), therefore undermining other socially and/or environmentally motivated initiatives that are also waste related.

It is therefore imperative to capture the realities of other organizations such as SEs, establishing circular principles in such LMIC contexts in order to also capture their social and/or environmental aspects. It has been noted that in such contexts, particularly in Africa, there is a prevalence of '*green social enterprises*' that organizes to realize both social and environmental missions (Littlewood & Holt, 2014, pg. 14). Previous works in African countries have stated that SEs leverage market mechanisms to provide jobs and empower people to trade waste for value, while also ensuring the removal of waste from the environment (Jambeck et. al., 2018; Olukoju, 2018). Such works have, however, not been looked at extensively through the CE lens. As a result, the potentials for SEs to contribute to the lesser-known social dimensions of the CE is not yet well understood (Moreau et. al., 2017; Blomsma & Brennan, 2017).

The articulation of the CE in literature have been blamed for being silent on the social dimension of social equity and intergenerational concerns, which are crucial to achieving SD (Murray et. al., 2017; Ghisellini et. al., 2016). Questions on how the CE can address issues of inequality, equity, and social justice, while contributing to economic growth and environmental sustainability still needs to be addressed in order to make it suitable for SD in any context (Haynes & Murray 2015). The lack of studies about the CE in LMICs, where majority of people are poor and in search better livelihoods (Schroeder et. al., 2019), can also undermine efforts to articulate its social dimensions.

However, if enterprises are going to be key players to drive the transformation to a CE, then questions need to be asked about how to broaden their focus beyond profit to look at other

indicators such as social and environmental wellbeing. Therefore, can the conceptualization of the CE by social enterprises in LMICs help advance this less understood social dimensions? Exploring such a question will require looking beyond job creation, posited as the only social benefit of the CE for developing countries (Preston et. al., 2019), to include wider social dimensions such as inclusivity, equity, and social justice (Moreau et. al, 2017). This thesis, therefore, explores the activities of SEs in Lagos as they interface with both the broader community and with markets for circular products and services to shed light on the commercial, social, and environmental aspects of their activities. The need to understand how SEs conceptualize the CE and organize to establish it in Lagos motivates this study, alongside other reasons as explained below.

1.2   Motivations underlying this research

There are three reasons why this thesis focuses on SEs, CE, and Lagos Nigeria. Firstly, it is due to the dearth of literature on SEs and the CE in LMICs. Focusing on Africa as an example, scholars have mentioned the under-researched nature of social enterprises (e.g., Haugh et. al., 2018), circular economy (e.g., Schroeder, Anggraeni & Weber, 2018), and more broadly, in general management research (e.g., Rivera-Santos et. al., 2015; Hampel et. al., 2017). There is a real thirst for studies that helps to capture the reality of issues surrounding sustainability transition in a LMIC context (Nagendra, 2018), as achieving SD is a goal that requires both local and global efforts. Moreover, the unique nature of the challenges facing LMIC contexts, such as poverty, social and economic inequality, corruption, informality etc. are likely to affect the way SEs emerge and organize for change through the type of relationships they form or the strategies they adopt (Littlewood & Holt, 2014). Capturing these in Lagos will not only help move the literatures on these concepts forward (CE and SEs) but can also inform practices and policy making for SD in such contexts.

Secondly, applying the CE concept to Lagos provides an opportunity to challenge some of the theoretical assumptions about waste, SE and the CE in such a LMIC context. As mentioned earlier, most emphasis has been on the role informal collectors play with limited works on formal organizations, such as SEs, also engaging in waste recovery, recycling, and repurposing practices. The emergence and proliferation of SEs, with core social and environmental objectives, in communities across the state (Olukoju, 2018) provides the impetus to study them and shed light on their practices as they establish the CE. To do this, however, will require knowledge of the circular principles they are implementing and how it is being done, as

practitioners are likely to have varying conceptualizations of the CE (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017). Therefore, exploring what they find meaningful and how they handle inherent complexities that comes with juggling multiple objectives (Doherty et. al., 2014) will help advance the current understandings of waste related practices in LMIC contexts.

Thirdly, it is believed that achieving SD will involve not merely new societal practices, but changes in the structures in which these practices are rooted, and which have co-evolved with earlier practices (Grin, Rotmans & Schot, 2011). Scholars have highlighted the role social theories such as institutional theory and embeddedness can play in advancing the missing social dimension of the CE concept (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017). Moreau et. al. (2017) specifically put forward the view that the social and solidarity economy, which SEs are a part of, promote principles such as equity in labor and governance that are necessary in bridging the current social gap and in understanding institutional change necessary to achieve a CE for SD. Therefore, this study will use institutional theory and within it, the institutional work concept, in exploring how SEs operate in the CE.

Institutional theory was selected because it has been used by scholars to explain behavior in organizational settings such as how actors (individuals or organizations) conform to institutions (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Defined as rules, norms and belief that shape behaviors (Scott, 1995), institutions are said to influence actors' activities through conventions, routines, and habits. In contradiction, the theory has also been extended to understand the processes of institutional change through which actors deliberately engage in practices capable of transforming established structures (DiMaggio, 1988). This latter perspective made this theory suitable to investigate organizations (such as SEs) that are said to defy norms of rationality by pursuing purpose rather than just profits. Additionally, it can help to understand how, through a combination of multiple objectives, such enterprises engage in acts of institutional change necessary to establish the CE.

Institutional theory offers various conceptual tools to investigate these issues such as the institutional entrepreneurship concept, used to capture the activities of actors who have an interest in particular institutional arrangements and who leverage available resources to create new or transform existing institutions (DiMaggio, 1988). Institutional logics is another concept, which is useful in clarifying "what kinds of social relationships have what kind of effect on the behavior of organizations and individuals" (Friedland & Alford, 1991, pp. 225). It gives the

social order meaning, which actors employ as cultural tools in attempts to change them (Swidler, 1986). Central to the institutional entrepreneurship and logics concepts are actors and meanings respectively, with limited emphasis on the actual activities that shapes institutions.

This was therefore, explored through the institutional work concept, which has been used to capture the 'practices' aimed at institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2005). It focuses specifically on how actors strategically deploy the sets of resources or skills they possess, or have access to, in manipulating social relationships, thereby shedding light on such strategies (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2005). With the belief that there are institutional conditions and societal values that needs to be challenged and transformed through political processes to achieve an equitable and circular economy (Moreau et. al., 2017), this theoretical tool (institutional work) will be useful to investigate and analyze how SEs are challenging such values, rules, norms, or beliefs, as they relate with a wide range of actors to establish the CE in Lagos.

Lastly, Hamann et. al. (2020) has highlighted the need for scholars to recheck their theoretical assumptions and how they are applied in different contexts i.e., developed vs developing countries, thereby encouraging spaces for broader deliberations in organizational and management studies. This is one of the motivations of this study, which is to bring in African country perspective to the overly westernized SE and CE concepts in order to contribute to the creation of a space for continuous dialogues, 'collaboration and lesson drawing' (McDowall et. al., 2017), that will not only enhance background knowledge about both concepts as it concerns the LMIC, but also help extend the current boundaries of the concepts in terms of new strategies and practices. Therefore, the next section will highlight the aim of this thesis and the questions it intends to investigate.

1.3 Research aims and questions

The main aim of this research is to gain a deeper understanding of the circular economy concept and social enterprises by exploring how they are establishing a circular economy in Lagos, Nigeria. To realize this goal, four objectives were set for this study, which are as follows:

1. To review the literature on circular economy and social enterprises highlighting their various conceptualizations and the initial theoretical framework.
2. To empirically explore a sample of social enterprise in Lagos for evidence of their circular economy practices.

3. To analyze the different strategies that they are using to establish circular principles in Lagos.

4. To highlight the policy and practical implications of conducting this study for Lagos and for social enterprises operating in such or similar contexts.

In line with this research objectives, the following questions were developed for further interrogation:

1. How do social enterprises in Lagos conceptualize the circular economy?

2. How do social enterprises combine social, economic, and environmental aims to have an impact on the circular economy in Lagos?

3. What institutional work are social enterprises doing to establish circular economy principles in Lagos?

In subsequent chapters two-four, these questions will be revisited after reviewing related literatures. The next section will briefly highlight the areas this thesis intends to contribute to knowledge.

1.4   Research contributions

From exploring the questions above, this thesis will make four main contributions to the field of CE, SEs, and institutional work:

1. Firstly, this research will contribute to literature on the practical implementation examples of the CE by presenting the five strategies being implemented in Lagos to include collection, aggregation, upcycling, clean-up, and advocacy. A categorical view of SEs establishing circular principles will be explored afterwards, drawing insights from the data analysis. Such categories or models are aimed at extending previous understandings of the types of CE practices that can be found in LMICs beyond recyclable waste collection, sorting or transforming, to include a combination of the five strategies in three different ways (labelled as volume-drivers, core-transformers, and clean-advocates in this study). Also, the findings from this study will highlight the principles of recycling and repurposing as central in practitioner's conception of the CE, thus contributing to discussions on how such actors conceptualizes the CE. Additionally, exploring the first research question will highlight the contextual conditions that motivated SEs to act, thereby contributing to knowledge on the

commercial, social, and environmental drivers of circular practices for both individuals and organizations.

2. On hybrid organizing, this thesis will contribute to knowledge on how SEs in an LMIC context organizes to realize the multiple objectives of the CE. It will extend the discussions in the hybrid organizing literature by highlighting the organizational features through which hybridity is achieved and sustained in SEs. This thesis will also highlight how the various dimensions of hybrid organizing are linked through organizational activities, thereby providing a more nuanced understanding of the former conceptual model that initially presented hybrid dimensions as distinct (i.e., Battilana & Lee, 2014). Since the focus is on multiple objectives, this second research question will also help to further the understanding of the social dimensions of the CE model that has been argued to be poorly articulated thus far by broadening it past job creation to include acts of inclusivity (children, women, and poor communities) and capacity development e.g., training people on upcycling or improving the activities of informal collectors through knowledge sharing.

3. Thirdly, this study will contribute to knowledge on the socio-institutional changes necessary to establish the CE in Lagos and the various strategies SEs are adopting to achieve this. This thesis will particularly contribute to emerging calls to bring together the institutional logics and institutional work theoretical concepts, by leveraging both lenses to explore SE practices in establishing CE principles in Lagos. The intention of SEs to disrupt the logics of waste to establish the CE, which extends the discourse on the institutional work targeted at changing societal logics, will be presented as one of the key findings of this study. This empirical analysis of SEs intended actions will also contribute to the institutional work literature by highlighting the different changing and legitimizing strategies that SEs are adopting to create a new CE system or culture and the maintenance efforts to formalize the field of waste recycling in Lagos. The issue of intended and unintended effects of SEs' actions as they are organizing to establish the CE will be presented as well, thereby contributing to the understanding of effective and noneffective strategies for SD, that has been raised in previous institutional work literatures.

4. Finally, this study will draw practical and policy implications for policy makers and practitioners interested in facilitating CE implementation and transition in a LMIC context such as Lagos Nigeria.

1.5   Research outline

To explore all its research questions, this thesis is structured as follow:

Chapter two elaborates further on the CE concept as the focus of the chapter, situating it within the post-development debates. It then explores the origin of the concept and its definition by discussing most of the principles that are associated with it drawing on key seminal works that together led to the development of the concept. It also details the challenges of this concept, as well as draw out practical examples of the concept both in China and majorly in LMICs, before concluding the chapter with the first research question and preliminary codes for the analysis stage.

Chapter three starts with details about the SE concept after which their hybrid nature was emphasized. This chapter reviews the hybrid organizing literature, discussing in detail previous works on how SEs combine multiple objectives, while also highlighting the gaps in such works. It also discusses and highlights the different strategies for managing hybridity and the tensions inherent in hybrid organising. The chapter concludes with the second research question on how SEs combine multiple objectives to achieve the goals of SD and with preliminary codes for the analysis stage.

Chapter four elaborates on institutional work, following discussions on how SEs combine multiple objectives within and without their enterprises. This chapter starts with the institutional theory literature and presents the reviews of neo-institutional theory within which institutional work is situated. Afterwards, this chapter details literature on institutional work, starting with the seminal work on the concept, and exploring its development to date. The chapter concludes by reviewing works on institutional work in plural environments, linking the concept with SE and the CE. This leads to the third research question set on the institutional work of SEs establishing circular principles, coupled with preliminary codes for the analysis stage.

Chapter five discusses the objective, design and method adopted in this thesis. It explains the triangulated method used covering semi-structured interviews, documents, archival data and fieldnotes, as well as the purposive sampling, recruitment, and data collection from these four sources. The chapter also discusses the ethical approaches to the study on how the data was collected, stored, analysed, and interpreted.

Chapter six, seven and eight presents and discusses the empirical research findings by addressing each research questions, respectively. Chapter nine then ties these empirical chapters together by reflecting on these findings within the broader literature and highlighting the key insights arising from this study. This chapter also includes limitations of the study and highlights areas for further research. It concludes by drawing out policy and practical implications for CE implementation in Lagos Nigeria and other LMICs.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 <u>Circular Economy and developing differently</u>

The last chapter introduced this thesis and provided the structure and research questions for this thesis. The first research question is focused on the CE with aims to explore how SEs conceptualize it in Lagos. This chapter will provide background information leading to this question, therefore elaborating further on the CE, its origins, definitions, and knowledge gaps. The CE framework was posited as a suitable model with strategies that can be adopted to achieve the SDGs (Murray et. al., 2017; Schroeder et. al., 2018) and it is being reviewed for this study due to its relevance in the area of waste management that is the sector of focus in this study.

The argument for a CE is that in a linear economy, virgin resources are extracted and processed through production for consumption purposes, which are then returned to the environment in the form of waste or as discarded items (Murray, Skene & Haynes, 2017). This linear economic model views have developed alongside the circular model where waste is seen and treated as a resource in itself that can be reused or processed through remanufacturing, recycling, refurbishment etc. for further consumption, in a cyclical manner that extends the lifetime of resources for sustainability (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017). This chapter will, therefore, focus on this concept of CE and its suitability as an alternative development strategy for sustainable development in the LMICs.

Continuing from the thesis background in chapter one, this chapter will start by situating the CE concept within broader development discourses, highlighting its relevance for the goal of developing differently. The origins of the CE will then be explored as a combination of several principles that have been separately studied by scholars that are interested in how mimicking natural cycles in production and consumption processes can lead to economic and environmental sustainability. Practical CE examples in China and LMICs will be described, with criticisms, as well as gaps in current understandings of the concept highlighted as conclusion.

2.1 <u>Perspectives on sustainable development and the circular economy</u>

The concept of sustainable development (SD) was formulated and presented to the world through the Bruntland report titled "Our Common Future" (WCED, 1987). The overarching

aim of the concept was to address global challenges, which are economic, social and ecological in nature, split between the overexploitation of natural resources in developed economies contributing to the dangers of climate change and the poverty, inequality, unemployment, as well as other social issues that pervades developing or less-developed economies. Since its emergence, it (SD) gained a lot of popularity and had widespread acceptance among policy makers, businesses, and the broader society as the latest development catchphrase (Lele, 1991). As explained by the author, several nongovernmental, as well as governmental organizations embraced it as the new paradigm of development, raising concerns that the concept (SD) might be in danger of "*becoming a fashionable phrase that everyone pays homage to, but nobody cares to define*" (ibid, pg. 607).

However, with such diffusion also emerged significant criticisms about how this development approach was designed. To highlight relevant views, Lele (1991) questioned its construct (SD), arguing that the concept of sustainability and development were fused together based on an incomplete understanding of the link between poverty and environmental degradation, two of the challenges that SD intends to address through continuous economic growth. Environmental issues might have underlying social issues and vice versa, highlighting the presence of deep complexities between these two dimensions beyond mere two-way linkages in the initial conception of SD (Lele, 1991) and requiring holistic approaches that addresses such complexities (e.g., Littlewood & Holt, 2014).

Other scholars criticize its approach that it is focused on continuous economic growth or development on a planet with finite resources as a means to an end (Daly, 1990; Sachs, 1992). At a more micro level, Barkemeyer et. al. (2014) questioned the articulation of SD in developing key guidelines for businesses, highlighting a key finding that the term sustainability was been used more often in the documents they reviewed, and that the notion of development designed to capture the socio-economic concerns or issues of LMICs was missing throughout the business guidance documents. These findings casted further doubts on the efficacy of the SD concept to address the variety of issues facing LMICs such as poverty, social inequality, and justice.

Another criticism of the SD concept came from post development scholars, who have been challenging the idea of development itself for LMICs, while also calling for a radical alternative to it (Sachs, 1992; Escobar, 1995). According to Pozzebon & Fontenelle (2018), these works provided a view of radical delusion and disappointment with the destructive and exploitative,

dominant, development model, which they argued focuses on economic growth in spite of human well-being concerns. The need to rethink development by favoring well-being, environment and local resources over efficiency and productivity were suggested, with some alternative models put forward e.g., 'living well'- indigenously interpreted in various forms as "sumac kawsay", "suma qamana", or "buen vivir" (Pozzebon & Fontenelle, 2018).

However, calls to replace development with an 'alternative' have been confusing to development supporters, who argued that its meaning is yet to be properly articulated (Blaikie, 2000; Andreasson, 2017; Pozzebon & Fontenelle, 2018). The lack of clarity on what the alternative to development is led Andreasson (2017, pg. 10) to conclude that "*Post-Development theory is good at generating questions about development, but less prolific when it comes to identifying alternatives thereto*". According to Blaikie (2000), an alternative imaginary to development should make the audience and author reflect about what can actually be done about it, but in this case, Post-development studies produces overgeneralizations about the histories of development, romanticizes grassroots and indigenous potential and, finally, failed to tackle alternatives to development.

Andreasson (2017) vehemently defended the need for development in LMICs (using Africa as an example) arguing that what Africans want is not to reject development for radically different alternatives but rather an integration into the global economy on fair terms. The author claims that post-development scholars fail to identify with, and speak for, the many affected by poverty and in dire need of the gains of development (Andreasson, 2017). Corbridge (1998: 145) also blamed post-development theory for failing to acknowledge 'the extraordinary accomplishments that have defined the Age of Development', such as having access to electricity, roads, hospitals, schools etc. However, Matthews (2004) warned that the call for alternatives, by some post development theorists, should not be regarded as a rejection of the desirability or possibility for progressive change or as a callous disregard of the desire of the many who are poor and needs improvement in their situation.

Like Mattews (2004), other moderate views called for a different kind of development instead in LMICs, such as Latouche (2004) who stated that "*where there is still time, they should aim not for development but for disentanglement– removing the obstacles that prevent them from developing differently…*". Such views are not in support of either a complete displacement, or a continuation, of the current development system that is predicated on boosting economic growth as a measure of human wellbeing and with less regard for the environment. However,

questions still need to be asked about what 'developing differently' means for LMICs or how much economic growth can be regarded as sustainable if planetary boundaries are to be considered (Martínez-Alier et. al., 2010; Rockström et al., 2009b)

Relevant to these discussions on alternatives and development is the CE concept that has been posited as an alternative economic approach to boost growth with minimum or zero environmental impact (Kirchherr et al. 2017; Korhonen et al. 2018b; Webster 2015). Charonis (2012) believes that the CE's approach does not strongly oppose economic growth as seen in some post-development studies, but rather aims to effectively and efficiently combine the economy and environment to produce a form of sustainability. Although the CE requires a reconsideration of the foundations of the economic system (Temesgen et. al., 2019) and changes in culture and values that underpins its linear take-make-dispose approach (Korhonen et. al., 2018), it does not support a total replacement of the economy. Instead, it promotes alternative growth methods, while sharing with other growth-critical studies the belief that unlimited growth is impossible on a finite planet (Geng et. al., 2016).

As a result, this conceptualization of the CE aligns with calls for a different kind of development in LMICs (Latouche, 2004; Inglehart et. al., 2008). With its support for development in an environmentally sustainable way, the CE is a well-received framework among policy makers and corporations, particularly in Africa. Countries such as Nigeria, South Africa and Rwanda have come together to form an alliance that together aim to promote circular principles, such as resource recovery and recycling, across the continent (Desmond & Asamba, 2019).

Drawing on these developments across Africa and the fact that Lagos Nigeria represents one of its major economic hubs with severe pollution issues (Kofoworola, 2007), it provides a suitable context to study the CE as an alternative development approach. Its ability to address complex issues and questions such as how it can bring about inclusive development that not only creates jobs but guarantees sustainable livelihoods for the marginalized (Schroder et. al., 2019), while tackling waste related issues, will be crucial in addressing the fears of both pro- and post-development scholars.

The subsequent section will now look at the CE concept in detail in order to explore its origins, principles and practices, while highlighting areas in need for further research leading to the development of the first research question for this thesis.

2.2   Circular Economy

The remaining part of this chapter will focus on this alternative economic model for SD. The subsequent sections will elaborate on this concept (CE), starting its origins, definitions, principles, criticisms, and practical examples of its implementations in different geographies. Gaps will also be highlighted, which will form the basis for further discussion and the first research question in the next chapter.

2.2.1   Origin and principles of the Circular Economy

The emergence of the CE concept has been credited to the work of Kenneth Boulding's (1966) titled *"The Economics of the Coming Spaceship Earth"*. In the study, distinction was made between two types of economic systems (open and closed) based on their effect on the environment. It was in his work that this idea of a '*closed economy'* that recognizes the limited pool of natural resources and that protects the environment from being used as a sink for toxic waste, first emerged and became prominent. As quoted in Boulding's (1966) work,

"The closed earth of the future requires economic principles which are somewhat different from those of the open earth of the past. For the sake of picturesqueness, I am tempted to call the open economy the "cowboy economy," the cowboy being symbolic of the illimitable plains and also associated with reckless, exploitative, romantic, and violent behavior, which is characteristic of open societies. The closed economy of the future might similarly be called the "spaceman" economy, in which the earth has become a single spaceship, without unlimited reservoirs of anything, either for extraction or for pollution, and in which, therefore, man (sic) must find his place in a cyclical ecological system which is capable of continuous reproduction of material form even though it cannot escape having inputs of energy" (Boulding, 1966, pg. 4).

This idea of a "*close spaceman economy*" was extended by Stahel & Reday-Mulvey (1981), to become a '*closed-loop economy'* and these ideas were part of the scholarships that informed the '*Limits to Growth'* report by Meadows et al. (1972), which represented formal appeals for action directed towards industry and global governing bodies. The waste and resource management strategies prominent during these times (19th century) include cleaner incineration, waste-to-energy, recycling, and composting, as means to avoid the issues of toxicity and resource scarcity (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017). There was also the development

of the Industrial Ecology (IE) discipline pioneered by Frosch & Gallopoulos (1989) that is also significant for emergence of the CE concept. This discipline, similar to Boulding's spaceman economy idea, was developed to oppose the separation of industrial systems from the receptor of its impacts i.e., the environment, that characterizes previous conception of such systems (Ghiselli et. al., 2016).

The IE field united the formally separated industrial and ecological systems by promoting the idea that industrial systems can learn from the efficiency and waste-less quality of natural systems, leading to the later development of principles such as '*Biomimicry*' by Benyus (1997). Biomimicry (from bios, meaning "life," and mimesis, meaning "to imitate") is a design principle that seeks sustainable solutions to human problems by consulting and emulating nature's time-tested patterns and strategies (Benyus, 2002). There are also other theoretical developments that further shaped the emergence of the CE concept.

One was the lifecycle thinking that takes a holistic view of the entire life cycle of the economic system, from production, consumption, reuse/recycling, and disposal of a product's residuals while evaluating its impact on the environment (Shah et al., 2016). This thinking promoted strategies that can extend the lifetime of resources and prevent landfilling, such as recycling, urban mining, and product-service systems, with renewed interest in product longevity, repair, refurbishment, upgradeability, and remanufacturing (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017).

Another was the discourse on SD that was sparked by the Bruntland report (WCED, 1987) leading to the consideration of interventions that can help achieve economic, social, and environmental sustainability, also known as the triple bottom line. The combination of lifecycle thinking and triple bottom line considerations further complicated waste and resource management strategies with the introduction or reiteration of more waste and resource management strategies such as zero waste, resource efficiency, extended producer responsibility, sustainable consumption and production, IE, and the green economy concepts.

Blomsma & Brennan (2017) categorized all these developments around waste and resource management into separate eras, highlighting the strategies developed in those periods. By periodizing, they intend to show how the CE emerged as an 'umbrella concept' with many resource life-extending strategies (RLESs) housed within it. The authors believed that the CE emerged to serve as a cognitive unit being a new phenomenon and a discursive space, where discussions on the application of various RLESs can be held (see Blomsma & Brennan, 2017 for full review).

Therefore, two prominent periods and the developments that led to the strategies created or reiterated in those times were highlighted, such as *'the preamble period' (from 1960-1985)* that was caused by economic growth criticisms and rise of the IE discipline. There was also *'the excitement period' (from 1985-2013)* that was caused by development of the lifecycle thinking and rising debates sparked by the SD concept (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017, pgs 607-610). This second period in particular was said to have witnessed the emergence of several waste and resource management frameworks being promoted by governments and organizations such as the 'waste hierarchy' (EC, 2008), 'Cradle-to-Cradle' (Braungart & McDonough 2002; McDonough & Braungart, 2013), 'the Performance Economy' (Stahel 2006) and 'the Blue Economy' (Pauli 2010). It was also in this second period that the CE was coined as a concept by Pearce & Turner (1990) drawing from the earlier 'closed economy' idea of Boulding (1966) and the law of thermodynamics work of Georgescu-Roegen's (1971) that dictates matter and energy deterioration (Ghisellini et. al., 2016).

This CE idea was extended, extensively promoted, and popularized by the Ellen MacAuthur Foundation (EMF, 2013), backed by global institutions such as the World Economic Forum (WEF), to represent a cognitive unit for all the RLESs frameworks developed overtime and that shared the same cyclical or loop feature. Blomsma & Brennan (2017) argued that it was the proliferation of frameworks in both the first and second periods that complicated discussions on appropriate waste and resource management strategy, creating a knowledge gap and lack of synergy between the RLESs, thereby leading to the articulation of the CE as an umbrella concept that houses all the other strategies. Aside these developments, Ghisellini et. al. (2016) also highlighted general system thinking (GST) that promoted holistic views of organizations and their relationships, as contributory towards the development of the CE. Such views also stood against isolated views of industrial systems and their environment (similar to the IE idea), calling for the investigation of the behavior of an economic agent or organization within the systems of economic relationships of other agents in the economy i.e., within its ecosystem.

Regardless of the numerous and complicated umbrella concepts housed under the CE concept, the idea still became important for academia, policymakers, and companies, and attracted huge research interest as an emerging topic (Geissdoerfer et. al., 2017) with several descriptions as to its meaning (Murray et. al., 2017). The next section will try to unpack some of the ways the CE has been defined.

2.2.2 Circular Economy definition

The CE has been tagged as an Essentially Contested Concept (ECC) (Kornohen et. al., 2018). According to them, essentially contested concepts "*are ideas that involve internal complexities, necessitate the involvement of many different schools of thought, actors and interest groups*", and the CE fits such a description (Korhonen et. al., 2018, pg. 548). As seen in how it originated (section 2.2.1 above), several umbrella concepts, each with its unique description, were merged into one umbrella concept, now globally promoted by organizations and powerful institutions (e.g., EMF and the World Economic Forum) as the CE (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017), thereby creating complications in articulating a unified description. Schroeder et. al. (2018), acknowledged this lack of an agreed and simple definition for the CE stating that it has been defined through specific actions and practices such as eco-design, reuse, refurbishment, remanufacturing, repair, sharing and industrial symbiosis.

Highlighting some useful definitional works, Murray et. al. (2017, pg. 25) defined the Circular Economy as "*an economic model wherein planning, resourcing, procurement, production and reprocessing are designed and managed, as both process and output, to maximize ecosystem functioning and human well-being*". The EMF, well known for the proliferation of the concept, introduced the Circular Economy as "*an industrial economy that is restorative or regenerative by intention and design*" (EMF, 2013b: pg. 14). A review work by Kirchherr et. al. (2017) considered 114 different definitions of the CE in literature. In their review, they discovered that the concept has been defined by scholars either by its core principle(s), its aim(s) or its enablers as shown in figure 2.1 below. Elaborating on these categories, the authors stated that the CE have been defined in some studies using core principles such as the 'R' Frameworks and system perspectives.

Figure 2.1: Conceptualization of the circular economy
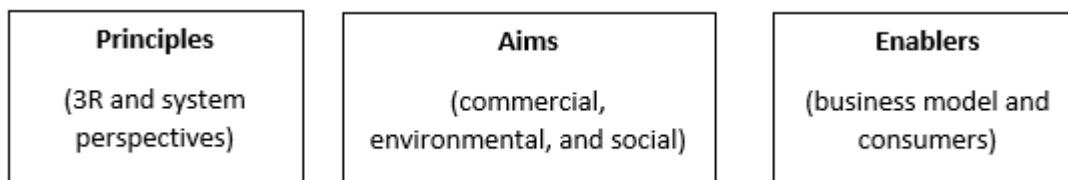
Source: Adapted from Kirchherr et. al. (2017)

The 'R' frameworks were said to include either the 3R (reduce, reuse, and recycle) as initially found in the Chinese CE promotion laws (Geng et. al., 2012); the 4R (reduce, reuse, recycle and recover) as used in the European Union (EU) Waste Framework Directive (EC, 2008) or the 9R (recover, recycle, repurpose, remanufacture, refurbish, repair, reuse, reduce, rethink and refuse) as found in Potting et al.'s (2017, pg. 5) study. Although different combinations of the 'R's were highlighted in Kirchherr et. al.'s work, the 3R was highlighted as the most prominent CE description (2017).

Aside the reduce, reuse, and recycle principles, CE definitions that posit that there is a need to radically change the current economic system towards circularity, makes up the system perspective also highlighted in Kirchherr et. al.'s (2017) work. Prominent in such definitions is the multiple level views of CE transition, where the macro level represents changes to the entire economic system of production and consumption; the meso level focuses on eco-industrial parks as systems; and the micro level represents efforts to promote circularity at the products, private enterprises, and consumers levels (Ghisellini et. al., 2016).

There are also definitions that highlights the aims of the CE. Such aims usually captures the three pillars of sustainable development i.e., its economic, social and environmental dimensions. With the CE frequently posited as the operationalization of the SDGs for businesses, economic prosperity to achieve growth was said to feature mostly in practitioner definitions of the CE than environmental quality, with the social dimensions of SD less engaged with in practice and similarly, in literature (Geissdoerfer et al., 2017; Kirchherr et. al., 2017). A CE description that captures the social dimension will not only be holistic in its approach, it will also help shed light on the intergenerational dimension that is a crucial part of the SD framework (WCED, 1987).

Lastly, there are studies that emphasizes enablers such as business models, in their conceptualization of a CE. Examples of such works includes Brennan et. al. (2015); Heyes et. al., (2018); Lewandowski (2015) and EMF (2012) that all posits business model as crucial for the take up and implementation of circular principles. Most of these studies were inspired by the role of businesses in the CE with emphasis placed more on the profitability and environmental sustainability of adopting circular models. Particularly, there are increasing interests in business models for new start-ups, innovators, and small and medium sized enterprises (Lewandowski, 2015; Heyes et. al., 2018).

However, despite the numerous definitions available on the concept, the need for coherence has been called for to avoid an eventual collapse of the concept (Kirchherr et. al., 2017). Scholars seem to agree that the conceptual discussions on CE are still in their infancy and the literature is only emerging, with a need to further consolidate its definition, boundaries, principles, and associated practices (Korhonen et. al., 2018; Merli et. al., 2018). In order to align this study with other prominent works in the CE field, thereby promoting coherence of the concept, this study will adopt the holistic definition in Kirchherr et. al's (2017, pg. 229) study to define the CE as:

"an economic system that replaces the 'end-of-life' concept with reducing, alternatively reusing, recycling, and recovering materials in production/distribution and consumption processes. It operates at the micro level (products, companies, consumers), meso-level (eco-industrial parks) and macro level (city, region, nation and beyond), with the aim to accomplish sustainable development, thus simultaneously creating environmental quality, economic prosperity, and social equity, to the benefit of current and future generations. It is enabled by novel business models and responsible consumers."

This definition will allow room to capture the variety of circular practices at the micro level involving producers, consumers, and the supply chain. It also fits well with the principle of focus in this thesis i.e., the 3R principle of the CE, which is further elaborated in the following section.

2.2.3   '3R' principle

As mentioned earlier, the CE is seen as a concept that houses several resource-life extending strategies (Lewandowski, 2015; Brennan et. al., 2015) with the 3R principle hinted as its founding and core principle. Hence, the 'R' principles have been tagged as the 'how-to' of achieving circularity (Ghesellini et. al., 2016; Zhu et al., 2010a, 2010b; Reh, 2013). While each of its components have been old practices and well known to scholars, efforts to identify a seminal work for the 3R principle have been futile (Kirchherr et. al., 2017). However, it is mostly credited to China's CE promotion laws, where the principle was fully described as the reduction, reusing and recycling of material resources, as a way to decouple economic growth from environmental degradation (Ghesellini et. al., 2016; Geng et. al., 2012).

In further elaborating each of its components, reduction in the '3R' entails minimizing material and energy throughput by improving efficiency in production and consumption processes (Potting et al., 2017, p.5; Ghisellini et. al., 2016). It involves introducing eco-efficiency strategies into industrial processes such as better technologies, lightweight products, simplified packaging, efficient household appliances etc. and a conscious effort from consumers to live simpler lifestyles (Ghisellini et. al., 2016). Reusing, on the other hand, is defined in the EC (2008, pg. 42) report as "*any operation by which products or components that are not waste are used again for the same purpose for which they were conceived*". It prevents and delays used products from becoming waste and disposed into the environment thereby contributing to a reduction in natural resource consumption and less energy or labor used in production processes (Ghisellini et. al., 2016).

Lastly, recycling also prevents unwanted products from being disposed indiscriminately to the environment. It is defined by Potting et. al. (2017) as the processing of materials to achieve the same (high grade) or lower (low grade) quality. Some authors categorized recycling into downcycling and upcycling e.g., Manickam & Duraisamy, 2019. The process of getting materials that are lower in grade quality has been called downcycling, while achieving high grade materials has been called upcycling. However, upcycling is also similar to the principle of 'repurposing' where the material quality of discarded products is maintained and used in a new product with a different function (Potting et. al., 2019).

Kirchherr et al. (2017) found that among the three principles, recycling is the most common component in all 114 definitions of the CE they examined. Other scholars have also echoed this such as Haas et. al. (2015) and Stahel (2013), who describes recycling as the leading principle of the CE. As noted by scholars, it is a principle that, without a doubt, does reduce waste but it does not really challenge the consumption practices or economic growth, making it appealing to practitioners and policy makers alike (Kirchherr et. al., 2017). As Ghisellini et. al., (2016, pg. 9) also noted, quoting Gwehenberger et al. (2003), "*if a company or the society is able to recycle all its waste, it may not be interested in reducing the amount of waste*".

However, scholars have concluded that recycling is not the most sustainable out of the three principles because, while contributing less than the reduce or reuse principle in material efficiency goals, it uses up more energy in processing organic resources into materials for fuels or backfilling operations (Haas et. al., 2015; Ghisellini et. al., 2016). Also, it is limited by nature

and material complexity as some waste materials are recyclable until a certain point or even unrecyclable.

Debates on a suitable principle that is sustainable economically, socially, and environmentally, led to the 'waste hierarchy' idea or what Jackson (1996, pg. 79) called *'cascade of use'*, in which reduce is the ideal principle to achieve the sustainable development goals, followed by reuse and then lastly recycle, before considering other least sustainable options such as combustion for energy and landfill disposal (Korhonen et. al., 2018; Manickam & Duraisamy, 2019; Kirchherr et. al., 2017). Therefore, the 3R is commonly referred to as reduce, reuse, and recycle, showing the hierarchy from the most to the least preferable option for SD. In practice, however, recycling is more prominent, particularly in private organizations where there are concerns about the effects of reducing material throughput on their economic sustainability (Kirchherr et. al., 2017).

To further contextualize the various ways the CE has been conceptualized in literature and in line with calls for practical implementation examples of its principles (Kirchherr et. al., 2017), the next section will review studies on CE practices in China and in LMIC, two regions known to have waste pollution challenges (Kofoworola, 2007; Chen et. al., 2010). With China known to be pioneers of promoting and implementing circular principles (Geng et. al., 2012) coupled with the fact that they have similar developmental needs and approaches as the LMICs, some of the ways the CE has been conceptualized in practice will be reviewed. More importantly, the less studied LMICs will be emphasized more in other to cite examples of CE-related activities or organizations already existing, even as the concept continue to emerge in such contexts (Schroeder et. al., 2018; Desmond & Asamba, 2019).

2.2.4 Circular economy practices in China and LMICs

While this thesis acknowledges the prevalence of studies documenting CE practices in western contexts at policy and practitioner levels (e.g., Hartley & Kirchherr, 2020; EMF, 2015, EC 2015a; EC, 2010; Ghisellini et. al., 2016), the focus here are on countries outside the west such as China and particularly in African regions, where such knowledge is limited. In China for example, the 3R principle has been a law targeting production, circulation, and consumption practices (Geng et. al., 2012). As an intervention mechanism due to the environmental damage caused by rapid industrialization and economic growth, the CE model was adopted at scale in China across the micro level e.g., company or consumer; meso level e.g., eco-industrial parks;

and macro level e.g., at the city, province, region and national (Ghisellini et. al., 2016). Part of the strategies adopted at the micro level were eco-design, cleaner production, consumer responsibility and green public procurement, resource recovery and environmental impact prevention strategies; at the meso level was the eco-industrial park (EIP) strategy; and at the macro level were eco-cities, collaborative consumption, innovative waste management and zero-waste strategies (Ghisellini et al., 2016).

The attractiveness of the CE to promote both economic development and environmental sustainability partly explains why the model's implementation and development gained speed in China, whose rapid growth and development required a new economic and production model to minimize waste generation (Geng et. al., 2016). Its population was in the billions and rising, so also was its economy due to large industrialization, rapid urbanization and change in consumption patterns, which also resulted in immense environmental pollution and damage. This also made the country one of the largest Municipal Solid Waste generator in the world (adapted from Chen, Geng & Fujita., 2010; Zhang, Tan, & Gersberg, 2010).

However, China's practical implementation of the CE model was at scale and at a fast pace and their policy approach to the CE has been highlighted by McDowall et. al. (2017) as that which is more focused on curbing pollution issues as a response to the environmental challenges confronting the country. Regions with similar developmental and pollution issues such as LMICs, however, lacks comprehensive studies that shed light on practices aimed at minimizing waste by promoting or establishing a CE (Schroeder et. al., 2018). China here is not categorized as part of the LMICs as the country is placed in the upper-middle-income country category at the latest World Economic Situation and Prospect report (WESP, 2020), which puts the country above those classified as 'developing' but below the 'developed' countries. Although both contexts share similar development patterns that has led to increasing engagements between the two regions (Akyeampong & Fofack, 2019).

Highlighting Africa within the countries categorized as having low and middle incomes (WESP, 2020), the rate of economic development, population growth and urbanization witnessed locally in countries have also come with a huge waste problem (Bello, Ismail & Kabbashi, 2016). According to the UNH (2014), "between 2010 and 2035, urban population is expected to more than double from approximately 298 million to 697 million and by mid-century, it is estimated that over one billion people will live in urban areas in Sub-Saharan Africa". As highlighted by Ghisellini et. al. (2016), municipal solid waste is mainly disposed

in landfills, recycled, or recovered in urban centers and some of the waste also end up being burned, buried or disposed in water bodies.

Along with these waste disposal habits, there have been many CE practices in LMICs that is now being looked at through the CE lens, with some scholars capturing many small-scale examples in places such as India, Brazil, Indonesia etc. Examples of the circular practices recorded included waste collection and recycling, repair, refurbishment etc. (see Schroeder et. al., 2019 for different case studies on CE in LMICs). Highlighting an example, Holt & Littlewood (2017) presented three categories of waste entrepreneurs organizing at the micro level as collectors, retailers, and transformers in Kenya. Collectors engages in waste picking from streets, retailers sell used or second-hand materials and transformers makes household products from waste materials. Although, their study did not refer to the CE term, the categories and strategies highlighted in their study were underpinned by principles that has been captured under the CE framework e.g., waste recycling and upcycling, making it significant for this research in terms of taking if forward to explore organizations involved in similar waste related practices in Lagos.

At the policy level, many LMICs are implementing the Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR) model as a way to hold producers accountable for their waste and encourage and enable recycling at the grassroot for economic and environmental sustainability. This model is being promoted regionally, e.g., three African countries (Rwanda, Nigeria and South Africa) came together in 2017 to form the African Circular Economy Alliance (ACEA) with aims to stimulate momentum towards CE transformation (Molewa, 2017). Their approach is to encourage the development of CE policies such as the EPR across other African countries as a way to protect the environment and manage waste.

Nigeria is one of the African countries that has developed their EPR policies with aims to minimize industrial waste and widely promote formal recycling activities (Peter & Desmond, 2019). A West African country of over 160million people and with an urban growth rate of 3.78% (Oguntoyinbo, 2012), management of wastes was already a major area of concern to the government and its 'well meaning' citizens (Garba, 2010). If well enforced, the EPR have the potential to hold polluters accountable for their activities and generate socio-economic dividends. As the awareness of waste as a resource increases, understanding how the circular business model is deployed in LMICs, particularly in the focus context for this research

(Nigeria), can be useful in comparing with or some western theoretical conceptualizations of the circular economy concept.

Furthermore, as the concept starts to gain relevance in Nigerian and other LMIC alike through key circular policies and practices, it has the potential to lead to significant socio-economic gains and more environmentally friendly business practices. However, with gaps in knowledge globally on how to apply circular principles to firm's operations or how firms may adapt their business models to the CE framework (Merli et. al., 2018), such potentials are likely to remain trapped and unrealized in the Nigerian context too. Therefore, there are needs for further studies that informs practitioners and nascent entrepreneurs, looking for ways to embed circular principles into their ongoing or planned organizational activities, about the likely strategies suitable for such purposes. This will enable organizations, both small and large, to play the proposed central role in facilitating circular transition in such context and beyond.

The next section will further review Lagos state in Nigeria as the context of interest in other to further understand the opportunities for circular economy innovations to establish its principles.

2.3   Background of Lagos state and its waste management sector

Lagos state is one of the largest and the most industrialized cities in Nigeria (Kofoworola, 2007). While it is currently the most populous city in Africa with populations of up to 21million people (Lagosstate.gov.ng), it is also, geographically, the smallest of the 36 states in Nigeria and the sixth largest global conurbation (Dixon et. al., 2017). The indigenous people in the state are the Yoruba tribes as the state lies in the South-Western parts of Nigeria sharing borders with Ogun state (another state with mostly Yoruba inhabitants), both to the north and east (Njoku, 2004). Despite it being a land filled with Yoruba indigenes, it is now 'a global socio-cultural' city (lagos.gov.ng), which is attracting Nigerians from numerous tribes such as Ibo and Hausa tribes, as well as other Africans and foreigners alike.

The state government's office is located on the mainland in the capital city of Ikeja and has a staff strength of 100 000 (Badmus, 2017), including a deputy governor and governor who oversees the affairs of the state. The state was also stated to be the economic heart of Nigeria as it handles over 80 percent of the nation's imports (Aspen, 2017). With a fast-growing economy and population, comes also a wide range of challenges. Majority of the Lagos

residents are poor, and they make a heavy demand on available resources, while also generating large quantities of waste (Kofoworola, 2007).

Lagos is home to five landfill sites with one being reputed as the largest in Africa, amid other numerous retired and active dumpsites spread around the city (Olukoju, 2018). The state government, through its parastatal known as the Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA), is responsible for the management of the landfills and interfacing with relevant stakeholders towards better delivery of waste services in the state. Some of the stakeholders includes formal private sector operators that have liaised with the state since the year 1996/1997, through the Private Sector Participation (PSP) scheme inaugurated in specific areas of the state (Adebola, 2006, pg. 2). Organizations involved in the PSP scheme collects waste from households and they are subject to government control through LAWMA, who oversees their activities and grant new, renew, or terminate existing contracts.

The system of waste collection is different to those usually found in western countries where, for example, large material recovery facilities (MRFs) are contracted and paid by the local authorities to collect and process large volumes of mixed waste from households, whose tax payment already covers areas such as waste management (Burgess et. al., 2021). In Lagos, every households are responsible for paying their waste bills, which the government charges separately aside the tax, and the PSPs are not MRFs but collection companies that usually picks up waste from households to take to landfill sites across the state.

Within the time this thesis was being developed, the PSP program was initially suspended in the state with the introduction of a new international operator to manage waste collection and disposal activities in the state (Ezeamalu, 2018). This new operator was appointed on the basis that the local PSP operators lack the logistical capacity to manage waste collection in the state and due to accusations of illegal disposal of waste in unapproved sites or open dumps by these operators (Ezeamalu, 2018). This led to fierce political debates among the new operators, state and local PSP operators, as well as disorganization in the management of waste collection that has affected its effectiveness (Akoni, 2018). The tensions in the sector dragged on until a new state administration was appointed through local elections, who now re-introduced the PSP program back, and some new agreements were reached with the former operator that held the concession to waste management in the state.

Amid this instability in the waste management structure of the state, the new state administration is also very interested in CE ideas to manage the waste pollution problems in

the state, with campaign promises to incorporate circular ideas, such as waste recycling, into their development agenda. Efforts to rebuild the state back following the impact of the Covid19 pandemic has also accelerated and increased interest in adopting the circular model to develop the state sustainably and create jobs (Oolasunkanmi, 2020). However, there seems to be an awareness that achieving such transition from a linear to a CE in the state will come with numerous challenges, as the state governor stressed in the following quote on the government's website:

"One of the challenges that we will face in building a Circular Economy in Lagos State is that we will have to jettison the old models of livelihood and economic survival built on the paradigm of the Linear Economy. It will not be easy to convince people, businesses and governments to dismantle what we have been used to and start afresh in building something that is sustainable and that holds greater potential for the future" (Oolasunkanmi, 2020).

Aside these issues raised by the state's chief administrator, scholars have highlighted other two key challenges to effective solid waste management in the state, which will also have an impact on plans to establish or transition to a CE, that will need to be considered e.g., the activities of informal waste pickers and public attitude towards waste generation and disposal. Such literatures are briefly reviewed below.

2.3.1 Informal recycling of solid wastes in Lagos

The non-state but crucial stakeholders, that play a vital role in the management of waste in the city are the informal waste pickers and operators. Also known as the "informal recycling sector", their operations are understood as the activities of scavengers and waste pickers and others involved in the processing/transformation and trade of materials recovered from waste (Nzeadibe & Iwuoha, 2008). Some have argued that the lack of a formal resource recovery program in Lagos led to the involvement of a significant number of people in informal recovery and recycling of waste for a livelihood, while others have argued that poor '*social conditions that fuel disaffection and hopelessness led the unemployed to the landfills to eke out a living'* (Olukoju, 2018, pg. 98).

The organized network that makes up the informal recycling system in Lagos consists of waste pickers, small buyers/middlemen, large buyers/brokers, and small and medium scale industries (Nzeadibe & Iwuoha, 2008). Olukoju (2018) further confirmed this in a recent study but described this hierarchical network as consisting of the cart pushers, waste pickers or

scavengers, the resource merchants, and the recyclers. As described by the author, the cart pusher is responsible for carrying out a door-to-door collection of household waste, the waste pickers engage in material recovery, which they then sell to the resource merchants, and the recyclers (e.g., factories) convert the recovered materials into usable products or raw materials for further use in industries locally and internationally (Olukoju, 2018).

The influence of these informal operators in the general integrated waste management practice in the state is significant as they are argued to control about 70 to 80% of the total waste generated, which they manage through collection, transportation, recovery and recycling (Nzeadibe & Iwuoha, 2008; Olukoju, 2018). Nzeadibe & Iwuoha (2008) reported that the number of scavengers that work at one of the landfill sites in Lagos ('Ojota' landfill site also popularly known as 'Olusosun' landfill site) ranges from 2500 to 3000, and they work for long hours searching for potentially useful items, with specializations in picking either discarded iron, aluminum, cans, plastic and clothes (Olukoju, 2018). Scholars argued that the main motivation for engaging in scavenging is economic as some become scavengers either by choice or by their inability to secure employment (Down & Medina, 2000).

Although their influence on the environment and job creation is notable, their operations are said to contain some questionable practices. A research on the social network structure of informal economies argued that such networks are traversed by hierarchies, divisions and inequalities structured along the lines of gender, income level and age, among others (Lindell, 2010b). Among such questionable practices is the use of under-aged scavengers and teenagers, who work with experienced adults on the dumpsite (Olukoju, 2018). Using an example in from a northern state in Nigeria (Kaduna), Adama (2012) mentioned the presence of child labor with child waste pickers, as young as age seven, being involved and, thereby, exposed to the health and environmental risks associated with waste picking.

Women are also said to be unable to defend their rights and interests within existing networks as they tend to engage in similar activities of waste picking and sorting but are mostly paid less for materials than if it were to be from a male waste picker (Adama, 2012). These abuses are also likely to occur in Lagos, where women have been reported to be stereotyped by men as weak, unskilled and lack knowledge to engage in picking high earning waste materials from landfills (Obadina et. al., 2015).

In one of the landfill sites in Lagos, there is an influential scavenger co-operative (which they refer to as Union) with a chairman and executive committee (Nzeadibe & Iwuoha, 2008). The

Union was formed to protect the interests of the scavengers from middlemen, as well as the interests of those dealing in different materials. The leadership of the Union mediates in the resolution of conflicts that sometimes arises between the scavengers and the workers from the government agency - LAWMA. Nevertheless, the state and informal recycling sector do not always agree as some state accommodates their activities, while others are hostile towards such groups (Adama, 2012).

In the case of Lagos, there have been previous attempts by the state government to terminate the work of cart pushers due to accusations that they complicate the work of LAWMA waste workers through their indiscriminate dumping of wastes at unauthorized places which includes roads, streets and vacant lots (Nzeadibe & Iwuoha 2008). Government officials regard their activities (cart pushers) as illegal and sometimes engage the service of the police in driving away scavengers from landfill sites especially for contravention of regulations related to recovery of materials at designated places (Nzeadibe & Iwuoha, 2008).

Despite the contributions of informal waste pickers to the economy and the environment, the authority disregards them for reasons, Nzeadibe & Iwuoha (2008) argued, was due to their low social status. However, several scholars have called for the recognition and integration of informal operators' activities into the overall solid waste management system because of their unacknowledged but important contributions towards reducing poverty, creating jobs and reducing the amount of waste requiring disposal (Berthier, 2003; Nzeadibe & Iwuoha, 2008).

Such calls seemed to have resonated with regulators who have developed plans to include such actors into the overall waste recycling initiatives in the states. The new plan is to include waste pickers as 'resource managers', leveraging the recruitment system of the private sector actors carrying out waste related activities in the state (lawma.gov.ng). However, the recent covid-19 pandemic further raised fears about the plight of informal waste workers with calls intensified to regard them as 'essential workers' in need of protection from the disease, as well as, to offer them necessary support to prevent exposure (Nzeadibe & Ejike-Alieji, 2020). Efforts to establish the CE in Lagos will require consideration and inclusion of these key players in waste collection and recycling, which will require unique approaches different to those seen in western context, where such waste pickers on landfill sites are hardly found. The next section will detail the second challenge to effective solid waste management in Lagos, which will also have implications for any CE initiative.

2.3.2 Public attitudes towards solid wastes management

Aside from dealing with the informal recycling operators in the state, the government officials have to also cope with public attitude towards waste and its management. The inability or unwillingness of the public to pay for the waste collection service rendered to them (Olukoju, 2018) have been highlighted and said to be significant in developing economies (Owolabi et. al., 2016), thereby posing a challenge to the sustainability of waste management in the state. While market unions have been leveraged successfully to collect such dues in the past, getting the same response from households have proved difficult to manage (Olukoju, 2018).

There is also the issue of a poor conception of urban spaces by inhabitants in Lagos and widely across Nigeria, where such spaces are seen as natural dumpsites. As a result, people engage in indiscriminate dumping of refuse and the littering of the environment. It was said to be culturally inclined as some people share the belief that "*rainfall will always take the dirt away*" (Olukoju, 2018, pg. 94). Omorede (2014) argued that some people within the Nigerian society may be ignorant and hold unscientific beliefs, which poses major societal problems, as it sometimes results in unreasonable actions among individuals.

Elaborating more on waste and culture, Olukoju (2018) stated that waste as a concept has always had a negative attribution, which is now changing with its current conception as a resource instead of a mere refuse. Early conceptualizations or descriptions of 'waste' was as that which is unwanted or lacks value (Adewole, 2009). Olukoju (2018) further explained how people, belonging to one of multiple tribes residing in Lagos, regarded wastes and its '*resting place*', also known as dumpsites (Olukoju, 2018).

The dumpsite was formerly despised as the final place for discarded items including sewage and serves an additional purpose for people or groups interested in traditional rituals to gods or some malevolent spirits (Olukoju, 2018). This exposition explains the reasons for the attitude of the public towards waste pickers or scavengers who they refer to mostly in demeaning terms and why working as a paid street-sweepers is perceived as a despised profession (Olukoju, 2018).

Such negative denotation of waste can be argued to be responsible for people's attitude towards what is regarded as waste, which is sometimes indiscriminately dumped in open urban spaces. It can also be attributed to the lack of appropriate attitude towards waste disposal mechanisms such as recycling, as the problem of waste sorting persists in the state. Waste segregation

(sorting) in developing country contexts is still a challenge, argued to be due to lack of knowledge of available technologies and good practices for waste management (Owolabi et. al., 2016). It is what differentiates the developed and developing countries in terms of recycling, as most inhabitants in the developed countries arguably show their awareness and desire to recycle through sorting of their wastes (Amick, 2014), which is not yet the case in the developing contexts like Lagos.

The recycling chain starts with waste segregation which usually takes place at the source of waste generation such as residential (household), commercial or industrial sources. With household waste said to be significant in the amount that ends up at the landfills (Adewole, 2009; Adama, 2012; Abila, 2018; Olukoju, 2018), promoting a recycling behavior among these sets of actors (households) will play a crucial role in the management or recycling of solid wastes in such context.

Households in Lagos, and nationally, are said to either lack access to a formal platform for SWM (Abila, 2018) or are generally ignorant about the benefits of recycling for their wellbeing and that of the environment. Although, a research on households recycling behaviors in Kaduna state (another state in Nigeria) contradicts this view as it demonstrates household's awareness of the benefits of recycling as that which preserves the environment, enables them to earn monetary rewards, demonstrates their environmental awareness and conserves the cost of resources (Abd'Razack et. al., 2016), thus signifying potential cultural differences across states.

Another study argued that financial incentives is one of the most important factors for promoting the recycling of municipal solid waste at the household level in Nigeria (Abila, 2018). Olukoju (2018, pg. 103) conclusively stated that "…*it is clear that the most critical element in the waste management saga is the individual at the household level. This is where waste minimization and sorting at source, with the least environmental impact, can be achieved.*" Aside from the lack of a culture of waste segregation among the general public in Lagos Nigeria, the weakness of the state government and its agencies (e.g., LAWMA) in providing appropriate infrastructures or equipment for the collection and disposal of waste also have a role to play in household's attitude towards waste sorting and recycling.

In summary, organizing for a CE in Lagos must, therefore, acknowledge the role of informal waste pickers and the attitude of the public towards waste, alongside other drivers that have been identified in other literatures, such as the study of Akanle & Shittu (2018) which

highlighted some relevant contextual factors influencing activities in the waste sector in Lagos, which could act as triggers for organizations. Such factors include negative public perception, infrastructure gaps, waste effects on people's health, lack of awareness about recycling and unfavorable business climate.

Therefore, in studying CE conceptualizations, it is important to pay attention to these factors that can also act as enablers for micro level organizing in other to contribute to the emerging literature on conditions that leads to organizational development or any form of organizing (Battilana et. al., 2017; Chilova & Ringov, 2017). The next section highlights some of the challenges with the CE as a concept and other gaps in its literature.

2.4   Challenges of the Circular Economy concept

Having detailed key works on the CE around origins, definition and practical examples, this section will highlight the knowledge gap in studies about the concept. While some levels of success have been achieved through decoupling in both Europe and China using CE's eco-efficiency strategies (Ghisellini et. al., 2016), scholars have argued that it has led to a "rebound effect", where improvements in productivity of resources did not translate into a reduction of resource use, but rather into an increase of them (Ness, 2008; Jackson, 2017, pg. 87-96; Korhonen et. al., 2018). As further illustrated by Korhonen et. al. (2018), an increased production efficiency leads to a decrease in production cost and end-product prices thereby driving up more consumption of virgin resources. For example, despite having high recycling rates across all the European Union (EU) member states, 44% of processed materials are used to provide energy and are not available for recycling, leading to low degree of circularity in the region (Haas et. al., 2015).

The authors also showed that only 6% of all materials processed in the global economy are recycled and contribute to closing the loop, despite increase in material throughput globally. Jackson (2017, pg. 102) calls the assumption, that the capitalistic propensity for efficiency can lead to climate stabilization or resource scarcity protection, 'delusional', thereby questioning the possibility of a complete decarbonization of energy systems or dematerialization of the society's current consumption patterns. Other authors have used the law of thermodynamics to explain how all economic activities, including CE-type initiatives, consume energy, increase entropy and decrease energy, simply reiterating the fact that CE projects and economic activities produces environmental impacts and consume resources (Korhonen et. al., 2018).

Also, there have been several studies on business models for the CE (Lewandoski, 2016; Brennan et. al., 2015; Heyes et. al., 2018). The concept has been presented as a way to achieve the economic, social and environmental objectives of the SD framework (Geissdoerfer et al., 2017; Schroeder et. al., 2018). However, globally, emphasis has focused on different aspects of these objectives such as the European emphasis on commercialization and Chinese focus on tackling pollution and environmental degradation (McDowall et. al., 2017).

While there is limited knowledge on the perspective being taken in other LMICs such as Nigeria, the scholars called for caution in drawing direct equivalence between efforts in different regions, calling for mutual understanding, collaboration, and lesson drawing among different regions (McDowall et. al., 2017). In addition, while scholars have expressed interests in the managerial implications of implementing circular principles, there has been limited work on how to apply circular principles to organizational operations or how companies may incorporate elements of circularity into their business models (Merli et. al., 2018).

The work of EMF (2015) has started to do this highlighting the ReSOLVE framework with examples drawn from big businesses. How small and medium size companies (SMEs) or social enterprises (SEs) can adopt or adapt to such circular business models are still generally unclear in literature. Other business model issues include how to penetrate the market with circular product and services for sustainability. Scholars have highlighted the possibility for CE-type innovation to break through in the market, already saturated with products from the dominant linear economic model (Korhonen et. al., 2018).

This has been highlighted as a major threat to the circular economy model in achieving its economic and environmental decoupling goals due to the effects of path dependency and lock-in that might prevent consumers from wanting to switch from a product they are familiar with to an unfamiliar one (Ehrenfeld, 2000; Norton et al., 1998; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Also, businesses might be hesitating to take on circular models thereby continuing with their old ways of doing things rather than venture into unknown futures (Korhonen et. al., 2018). Such issues need further exploration in order to facilitate a CE.

One of the earlier criticisms of the SD concept was its poor articulation of its development aspect, especially in the guidelines that was set by global institutions for businesses to achieve the SDGs, such as the UN Global Compact, the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, the ICC Business Charter for Sustainable Development etc. (Barkemeyer et. al., 2014). From their analysis of these key business guidelines (ibid), they stressed that emphasis

have been mainly placed on environmental considerations, with the social aspects of sustainability such as poverty alleviation, that are significant to the poorest nations hardly addressed. Therefore, if the CE is to be considered a suitable pathway to achieve the SDGs, then promoting holistic approaches to SD by ensuring all its dimensions are simultaneously addressed will be crucial.

However, scholars have also emphasized the neglect of the social pillar of SD by CE discourses (Ghisellini et. al., 2016; Murray et. al., 2017; Blomsma & Brennan, 2017; Geissdoerfer et. al., 2017; Schroeder et. al., 2018). Analysis of 114 definitions of CE (Kirchherr et. al., 2017) and 601 academic papers on CE (Merli et al., 2018) found little evidence of its impact on social equity and much greater emphasis placed on economic prosperity and environmental impact. The social dimension of sustainability has been said to explicitly include human stakeholders, human well-being, and human rights (Murray et. al., 2017). As stated by Wu (2005), a true circular economy should lead to the development of the economy, environment, and society. Although, some scholars have pointed out the CE's contribution to all three dimensions of sustainability (Korhonen et. al., 2018), others have criticized the concept's reference to only job creation as its social benefit, thereby advocating for more on general social wellbeing instead (Geissdoerfer et al, 2017).

It is currently unclear how the model will result in increased social quality in terms of inter- and intra-generational equity, gender, racial and religious, financial equality or even equality in social opportunities (Murray et. al., 2017). For example, issues of intergenerational concerns that is at the core of the SD framework has been said to be missing in circular economy conceptualizations (Kirchherr et. al., 2017). As earlier explained, the SD is framed as a way to protect the planet for both present and future generations benefit, and circular conversations have hardly touched on this dimension nor explicate how to factor in future generation concerns into current circular practices.

There are also other issues of informality, corruption, inequality, poverty, and livelihood issues that are currently not well treated in CE discourses (Schroeder et. al., 2019). Previous studies have documented how distinctive conditions such as poverty, resource scarcity, informality, and ethnic group identities, influences economic activities in LMICs (Rivera-Santos et. al., 2015; Chilova & Ringov, 2017). As stated earlier, a recent study that looks at the impact of Covid19 on the waste management sector in Nigeria explained how informal actors are still excluded in the waste governance and policy processes of the country (Nzeadibe & Ejike-

Alieji, 2020). The authors concluded the need to acknowledge those actors if solid waste management is going to achieve any success in Nigeria and in other similar contexts.

As O'Brien (2008) noted, the discourse regarding waste is "a social process of valuation and the industrial, political and economic means of its realization". This infers that people cannot be ignored in the discussions on waste and with the issues highlighted in previous studies (e.g., Nzeadibe & Ejike-Alieji, 2020; Oolasunkanmi, 2020), establishing a CE might be more challenging in LMICs. Therefore, limited understandings of the social dimension can create a diversion from more comprehensive and holistic approaches that are necessary for the successful transition to a sustainable economic system, as is urgently currently needed in a resource-constrained planet (Geissdoerfer et. al., 2017), both for the developed and 'developing' economies.

Furthermore, designing for circularity requires approaches at all levels, whether top-down, bottom-up or at the meso-level (Ghesellini et. al., 2016). As an example, a top-down approach will be through integrated policies and strategies to stimulate societies towards making effective use of material resources in sustainable ways while a bottom-up approach can include the work of grassroot initiatives in waste recovery and recycling, scavengers, and decomposers, all applying innovative mechanisms to extract resources out of wastes etc. As previous studies have highlighted a rise in government-backed private sector attempts at waste recycling aside informal waste pickers, this study is specifically interested in such bottom-up approach to waste recovery and recycling, particularly focusing on identifying and exploring formal organizations operating in the circular economy in Nigeria. There has been lots of emphasis placed on informal sector recycling in Nigeria (Ezeah et al. 2013), Africa (Hande, 2019; Bello et. al., 2016) and other LMICs (Down & Medina, 2000; Chaturvedi et al. 2015; Smet & Linder, 2019).

Formal recycling efforts have received little attention so far in the CE discourses about such contexts and that makes investigating issues such as how to bridge between the activities of the state and informal collectors, through organized formal enterprises, lacking (Olukoju, 2018). As shown earlier, governments in Nigeria have banned informal waste pickers in the past and have current intentions to terminate their activities in the waste sector for e.g., the LAWMA *"Blue Box initiative"* in Lagos aims to get tough with scavengers from June 2021 by discontinuing their activities and integrating them into formal waste recycling schemes (lawma.gov.ng). The economic contributions of these informal workers, as well as their impact on ridding the environment of harmful waste has been well documented (Nzeadibe & Iwuoha,

2008). These therefore raises concerns about the potency of placing bans on such actors and the likely impact of such moves on economic prosperity, social equity and wellbeing and environmental sustainability.

The role formal private organizations play within such debate need to be highlighted also, particularly those of social enterprises (SE) that are known to tackle social issues using commercial means (Doherty et. al., 2014). Can some insights be gleaned from investigating organizations operating in the CE in Nigeria to extend the social dimension argument of the model? How are formal organizations co-existing and relating with informal collectors and the government agencies in charge of waste in the state? Are their approaches in implementing circular economy principles similar to that of the informal collectors or different? If different, how so and what are the implications of their activities on informal waste collection and waste picking in the state? Some of these issues will be revisited in the next chapter, after elaborating on the meaning and examples of a SE.

2.5   Summary and conclusion

The CE is a design approach for a new economy that is relevant to calls for a different kind of development for LMICs. As a pathway to achieving sustainable development, it advocates for a disengagement from the linear economic model of more production, consumption, and wastage of limited natural resources. Therefore, the concept serves as an alternative development framework that aims to inject ideas of circularity into such linear economic framework by increasing the efficiency of production and consumption systems through appropriate use, reuse, and exchange of resources (Ghisellini et. al., 2016). Due to its context of focus and the environmental challenges therein, the perspective of the CE taken in this study relates more closely to waste management or waste as resource approaches with emphasis on efforts to process waste, loop it around and inject it back into the economy (Bocken et. al., 2014; EMF, 2015), which was why the 3R principles was earlier reviewed. However, this thesis also acknowledged other perspectives that aims to prevent waste from being generated in the first place through design approaches (EMF, 2015).

Therefore, this chapter has detailed the origin, definition, and principles of the CE, while also highlighting CE implementation examples in policies and practices. The key concepts emerging from this chapter includes the **principles of the CE, particularly the '3R'** i.e., reduce, reuse, and recycle, which was highlighted as the most prominent circular economy

idea. Aside the principles, this study also highlighted that the CE is a pathway to achieving the **sustainable development goals**, which includes **commercial, social, and environmental elements**, while also drawing out the gaps in knowledge around the social dimension of circularity. Since the CE has a system perspective (Kirchherr et. al., 2017), this study highlighted that circular strategies and practices exist at the micro, meso and macro level, giving examples of approaches obtainable at each level. For example, micro level approaches capture efforts to establish the CE at the products, private enterprises, and consumers levels (Ghisellini et. al., 2016) and involves the works of actors such as **waste collectors (formal or informal), retailers and transformers** engaged in resource life-extending activities e.g., recycling, in most LMICs (Holt & Littlewood, 2017).

Also important is that the CE has **drivers or enablers** that makes it possible for individuals or organizations to innovate ways or means that prolongs material and energy resources, particularly in a context such as Lagos, which includes its **value proposition, consumer or public attitudes towards waste, informality, regulations, infrastructural gaps, negative waste effect on people, extent of recycling awareness and unfavorable business climate**. These are summarily presented in figure 2.2 below.

Additionally, this chapter drew out criticisms and gaps in current thoughts about the CE. One of the gaps hinted was that more needs to be done to understand CE from a LMIC perspective, particularly how formal enterprises are engaging with circular principles and bridging between the commercial, social, and environmental tensions present in such contexts. A brief review of an LMIC i.e., Lagos Nigeria shows unique conditions that would matter in making economic activities circular or act as triggers for micro level organizing in such contexts such as informality, traditional beliefs, poverty etc., thereby presenting the opportunity to observe how such organizing for a CE might be different from dominant western practices.

This study, therefore, sets out to focus on exploring how the CE is conceptualized in Lagos taking the views of social enterprises as an example of formal organizations, which will be further defined and elaborated in the next chapter. As a result, the first question for this thesis is as follows:

Research question 1: -

How do social enterprises in Lagos conceptualize the circular economy?

The following preliminary codes emerged (see figure 2.2 below) from this chapter based on the key concepts discussed above. They will be critically applied in further exploring this question and as guides at the data analysis stage.

Figure 2.2: Theoretical ideas used to inform the coding framework for the first research question
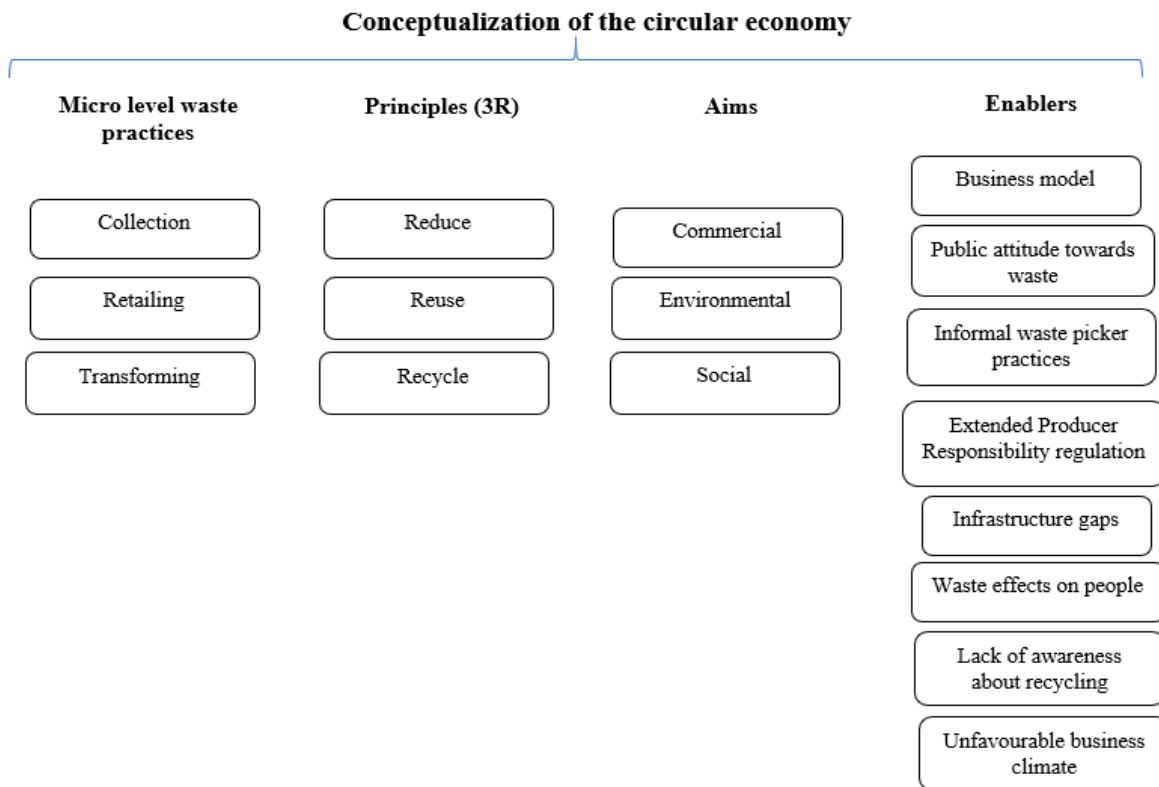
Conceptualization of the circular economy

Micro level waste practices	Principles (3R)	Aims	Enablers
Collection	Reduce	Commercial	Business model
Retailing	Reuse	Environmental	Public attitude towards waste
Transforming	Recycle	Social	Informal waste picker practices
			Extended Producer Responsibility regulation
			Infrastructure gaps
			Waste effects on people
			Lack of awareness about recycling
			Unfavourable business climate

Source: Adapted from Kirchherr et. al. (2017); Holt & Littlewood (2017); Nzeadibe & Iwuoha (2008); Olukoju, (2018).

The next chapter will respond to calls for more research on the role organizations play- "*first in sustaining the traditional growth paradigm and second in bringing alternative paradigms forward*" (Banerjee et. al., 2018, pg. 3). According to Latouche (2010., pg. 876), a fundamental reworking of our economic institutions and imaginaries consists of a "matrix of alternatives", which Buch-Hansen (2014., pg. 172) stated "*will in all likelihood be hybrids*" that combine radically new elements with elements from the institutional configurations characterizing currently existing forms of capitalism. This explains why the focus in this thesis is on SEs and their ability to set and pursue commercial, social and environmental goals simultaneously. These types of organizations are reviewed next where the second research question for this thesis will also be presented.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 <u>Social Enterprise and hybrid organizing</u>

With increasing pressures on societal actors (state, private and non-market) to respond to sustainability challenges and meet the triple bottom-line goals of SD, several models that attempts to achieve holistic social change have been presented, with the circular economy (CE) model, commonly recommended in the reduction and management of wastes, reviewed in the last chapter. It was presented as an alternative development model that aims to foster economic and environmental development by challenging the linear economic system for circularity (turning waste into a resource for production or consumption and keeping it in the system in a cyclical manner). Aside its impact in minimizing waste and environmental degradation, the CE was also expected to address intractable social issues, particularly the issue of poverty, social inequality and justice that are prevalent in LMICs to achieve SD.

However, being a macro-level concept with micro-level implications, there have been calls for practical circular implementation examples (Kirchherr et. al., 2017). Social enterprises (SEs) have been proposed as a suitable replacement to the values and economic logic of mainstream capitalism as it places attending to social need and enabling social participation before the imperatives of capital accumulation, corporate profits, share-holder value, and individual gain (Hudson, 2009). To also highlight the environmental objectives of SEs, Littlewood & Holt (2014) stated that hybrid sustainable enterprises such as green SEs, that holistically pursues social and environmental objectives through business means, are critical for the SD of such contexts. The authors, therefore, called for further research on these types of hybrid enterprises in order to better understand how they emerge and organize (ibid), which aligns with the micro-level practice call in CE discourses as well.

This chapter is thus important for this study as it intends to focus and shed light on those alternative ways of organizing that prioritizes people and the environment in establishing the CE. Most importantly, this chapter will review works on how hybrid organizations such as SEs set out to realize the triple commercial, social, and environmental missions or objectives of sustainable development (Hudon & Huybrechts, 2017). Therefore, to structure the reviews in subsequent sections, this chapter will start by exploring the debates that connect SEs with the SD framework. Afterwards, a review of SEs will be carried out with a working definition for this thesis presented. This will be followed by reviewing literatures on hybrid organizing in

SEs and the different strategies employed to take advantage of opportunities or avoid tensions. Also, the different legal forms of SEs will be briefly described globally, with emphasis placed on the context of this research's focus. The chapter will conclude with a research question that emerged from the knowledge gaps about SEs and hybrid organizing, while also drawing out the key take-aways from this chapter.

3.1   Social enterprise and sustainable development

Sustainable development (SD) and social enterprise (SE) are two unique concepts with different levels of analysis, split between the macro level and the organizational level. Despite their distinctiveness, there is an increasing convergence of the two scientific communities as scholars in both fields are now exploring common areas of connections (Hudon & Huybrechts, 2017). According to the authors, there was a triple increase in the number of academic publications at the intersection of these different fields i.e., that address both "sustainable development" and "social enterprise" from 6% in 1996 to 17% in 2015, empirically supporting claims of a growing number of established connections between these fields (Hudon & Huybrechts, 2017). Scholars have hinted at the partly overlapping principles and values embedded in both concepts as they emphasize the need to examine and improve the economic, social, and environmental sustainability of business activities (Seelos & Mair, 2005; Cretieneau 2010).

It is believed that aligning the activities of SEs towards SD can enrich its scope of societal aims and integrate the actions of its organizations into a long-term societal transition plan (Cretieneau 2010; Seyfang & Haxeltine, 2012). Also, the approaches SEs take to manage the combination of economic, social and – increasingly- environmental sustainability dimensions can broaden the SD discourse and discipline with real bottom-up solutions that contradicts the dominant market solutions that has led to economic, social, environmental, and ethical crises currently and in the past (Levesque, 2002; Seelos & Mair, 2005; Littlewood & Holt, 2014). Hudon & Huybrechts (2017) showed that SEs can contribute to sustainable development transition, as they:

- contribute to fulfilling the goals or ambitions of SD through grassroot innovations and macro-level advocacy leveraging the support of participative social movements.

- promote a sustainable business model through its organizational set-up that addresses the social bottom line of sustainable development and inspire other economic actors keen to participate in sustainability transition.

- Help emphasize the social dimension of environmental problems, which has long been underestimated.

- contribute to the advancements of practical discussions on the governance of common goods organizations.

The connection between SEs and SD is important for this study considering its context of focus (in a LMIC context), where co-operatives and traditional African systems of mutual self-help are said to be used as vehicles for local economic development and poverty reduction (Borzaga & Galera, 2014) and have been under-researched in sustainable development discourses. As argued by Nagendra (2018), the sustainability transition debate is suffering from a western bias that limits its progress. According to the author, such discourses are being framed in terms of earth's finite resources and rising population, two critical issues for the developed economies that does not capture the real issues that are affecting the sustainable development of LMICs. As a result, critical issues such as excessive consumption, inequality, and social injustice significant to LMICs are often missed or not well captured in sustainability discourses (Nagendra, 2018).

The author concluded that there is a need to respect local contexts by sharing how communities in the developing world manage environmental change because of their richness in sustainability lessons historically and their capacity to organize people in collectives around a social problem (ibid). The SE concept fits well with this call because of their ability to organize in communities around multiple objectives, that goes beyond commercial and social, to include environmental aims too. However, Littlewood & Holt (2018b) have raised the issue that there has been limited attention in extant SE scholarship on how they can contribute to the SDGs. They highlighted that the diverse SDGs and targets (17 goals and 169 targets), together with the diversity of social enterprise models that exist, further makes understanding the connection between the two concepts challenging. The subsequent sections will now review works on the SE concept in order to shed light on how it has been conceptualized to address the social, economic and environmental sustainability dimensions in the SD framework.

3.2   Social enterprises

This chapter started by reviewing works linking SEs with SD. With the failure of the capitalist economy to tackle the most intractable problems in society, actors have claimed that new organizational forms might be required to tackle them (Tracey et. al., 2011). The concept of a SE has enjoyed growing interest in many industrialized, emerging and developing economies (Seelos & Mair, 2005). According to Haugh et. al. (2018), intractable global economic and social trends e.g. poverty and inequality, informal and corrupt political institution, and resource constraints etc. and, other contextual factors such as suitable government policies, in both the developed and LMICs, was argued to have facilitated new SE creation, growth and business model replication. Thus, these organizations emerged to meet human - and increasingly environmental – needs by leveraging available support systems or mechanisms to tackle such problems.

According to Monzon & Chavez (2012), SEs aim for such macro-economic effects (i.e., meeting societal needs) as a result of their micro-economic foundations or how they are constituted. Some of the SEs have foundations that are deeply rooted in the principles of the social economy such as a purpose to serve their members or society, democratic decision making that ensures balanced participation by members and the distribution of surpluses in a manner that prioritizes people and work over capital (Monzon & Chavez, 2012). However, there are also SEs that took an entrepreneurial or business-like approach promoting market principles even as they respond to social issues (Alter, 2007). This flexibility of SE models enables them to engage in a wide range of activities that covers not only social matters, but also economic and environmental issues.

According to Gordon (2015), some of their involvements can include employment or training; area-based regeneration; health or social care; leisure or cultural activities; whole foods; childcare; retail services; philanthropy or charity; housing; education; public service provision etc. By tackling social and environmental problems using innovative business means, SEs combine multiple objectives that are distinct and potentially conflicting as well (Doherty et. al., 2014) in their effort to bring about social change to their internal or external organizational environment. They are said to pursue their social and/or environmental mission through the generation of earned income from trading goods and services (Peredo & McLean, 2006) or/and by being awarded contracts from the public sector (Vickers et. al., 2017).

Such activities distinguish these types of organizations from other established organizational forms, such as capitalist companies, the state, and purely voluntary organizations, due to the presence of two or more organizational elements (Haugh et. al., 2018). Social enterprises are known to pursue purpose over profit by prioritizing their social and environmental objectives and are said to have proven their worth to contribute effectively, not only to resolving societal problems, but as a necessary institution for stable and sustainable economic growth (Picciotti, 2017) suitable for developing differently.

Despite the importance of this organizational form for SD, finding a suitable definition for SEs has been difficult for scholars (Gordon, 2015). Some have used Markusen's (1999, pg. 870) coining of the term "*fuzzy concept*" to describe SEs arguing that it lacks conceptual clarity and it is difficult to operationalize (Narangajavana et. al., 2016). As argued by Teasdale (2012a, pg. 113), it means different things to different people across time and contexts. According to Gordon, (2015), the variety and complexity of SE activities, organizational type and legal forms are partly reasons for the difficulties and controversies surrounding its definition, classification, or measurement. Also, Littlewood & Holt (2014) pointed out that context matters in the classification or categorization of SEs, highlighting possible differences in a developed and LMIC context that further adds to the concept's complexity. The next section will review and present studies on the types of organizations that can be considered as a SE.

3.2.1   Organizational types: social enterprise as hybrids

The achievement of multiple objectives by SEs through the combination of profit and non-profit elements, particularly in poor contexts, has piqued the interests of scholars who have approached the problem from multiple lenses including that of hybridity (e.g., Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Battilana & Lee, 2014; Smith, Gonin, & Besharov, 2013), paradox (e.g., Smith, Besharov, Wessels, & Chertok, 2012), bricolage (e.g., Di Domenico, Haugh, & Tracey, 2010) and business model innovation (e.g., Mair, Battilana, & Cardenas, 2012). Focusing on hybridity, previous research that tried to understand these organizational types positioned them along a social and commercial continuum. According to Bull (2008), social enterprises are broadly understood as businesses with a social mission. Ridley-Duff & Bull (2016) stated that the social purpose can be external (relating to the product and services being offered) or internal (which involves the transformation of social relationships to distribute power and wealth more equitably).

As a result of such continuum classifications, social enterprises are often described as double bottom-line organizations that practice both altruism and commercial discipline (Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2016). Kim Alter (2007), in an attempt to categorize organizations that falls under the SE umbrella, took this approach to research organizations that exhibits similar dual characteristics (see fig 3.1). The author's views extended the breadth of organizations that can be categorized as a social enterprise from that of Dees (1998), whose research on these enterprises was within the US and UK non-profit sectors and did not address the changes taking place in cooperatives, fair trade, and private business practices (Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2016). Alter (2007) proposed a sustainability spectrum that describes six gradations between purely voluntary and commercial enterprises, with four different organizational forms that can be captured using the SE concept (see Fig 3.1 below).

Figure 3.1: The spectrum diagram of social enterprises
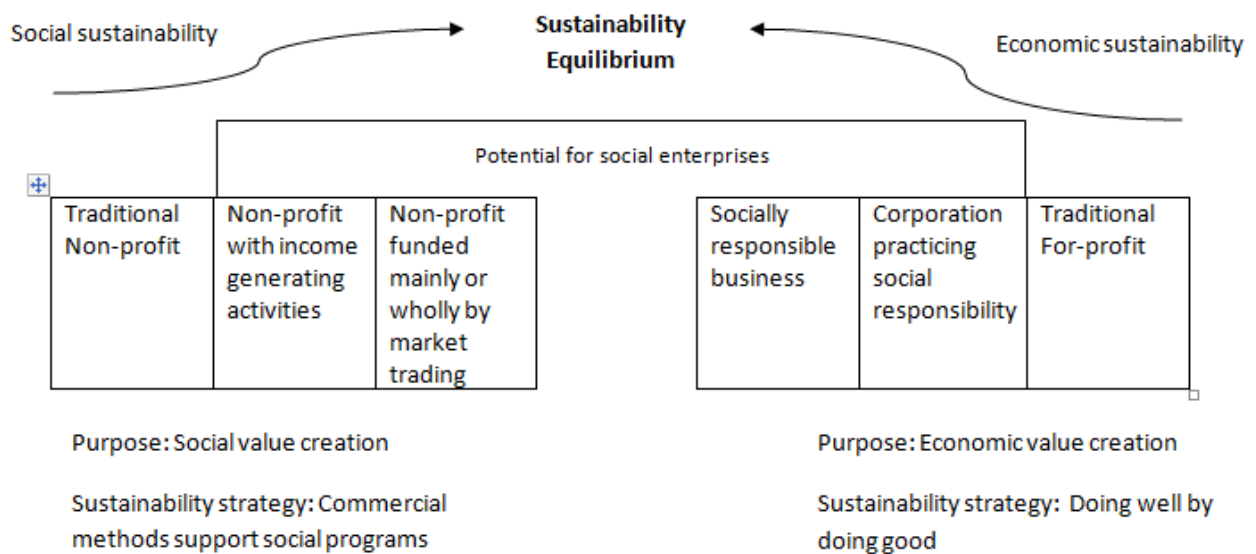
Source: Alter (2007)

As described by Alter (2007), both nonprofit organizational models in the spectrum incorporate some form of revenue generation from commercial means into their operations, either through trading or offering paid services. Socially responsible businesses in fig 3.1 above, represents for-profit companies that have dual objectives to make a profit and contribute to broader social and/or environmental good simultaneously. There are also corporation practicing social responsibility models that falls inside Alter's (2007) spectrum, in which for-profit organizations

with a financially driven motive also engage in philanthropy for social and environmental good on the periphery.

While Alter's spectrum helped with earlier conceptualization of the SE concept, it also faced criticisms from scholars who claimed that it left out the role of the public sector and its ability to influence the direction and nature of social enterprise development and activity through the creation of an enabling environment (Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2016). Somers (2013) argued that social enterprises can be used by the state as a modernizing agent giving rise to a spectrum of options, which is similar to government's contributions toward the development of the industry sector in a market economy. As an example, Vickers et. al., (2017) argued that increasing demand and resource constraints in the public health service led to innovations by government bodies and delivery organizations, which includes public sector reforms, that are resulting in the creation of new quasi-markets and the growth of private and civil society sector involvement in public service delivery. This inadequacy in explaining activities at the boundary of the private and public sectors and realization that social enterprises cannot be fully theorized without the consideration of hybridization at the boundaries of the non-profit, for-profit and the state makes it important to consider cross-sector models of SEs (e.g., Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2016).

The cross-sector model conceptualizes SEs as bridging between sectors by integrating the skills and abilities of statutory providers, private businesses, and voluntary organizations (Sepulveda, 2009). Studies with such a perspective positions SEs along the boundaries of the private, public and third sector as shown in the composite theory by Ridley-Duff & Bull (2016) (Fig 3.2). As a result, social enterprises are presented, not only as occupying a space in the social economy (Pearce, 2003), but also as types developing in all sectors and which may take many forms such as charity trading, social businesses, social responsibility projects, public-private partnerships, multi-stakeholder cooperatives, mutual societies and employee-owned businesses (Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2016).

Figure 3.2: A composite theory: the triangle of social enterprise
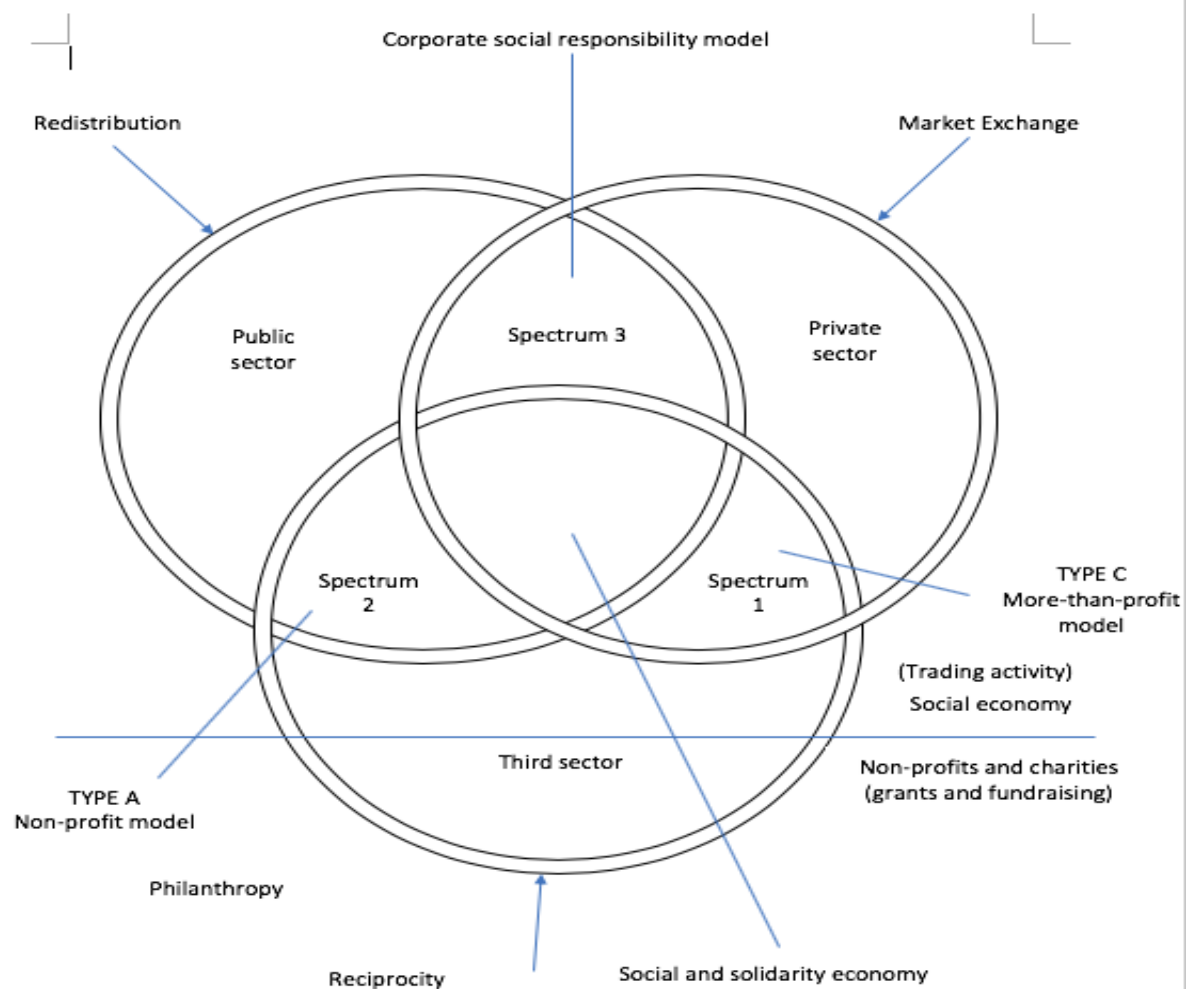
Source: Ridley-Duff & Bull (2016)

While these sectoral perspectives are very relevant and useful, they suffer from a western bias that might not reflect the organizational realities in many LMICs. Also, SE has been mostly projected in most literatures as organizations that only organize to tackle social problems and not environmental ones (e.g., Pearce, 2003; Mair & Marti, 2006; Birch & Whittam, 2008). However, some scholars have highlighted the importance of context and reviewed the applicability of the SE concept to LMICs, highlighting how the concept is emerging differently from western conceptualizations (Littlewood & Holt, 2014; Rivera-Santos et. al., 2015). In a paper that looks at social and environmental enterprises in Africa, Littlewood & Holt (2014) argued that the western conceptualizations of a social enterprise and an environmental enterprise as distinct is redundant in Africa, with the increase of organizations at boundary addressing to both social and environmental issues.

They called these organizations 'hybrid sustainable enterprises' (see spectrum diagram in figure 3.3 below) to show the convergence of social and environmental dimensions of SD in how they operate or the objectives they pursue (ibid).

Figure 3.3: Social and Environmental Enterprise Spectrum
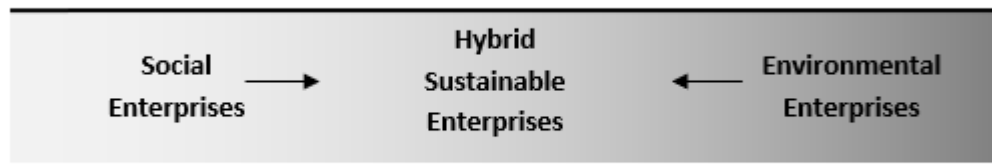
Source: Littlewood & Holt, 2014

They argued that it is impossible to focus on one dimension at the expense of another in African contexts as environmental issues are unlikely to be unimportant to people who are poor and lack access to necessities such as food, water, healthcare, housing etc. (ibid). It was emphasized that paying attention to the developmental issues facing developing countries and understanding how these problems influence their environmental behaviors and use of natural resources is crucial in any conceptualization of the SE concept, as they are likely to be caught amid these tensions, while organizing with multiple objectives or goals (ibid). Although, it should be acknowledged that some studies from a western perspective also explores SEs as organizations capable of responding not only to social, but environmental issues as well, which Vickers & Lyon (2014) referred to as '*environmentally-motivated* social enterprises' in their work.

However, these ideas of organizing with multiple objectives and straddling between the boundaries of multiple sectors by SEs is one of the focus of this chapter in order to review works that details how they hybrid organize, while also highlighting potential gaps in such studies. Subsequent sections will attempt to do so but the next section will briefly review the various legal forms adopted by SEs in some developed and LMICs, in order to craft an operational definition for SEs in this study, before reviewing studies on hybrid organizing in SEs.

3.2.2   Defining social enterprises and its legal forms

A legal form is an institutionalized label that identifies organizations that can be categorized either as part of a particular organizational form or as a combination of different organizational

forms. Hannan & Freeman (1986) describes established forms as a "segregating process" as it benefits from regulations that reward each form's specific qualities, thereby creating an environment in which organizations that adopts the well-established form has higher chances of surviving. Overcoming such segregating process by countervailing mechanisms leads to the emergence of hybrid forms (Hannan & Freeman, 1986; Haveman & Rao, 2006).

In structured environments, such as in developed economies, legal forms for hybrid organizations such as SEs are said to be growing in number and have either incorporated or unincorporated forms. The distinction between the incorporated and unincorporated legal forms is that some SE organizations are formed into legal corporations (incorporated), while the others are not (Unincorporated). In the UK for example, as highlighted by Gordon, (2015), the incorporated legal forms include Company Limited by Guarantee (CLG); Company Limited by Shares (CLS), Community Interest Companies (CIC). The unincorporated includes Trust; Unincorporated Associations; Partnership; and Sole Trader. The CICs (of which there are two legal forms – CLG OR CLS) is the only hybrid legal form specifically dedicated to social enterprises in the UK (Spear et. al. 2017).

There are similarities between these legal forms in the UK and those found in some LMIC such as Nigeria. According to the country's Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC), through the Companies and Allied Matters Act (CAMA) that provides legal principles and rules for the operation of businesses in Nigeria, legal forms recognize for-profit and non-profit activities (cac.gov.ng). For-profit company legal form is the Limited Liability Company (LLC), which can either be private or public company. Non-profits or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have the option of either a company limited by guarantee (CLG) (which confers the status of a body corporate on the NGO itself) or the incorporation of trustees (by which the trustees or trustees of the NGO, rather than the NGO itself, obtain(s) the status of a body corporate) (Iheme, 2001). Under the CAMA, NGOs can make profits as CLGs or incorporated trustees, but they are not permitted by law to distribute it (Iheme, 2001).

This ability of NGOs to generate profits aligns more with "non-profit with income generating activities" or with those that trades, which is a domain for SEs in Alter's (2007) model described above (see section 3.2.1). Also, SEs in Nigeria have the options of also adopting a for-profit model such as the socially responsible business form as captured in the framework (i.e., Alter, 2007) or more-than-profit model as captured in Ridley-Duff & Bull's (2016) work. Through these for-profit models, they can run an LLC and have the right to make and share

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their profits, while also prioritizing their social and/or environmental goals through integrative approaches (discussed in latter sections on hybrid organizing) that sees their business activities having simultaneous positive social and environmental impacts.

However, the lack of clear boundaries in what constitute a SE and the variations of legal forms available for such organizations, ranging from for-profit to non-profit models, makes their definition difficult. The concept is still a subject of debate and confusions in recognizing which organization is a SE and which isn't, especially in countries like Nigeria with weak and inefficient legal enforcement infrastructure (Ojogbo & Ezechukwu, 2020). Rivera-Santos et. al. (2015) argued that context matters in discussions of how SEs emerge and are shaped. They highlighted the unique challenges that characterizes the African environments such as high levels of poverty, government failures, market failures, large informal economy, lingering colonial influences and strong ethnic group identities.

These, they argue, are crucial in determining the legal recognition and forms of SEs that emerges in such contexts (Rivera-Santos et. al., 2015). Their work highlighted the need to use both self-perception and their social entrepreneurial activities in determining whether an organization is a SE or not in such contexts (Rivera-Santos et. al., 2015). This has implications for how this thesis will select its cases or collect data in Lagos, since there are no clear boundaries in legal forms because SEs can either be a for-profit or a non-profit. Evidence also has it that not every entrepreneur in African contexts identifies their organizations as a SE and that their activities alone is not enough in determining a SE from the traditional for-profits and non-profits in such contexts (Rivera-Santos et. al., 2015).

This challenge in defining a SE was captured by Gordon (2015, pg. 6), who stated that "*In all this confusion and complexity, it is therefore not surprising that definitional consensus is limited to the lowest common denominator: "organizations which trade to achieve their social objectives or similar…".* However, to operationalize this concept in an LMIC such as Nigeria, this thesis avoids such overgeneralized description of SEs, and combines all these earlier works to propose the following definition for SEs in Lagos:

"*Social enterprises are self-identified organizations with business models that prioritizes the achievement of social and environmental goals using innovative trading practices, grants or/and donations, from which the surpluses generated are reinvested back in the pursuit of their social cause or shared among their stakeholders.*"

Having defined SEs, designing, and implementing their business models with environmental, social, commercial objectives requires unique forms of organizing in order to manage tensions and maximize opportunities (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Battilana et. al., 2017). This is particularly important since this study is interested in the role SEs play at the "micro-level of the circular economy design and implementation" (Ghisellini et. al., 2016; Moreau et. al., 2017). For the CE to bring about a different kind of development, hybrid organizing in pursuit of the different SDGs simultaneously is crucial. Literature on this form of organizing will be reviewed next, which will lead to the second question for this thesis.

3.3 Hybrid organizations versus Hybrid organizing

Having defined SEs and explored the different legal forms that they might adopt in their organizational design, it is important, for the purpose of this research, to explore further how they organize to achieve multiple social, environmental, and commercial objectives. The microeconomic foundations of SEs, as argued, enables them to engage in activities that have macroeconomic effects, such as the advancement of human stakeholders, wellbeing, and rights (Murray et. al., 2017; Monson & Chavez, 2012). Other scholars have also highlighted how SEs might be solving environmental issues alongside their social mission, through business mechanisms to achieve SD (Littlewood & Holt, 2014). However, differentiating them from private businesses is increasingly becoming more complex as some social enterprises (if not fully funded by the state or through voluntary fundraising) engage in market activities such as declaring profits or sharing surpluses like other private businesses do.

Their products and services may be indistinguishable from those produced by other companies and may be sold at market rates. Also, large mainstream businesses, outside the social enterprise sector, can also lay claim to effective stakeholder involvement, commitment to diversity and fostering social inclusion through their practices e.g., through corporate social responsibility programs, which are examples of the macroeconomic effects associated with SEs (Monzon & Chavez, 2012; Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2016). The role civil society principles, such as those relating to Christianity, plays in influencing economic activities at the micro level was also empirically demonstrated by Werner (2008) that explores how Christian SME owner–managers conceptualize their business practices.

These increasingly blurred boundaries between civil society ideals and those of the private sector (e.g., Werner, 2008), as well as, between the third sector organizations and the public

sector (e.g., Vickers et. al., 2017), adds to the difficulties in identifying, defining, and categorizing SEs, in addition to unique organizational environments (Rivera-Santos et. al., 2015). As a result, researchers have started to emphasize the need to shift attention away from the conceptualization of these types of enterprises as hybrid organizations of a special kind to focusing on hybrid organizing instead. According to Battilana et. al., (2017), scholars have focused implicitly or explicitly on hybrids as a distinct type of organization, qualitatively different from non-hybrids organizations and consequently facing varied challenges, opportunities and organizing demands. As earlier mentioned, (section 3.4.1), not only does this complicates the concept of a SE, but it also undermines the potential of hybrid organizing to shed light on the challenges, opportunities and management strategies that are relevant for a broader set of organizations (Battilana et. al., 2017).

Although the focus of this study is on SEs, Battilana et. al. (2017), argued that focusing on hybridity as a matter of degree than as a type allows for informed learning to be developed in contexts where the dynamics of hybridity are most obvious e.g., in SEs, which can then be transferred to contexts where they exist in more muted form. As also noted by Pache & Santos (2013), how social enterprises manage the tensions between commercial and social goal have started to pique the interest of scholars. There have been calls for the need to understand the determinants and efficacy of strategies for goal alignment and goal conflict resolution (Haugh et. al., 2018), which are obvious lessons from managing the processes of hybrid organizing and therefore, can be gleaned from SE activities. Battilana et. al. (2017) concluded that a focus on the verb (hybrid organizing) instead of the noun (hybrid organization) will help to better reflect the reality of many organizations.

With suggestions for new organizational forms to better respond to societal problems such as poverty and global warming (Tracey et. al., 2011), understanding the practicalities of combining and managing aspects of multiple organizational elements in SEs, where both the commercial and social objectives seem to be equally important, will be more beneficial to society and can help catalyze social change. It also has the potential to inform social entrepreneurs, seeking to create new solutions to societal problems (Tracey et. al., 2011), on methods of organizing around a social and environmental problem, particularly in contexts such as the LMICs, where many opportunities for social enterprise development exists (Rivera-Santos et. al., 2015). Littlewood & Holt (2014) specifically highlighted the need for studies that captures the interplay of social and environmental aspects in alternative entrepreneurial processes in Africa.

This focus on the organizing aspect of such hybrid organizations, rather than a focus on attributes as a distinct type, can help unpick hidden issues such as the formalities and informalities in organizational activities and interorganizational/external relations in these contexts. Such information might also be beneficial to nascent entrepreneurs in developing unique strategies to solve social problems in LMICs. Therefore, exploring the concept of hybridity and hybrid organizing is crucial for this study in investigating SE activities in the LMICs and this is the focus of the next sub-section.

3.4   Hybrid organizing

The last subsection described social enterprises as a hybrid organizational type and explored the varied legal forms they adopt in other to be established. As scholarly arguments have recently focused attention on hybrids as a type, this sub-section will commence the process of exploring the concept of hybridity and hybrid organizing to understand how social enterprises organize to pursue their social and environmental agendas.

3.4.1   Understanding hybridity

A template is a working system of organizational routines to be used as a referent or guiding example. Billis (2010) presented organizational templates for the private, public and third sectors. The private sector organizations are characterized as being after profit maximization using market forces; generate surpluses for shareholders; govern according to size of share ownership; and generate revenue from sales and fees. Organizations in the public sector are characterized as guided by the principles of public benefit and collective choice; are part of the economy paid for (largely) from taxation; and managed by local or central government, their agencies, and agents. The third sector organizations are characterized by the properties such as voluntary membership process, democratic decision making, places services to members or to the community ahead of profit and operate an autonomous management system (Defourny & Develtere, 1999; Vickers et. al., 2017).

As the lines between these templates are becoming blurred with organizations playing in more than one domain, the concept of hybridity has been used to capture such developments (Ruef 2000; Doherty et al. 2014). Scholars have stated that hybridity occurs when organizations combine aspects of multiple organizational orientations (Haveman & Rao, 2006; Hoffman et. al., 2012; Jay, 2013) or aspects that span institutional boundaries (Brandsen & Karre 2011;

Pache & Santos 2013). Hybridity, therefore, simply means 'mixture' and the three ways organizations can hybridize or mix have been highlighted, which are either by combining identities; forms; or rationales/logics (Battilana et. al., 2017). This classification was done based on the level at which hybridity occurs and is analyzed, which are at the intra-organizational level (identity), organizational level (forms) and societal level (rationale). Such perspectives have been deployed to study hybrid organizations such as SEs and their mode of organizing (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Battilana et. al., 2017).

From an identity perspective, hybrids consist of multiple identities that would not normally be compatible together (Albert & Whetten, 1985: pg. 271; Battilana & Lee, 2014). Identity, here, is defined as the central distinctive and enduring features of an organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985), although there are still ongoing debates whether such multiplicity of identities is transitory or more permanent (Battilana et. al., 2017). Previous studies analyzing 'identities' focuses on the intra-organizational consequences of how the combination of multiple identities within the same organization shapes organization members' experiences and enactments of organizational life (Glynn, 2000; Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997). Aside from the combination of organizational identities, hybridity has also been used to describe the combinations of various forms of organizing (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Doherty et. al., 2014; Battilana et. al., 2017), such as the work of Vickers et. al. (2017) on public sector spin-outs, which are described as organizations that combines the forms of government, business, and civil society.

Also, a stream of research used the hybridity concept to describe organizations that combine multiple institutional logics (Pache & Santos, 2010; Greenwood, Diaz, Li & Lorente, 2010; Vickers et. al., 2017), some of which are reviewed in detail below.

3.4.1.1 Institutional logics and hybridity

Institutional logics is defined as the "*socially constructed, historical patterns, of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality*" (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, pg. 101). While the next chapter will further describe institutions and other relevant or related works, the institutional logics perspective helped clarify that institutions does not exist in isolation but are rooted in the material practices of actors, who leverage it to provide meaning to their social reality.

The relevance of this perspective (logics) for hybridity is that organizational actors are confronted with a multiplicity of logics, which Kraatz & Block (2008; 2017) conceptualized as 'institutional pluralism'. Such multiplicity emanates from a pluralistic society and has the potential to push/pull organizations in many directions. Friedland & Alford (1991) was among the first to document the institutions in society to include the market, state, families, democracy, and religion. Thornton & Ocasio (2008; 2012) initially presented a modification and extension of these to six institutional orders including markets, corporations, professions, states, families, and religions, but later included community as the seventh institutional order. As each of these institutional orders have a central logic "*that guides its organizing principles and provides social actors with vocabularies of motive and a sense of self (i.e., identity)*" (Ibid, pg. 101), organizations therefore, are confronted with multiplicity of institutions that may be more or less complementary, enabling cooperation or competition (Kraatz & Block, 2008; Ocasio et. al., 2017).

From the definition of logics as inhabited and reproduced by organizational actors, pluralism therefore, is the presence of divergent interest groups, each with enough power to ensure that their interests remain legitimate (Jarzabkowski et. al., 2009). While every interest matter and can conflict, Kraatz & Block (2017) argues that pluralism of logics does not necessarily mean that divergent interests are oppositional and cannot co-exist. Aside the possibility of the co-existence of logics, several studies have examined institutional pluralism as a source of change because of the viable alternatives it provides for action (Zilber, 2006). That is why multiple logics can be a source of tensions, as well as it can also present opportunities for change (see table 3.1 below) by suggesting alternative actions and giving organizational actors a broader base of legitimate resources (Pache & Santos, 2013b).

Therefore, hybridity is the response to, as well as an outcome of the presence of multiple logics confronting organizational actors (Kraatz & Block, 2017). This perspective (logic) is particularly useful for this thesis as it presents the opportunity to explore the reality of organizations such as SEs in society. Particularly, for the waste management setting of this thesis where multiple interest groups exist e.g., informal waste pickers, government, households, SEs etc., all with their respective interests and power (Giddens, 1984). Jarzabkowski et. al., (2009) sees such plurality of logics as a challenge for organizations because, as also noted by Battilana & Lee (2014), efforts to mix them are likely to violate institutional rules or group norms of what is appropriate or compatible.

This makes reviewing how organizations organizes for hybridity of interest to this thesis, particularly in LMICs, where there are not only multiple interest groups as highlighted above, but also high levels of poverty and other socio-economic problems that makes multiple goals necessary (UN, 2020). Chliova & Ringov (2017) stated that distinctive challenges for the successful combination of organizational elements readily exist in poorer countries, such as resource scarcity, institutional voids and sustainability challenges that can lead to mission drift in hybrid organizations such as SEs. These challenges and more will be explored in detail in a later section (3.4.3). However, the following section will review literature on hybrid organizing in SEs to understand how they are or can respond by combining distinct organizational elements.

Table 3.1: Tensions and opportunities of hybrid organizing

TENSIONS	OPPORTUNITIES
External	
• They tend to face dissimilar and even incommensurate external expectations (Doherty et. al., 2014; Pache & Santos, 2013b; Smith & Besharov, 2016)	• Ability to benefit from a broader resource base, if legitimated, than organizations with single logic or form (Pache & Santos, 2013b; Peng & Heath, 1996)
• They find it hard to obtain tangible resources such as financial capital (Kraatz & Block, 2008; Doherty et. al., 2014)	• Enjoys cross-legitimation benefits by being associated with well-established parental organizational forms (Minkoff, 2002).
• Might lead to trade off of their ideal type to fit into regulatory regime incorporation options or legal forms of either business or charity (Kennedy & Haigh, 2013)	

TENSIONS	OPPORTUNITIES
• They may be perceived as a threatening, and face strategic retaliation as a result, by incumbent organization that enact institutionalised forms (Husock, 2013; Battilana & Lee, 2014)	
Internal	
• Difficulties in the allocation of internal and attentional resources e.g., time of the senior management in responding to both commercial and social activities (Tracey et. al., 2011; Austin, Bermudez & Escobar, 1999). • Tensions in coming up with effective and timely decisions due to its multi-stakeholder structure (Doherty et al, 2014) • Runs the risk of a mission drift i.e., the possibility of favouring either business or charitable goals at the expense of the other, and the ability to return to their hybrid nature after a drift (Ber-ner, 2002; Jones, 2007; Haight, 2011).	• Can spur innovation and disrupt established structures (Dalpiaz, Rindova & Ravasi, 2016; Jay, 2013; Vickers et. al., 2017) • Can enhance individual creativity (Jarzabkowski, Smets, Bednarek, Burke & Spee, 2013; McPherson & Sauder, 2013; Smith & Lewis, 2011)

Source: Author's compilation

3.4.2   Hybrid organizing in social enterprises

The last section introduced hybridity as the combination of multiple forms, identity or logics. This section will focus on literature reviews about how hybrid organizing is carried out in SEs, where such dynamics are most apparent (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Several works have contributed immensely to the understanding and articulation of the various approaches to hybridization. Stating some examples, the earlier works of Pratt & Foreman (2000) argued that organizations are able to combine multiple organizational identities through the process of deletion (getting rid of one or more of its multiple identities), compartmentalization (maintenance of multiple identities but are separated from each other), aggregation (retaining all identities while forging links between them) and integration (fusing of identities into a distinct new whole).

Another important work is that of Pache & Santos (2013) that highlighted how SEs strategically incorporated elements from the social welfare logic with an embedded commercial logic in order to project legitimacy to external stakeholders and avoid having to engage in deceptive practices or costly negotiations. This study helps advance how organizations, embedded in pluralistic institutional settings, can survive and flourish through selective coupling strategies. In the same year, another relevant work by Jay (2013) developed a process model that explains how SEs navigate paradoxical outcomes that arise from combining multiple institutional logics to generate innovative solutions to societal challenges. Their work made an interesting contribution that combining multiple logics does not necessarily lead to innovation, instead it can lead to being stuck or having to oscillate between existing logics (Jay, 2013). There is also the work that shows the ambidextrous abilities of SEs to juggle multiple logics simultaneously to achieve higher levels of corporate social performance (Hahn et. al., 2015) and the study that demonstrates the interplay of logics observed in specific strategies and practices for social innovation (Vickers et. al., 2017).

Together, these works highlighted logics as that which can be managed within and without organizations. However, as hybrid combinations are unconventional, it was widely acknowledged in these previous studies that tensions of some sorts are bound to be present (Jay, 2013; Mair et. al., 2015). The need to avoid or handle these tensions and maximize inherent opportunities motivated Battilana & Lee's (2014) well-cited study on hybrid organizing. To further advance knowledge on how SEs develop and implement hybrid

strategies, Battilana & Lee (2014) highlighted the need to specify the organizational features by which hybrid strategies may be achieved and sustained overtime, which have been missing in previous studies.

They came up with five dimensions of hybrid organizing (see fig 3.4) and their argument is that hybridity manifests in five key areas of organizational life which are 1) core organizational activities 2) workforce composition 3) organizational design 4) inter-organizational relationships and 5) organizational culture. According to the authors, these five organizational factors serve as avenues where the tensions and the generative possibilities of hybrids are experienced (Ibid, 2014). Several studies have applied this hybrid organizing model as presented by Battilana & Lee (2014) to explore the combination of multiple logics, such as the work of Svensson & Seifried (2017) that applied it to examine how Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) organizations are blending elements from multiple institutional logics into new configurations.

Figure 3.4: Dimensions of hybrid organizing
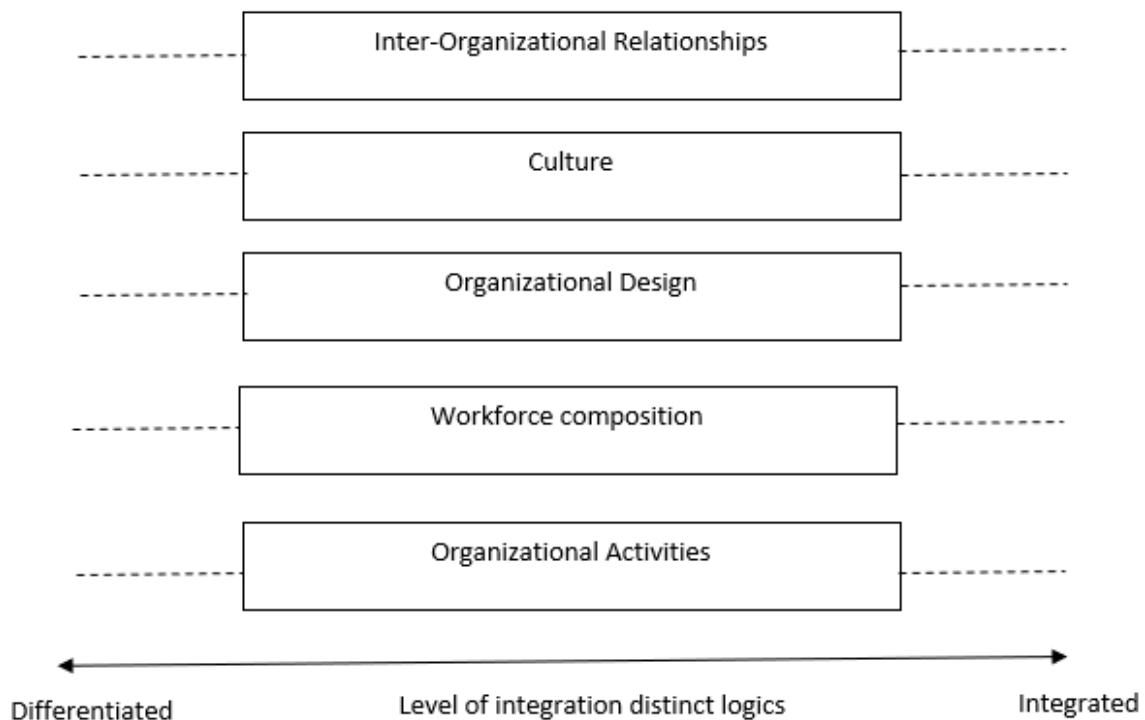
Source: Battilana & Lee, 2014.

Similarly, the work of Powell et. al. (2018) finds Battilana & Lee's (2014) framework useful in exploring how SEs that are delivering public services organize their hybridity. Their work

also highlighted diverse income streams, delivering a quality service (social quality and customer service-level) and hybrid workforce as areas where hybrid organizing takes place, which is synonymous with Battilana & Lee's (2014) design, workforce composition, interorganizational relationship and activities dimensions. Therefore, studies that subject these dimensions to further scrutiny or that critically applied the model have been lacking, especially as it relates to LMIC contexts, where a different kind of SE configuration might be experienced (Rivera-Santos et. al., 2015).

However, other scholars have highlighted other organizational features where hybridity is also apparent such as the work of Vickers et. al. (2017) that shed light on the interplay of logics evident in the organizational culture, financial management and knowledge sharing and protection features. Mooijman et. al. (2021) highlighted the critical role of workforce practices and marketing and sales in setting up a sustainable enterprise, in their study of toilet innovation to cater to the lack of basic sanitation facilities in Mozambique. Particularly, the marketing and sale feature have been identified as avenues for SEs to communicate their social value, with arguments that they should not only focus their marketing on their social mission but also on their commercial aspects to increase sales and patronage (Casno et. al., 2019).

Additionally, Rey-Garcia et. al. (2019) highlighted the pivotal role of product development for the organizing of social innovation in a collective social enterprise context. These studies are part of a broad stream of works that highlight the different aspects of SEs where hybridity can be apparent, warranting a need to look beyond the initial five hybrid dimensions from Battilana & Lee's (2014) model. However, what these studies lack (with the exception of Vickers et. al., 2017) is an account of how logics are combined in the various feature highlighted or how to move beyond binary views of social enterprises as mixing social and commercial logics to embrace their realities of the institutionally complex settings they operate in (Kraatz & Block, 2017).

However, Battilana & Lee's (2014) work did not only present the dimensions, it also concluded that managers of hybrid organizations, such as SEs, use strategies such as integration, differentiation or a combination of both in these five areas of organizational life to manage or avoid tensions that could arise from mixing incompatible organizational forms (Battilana & Lee, 2014). The following subsection briefly explain these strategies.

3.4.2.1 Integration and differentiation strategies for managing hybridity

Integration strategy involves hybrids joining together the different organizational elements to create a unified blend (Battilana et. al., 2017). This integration occurs either in an organization's formal structures, practices or through its members. Integration strategy has been praised for having the potential to yield novel organizational form, identity, or rationale by uniting previously distinctive elements (Nigam& Ocasio, 2010; Powell & Sandholtz, 2012). It has also been highlighted as a challenging activity to do especially as it usually involves members to give up their adherence to the constituent's elements of a hybrid (Battilana et. al., 2017), which, scholars argue, they often retain strong ties to (Greenwood et. al., 2011).

It has the possibility to create intra-personal tensions due to contradictions and inconsistencies between multiple identities or rationales that can provoke anxiety (Lewis, 2000). Differentiated organizational strategy, however, does the opposite of what integration does, which is it separates or compartmentalizes the constituent elements of a hybrid organizations and keep the organizational units apart. It is a strategy that also applies to an organization's structure, practices, and members.

Structure influences where, in an organization, tensions between multiple objectives are experienced and tackled. The differentiation strategy can help keep multiple organizational units structurally isolated in order to avoid those likely to clash or come into conflict (Battilana & Lee, 2014). However, scholars have documented how inter-group conflict can arise from such differentiated approaches and how it can increase the importance of fault lines along which conflicts can emerge (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Some scholars have emphasized the combination of integration and differentiation approaches instead of adopting either of them across the dimensions of hybrid organizing, due to the ineffectiveness of singular approaches (Smith & Lewis, 2011; Battilana et. al., 2017).

A unique example cited by Battilana et. al. (2017) was that of Nature Foods company where the organizations compartmentalizes the 'idealist' (those that handles the social mission of promoting organic food, environmental sustainability and community involvement) from the 'capitalists' (those that value the company's mission of generating profits and growth for shareholders) and utilized the 'generalists' (store manager who identified with both the social and business missions) to blend together both separate units and mitigate conflicts between members of the two groups.

Although, while this combination approach might be the key to benefitting from hybridity (Battilana et. al., 2017), organizations might not adopt such strategies across all dimensions neither might they integrate or differentiate forms, identities, or rationales across all dimensions in order to achieve their goals. According to Bersharov & Smith (2014), organizations differ in the way they combine logics, which are primarily based on the logic's centrality to organizational functioning.

While these strategies are important for hybrid organizing studies, there is room to build on such work in relation to the organizational features earlier suggested (see fig 3.4). As the ways in which organizations confront or experience institutional logics might differ, Battilana et. al. (2017) called for further studies that shed light on the extent to which various kinds of organizations exhibit hybridity. Also, SEs might adopt different strategies (integrating/differentiating logics) across the five dimensions of organizational life (fig 3.4) leading to unique configurations, which can help explain differences among hybrid organizations (Battilana & Lee, 2014).

These dimensions might necessarily not be as separated as shown in the diagram (fig 3.4) as there are possibilities for linkages across dimensions i.e., adopting a particular strategy in one dimension can influence another dimension (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Lastly, literatures on contextual influences on hybrid organizing has not yet been fully explored (Haugh et. al., 2018). As argued by the authors, research that explores the mechanisms for achieving multiple goals in challenging environments (Haugh et. al., 2018) is necessary to advance research on hybridity and hybrid organizing. Littlewood & Holt (2018a) also highlighted the need for social enterprise research to pay more attention to environmental/contextual characteristics and its influences on the processes of such hybrid organizations, particularly in LMIC contexts.

The next section will look at the contextual dimensions that are likely to influence the emergence and development of hybrid organizations or their practices, with emphasis placed on SEs in LMIC contexts.

3.4.3   Distinctive conditions for hybrid organizing

Having detailed the integrating and/or differentiating strategies to navigate the challenges and opportunities from juggling multiple objectives in the last section, scholars have also emphasized the need to capture the events or situations that initially leads to hybrid organizing. For example, Battilana et. al. (2014; 2017) captured such conditions as antecedents of

hybridity. The authors listed antecedents that are external in nature to include changes in resource environments, regulatory reforms, nature and stability of political institutions and cultural shifts. They also highlighted antecedents that are internal to an organization to include the background of SE founders and the composition of members (each associated with different rationales) as important triggers for starting a social enterprise (Battilana et. al., 2017). In their study, they argued that founders who are exposed to the business sector through their individual or parents' professional experiences (backgrounds) are more likely to create a hybrid that combines business and charity (Battilana et. al., 2017).

Another similar review paper by Hardy & Maguire (2017) labels the external conditions leading to hybridity as "initiating field conditions", highlighting stimuli such as uncertainty, problems, tensions, and contradictions in a field can lead to people with diverse purposes to organize for change. More specifically, Omorede (2014) explored the motivational drivers that leads to engaging in social entrepreneurial activities in Nigeria and found contextual conditions such as widespread ignorance from lack of education and people's unscientific beliefs e.g., such as child witchcraft, twin killing and the role of spirits in causing diseases etc., as motivators for SEs to emerge. The author also identified an intentional mindset due to religious convictions or alertness to social issues as individual conditions that could lead to engaging in hybrid forms of organizing in Nigeria (Omorede, 2014). This latter condition (alertness to social causes) is also like the findings of Chilova & Ringov's (2017) work on LMICs that highlighted hybrid motivations as one the conditions that can influence the development and replication of business models in such contexts.

It has been started that hybrid motivations usually occurs due to the scale of poverty in poor countries that requires the coupling of financial with social objectives in order contribute to people's wellbeing (Ansari, Munir, & Gregg, 2012; Chilova & Ringov, 2017). The weakness or absence of institutions, also known as 'institutional voids' (Mair & Marti, 2009), and resource scarcity have also been highlighted as determinants of hybrid business model development in LMICs (Chilova & Ringov, 2017). Together, these literatures all highlighted and emphasized the importance of external and internal conditions that leads to hybrid actions such as the creation of a new social enterprise forms or implementation of circular principles, where multiple social, economic, and environmental objectives are being pursued simultaneously.

These studies are important for this thesis in order to contribute to discussions on the enablers of circular strategies, since such strategies are also likely to be hybrid in nature i.e., developed or implemented to achieve more than one objective. In Kirchherr et. al.'s (2017) framework on the conceptualization of the CE, they highlighted enablers as an aspect that has received considerable attention in the literature and in practice. It is believed that companies are motivated to act in institutional environment that presents opportunities for both commercial and social benefits. They emphasized business models and consumer willingness to participate as such enablers of circular activities (Kirchherr et. al., 2017).

Akanle & Shittu (2018) highlighted contextual factors influencing activities in the waste sector in Lagos, which could act as triggers to launch SEs (as highlighted in section 2.3.2). Therefore, in studying SEs organizing to establish circular principles, it is paramount to pay attention to the enablers of their strategies in other to contribute to these emerging literatures on conditions, external or internal, that are more or less conducive to the emergence and development of hybrid organizations (Battilana et. al., 2017). This can help to further understand the nature of the issues SEs emerged to tackle for a CE to be established and the various strategies they are adopting to do so.

3.5   Summary and conclusion

Building on the literature review of the CE concept in the last chapter, this chapter started by focusing on a specific type of hybrid organizations, which are SEs. Its first couple of sections discussed different models and legal forms associated with this organizational form. Such explication further strengthens the first research question on how SE conceptualizes the CE, that was set in the last chapter (two). However, the latter sections focused on the hybrid organizing aspect of SEs, reviewing literature that details how they manage multiple identities, forms or logics to realize social change.

Focusing on logics, SEs were demonstrated in literature to simultaneously mix commercial, social, and environmental logics that are crucial for achieving SD. The key take-aways from this chapter are that social enterprises, that combine multiple identities, organizational forms, or institutional logics at their cores, represents an ideal type of hybrid organization, making them a suitable setting to study hybrid organizing (Battilana & Lee, 2014). As a result, different **hybrid organizational forms** exist with Alter (2007) identifying four SE models, which includes **non-profit with income generating activities; non-profit funded mainly or wholly**

by market trading; socially responsible business; and corporation practicing social responsibility. Whichever model SEs adopt, they are known to **mix multiple identities, forms or logics** in their internal organizing or through their external relationships. Such mixing is said to be observable in five organizational features, which includes **interorganizational relationships, culture, design, workforce composition and activities** (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Others have also highlighted other features that are suitable for mixing multiple objectives such as **finance and intellectual property features** (Vickers et. al., 2017); **marketing and sales** (Mooijman et. al., 2021; Casno et. al., 2019) and **product development** (Rey-Garcia et. al., 2019).

Battilana & Lee (2014) argued that they combine multiple organizational elements through **integrated and/or differentiated strategies** across distinct organizational features (some of which are shown in fig 3.4), where each logic is combined or separated internally and externally. It was also acknowledged that the degree to which actors combine multiple logics across the organizational dimensions are likely to differ, therefore warranting investigation into various configurations of hybridity and the likely connections between hybrid organizational features (Battilana et. al., 2017). The environmental factors that lead to the emergence of hybrid organizations such as SEs were highlighted, some of which were already discussed in the last chapter as enablers of engaging in circular activities (see section 2.5).

These reviews have implications for this study that aims to investigate SEs establishing circular principles in Lagos, whether it is reduction, reusing or recycling. The CE was presented in this study as a way for organizations to achieve not only economic prosperity, but also social and environmental sustainability too. The unique nature of the challenges facing Africa, coupled with cultural diversity and religious influence, makes African contexts very likely to witness the emergence of new and creative forms of social enterprises that reflects institutional variability and constraints (Holt et. al., 2016).

However, the dearth of literature on SEs in the Nigerian context makes it difficult to comprehend how such enterprises organize their activities in such an indigenous context to meet the multiple objectives of the CE, where institutional influences are likely to be further nuanced by the cultural beliefs, priorities, and traditions of people (Newth & Woods, 2014). How SEs in Lagos are combining logics through their daily activities to establish the CE, and the implications of that for other dimensions of hybrid organizing (workforce,

interorganizational relationships, organizational design etc.), is the focus of the second research question, which is as follows:

<u>Research question 2:</u>

How do social enterprises combine economic, social, and environmental aims to have an impact on the circular economy in Lagos?

Answering this question will enable this study to advance the understandings of hybrid organizing and organizations in a developing country context (Littlewood & Holt, 2014). The key take-aways from this chapter, which was discussed earlier and that would serve as preliminary codes for further analysis are presented in figure 3.5 below. They will be critically applied in further exploring this second research question and as guides at the data analysis stage.

Figure 3.5: Theoretical ideas used to inform the coding framework for the second research question

Social enterprise forms
- Non-profit with income generating activities
- Non-profit funded mainly or wholly by market trading
- Socially responsible business
- Corporation practicing social responsibility

Hybridity
Mixing of institutional commercial, social and environmental identities, forms or logics

Hybrid organizing

Inter-organizational relationships

Culture

Organizational design

Workforce composition and practices

Organizational activities

Financial management

Knowledge sharing and protection

Marketing and sales

Product development

Differentiated   Level of integration of distinct logics   Integrated

Source: Adapted from Alter (2007); Battilana & Lee (2014); Battilana et. al. (2017); Vickers et. al. (2017); Mooijman et. al. (2021) and Rey-Garcia et. al. (2019).

Furthermore, scholars have also criticized CE conceptualizations in literature as focusing only on the practice dimension and missing out on opportunities to look at issues of paradigm shifts

that is necessary to transition to a sustainable world (Korhonen et. al., 2018). Such studies call for a look at the institutional aspects of circular practices in order to unpack issues of embeddedness and behavioral change (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017). The belief is that any form of organizing to establish circular principles are likely to require social or behavioral change efforts.

Businesses, for example, are known to sometimes prefer the status quo than change aspects of their operations through the incorporation of an emerging logic e.g., CE, that might conflict or distract them from their core profit-maximization purposes (Stål & Corvellec, 2018). Another important consideration is the issue of consumer reluctance or willingness to take on circular practices, which can be as a result of cultural lock-in (Ehrenfeld, 2000) into linear consumption practices with limited interest in changing how they live or how they consume or dispose of their waste. These warrants a look into what organizations such as SEs are doing to establish the CE and deal with similar or other institutional barriers to their multiple objectives.

Having established the fact that actors draw on multiple logics in their material practices to generate innovative solutions to complex problems, the next section will employ institutional theory and more specifically, the institutional work concept, which has been used by scholars to explore the actual efforts of actors aimed achieving specific institutional outcomes (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 <u>Institutions and institutional work</u>

The last two chapters (two and three) explored the relationship among sustainable development (SD), circular economy (CE) and social enterprises (SEs). As society grapples with social and environmental problems, particularly in LMICs where the triple challenge of poverty, inequality and environmental degradation is rife, scholars have identified various pathways to achieve sustainable development and such discourse (CE) was presented in chapter two. Chapter three, however, linked the SE concept with SD discourse as an alternative to form of organizing to achieve a different kind of development in LMICs. This is in alignment with increasing interest in bottom-up approaches for SD leading the considerations of SEs that organizes differently by combining existing organizational elements in new ways to meet human needs and reduce environmental degradation. The various kinds of SEs and their legal forms were explored, with a working definition presented in chapter three. With the concepts explored in these chapters (CE and SEs), the theoretical background and enterprises of interest were covered. This chapter will now explore theories that aim to explain how institutional change happens, which is still not yet well understood in CE studies.

Institutional theory of structure and action have been used by organizational theory scholars to theorize how structures enable and constrain actors (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Czech, 2014), as well as how actors bring about transformational changes to structure or systems (DiMaggio, 1988). Such theories have also been extensively used to explain the work of SEs in terms of how they organize to carry out their social agenda (Battilana et. al., 2009). More specifically for this study, this chapter will focus on the theory of institutional work, which have been used to explain the strategies that organizational actors employ in order to shape the institutions around them (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Therefore, in this chapter, a brief description of institutions will be offered before the exploration of neo-institutional theories of change. This will allow for detailed descriptions of institutional entrepreneurship and the main theoretical focus on this study – institutional work, as well as the social process of constructing and maintaining institutions. The third research question will also be posed at the end of this chapter before proceeding to the next chapter (five) where the methodology adopted will be presented.

4.1   Institutions and institutional theory

An institution is a complex word that has been shaped by different scholarly perceptions over the years in an attempt to precisely describe "what it really means" (Tracey, 2012). Earlier conceptualizations have used institutions to largely explain both the persistence and the homogeneity of phenomena (Dacin, Goodstein & Scott, 2002). They appear more vertical in those studies, being conceptualized either in a top-down fashion such as studies on the influences of the modern state or the professions, or in a bottom-up form such as recent studies that focus on building institutions (Powell & Oberg, 2017). Scott (1994; 2007; 2014) have been one of those that have tried to develop a framework to understand the different dimensions of institutions. His work offered a three pillars model of recognizing and analyzing institutions, which includes regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements (Scott 1994; 2007). These he called symbolic systems of institutions that makes up the central building blocks of institutional structures, which then shapes behavior and resist change (Scott, 2014).

Although, these symbolic aspects are central ingredients of institutions i.e., rules, norms and beliefs, Scott (2014) argued that the concept must also encompass associated behaviors and material resources, therefore allowing room to also look at the activities that produce, reproduce and change institutions, as well as the resources that sustains them. This is synonymous to earlier views of sociologists such as Giddens (1984) that sees structure and agency as co-constituting. Giddens was one of those that underlined the importance of including resources – material and human – in any conception of structure, or in this case, institutions. Scott (2014) later offered a holistic definition, which is also adapted in this study to understand institutions:

"Institutions comprise regulative (rules), *normative* (norms), *and cultural-cognitive* (beliefs) *elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life." (Scott, 2014, pg. 56).*

With emphasis on symbolic systems and the activities that shapes those systems, this thesis is more interested in the latter- activities and resources within which institutions can be maintained or changed (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). This is because most early treatments of institutions emphasize their capacity to constrain and control behavior (Scott, 2014). While it is widely agreed that institutions have a powerful influence in maintaining order and stability (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell's, 1983), there have been huge interest also on

the capacity of agents to create and change institutions (DiMaggio, 1988; Battilana et. al., 2009). This latter view is more relevant for this research that is interested in the lifestyle and linear economic system changes that needs to occur, and the efforts required to close the loop and establish a CE, as well as, to sustain it (Geissdoerfer et. al., 2017).

As highlighted in the last chapter (see section 3.4.1), it is also important to note that such efforts to create and/or change institutions, would not be in isolation of external forces, but rather situated in pluralistic institutional environments with divergent interests that are neither reconcilable nor can be suppressed, warranting organizational actors to cope or respond to them (Kraatz & Block, 2008; 2017; Jarzabkowski et. al., 2009). The following section will review literature on the agentic aspect of institutional theory, with emphasis placed on institutional entrepreneurship and institutional work, which both looks closely at the efforts geared towards constructing or maintaining institutions in pluralistic institutional environments.

4.2   Institutional theory of action

As earlier stated in section 4.1, early institutional analysis of organizations presented structure as constraining and external to the agent (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Actors were argued to conform to institutional pressures in order to compete successfully or to gain access to resources with their legitimate status. However, conformity, which led to isomorphism in organizational fields, was later found to be inconsistent with the empirical observation of various organizational forms and practices that co-existed industries and sectors (Tracey, 2012). There was lack of clarity in explaining the role of actors and action in institutional theory and change studies (Christensen et. al., 1997; Dacin et. al., 2002). The assumption that actors conform for legitimacy purposes also was not capable of capturing an actor's capacity to behave in ways that are inconsistent with prevailing institutional conditions; neither could conformity explain innovation that was commonplace in organizational environments (Tracey, 2012).

These issues with neo-institutional theories led institutional researchers to question the process of institutional change and the role of agency in this process. DiMaggio (1988), as claimed by Suddaby (2010), in an effort to correct his and Powell's misunderstood "iron-cage" concept of institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), led the charge for the conception of a theory of action by critiquing neo-institutionalism with its lack of understanding of agency. He wrote "*New institutions arise when organized actors with sufficient resources see in them an*

opportunity to realize interests that they value highly" (DiMaggio, 1988: pg. 14). Following DiMaggio's (1988) work on institutional change, several concepts emerged that tried to theorize or shape the discourses on how changes to social systems occur. Among such discourses, and relevant for this work, are concepts such as institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988); institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991); and institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Institutional entrepreneurship scholarship documents the role of actors in the institutional change process (DiMaggio, 1988; Battilana, 2009); the works on institutional logics focused on the content and meaning of institutions (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008); and the institutional work concept shed light on the purposive acts aimed at influencing institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Hampel, Lawrence & Tracey, 2017).

As studies on institutional logics have been earlier presented, these institutional entrepreneurship and institutional work concepts will now be briefly reviewed with more emphasis placed on the latter.

4.2.2 Institutional entrepreneurship

The concept of institutional entrepreneurship is dedicated to explaining the type of actors that seek and work towards bringing about institutional, and as a result, social change. Early works of DiMaggio (1988) and Oliver (1991; 1992) led to the theoretical and empirical exploration of the ways in which actors bring about institutional change. Their work on institutional entrepreneurship and responses to institutional pressures shifted the attention of institutional researchers from structural constraints towards the effects of individual or collective actors on the institutions that regulate the fields in which they operate. DiMaggio (1988) initially coined the concept to explain how actors can contribute to changing institutions despite pressures towards stasis, thereby reintroducing actor's agency into institutional analysis (Battilana et. al., 2009). Oliver (1991) only buttressed this work with an empirical study that showed how organizations responds to institutional processes that affects them. Nevertheless, both studies demonstrated early attempts by scholars to conceptualize a theory of action that places individual/organizational actors and agency at the center of organizational analysis.

In the institutional logics' explication, the concept seems to suggest that actors organize within existing socially constructed and historical patterns of practices or logics. Such arguments once led to the paradox of embedded agency by Holm (1995: pp 398), who questioned how actors

can change institutions if their actions, intentions, and rationality are all constrained by the very institution they wish to change. It was believed that highly embedded actors may be conditioned by the very institution and therefore not consider changing existing rules or bring about change (Mair & Marti, 2006). Battilana et. al., (2009) acknowledged this paradox in their conceptualization of a theory of action by arguing that field level characteristics and social position enable actors to engage as institutional entrepreneurs in the implementation of divergent change, thereby acknowledging the influence of the entrepreneur's institutional environment.

They (institutional entrepreneurs) are capable of sensing institutional differentiation, fragmentation, and contradiction by virtue of their various social locations in institutionally complex environments and take advantage of the opportunities it presents for institutional change (Thornton, 2004). Therefore, institutional entrepreneurs were defined, in a manner adopted in this study, as actors that initiate changes that diverges from existing institutions i.e., *"changes that break the institutional status quo in a field of activity and thereby possibly contribute to transforming existing institutions or creating new ones"* (Battilana et. al., 2009, pg. 67).

To put the concept into context, Battilana et. al. (2009) linked institutional entrepreneurship with social entrepreneurship, stating that both research streams overlaps when it involves entrepreneurial actors introducing novel elements into their broader environment. The author and other colleagues have also highlighted how SEs can combine social and commercial logics to achieve multiple ends (Batilana & Lee, 2014). According to Mair & Marti (2006), an institutional entrepreneurship perspective is a promising way to comprehend the role of social entrepreneurship/social enterprises in changing or giving birth to norms, institutions, and structure.

However, in the institutionalization of new practices, the institutional entrepreneur has to prepare the environment and they do so by enacting both the material and cultural environments to garner resources (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). As a crucial part of the institutional theory of action, the practical efforts of actors to influence institutions have also been explored by institutional theory scholars through the concept known as "institutional work". In their criticism of institutional entrepreneurship literature, Lawrence et. al (2009) highlighted the limited focus of the scholarship arguing that most of them have been relatively 'institution-centric' i.e., they made the focus of their inquiry the explanation of institutional change.

However, the institutional work approach focuses on a set of actions or practices aimed at institutions and then explore them as an insightful social phenomenon in and of themselves in terms of why and how they occur.

Therefore, the next section will elaborate on this institutional perspective by introducing its seminal work and summarizing other literatures on the concept, which is crucial in understanding the strategies social enterprises are adopting as they establish circular principles in Lagos Nigeria. Studies on how actors cope or respond to pluralistic institutional environments will also be reviewed, in order to show the link between hybrid organizing studies in the last chapter and institutional work.

4.2.3 Institutional work

Similar to the approach adopted in the study of institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Jackall, 1988), some scholars have taken the practice perspective to advance the institutionalization discourse by focusing on the approaches or strategies institutional entrepreneurs take to influence institutions and create change or a sense of stability. Institutional work, as initially conceptualized by Lawrence & Suddaby (2006), was defined as the purposive action aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions. This definition was focused on the outcome of the institutionalization process, which combines the institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988), institutional persistence (Oliver 1992, pp 564; Scott, 2001, pp 110) and deinstitutionalization (Oliver 1992) perspectives to identify the purposive approaches adopted to achieve such outcomes.

Since this work is more focused on institutional entrepreneurial acts, it is interested in the intelligent practices or strategies that actors adopted to influence and create new institutions as outcomes (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Although, unlike process-oriented theories, such as the theory of structuration (Giddens, 1984; Mair & Marti, 2006) or of institutional entrepreneurship (Battilana et. al., 2009), that articulate a sequence of events that leads to some outcome, a practice approach focuses on the world inside the processes as they endeavor to shape those (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

This focus on practice stems from the renewed interest in agency by new-institutional theorists (e.g., DiMaggio, 1988) and the literature on the sociology of practice (Bourdieu, 1977; 1993; de Carteau, 1984; Giddens, 1984) to understand the ways in which actors influence institutions.

In respect to the sociology of practice (De Certeau, 1984; Giddens, 1984; Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina, & Von Savigny, 2001; Whittington, 2006), practice is understood as *"embodied materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding"* (Schatzki, et. al. 2001, pg. 2). The concept of institutional work relies more on the concept of practice as a bridge between people's reflexive, purposive efforts, and the institutions at which those efforts are aimed (Hampel et. al., 2017). To clarify why a focus on practice is important in institutional work study, Giddens, while theorizing his 'stratification model of action', describes agency as individuals who reflexively monitors his or her own actions, self-examines him or herself to understand reasons for action and the purpose behind it and finds motivation from his or her self-examination as to the possible outcomes (as highlighted in Moss & Dear, 1986).

Giddens further explains the reflexive monitoring of action by agents as that which happens either consciously or unconsciously (1979). He located social system as being embedded in the practical consciousness of individuals, which they either verbalize (discursive) or not verbalize (practical) (as highlighted in Moss & Dear, 1986). This view is synonymous to the approach taken by Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) in their study of institutional work as they argued that one of the key elements in understanding institutions is that it is constituted in the more or less conscious action of individual and collective actors.

The authors also drew on Barnes (2001) study that conceptualizes macro-sociological phenomena such as institutions as being located in the sets of practices people engage in as a part of those macro-phenomena and not as something emerging from those practices and existing at another "level". This leads them to conclude that the study of institutional work should focus on comprehending the sets of practices in which institutional actors engage in to either create, maintain, or disrupt institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

This seminal work proposed several strategies or a repertoire of institutional mechanisms through which actors influence institutions (see fig 4.1 below with definitions). The authors also highlighted the limitations of the strategies in terms of generalization and calls for extension of their strategies, asking that they should not be treated as definitive (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Zvolska et. al., 2019).

Table 4.1: Elements of institutional work

Institutional outcome	Element of institutional work	Definitions
Creation work	Advocacy	The mobilization of political and regulatory support through direct and deliberate techniques of social suasion.
	Defining	The construction of rule systems that confer status or identity, define boundaries of membership, or create status hierarchies within a field.
	Vesting	This refers to institutional work directed toward the creation of rule structures that confer property rights. It occurs when government authority is used to reallocate property rights.
	Constructing identities	The construction of identities as a form of institutional work, which is central to the creating of institutions because identities describe the relationship between an actor and the field in which that actor operates.
	Changing normative associations	This involves reformulating of normative associations i.e., the re-making the connections between sets of practices and the moral and cultural foundations for those practices
	Constructing normative networks	The construction of normative networks, which are the interorganizational connections through which practices become normatively sanctioned and which form the relevant peer group with respect to normative compliance, monitoring, and evaluation.
	Mimicry	Leveraging existing sets of taken-for-granted practices, technologies, and rules, if they are able to associate the new with the old in some way that eases adoption.
	Theorizing	This is the development and specification of abstract categories, and the elaboration of chains of cause and effect.
	Educating	The education of actors in skills and knowledge necessary to support the new institution

Institutional outcome	Element of institutional work	Definitions
Maintenance work	Enabling	The creation of rules that facilitate, supplement and support institutions.
	Policing	Ensuring compliance through enforcement, auditing and monitoring and can involve the use of both sanctions and inducements often simultaneously and by the same agents.
	Deterring	This involves the threat of coercion to inculcate the conscious obedience of institutional actors.
	Valorizing and demonizing	Providing for public consumption especially positive and especially negative examples that illustrates the normative foundations of an institution.
	Mythologizing	A way in which actors work to preserve the normative underpinnings of institutions, which is by mythologizing their history.
	Embedding and routinizing	This involves actively infusing the normative foundations of an institution into the participants' day to day routines and organizational practices.
Disruptive work	Disconnecting sanctions and rewards	This involves state and non-state actors working through the state apparatus to disconnect rewards and sanctions from some set of practices, technologies, or rules.
	Dissociating moral foundations	This involves disassociating the practice, rule or technology from its moral foundation as appropriate within a specific cultural context.
	Undermining assumption and beliefs	This involves removing the costs associated with actors moving away from taken-for-granted patterns of practice, technologies, and rules in some way, facilitating new ways of acting that replace existing templates, or decrease the perceived risks of innovation and differentiation.

Source: Adapted from Lawrence & Suddaby (2006)

However, other scholars have focused instead on the means of institutional work instead of the outcomes as Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) have done. According to Hampel et. al. (2017),

actors carry out institutional work by employing material, symbolic and relational practices. They stated that while actors are usually concerned with only one institutional outcome (creation, maintenance, or disruption), they frequently employ those three institutional work strategies to achieve that outcome.

The material work was further described by the authors as the type of work that draws on the physical elements of the institutional environment, such as objects or places, to influence institutions; relational work was described as work that is concerned with building interactions to advance institutional ends; and symbolic work as work that uses symbols, including signs, identities, and language, to influence institutions (Hampel et. al., 2017). The strategies are in line with the institutional logics discussions that emphasizes the meanings that drives actions as having both material and cultural (symbolic and normative) dimensions, and not just either of the two as most old and new institutional theorists have focused on (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

Also, Hampel et. al. (2017) elaborated on the type of institutions that actors target for institutional work. According to Stinchcombe (1991), identifying the effects of theoretical mechanisms across levels of analysis makes a theory more precise as well as general. Four institutional levels of analysis were identified by scholars as being the target of purposive strategies from individual or organizational actors and these are the field, organizational, individual, and societal level institutions. According to Hampel et. al. (2017), institutional work scholars have focused on the institutionalization of rules, practices, and beliefs either across societies, across fields, at the organizational or individual level. Scholars have also argued that creating a new institution or disrupting existing ones might require deploying distinct types of works across the different levels of analysis (Mair & Marti, 2009; Wijen & Ansari, 2007).

After Hampel et. al.'s (2017) review of institutional work literature from over a decade, the authors argued that more emphasis had been mostly on field and organizational level analysis, while individual and societal level institutions have been under-researched. Few studies exploring how individual level institutions are being influenced have either investigated the persuasion of individuals to internalize a new logic (Tracey, 2016) or how actors work to reclaim, redefine, or justify their identities in different and conflicting institutional settings. Few studies exploring societal level institutions includes Wijen & Ansari's (2007) work that explored the creation of the Kyoto Protocol, which illustrated the importance of relational work that brings together large numbers of diverse actors. However, Hampel et. al. (2017) concluded

that more research work is still needed on institutional work targeting the individual, organizational and societal level institutions and on the work that links these different levels of analysis.

Additionally, there have been criticisms of institutional work scholarships as focusing more on the purposive work of actors, therefore leaving aside the issue of whether those works are successful in achieving their intended outcomes, in order to demonstrate the effectiveness of the strategy employed (Lawrence et. al., 2013; Beunen & Patterson, 2019). Such gap has been said to be unhelpful, especially if institutional work and theory in general are going to fulfil their place in society, in terms of having practical effects by highlighting what works and what does not, especially in efforts channeled towards tackling climate change, poverty etc. (Beunen & Patterson, 2019; Hampel et. al. 2017). Additionally, Lawrence et. al. (2013) also highlighted the need to document the moral implications of the institutional dynamics we study, both from the perspective of the researcher and the researched. For researchers, it is about checking their biases in knowledge production, dissemination, and consumption; choices of research questions, cases, and methods as it concerns institutional work study. For the researched, it is about investigating if their institutional works might be having an unintended negative impact on others (Marti & Fernandez, 2013), hence studying those efforts further to understand their purpose and enablers.

In conclusion, institutional work scholars have tried to steer clear of the rational actor model e.g. North (1990) or move away from the "heroic ideas of institutional entrepreneurship" (Aldrich, 2012) to a more social image of actors and agency that *are able to work with institutionally defined logics of effect or appropriateness and that doing so requires culturally-defined forms of competence and knowledge, as well as the creativity to adapt to conditions that are both demanding and dynamic (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, pg. 219)"*. There are criticisms of Giddens' theory, and other rational actor perspectives, that such views obliterated structure and exaggerated power and the capacity of agents (Baber, 1991).

Therefore, the scholarship on institutional work rejects such notions of "hyper-muscular institutional entrepreneurs" that are singularly able to transform what seemed for others to be complex institutional structures (Battilana et. al., 2009), thereby embracing a collective approach towards influencing institutions (Aldrich, 2012). Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) concluded that the practices, which might lead to institutional change are themselves

institutionally embedded and so rely on sets of resources and skills that are particular to the field or fields in which they appear.

Since this study is interested in how circular principles are being propagated in a particular context (Lagos), it will require changes to existing institutions or way of life (Brennan & Blomsma, 2017). Getting people to adopt new waste sorting habits or establishing a recycling system will require manipulating prevalent rules, norms, and belief systems in the context, where such activities are going to take place. Such actions are also necessary if LMICs are going to develop differently by moving away from a linear economy towards the CE. To understand how SEs are actively changing the institutions within which they are establishing circular principles, the next section will review studies on how such work is done in plural institutional environment.

4.3   Institutional work in plural environments

While institutional work focuses on efforts at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions, it is important to acknowledge the prior or existing institutions, within which actors carry out such works (Holm, 1995). As explained in section (3.4.1), organizations exist in society that has within it rules, norms and beliefs emanating from diverse interest groups, thereby subjecting actors to multitudes of forces, each trying to shape their identity or behavior (Kraatz & Block, 2008; 2017). This is synonymous with Owen-Smith & Powell's (2008) view that actor's strategies and rationality are shaped within their network-institutional context. Institutional work, therefore, requires acknowledging networks as an important context or medium, providing actors with a contested and competing environment of institutional pluralism (Kraatz & Block, 2008) within which their creative, disruptive and maintenance work are being carried out.

While some studies have applied the institutional work concept to pluralism studies, there are still calls for more research that advances knowledge on how organizational actors respond in pluralistic environments (Kraatz & Block, 2017). Jarzabkowski et. al. (2009) stated that the institutional work concept is well suited to study actor's responses because institutional pluralism studies carry out analysis at the level of the organization and its actors, making it synonymous with the practice focus of the institutional work concept. Also, one of the key findings of their empirical work is that pluralistic contexts require active institutional work of

moves and countermoves, as actors with divergent interest or logic responds to acts of institutional maintenance by others (Jarzabkowski et. al., 2009).

Such findings make research on hybrid organizing, reviewed in section (3.4.2), relevant in capturing such institutional work as actors actively make sense of and combine multiple logics to sustain their organizations (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Ocasio et. al. (2017) specifically calls for more research that demonstrates how different logics can be drawn upon in different situations and how actors may develop the social skill and creative ability to access and use a broad variety of logics. SE and hybrid organizing studies have captured organizations said to aim for value creation by organizing among the market, state, and civil society institutional sectors (Santos, 2012).

Organizing among such diverse groups means SEs have to engage in "relational work' that involves influencing actors from different fields and with different interests, goals and roles, for support in achieving their institutional ends. Fligstein (1997) identified social skills as a critical need for institutional entrepreneurs looking to either create, maintain, or disrupt institutions. The scholar argued that the social skills that institutional entrepreneurs possess enables them to motivate cooperation in other actors by providing those other actors with common meanings and identities in which action can be taken and justified (Fligstein, 1997). This means institutional entrepreneurs have to take into account the interests of other people if a new institution is going to be created and remain stable (Fligstein, 1997).

This perspective on acknowledging the interest of others is very relevant for this study that aims to explore how SEs are establishing a CE in Lagos, amid a sector that has prevalent informal economic activities, which conflicts with the government's plans and waste management procedures (Nzeadibe & Ejike-Alieji, 2020). It has also been highlighted in chapter two that there is the case of negative individual and household perception to the idea of waste, which is likely to pose additional complexity in trying to establish circular ideals to see such materials as a resource (Olukoju, 2018). Therefore, an opportunity exists to study the institutional work associated with incorporating the views and interest of these diverse actors in establishing circular principles in Lagos.

Also, studying institutional work in plural environments means that levels of analysis can go beyond the organizational level common in institutional pluralism studies (Jarzabkowski et. al., 2009), to also include individual, field, and societal levels, called for in institutional work research (Hampel et. al., 2017). Such analysis could involve exploring the activities of

institutional entrepreneurs (individuals or organizations) and their influence on individual, field or societal level logics (e.g., Lee & Lounsbury, 2015; Greenwood et. al., 2010). This can be useful in shedding light on the effects of SE actions on groups in other organizations; in the field of waste management; and wider society.

Based on this review, the next section will conclude and draw out the research question emanating from this chapter on institutional work for a CE.

4.4   Summary and conclusion

This chapter reviewed literatures on institutional work in the context of institutional entrepreneurship that defines the actors that create new or transform existing institutions by leveraging available material and human resources (Battilana et. al., 2009). The actual activities that shape institutions are the focus of institutional work studies, which Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) defined as the purposive work of actors to create, maintain, or disrupt institutions. More importantly, this review situates institutional work research in pluralistic institutional environments where organizational actors are said to be embedded in environments with multiple logics, providing them with a wide range of organizing principles to use in the institutional creation and disruption processes. Any new institution created is also likely to be inserted into an existing set of institutions within the contested and competing environment of institutional pluralism, hence warranting its continuous maintenance to avoid being dominated by the other logics (Jarzabkowski et. al., 2009).

Therefore, having posed a question on multiple logics in the chapter 3, this chapter presented arguments that institutional work is required to combine those logics or to make them co-exist with others. In order to shape rules, norms and beliefs, organizational actors leverage the organizing principles of multiple logics to achieve their aims in highly contested environments with several interest groups. The key take-aways from this chapter is that **actors (individual or organizations)** are not merely constrained by institutional forces but that they act purposively to change the institutions within which they operate. Called institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), such work aimed at **rules, norms, and belief systems (institutions)** are usually not done in isolation but in institutionally plural contexts and with other actors with resources and similar interests in the institutional project. Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) specifically pointed out that any of such work to shape broader social structures is either done to **create new, maintain an existing or disrupt institutions**, therefore

highlighting the outcomes of such practices and the approaches used in achieving them. Hampel et. al. (2017) extended their work to detail the means through which such works are done which are **symbolic, material, and relational** in nature. These are summarily presented in figure 4.1 below.

These types of texts reviewed in this chapter are suitable for the CE concept being explored in this thesis due to calls for studies that addresses the socio-institutional change concerns necessary for circular implementation and transitioning (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017; Moreau et.al., 2017). Blomsma & Brennan (2017, pg. 611) further explains this, quoting Baxter et. al.'s, (2016) study, that the "*implementation of consumer recycling schemes, aimed at a higher degree of source separation, involves a connected set of changes regarding new infrastructure, appropriate product design as well as new disposal habits…*". Moreau et. al. (2017) clearly highlighted the role of organizations such as SEs could play in facilitating a more equitable and circular economy through their ability to challenge and transform institutional conditions and societal values. With limited research or engagement of the CE concept in LMICs, as it is also in management research (Rivera-Santos et. al., 2015), this thesis sets out to explore the institutional changes necessary to facilitate a CE in Lagos by studying SEs aiming to achieve such ends. Therefore, the following research question was set:

Research question 3: What institutional work are social enterprises doing to establish circular economy principles in Lagos?

The key take-aways from this chapter, which was discussed earlier and that would serve as preliminary codes for further analysis are shown below.

Figure 4.1: Theoretical ideas used to inform the coding framework for the third research question
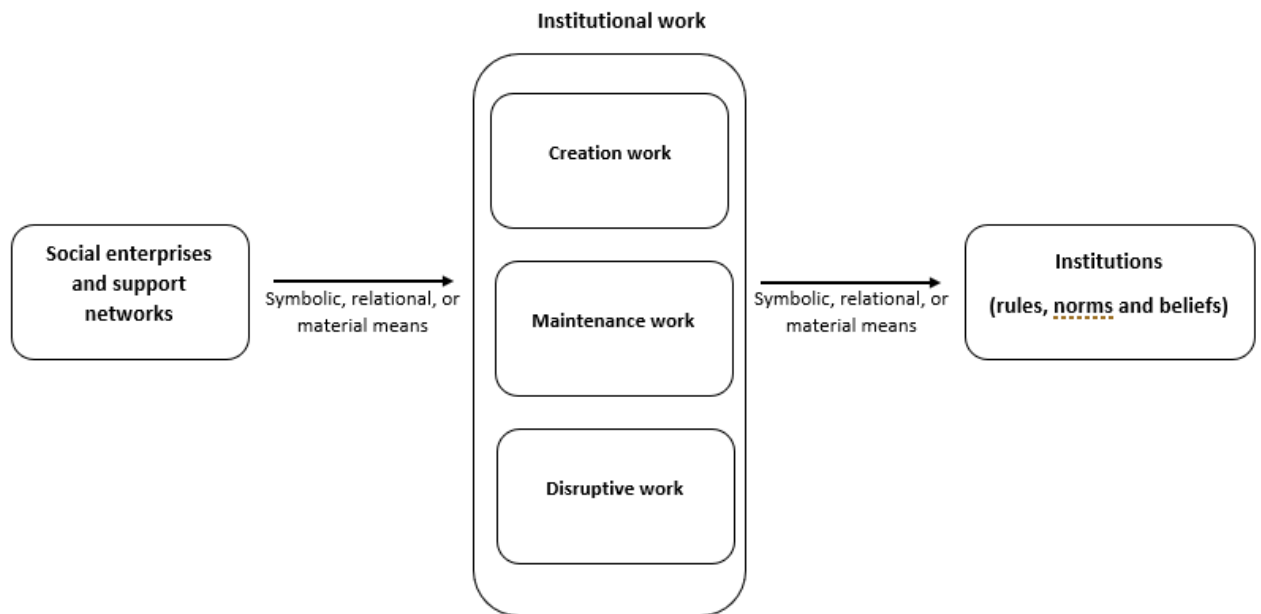
Source: Adapted from Lawrence & Suddaby (2006); Hampel et. al. (2017) and Scott (2014).

Having set all three questions and key concepts of interest in this thesis (from chapter two to four), the next chapter will detail the methodology that will be adopted. As discussed in this chapter, institutions are social constructs with actors playing a role in making sense of and participating in creating new, tearing down, or maintaining existing rules, norms and beliefs. One of the early works on institutional studies i.e., that of Berger & Luckmann (1967), emphasized this human construction aspects of social reality. As stated by Scott (2014), their work enriched discussions on institutionalization as a process by which actions are produced, repeated, and come to evoke stable, similar meanings in self and other. Such studies are influential in the prominent qualitative approach that is common in institutional research, especially in studies on institutional work where the focus is on the action of actors influencing institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

The next chapter will elaborate more on this philosophical perspective (social constructionism), as well as provide a detailed methodology design that will be followed in carrying out this exploratory work.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 <u>Research Methodology</u>

This study aims to investigate the strategies that social enterprises adopt to establish a circular economy culture in Nigeria and the last three chapters (two, three and four) have focused on a review of literatures in order to understand the theoretical context within which this study is situated. This chapter will, therefore, explain the methods that will be adopted to investigate the research questions for this study.

5.1 <u>Research philosophy – social constructionism</u>

According to Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill (2009), research philosophy reflects vital assumptions about the way a researcher views the world. As elaborated by Bryman (2016), ontological assumptions are concerned with the nature of social entities while epistemological assumptions sheds light on how to understand such reality. It concerns the question of what can be regarded as acceptable knowledge within a discipline or a field of study (Bryman, 2016). Creswell (2007) refers to both philosophical assumptions (ontology and epistemology) as worldviews or paradigms, thereby describing four different types, one of which was social constructionism. The researcher's stance in this study aligns with this worldview which states that our understanding of external reality is, inevitably, our construction of it (Maxwell, 2013, pg. 43).

This represents a subjective approach, and it invites the researcher to examine the ways in which social reality is an ongoing accomplishment of social actors (Bryman, 2016). It embraces the idea of 'multiple realities', which can include that of the researcher, the participants being studied and the readers of such a study (Creswell, 2007). As a result, scholars from this school of thought are concerned about how people make sense of 'their world' with human actions being thought of as meaningful and purposeful (Gill & Johnson, 2002, pg. 168), although such construction of social reality is argued to be provisional (Bryman, 2016, pg. 25) and cannot fully claim absolute truth (Maxwell, 2013, pg. 43).

It is believed that people's perceptions and beliefs are shaped by their assumptions and prior experiences, as well as, by the reality that they interact with (Maxwell, 2013). This epistemic worldview is different from a positivists position that applies the methods of the natural

sciences to the study of social reality (Creswell, 2007; Saunders et. al., 2009), with an assumption that a scientist's conceptualization of reality directly actually reflects that reality (Bryman, 2016). With a belief in an external reality, scholars take an epistemological stand that recognizes that there is a difference between the objects that are the focus of their study and the terms they use to describe, account for, and understand them. Also, as positivism hardly include in their explanations, any theoretical terms that is not directly amenable to observations, scholars adopting a subjective approach to understanding external realities, do include such terms on the grounds that their effects are observable (Bryman, 2016, pg. 25).

This worldview is always associated with interpretivism which attempts to reduce the distance between him or herself and that being researched (Creswell, 2007) in order to comprehend the fundamental meaning attached to organizational life (Saunders et. al., 2009). Interpretivists are interested in conducting research among people (as social actors) rather than objects e.g., trucks and computers (Saunders et. al., 2009). They believe that people interpret their daily social roles in accordance with the meaning given to those roles and they interpret the social roles of others in accordance with their own set of meanings (Saunders et. al., 2009).

To get access to such knowledge, "the researcher collaborates, spends time in field with participants and becomes an insider" (Creswell, 2007). The researcher also utilizes open-ended questions to capture what people say or do in their life-setting, therefore focusing not only on the processes of interactions, but also on the context within which people live and work (Creswell, 2007). Researchers are also aware of their own background and its influence on their interpretation of other accounts, and as a result, places themselves in the research to acknowledge the influence of their own cultural, historical, and personal experiences.

The next subsection will explain how this philosophical assumption relates to the theories of institutions and institutional work that is central to this study.

5.1.1 Social constructionism and Institutional theory

Since this study follows a neo-institutionalist approach with its focus on actors and action (Oliver, 1991; DiMaggio, 1988), and away from a mere focus on structure as that with a top-down constraining or deterministic effects on actors and their agency (Moos & Dear, 1985; Baber, 1991; Shilling, 1992; Mingers, 2004), this section will attempt to justify the methodological assumptions that are being made to investigate its research questions. The foundations of institutional theory, as argued, were built on a social constructionist perspective

(Suddaby, 2010). This was attributed to Berger & Luckmann's (1967) work on the social construction of reality, where the scholars attempted to describe the way 'social order itself arises' and is transmitted (ibid). This stems from the belief that human existence takes place in a context of order, direction, and stability and, as a result, their development as human is preceded by a given social order, which they argue is, itself, a human product, or an ongoing human production (ibid).

The scholars believed that the social order is not readily available in the natural environment and cannot be derived from the laws of nature (ibid), thereby discrediting the 'positivist' or 'the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality and beyond (Bryman, 2016). They believe that social order exists only as a product of human activity, both in its genesis (as the result of past human activity) and its existence in any instance of time (as its existence depends on its continuous reproduction via human activity).

All human activity, however, is argued to be subject to habitualization, which is the repeated actions of humans that later become cast into a pattern that is easily reproduced and understood by its performer as that pattern (ibid). Habitualized actions narrows down choices, makes repetitions possible and easy and allows for the embeddedness of such actions as routines, which is then taken-for-granted by the actor and available in the form of knowledge for future projects (ibid). As human beings are also argued to be social beings (Gerber, 1997; Berger & Luckmann, 1967), the 'reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors' was described as institutionalization (ibid), and it is from this conceptualization that most neo-institutional theory thinking in organization studies emerged from (Scott, 1994; Tolbert & Zucker, 1996).

Berger & Luckmann's (1967, pg 72) describes habitualized actions, that constitutes institutions, as "shared ones" and as a result, the social order was then believed to be created, maintained, and transmitted through procedures, practices, and their accompanied shared meaning (institutions), enacted and perceived by members of an organization (Zilber, 2002) or 'collectivities' (Berger & Luckmann, 1973). This idea of institutions as 'shared' created and challenged through practices is relevant to the focus questions of this thesis, which is looking at the hybrid organizing 'practices' (and its accompanying institutional work) of social enterprises in the CE of Lagos Nigeria.

As elaborated by Schatzki (2001, pg. 3) a "*practice approach promulgates a distinct social ontology: the social is a field of embodied materially interwoven practices centrally organized*

around shared practical understandings". These "shared practical understandings" represents the 'categories' that actors use in everyday discourses (Bryman, 2016), or within which social enterprises organize, to interact with existing social and technological structures, that have a separate existence from such actors, in unintended and unexpected ways (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006)

Epistemologically, as social constructionists believed that the social world is always in a process of construction, containing within it the roots of an expanding institutional order, the importance of communication in the typification and habitualization of actions (institutionalization) was emphasized by Berger & Luckmann, (1967). Specifically, the role of language in the objectification of the social world or society was mentioned by the authors, who argued that languages order a social world into objects to be apprehended as reality (ibid). As they stated:

"*the institutional world requires…. ways by which it can be explained and justified…This reality is ... a historical one which comes to the new generation as a tradition rather than a as a biographical memory… Their knowledge of the institutional history is by way of 'hearsay'. The original meaning of the institutions is inaccessible to them in terms of memory. It, therefore, becomes necessary to interpret this meaning to them in various legitimating formulas. These will have to be consistent and comprehensive in terms of the institutional order, if they are to carry conviction to the new generation.*" (ibid, pg. 79).

Berger & Luckmann (1967) later concluded that understanding the various institutional orders at play within an organization is only possible by analyzing the 'knowledge' that its members have of it (pg. 82). This approach is synonymous with Weber's view of social action as that which needs to be explained and understood through interpretive mechanisms that allows for a *'causal explanation of its cause and effects'* (Weber, 1947, pg. 88). According to Thornton & Ocasio (2008), an interpretivist epistemology enriches the possibilities of the types of data and data gathering methods available for scholars to investigate the content and meaning of institutions.

Institutional work, in particular, was argued to be often language-centered involving practices of speaking and writing that are directed at affecting the institutional context within which those practices occur. Interpretive analytic methods such as discourse analysis (through rhetoric, narrative, or dialogue), Actor-Network theory and semiotics have been proposed to be used in understanding institutional work being done by actors (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2005).

Such methods of analysis are similar to the approach that will be applied in this study in theorizing the institutional work of SEs.

The next section will explain the research approach adopted in this study which is split between the deductive and inductive schools of thought or simply known as an 'abductive' approach to research (Bryman, 2016).

5.2   Research approach

In research methods, there are three well known research approaches, and these are deductive, inductive, and abductive. To clarify the differences between them, in deductive research, the researcher draws on what is known about a particular domain and on relevant theoretical ideas in order to deduce a hypothesis that must then be subjected to empirical scrutiny (Bryman, 2016; Saunders et. al., 2009). Here, theory, and the hypothesis derived from it, comes first and drives the process of data gathering (Bryman, 2016). This research approach has its origins in natural sciences (Saunders et. al., 2009) and usually said to have a positivist undertone (Bryman, 2016).

Contradictorily, the inductive research approach is a process of theory building. It explains the relationship between theory and research in which the former (theory) is generated from latter (data gathered from research) (Bryman, 2016). The researcher's purpose is to get a feel of what was going on, so as to better comprehend the nature of the problem, which will be done by analyzing the data collected in order to make sense of it (Bryman, 2016). This research approach, therefore, negates the deductive approach argued to construct a rigid methodology that fails to capture alternative explanations for what is going on (Saunders et. al., 2009). On the other hand, inductive research can be quite risky with constant fears that no useful theory might emerge, and it can be quite time consuming compared to a deductive approach to research where time schedules for data collection and analysis can be predicted accurately (Saunders et. al., 2009).

However, in abductive research approach, the relationship between theory and research is slightly different from the inductive approach. In this third approach, the researcher grounds theoretical understandings of the contexts and people being studied in the language, meanings and perspectives that makes up their worldview (Bryman, 2016). This means, observations are carried out to gain a description and understanding of the world of participants before coming

to a social scientific account of the social world as seen from those perspectives (Bryman, 2016). The end goal is to look for inference to the best possible explanation for a phenomenon or cluster of phenomena. This approach was adopted in this study as it offers the potential to offer the best possible explanation or interpretation of participants worldviews (Bryman, 2016; Lipscomb, 2012), which can be measured based on its 'fittingness' to existing theories or ideas about the world (Lipscomb, 2012). Dubois & Gadde (1999) explained how this different inductive approach to research is done, which they described involves going back and forth between framework, data sources and analysis in order to generate a new theory.

This approach to theory generation suits the social constructionist worldview adopted in this study as it allows the researcher to not only make how members of a social group interpret the world around them known, but to place those interpretations into a 'social scientific frame', which involves another level of interpretations in terms of concepts, theories, and literatures of a discipline (Bryman, 2016). As a result, it enables the researcher to draw conclusions because they best explain the available evidence from the 'selective combination' of theory and empirical data (Dubois & Gadde, 1999; Lipscomb, 2012). Selective combination, however, is the systematic combination of active and passive data sources that complement each other, in a manner that reveals unanticipated information that is of relevance to a study (Dubois & Gadde, 1999). Based on this approach to inference making, the next subsection will discuss the research strategy that was adopted and provide information about the cases involved in this study.

5.3   Research strategy: Multi-method case study

As this study is exploratory in nature, there is an opportunity to find out 'what is happening, to seek new insights; to ask questions and to assess phenomena in a new light' (Robson, 2002, pg. 59). Therefore, to explore the strategies social enterprises adopt in Lagos, a case study strategy will be adopted. This is because case studies are more suited to answering the how, what, and why questions and are more often used in exploratory and explanatory research (Saunders et. al., 2009).

Also, since this study is adopting an interpretivist epistemological position, which emphasizes the relationship between the knower and the known, a case study perspective is argued to blur the boundaries between the phenomenon been studied and the context within which it is being studied (Saunders et. al., 2009), thereby enabling the opportunity to gain a rich understanding

of a context and the enacted processes (Morris & Wood, 1991). This differentiates it from other strategies such as the experiment strategy where there is a need for a highly controlled context and from the survey strategy which limits the ability to explore and understand a context due to the number of variables for which data can be obtained (Saunders et. al., 2009).

Creswell (2007, pg. 73) defines case study research as that which involves the investigation of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system (i.e., a setting, a context etc.). The bounded system can either be single (a case) or multiple (cases). The advantages of the multiple case study approach, as compared to single cases, were highlighted to provide more compelling evidence, and are generally regarded as being robust studies (Yin, 2009).

Creswell (2007), however, stated that the more cases a researcher studies, the less the depth on any single case and as a result, suggested that, for researchers concerned about generalizability and want to adopt a multiple case study strategy, they should choose no more than four or five cases. However, since the case study approach is argued to rely on analytical generalization, scholars can expand the boundaries of a case to attain a representative view, with the knowledge that such expansion automatically influences what will be discovered in the research and should be carried out with caution (Dubois & Gadde, 1999).

Due to the nature of this study's questions and the institutionally diverse context within which SEs organize or operate in, a multiple case study approach will be used to allow the researcher to capture the variety of SEs that operate in the solid waste management sector, as well as the diverse social groups or network ties that are associated with the enterprises. Although the main goal of this study is to elucidate 'the particular' strategies (Creswell, 2007: pg. 126) they adopt to establish a CE culture in Lagos, such multiple case approach allows for generalization of the study's conclusions across a broader set of organization with similar hybrid logics (as social enterprises are) e.g., private, and public sector organizations (as called for by Battilana et. al., 2017). Also, this study could have focused only on the cases (SEs), but to properly address the research questions, particularly on hybrid organizing and institutional work that requires reflection on the influence of institutionally plural environments that organizations operate in, this study included their support networks as crucial for further data collection per case.

Having selected a case study strategy, this thesis will use a multi-method to explore the cases. A researcher could choose a use a mono-method, mixed method, or a multi-method in exploring a research problem (Saunders et. al., 2015). The differences between the methods are split between a quantitative or qualitative approach in carrying out social research. The mono-

method consist of a research strategy where either a qualitative or a quantitative method is used to collect data, while a mixed-method has a combination of both methods in a study. A multi-method, however, bears similarities with the mixed method approach but differs in that in a multi-method study, several types of quantitative or qualitative data are collected in a study, while in mixed-method, both types of data are collected (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007, pg. 273). Due to this research design, with its interpretivist worldview, the choice of method was a multi-method approach that collected qualitative data using multiple collection methods i.e., a case study that employed interviews, documents, and archival records to gather qualitative data about the cases.

Collecting data from multiple sources helps with triangulation, which Miles et. al. (2014, pg. 300) described as *"a way to get to the finding in the first place— by seeing or hearing multiple instances of it from different sources by using different methods and by squaring the finding with others it needs to be squared with"*. This multi-method was also selected because of the central phenomenon of interest in this study i.e., the institutional work that actors (SEs) do. The concept of institutional work, as discussed in section (4.2.3), was argued to have refocused institutional theory discourses back on agency or the deliberate work of actors to influence institutions. It puts the focus back on people and their capacity to interpret and reconstruct their worlds (ontology and epistemology).

The qualitative research strategy places emphasis on how individuals relate with the social world, with a view that social reality (ontology) is a constantly shifting emergent property of individuals' creation, while rejecting the positivist view with its natural science practices and norms (Bryman, 2016). Such strategy is said to emphasize word rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2016), which can either be spoken or written. Word in qualitative studies refer to language in the form of an extended text, although it can also appear in the form of still or moving images (Miles et. al., 2014, pg. 10), thereby justifying the need to collect qualitative data from the various forms it appears in e.g., interviews, documents, archival records etc. Since this study adopted a case study and multi-method qualitative approach, the next subsection will document the data collection methods that was used and how those collected data were analyzed with necessary justifications.

5.3.1 <u>Sampling and data collection</u>

The data collection activities followed in this thesis is similar to Creswell's (2007) data collection circle for qualitative studies presented in the diagram (fig 5.1) below. Although, reflections on the interlinkages between the elements in the diagram differs from the experiences of the researcher while conducting this study, as this section will demonstrate. Starting with the first three circles (locating site/individual, gaining access and sampling), the researcher has been carrying out internet searches on organizations of interest within the waste management space as the research was developing.

This culminated into the identification of some prominent organization in the waste management space, particularly those that 'self-identifies' as a social enterprise due to their waste service offerings in communities (Littlewood & Holt, 2018c; Rivera-Santos et. al., 2015). Several studies have used the self-identification approach to study SEs because of its definitional issues earlier discussed (see section 3.2.2) but Rivera-Santos et al. (2015) cautioned the use of such an approach, stating that the researcher needs to be careful and reflexive when using such an approach to select SEs, due to their empirical finding that how SEs perceive their enterprise sometimes differ from their actual activities on the ground.

However, such form of organizational identification is synonymous with the non-probability sampling technique known as purposive sampling approach (Saunders et. al., 2009). Defined by Eisenhardt (1989, pg. 537) as the selection of cases which are likely to replicate or extend the emergent theory, the purposive sampling technique was selected because it can purposefully inform the comprehension of the research problem and the central phenomena of a study (Creswell, 2007; pg. 125). Saunders et. al. (2009; pg. 237) argued that such form of sampling is used when working with very small samples e.g., case study research and when cases that are to be studied need to be informative.

Figure 5.1: Creswell's (2007) qualitative data collection circle

Figure 7.1   Data Collection Activities
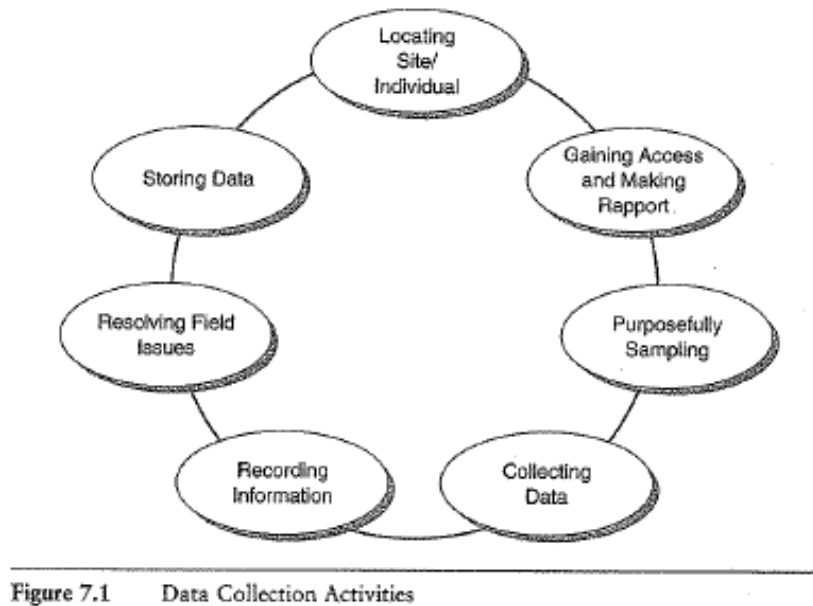
Source: Creswell, 2007, pg. 118

As one of the purposeful sampling techniques i.e., the maximum variation sampling strategy, was adopted in this study (also known as heterogenous sampling), it allowed the researcher to capture and document diverse variations in the study's unit of analysis (Creswell, 2007: pg. 127). It is defined as a sampling strategy suitable for capturing information on cases that are completely different in features (Saunders et. al., 2009: pg. 239). The researcher was aware early on about the variety of enterprises operating in this sector before selecting organizations of interest, hence the use of this sampling strategy to unpick their different features. This was why the final sampled list of organizations operating within the waste management sector in Lagos varied in structure, location, and nature of activities.

The SEs sampled were expected to be engaged in various kinds of recycling activities such as upcycling, downcycling, recycling and pre-cycling. Downcycling involves decreasing the future recyclability and economic potential of a product while upcycling includes the conversion of a recyclable product into a more valuable product with an increased economic potential, while still maintaining its recyclability (Chini, 2007). Recycling involves transforming a product which will be used subsequently for similar purposes it was initially created for use for (Chini, 2007) and precycling, unlike the former three examples focusing on how the enterprises process waste, is more directed at consumers as it refers to how household can make smart shopping choices and cut waste at its source (Gillian, Werner, Olson & Adams,

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1996). A form of precycling is when organizations engage in advocacy or campaigns targeted at encouraging recycling behaviors among households as a way of eliminating trash before it is created (Gillian et. al., 1996).

However, these categories are not mutually exclusive as an enterprise might both be engaged in upcycling solid wastes while also raising precycling awareness among those it serves. Before this list was put together, a sampling criterion was developed from a review of SE literature (as presented in chapter three). This was applied to purposively select the organizations of interest for this research from the various organizations found on the internet carrying out waste related activities in Lagos. As corroborated by Patton (2002), to better capture case variations, a sample selection criterion should be created prior to selecting samples, so it can serve as a guide during process of selection. From literature, the following five criteria was applied in the selection of cases: organizational type, income source, areas of waste services, type of recycling activity and stage in the entrepreneurship process.

As this study was set up to look within and without SEs, the study was dyadic in its set up, which involved an empirical exploration of SEs first as the main object of study (founders and workers of the enterprises), followed by their network ties (external relations), which included, but not limited to, government agencies, multinational corporations, international organizations, local NGOs, households and civil society actors or organizations (see table 5.2 and 5.3 for full list of SEs and their support networks involved in this study). The SEs sampled were those with social business and NGOs that trade models, as described in Alter's (2007) spectrum earlier (see description in section 3.2.1). This dyadic approach enabled the researcher to capture information useful for understanding their hybrid organizing practices and the institutional work embedded in those relationships. However, to sample those connected organizations or individuals external to the identified SEs, a snowball method was used in which participants selects and grants access for additional people or organizations to talk to regarding their activities.

They were made to complete a gatekeeping form (see appendix 1) granting access to talk to other members in their network. Also, this snowball method was useful in identifying other SEs that participants highlighted as carrying out similar activities as theirs, which my initial internet search has not been able to identify, and that are worthy of inclusion in the research. As this sampling process was ongoing, permissions were also being sought simultaneously from identified SEs through a consent form (see appendix 2) emailed in advance, followed by

a phone call for further introduction of the researcher and the research, in order to gain access and build necessary initial rapport (Creswell, 2007, pg. 123).

Therefore, the number of cases were not fixed at the start of the fieldwork as they developed from those identified on via online search and contacted for permission, to those snowballed from interactions with participants. It is also important to state that before embarking on fieldwork, this research project was registered with the Middlesex Online Research Ethics (MORE) committee to ensure all the appropriate research guidelines are followed in gathering data. All the forms used while on the field (gatekeeper and consent forms) were informed by the templates provided on the MORE website during the ethical approval process.

At the end of the field work, nine organizations were sampled and included in the study and their details are provided in table 5.1 below according to how they fit within the sample criteria (see full description of the table in appendix 3). The researcher assigned pseudo names for the cases using color descriptions to keep the research participants information anonymous and for ethical purposes, as shown in table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1: Summary of cases according to the sampling criteria

Case	Organizational type	Areas of waste services	Income source	Type of recycling	Stage in the entrepreneurial process
Red	Social business	Waste recycling	Sale of processed recyclables and selling of recycling equipment	Door-to-door and onsite collection, as well as processing of recyclables.	Matured organization (established in 2016)
Blue	Social business	Waste recycling	Sale of processed recyclables	Door-to-door and onsite collection, as well as processing of recyclables.	Matured organization (established around 2016/2017)

Case	Organizational type	Areas of waste services	Income source	Type of recycling	Stage in the entrepreneurial process
Yellow	Social business	Waste recycling	Sale of processed recyclables and paid consulting services.	Door-to-door and onsite collection, as well as processing of recyclables	Matured organization (established around 2017)
Brown	Social business	Waste recycling	Sale of processed recyclables	Door-to-door and onsite collection, as well as processing of recyclables	Matured organization (established 2013)
Pink	Social business	Waste recycling	Sale of processed recyclables	Door-to-door and onsite collection, as well as processing of recyclables	Matured organization (established 2012)
Violet	Social business	Waste upcycling	Sale of upcycled products and paid training services	Transforming car tyres into furniture	Matured organization (established 2015)
Orange	Social business	Waste upcycling	Sale of upcycled products	Transforming car tyres into furniture	Matured organization (established 2016)
Gold	NGO that trades	Waste clean-up and environmental advocacy	Sale of upcycled products and paid training services	Cleaning-up to acquire recyclables	Matured organization (established 2010)
Magenta	NGO that trades	Waste clean-up and	Charges fees to use leased a public space	Cleaning-up to acquire recyclables	Matured organization

Case	Organizational type	Areas of waste services	Income source	Type of recycling	Stage in the entrepreneurial process
		environmental advocacy	and through sale of collected recyclables		(established 2011)

Sources: Qualitative data

Organizations not included in the sample includes the informal forms of cooperation engaging in waste practices for only economic motivations (informal recyclers), as described in section (2.3.1), and those government controlled or owned enterprises carrying out waste recycling services e.g., those involved in PSP operations in the state (see section 2.3). This is because it goes against the conceptualization and values of a social enterprise, which has been described as organizations that are 'beyond the market and the state' (Pestoff, 1998), as the state generates its income mostly through tax and the market's main goal is more profit, both of which differs from the description of social enterprises in this study (3.2.2) with additional social and environmental priorities. Also, the aim was to capture formal organizational activities in the waste space in Lagos, and not what the informal collectors or waste pickers are doing, which have been overly theorized as it concerns LMIC contexts such as Lagos (e.g. Ezeah et al. 2013; Chaturvedi et al. 2015; Down & Medina, 2000).

The formally organized social enterprises are usually recognized either by their registration, organizational or legal forms (NGO and for-profit forms as described in section 3.2.2). Registered organizational status or legal form usually comes with a certificate from the government but not all the sampled SEs provided such document, as others just confirmed during interview their legal status. The affiliations on their website also confirmed their registered status as they would not have been able to network and work with corporations and government agencies if they are not legal, due to previous government crackdown on informal collectors (as highlighted in section 2.3.1), which acts as a deterrent.

The next subsections will detail how data was collected from the sampled organizations shown above (table 5.1).

5.4   Collecting data

According to Miles et. al., (2014), the words collected and analyzed in qualitative studies are from observations, interviews, documents, and artifacts. Yin (2009) had an extended view of data collection sources (six in total) to include archival records, direct and participant observations. Interviews and observations occur frequently in qualitative research studies (Creswell, 2007) and can be regarded as primary sources of data. Archival documents and artifacts, however, belongs to what Bryman (2016) categorized as secondary data because they usually serve as corroboratory instruments or additional sources of evidence in qualitative case study research (Yin, 2009).

Secondary data also enhances the reliability of qualitative research findings by allowing for the confirmation and extension of the observations made in the interviews (Eversole et. al., 2013). The main types of secondary data are documents, surveys, archival records, artifacts, media accounts, voice recordings etc. Such data are systematically searched and access to some of them might be restricted such as those within an organization (Yin, 2009). This study, however, made use of a combination of interviews, documents, and archival records in gathering the research data. This is synonymous with Thornton & Ocasio (2008) and Lawrence & Suddaby's (2006) view that discourse theory has been used extensively to develop institutional theory and methods.

Particularly, institutional work, being often language-centered, uses various qualitative data sources to capture the 'discursive acts' of actors (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), such as interviews, focus groups, archival documents, and records, naturally occurring conversations, political speeches etc. (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). How these data sources were used to gather the data for this study are briefly elaborated upon below.

5.4.1   Interview

The primary data collection method was interviews. According to Yin (2009), interviews are important sources of case study evidence because it helps capture those human affairs or behavioral events that are characteristic of such studies. It can also provide historic information that can lead to other sources of evidence (Yin, 2009, pg. 108). Interviews can be conducted either in a one-on-one, focus group or telephone basis (Creswell, 2007). Prior to the interview of the cases used in this study and listed in table 5.2 above, a generic interview guide was

developed according to the gaps identified in the literature and research questions of interest. The guide consists of open-ended questions, to allow for 'rich detailed answers' (Bryman, 2016, pg. 467) from participants. This was piloted with two SE founders involved in waste related activities in London and Lagos.

The London SE was a food waste social entrepreneur that recycles food produce at their end-of-life and make them into other delicacies that are fit for consumption, thereby preventing such food from ending up being wasted in landfills. The Lagos SE involved in collection, aggregation and selling of post-use plastic bottles. During the pilot, the researcher paid attention to 'critical incidents', which can either be captured from observation or through participants description of their events. Such focus on critical incidents in an interview process is an attempt to probe further those events or factors that help promote or detracts from the effective functioning of an activity or the experience of a specific situation or event (Butterfield et. al., 2005). This pilot refocuses some of the earlier questions in the guide, with new questions included on other significant areas which had not previously been identified.

After pilot testing and editing of the generic interview guide, different versions were created targeted at different intended participants i.e., founders, staff members, support network, and association. For example, the SE founders' guide consisted of categories such as participant and company background information, conception of waste related practices, organizational deign and practices, communication and organizational strategies, social relationship or network and partnerships, and organizational and contextual challenges. These categories were tailored to help answer the three-research question around SEs' conception of the CE, their hybrid organizing practices and the institutional work being done.

Also, some of the guides were designed in local languages, such as pidgin English and Yoruba to capture information from some of the employees that might not be able to respond in English language (see appendix 4 for all guides used in this study). Also, as this research is exploratory, the researcher was able to iteratively amend the guide on an ongoing basis, thereby tailoring the design and use of the interview guide according to the individual participants and their circumstances. After getting to the interview site, participants are handed over the consent form to sign first and briefed about the interview, as well as the confidentiality information about how their data will be used. The consent form signing played an important role in further gaining the trust of participants, especially the SEs, as most of them willingly signed it and were glad to keep a copy of it as well.

Aside from a few state agencies and corporate organizations (support network) with a legal department that needed to assess such document first before its signed, most of the participants involved in this study signed immediately and handed over a copy to the researcher. After getting consents, interviews were carried out starting with the nine case studies in table 5.1 above. Both one-to-one and telephone interviews were done, with the former (one-to-one) occupying majority of the data gathered. All of the case studies were carried out in a face-to-face manner within SEs' natural setting granting the development of details at a high level about the organizations and their activities, while enabling the researcher to gain a strong impression of the real experiences of the participants (Creswell, 2003). Table 5.2 shows the details of the SEs interviewed with their roles.

Table 5.2: Number of social enterprise participants

Cases	Number interviewed	Roles of staff interviewed	Total time of interviews per case
Red	6	Co-Founder & CEO – 1	4h 23m 31s
		Co-Founder & CTO- 1	
		Collection driver- 1	
		Research officer intern -1	
		Social media officer intern – 1	
		Support network - 1	
Blue	5	Founder- 1	3h 35m 58s
		Manager- 1	
		Bailer- 1	
		Support network - 2	
Yellow	4	Founder- 1	4h 47m 38s
		Operations manager and intern- 1	
		Picker – 1	
		Support network - 1	
Brown	4	CEO- 1	2h 1m 56s

Cases	Number interviewed	Roles of staff interviewed	Total time of interviews per case
		Executive director - 1	
		Operations manager -1	
		Project supervisor- 1	
Pink	4	CEO – 1	4h 30m 57s
		Kiosk manager- 2	
		Hub manager- 1	
Violet	3	Founder- 1	3hrs 49m 16s
		Support network- 2	
Orange	7	Founder- 1	4h 17m 27s
		Trainer-1	
		Carpenter- 1	
		Procurement officer- 1	
		Support network – 3	
Gold	6	Founder – 1	4h 41m 50s
		Trainers – 2	
		Chairman of the board of advisory – 1	
		Support network and advisory board member- 2	
Magenta	8	Founder- 1	7h 57m 25s
		Program officer- 1	
		Graphic designer- 1	
		Photographer- 1	
		Waste manager- 1	
		Support network - 3	
		Total	1 day 16 hours 5 minutes 58 seconds (over 40 hours)

Source: Researcher's compilation

Some of these interviews were conducted in a team of two whose roles feed into each other giving the opportunity to also observe some internal dynamics such as teamwork in the organizations e.g. in case Red, the interns works closely together and assist each other out in carrying out assigned tasks, and as a result were interviewed together with each of them still being able to shed light on their individual roles (similarly in case Gold with the trainers and Magenta with the photographer and graphics designer). Pidgin English was used to gather data from some of the staff members who specified they are more comfortable with local languages. Pidgin English is a restructured form of English Language, which was not consciously constructed like basic English, but which developed as a natural medium of communication between natives and the Europeans as far back as the eighteenth century (Agheyisi, 1984) and has been stabilized ever since (Bateson, 1944).

As stated by Bateson (1944), the advantage of this form of English Language is that it makes cross-cultural communication among people of different languages easy and plays a unification role by creating a 'third culture' where people from different backgrounds can meet happily. The researcher, originally born in Lagos and from a Yoruba tribe but with an ability to speak pidgin English fluently, leveraged the language's widespread nature to communicate in such settings, where basic English language was difficult to express by participants, in order to generate rich details about each case.

The founders were asked to identify a support network of choice from those mentioned during the interview to probe further on the nature of their relationship. Also, the researcher identified that some support networks were associated with every enterprise operating in the waste space in Lagos, such as government agencies and the recycling association, and therefore gathered details about these organizations from SE founders and approached them for interview. An interview guide for the identified groups (see table 5.3) was developed and iterated as the discussions progressed.

Table 5.3: Additional state and support organizations working with SEs in Lagos

Agencies and associations involved in study	Role of participant	Total time of interview
Lagos State Ministry of the Environment and Water Resources (MoE)	Director of Environmental services- 1 Head Waste recycling unit- 1	58m 11s
National Environmental Standards and Regulations Enforcement Agency (NESREA)	Lagos Coordinator-1	30m 37s
Lagos State Waste Management Authority (LAWMA)	Head, Waste Recycling Unit- 1 Assistant Head, Waste Recycling- 1	1h 13m 49s
Lagos State Environmental Protection Agency (LASEPA)	Assistant Director and Head of the enforcement department - 1	31m
Recycling Association of Nigeria (RAN)	President – 1 Vice President- 1 Public Relations Officer- 1	2h 18m 13s
	Total	4h 18m 1s (over 4 hours)

Source: Researcher's compilation

Covering these additional set of actors was crucial in understanding how institutional work was being done to establish circular principles in Lagos. As stated by scholars, challenging existing structures and behaviors is not just the work of one set of actors but a combination of several interested actors working collaboratively towards the same purpose (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Therefore, being able to capture and triangulate the views and roles of these other actors, without which the SE would not have been able to operate legally as a waste collector in Lagos, helped in further understanding the variety of strategies being deployed by the various participants and their relationship dynamics. The interviews were all conducted from January to May, and a total of 54 interviews were done. Also, documents and archival records were sourced, as briefly explained below.

5.4.2   Documents and archival records

As the interview took place, documents that can help substantiate some of the statements of participants were immediately requested for to help the researcher in probing further. As a

result, 39 documents and archival records, which includes the project proposals, company registration certificates, progress reports, invitation letters to organizations, endorsement letters, annual reports and presentation slides were shared by the participants with the researcher. They were all internally available documents. As reflected on later under field issues (section 5.7), some of the participants were reluctant to share some of the documents asked for such as financial statements, company registration etc. and as a result the researcher relied on other sources such as company websites and online reports to obtain related information.

Audio-visual materials were also used which was sourced through a Google search using the company name as a search string. Most of the SEs had a good coverage in the media both in print and digitally from reputable news companies both locally and internationally, so more information about them were not hard to be found. Forty-nine (49) relevant online reports for all the cases were gathered and utilized in this study. The researcher also attended some of the environmental advocacy programs carried out by these enterprises, upon their invitation, with useful fieldnotes taken about the activities that unfolded at such events.

These different data sources (interviews, document, and online reports) enabled triangulation to better confirm or justify the research findings (Miles et. al., 2014). The next section details how these large corpora of information were processed.

5.5   Data analysis

Transcription and initial analysis occurred simultaneously during the data gathering processes. The recorded data was transcribed manually in the original language it was recorded in, for validity purposes. As the data was recorded in English, native Yoruba and Pidgin English languages, the latter two (native Yoruba and Pidgin English) were further translated by the researcher into basic English language (in brackets) for easy analysis and clear understanding by other readers, who aren't familiar with such languages.

After the full transcription of all interviews, the data was further subjected to clarification from participants, with phone calls and additional site visits used to deepen specific points of interest (Eversole et. al., 2013). To avoid being hampered at the analysis stage due the volume of qualitative data that was generated, NVivo software was used as an '*able assistant and reliable tool*' (Yin, 2009, pg. 128) in this study. As briefly mentioned in previous section, the multiple

data sources gathered were triangulated and analyzed in the software in order to answer the research questions. Yin (2009, pg. 136-137) identifies that adopting certain analytical techniques can help deal with internal and external validity issues with the process and outcomes of qualitative research.

One of such techniques identified by Yin (2009, pg. 141) was 'explanation building' technique, which was used in this study. It is a special type of pattern-matching technique that builds an explanation of a case by analyzing the case study data. This analytic technique was selected because of its suitability with the abductive research approach mentioned in section (5.2) and adopted in this study, whereby theory building is through 'systematic combining' of framework, data sources and analysis (Dubois & Gadde, 1999). It is also synonymous with the philosophical underpinnings of this study whereby actors' understandings of reality (institutions) are socially constructed, and such constructions are often said to be language-centered or discursive, involving practices of speaking and writing (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

This was why in building explanations of a case (Yin, 2009), Lawrence & Suddaby (2006, pg. 239) proposed a focus on 'organizational discourse', which is described in their work (originally quoting Grant et. al., 2004, pg. 3) as "*structured collection of texts embodied in the practices of talking and writing (as well as a wide variety of visual representations and cultural artifacts) that brings organizationally related objects into being as these texts are produced, disseminated and consumed*". Organizationally related objects were described by Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) as discursive elements, such as concepts, ideas, names, roles, strategies, products, plans, stories, places, people, things, or their discursive representations, that constitute the linguistic and symbolic life of organizations. Scholars have suggested several types of analysis for use in institutional studies such as rhetoric, narrative, and dialogue analysis by Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) or interpretive methods of analysis such as ethnography, conversation analysis, content analysis, narrative analysis, critical discourse analysis from Thornton & Ocasio (2008), among others etc.

In this study, narrative and content analysis were selected to examine organizational accounts, as well as, to abductively extract relevant information to build the best possible explanation of their activities. Narrative analysis was described as a technique to formally analyze narrative structure; to conduct interpretive analyses which emphasizes the cultural meanings and locations of a narrative; or to investigate the relationship between narrative structures and

cultural associations and their effectiveness as institutional devices (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Czarniawska, 2000).

As this study was particularly interested in the purposive strategies of organizational actors aimed at institutions within and around waste related activities, narrative analysis was useful in shedding light on the processes through which actors are able to craft, communicate and embed stories that support the goal of such efforts. Content analysis was useful in this study being a research technique that pays significant attention to the nuances and embedded meanings of words in a data corpus as part of its analytic processes. It was useful in counting the frequencies, sequence or locations of words and phrases, therefore enabling the development of the themes in this study (Miles et. al., 2014).

Using these methods, initial codes were developed as the fieldwork was being conducted, which helped in making sense of the context and further finetuning, as well as, developing additional questions from emerging issues (see appendix 5 for this initial list of codes). Also, the interview guide served as an initial structure for further analysis, by informing the categories under which emerging codes were placed. After completing all field works, a second set of analysis was carried out, this time following Gioia's framework (Gioia et. al., 2013) for analyzing contents and narratives (see figure 5.2 below for Gioia's process diagram for code development and analysis).

Focusing on three research questions, analysis was conducted in three steps, indicating progress from raw data to 1st order codes, 2nd-order codes, themes, and aggregation of dimension, which all leads to theoretical saturation. Starting with SE's conceptualization of the circular economy, the focus was on identifying their daily activities, the underpinning strategies, and their relevance to organizational functioning. It was also confirmed through literature that the CE has so far been conceptualized as principles, aims and enablers (Kirchherr et. al., 2017). This informed digging deeper into the strategy patterns that emerged for the presence of other possible themes, such as the underlying principles, enablers and aims of those practices. Focusing on SEs' core strategies from this point, the aims and enablers further helped in analyzing how different logics manifested in SEs' practices. Also, identified CE strategies were analyzed further to unpack the institutional work targeted at shaping rules, norms and behaviors regarding waste.

Again, the preliminary codes emerging from the hybrid organizing (see figure 3.5) and institutional work (see table 4.1 and figure 4.1) chapters were critically applied to interpret

emerging themes by focusing on SEs' "*purposive actions*" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, pg. 215) or their intentions and the outcomes it was directed towards. This analysis was therefore influenced by the researcher's knowledge of theory in the fields of SE, CE, and institutional work, making it an abductive approach to research and analysis. Role-ordered matrix and tables were used throughout in presenting the data for analysis and findings of the research (Miles et. al., 2014). Also, the best possible explanation, regarding each of the research questions, were also constructed by the researcher from the process of going back and forth between theory and data.

Figure 5.2: Process diagram for code development and analysis
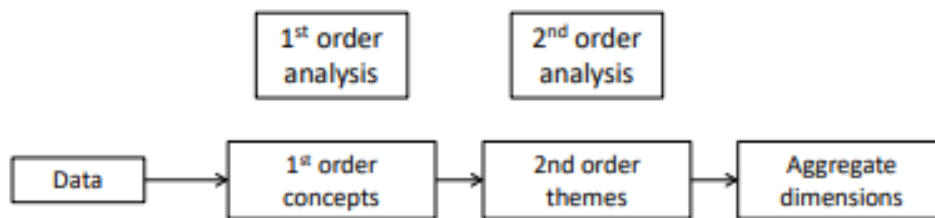
Source: The Gioia methodology (from Gioia et al., 2013)

5.6   Validity and generalizability

As stated in Creswell (2007), the validation of qualitative research is a way to assess or check the accuracy of its findings, as best described by the researcher and the participants. As further explained by the author, the extensive time spent on the field, detailed thick description, and the closeness of the researcher to participants in a study, all enhances the value and accuracy of a qualitative study, making it distinctive from other types of research (e.g., quantitative) (ibid). The scholar later urged researchers to employ *"accepted strategies to document the accuracy of their studies"* (ibid, pg. 207). As stated earlier, the researcher spent most of the time on the field with the SEs, either helping them in their organization of their advocacy events or attending as an invitee to gathering, function or work-related activity. This helped the researcher in building trust and to validate misinformation that might stem from distortions introduced by the researcher or informants (Creswell, 2007).

The opportunity to spend time around their practices, seeing the daily collection of recyclables and the relationships with stakeholders, visiting the processing hubs, and watching how machines were used to compress and sometimes crush plastics and other waste materials, which were then later stacked up for transportation, gave this research *"its validation and vitality"* (Fetterman, 1998, pg. 46). Also, the researcher employed the use of multiple and different data sources such as interviews, documents, archival records and fieldnotes to provide corroborating evidence to each research questions. This triangulation method helped ensure each of the strategies and practices reported were well substantiated with evidence reflected across the multiple sources of information. Being a multiple case study where the findings were replicated across a variety of the sampled cases also adds to the dependability of this research's outcomes (Miles et. al., 2014).

Additionally, the researcher carried out member checking by first, cross checking and discussing codes with supervisory team, as well as make necessary adjustment based on insights gathered from those discussions. Secondly, the entire narrative was taken back to participants in other to solicit their views of the credibility of the research results and the researcher's interpretation of events (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Creswell, 2007; Miles et. al., 2014). This technique has been identified as the most critical technique for establishing credibility by scholars (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) because it offers the opportunity of allowing participants, whose lifeworld's are being studied and interpreted, to offer critical observation and judgement about such interpretations.

In doing this, the researcher took advantage of the virtual opportunity afforded by online tools such as Zoom and Google meetings, to carry out validation meetings without the need to travel to Lagos, and to encourage participant to give an hour of their time for such purposes. The researcher used this meeting to inform participants on how their data were utilized and what the research outcomes so far has been e.g., emerging themes and possible practice and policy implications.

Participants were then given some time to discuss the findings with the researcher and comment on the overall findings and processes. The meeting lasted for one hour, forty-eight minutes (1hr 48mins) on Zoom and in attendance were six out of the nine SEs (Founders and CEOs from Red, Pink, Gold, Magenta, Orange and Yellow), fairly representing the different categories highlighted in this study (see section 6.1.6).

Up until this virtual meeting, participants were kept anonymous throughout the entire research, and as a result, they were ignorant of who else was involved in the research, even though they knew each other well in practice. This meeting was therefore very useful to the researcher in bringing them together to think and offer comments collectively on how well the researcher understood their worlds and possibly what needs changing or need to be included.

In general, participants are happy with the interpretations and were grateful for the work. They also highlighted two areas that they thought were not clear, such as the need to further emphasize the role international support organizations are playing in lending support to enterprises of their kind and secondly, the need to talk about how they are able to creatively navigate the scarce resource environment to create their enterprises and product.

The researcher acknowledged their views and showed sections from the thesis that addresses their concerns (sections 7.1.5.2 and 8.4.1) and further enhanced it in order to better capture their descriptions. Also, concerns about solutions to waste challenges in the state were raised and participants highlighted that they would welcome recommendations for them to reflect upon later from this work. The presentation slides were requested for and was sent to participants with further comments welcomed for any additional areas for improvement.

There has also been concerns of generalizability or external validity of research outcomes in qualitative research (Miles et. al., 2014). As this research was focused on achieving *"depth"* rather than *"breadth"* (Baxter & Jack, 2008, pg. 547) in understanding SEs and how they operate in Lagos, the researcher avoids making strong claims about the generalizability of this research's findings. However, the researcher tried to carefully describe the characteristics of the sampled cases to allow for adequate comparison with other samples in other contexts. This thesis also specifies the limited focus of the study, which is on formal SEs in a LMIC for generalizability purposes.

The researcher ensured a *"thick description"* (Geertz, 1973, pgs. 310-323) of findings by providing adequate voice of participants using long and multiple quotes to back up claims, as well as, some excerpts of interviewer-interviewee dialogues, in order to allow readers, digest the essential elements of the findings, while assessing its potential transferability and appropriateness for their own settings (Miles et. al., 2014; Ponterotto, 2006). Lastly, the researcher highlighted LMICs as settings where the findings could fruitfully be tested further, to further enhance its generalizability.

5.7   Reflection on field issues and role of the researcher

Starting with field issues, scholars have written widely about interpretive issues as that which is inevitable for qualitative researchers (Creswell, 2007). According to Ezeh (2003), being of the same nationality does not guarantee the lack of challenges at the site. The author describes areas where issues are likely to arise which are entry and access to organizations and data, types of information collected and potential ethical issues (Creswell, 2007, pg. 138). Access issues can stem from gaining participants trust and the appropriateness of the site for the study. The researcher was able to minimize this by initially contacting the organization's founder to introduce self and project with details given on what the project was about with its expected outcomes.

The goal of the researcher during this process was to establish rapport and build the participants' trust for the project. Consent and ethics forms were sent to participants clearly stating how the data will be used to further build confidence. This worked as the researcher noticed increased confidence in participants after they were made to co-sign the consent form with the researcher and were handed a copy for their records. The researcher also minimized the challenge of site's appropriateness by sticking to the sampling criteria developed and choosing organizations based on such features. However, the researcher also remained flexible, and allowed the evolving theoretical framework during the course of the field work, to guide further case selection and its appropriateness for the study (Dubois & Gadde, 1999). There are also risks associated with interviews as the primary data collection means.

According to Creswell (2007), interview field issues are usually around the mechanics of conducting the interviews. Equipment issues can arise in the course of conducting the interviews. These risks were minimized by the researcher by organizing and testing the equipment in advance of the interview, while also having a back-up recorder to use in case the primary recorder becomes faulty. Challenges regarding the process of questioning or unexpected participants' behavior were also anticipated by the researcher (Creswell, 2007, pg. 140). The researcher adopted and followed best practices and was cautious in how the interview questions were framed to avoid it from leading to 'subtle persuasive responses or explanations' (Creswell, 2007, pg. 140).

The researcher also leveraged soft skills such as patience and resilience, developed and expressed in former research interview engagements, to handle questioning situations during

interviews such as, 'saying little, handling emotional outbursts, using ice breakers' (Creswell, 2007). The researcher was able to avoid language issues by encouraging participants to speak pidgin English if basic English cannot be spoken fluently. The researcher was fluent in both types of English and was able to also adjust for participants that can only speak in Yoruba, which is the language of one of the popular tribes in Lagos (see subsection 5.4.3).

On researcher's role, scholars have identified the need to check for researcher effect on the research process and outcomes (Miles et. al., 2014). According to the authors, two types of biases are likely to occur and lead to the creation of avoidable social behaviors in others - the effects of the researcher on the case and the effects of the case on the researcher. Quoting these authors directly, they stated that "*(creating unintended social) behavior in others, in turn, can lead you into biased observations and inferences, thus confounding (an appropriate term in this instance) the natural characteristics of the setting with the artificial effects of the researcher-researchee relationship" (Miles et. al., 2014, pg. 296).* There is also the issue of researcher's background or worldview before and after embarking on the fieldwork, which can shape what to research; what philosophical approach and method to adopt; where and how to collect data; as well as, how to interpret and present the findings (Saunders, 2007). Hence, the need for reflexivity by the researcher to help identify areas of potential researcher bias.

The researcher acknowledges that being a Nigerian influenced the relationships with participants and the extent of information participants were willing and able to share. As an individual that was familiar with the context, understanding and observing necessary cultural cues were natural to the researcher such as in exchanging greetings with participants and asking questions. Although the fact that I came from a foreign University made the difference, participants were skeptical at first why they were selected for the research and demanded to know what they stand to benefit from this research by giving away their time to it. Most of them stated their reservations about 'Nigerian researchers' by saying majority of such researchers approach them from different parts of the world for the same purpose but never came back to inform them of the research findings after they are granted the data they needed.

Even though the consent form helped build some level of trust in participants, most of them told me that there is some information I might not be able to access and that I will have to work with whatever I am able to get from them. While the researcher was able to make all participants share extensive information during the interviews, obtaining some promised documents was impossible across all cases as some of them still seem not comfortable to hand

out such hardcopies to the researcher e.g., financial documents, company registration, organograms etc.

However, the researcher sometimes drew on the fact that the research was connected to a western context and university to re-assure participants that their data and information will be well protected, as there seems to be a low level of trust for Nigerian researchers and confidentiality or in their abilities to report research outcomes. Also, participants were assured the research has been checked and approved by the MORE committee at Middlesex University to further build their interest.

In addition, the researcher is an experienced social entrepreneur that once started and operated a SE for about two years before embarking on a PhD program. Although, it was not focused on waste management, the researcher might have had preconceptions and ideas about how a social enterprise should function or draw conclusions about SEs' actions based on prior experiences, which can ultimately affect how SEs information were analyzed. This prior knowledge about these enterprises and the context is also likely to lead to the issue of being "*co-opted, going native, swallowing the agreed-on or taken-for-granted version of local events*" (Miles et. al., 2014, pg. 296).

The researcher acknowledges these background effects and tries to minimize them by spending a considerable amount of time doing field work and on site with participants, while taking a lower profile. The researcher, on a few occasions, attended random events such as friendly get-togethers and unplanned environmental campaigns playing the roles of a helper, assisting the founders with ensuring the event ran smoothly.

Additionally, the researcher made his intensions clear verbally and through the project brief and consent form. Some interviews were also held anywhere the participants felt comfortable as a way of reducing both the researcher's threat quotient and exoticism (Miles et. al., 2014). In cases where some documents were unobtainable, the researcher made up for such gaps by gathering extensive online documents and information about such cases, as most of the SEs were noticed to have very active media activities. Participants were also informed, and their consent sought, to utilize information obtained online in further understanding their set up and activities.

5.8   Ethical issues

Resnick (2015) defines ethics as standards for conducts that differentiates between acceptable and unacceptable behaviors. Lipson (1994) shared five ethical issues faced by qualitative researchers on the field to include informed consent procedures; deception or covert activities; confidentiality towards participants, sponsors, and colleagues; benefits of research to participants over risks; and participants requests that go beyond social norms. As mentioned earlier, the MORE application process at Middlesex University helped ensure these were thought through and plans were prepared to deal with them, should they surface during the field work.

The researcher also, following MORE guidelines, informed participants before data collection or recording was done to ensure they understand what the study was about and how their information will be used. The researcher, while trying to share this initial information for consent, avoided any form of deception about the general details of the research project. Issues with anonymity was dealt with by the researcher by using best practices such as assigning aliases (primary and secondary color names) to organizations (Creswell, 2007, pg. 141).

The researcher also promised to share the outcome of the research with participants in the form of a finished report, upon completion of the research program to further gain their confidence. The researcher did not spot anything unethical or worrying during the fieldwork that could have required further management efforts. The researcher also maintained high standards and objectivity throughout the fieldwork. Issues that arise from researchers sharing their personal experiences during a fieldwork, such as reduction in the information shared by participants, was avoided with such objectivity on the part of the researcher. The data collection did not involve input from underaged waste pickers or child scavengers, as common in the informal recycling sector in Nigeria (e.g., Adama, 2012). This includes anyone below the age of 18 in Nigeria. Government-owned waste recovery and recycling enterprises (e.g., PSPs) were also excluded from this study.

Additionally, the informal recycling actors were not interviewed as the researcher maintained focused on the SEs and any support network identified by the founders of such organizations, which excluded those types of actors. Lastly, as the data was collected via face-to-face interviews, an electronic recorder was utilized and later transferred to a secured laptop with university-approved anti-virus software installed. These transfers were also simultaneous as

they were done immediately after each interview to reduce the risk of data loss or theft, as the interviews were deleted off the recording device immediately after its securely transferred to the laptop device. Having detailed the method of gathering and analyzing data to answer the research questions set, the next set of chapters will detail the findings from this work. Chapters six to eight will answer a research question and chapter nine will discuss the findings and link them back to literature, in order to provide the best possible explanation of the circular economy strategies of SEs in Lagos.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Circular Economy initiatives and conceptualization

Following extensive literature reviews in chapter two, three and four of this thesis and a description of the methodology adopted in chapter five, this chapter will contain empirical findings and discussion for the first research question, which is: *how do social enterprises in Lagos conceptualize the circular economy?* To restate why this question was framed, the CE was highlighted as the sustainable development pathway of interest in LMICs due to limited explication of the concept in such contexts (Preston et. al., 2019). As reviewed in chapter two, current understandings or discourses on the concept concentrates largely on Western strategies and China's adoption or implementation of circular economy principles (e.g., McDowall et. al., 2017; Potting et. al., 2017; Haas et. al., 2015). Thus, the argument in that chapter (two) was that such limited understandings are unhelpful especially when the success of the CE in LMICs is critical to global efforts to achieve sustainable development (Preston et. al., 2019).

Therefore, after describing the organizations of interest (SEs) in chapter three, this question was framed to understand how they have conceptualized the CE through their strategies. This chapter will start by highlighting and describing the types of strategies found in the social enterprises sampled for this study in Lagos Nigeria. The focus was on organizations carrying out solid waste related activities in Lagos, particularly those involved with non-biodegradable waste such as different kinds of plastics, paper, cardboard, rubber, car tires, glass containers, aluminum cans etc. (section 5.4).

Five strategies were identified and described in the first section, followed by categorizations of the cases according to their combinations of each type of strategy. Informed by the work of Kirchherr et. al. (2017), the core principles driving these SE strategies, as well as the antecedents and objectives of their strategies in Lagos will be elaborated. This chapter will conclude with a summary and a preface to further set the context for further analysis of their strategies in chapter seven.

In chapter seven, evidence of the multiple logics SEs is drawing on to organize the five strategies will be presented, before showing how such logics are being combined to achieve their commercial, social, and environmental objectives necessary to establish a CE. Critically applying the work of Battilana & Lee (2014), the hybrid organizing dimensions apparent from

such combination will be highlighted to further show the organizational features where such combinations take place in the sampled SEs.

Afterwards, chapter eight will detail how the logics are being combined through institutional work, defined by Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) as the purposive acts of actors (individuals or organizations) to create, maintain or disrupt institutions. This concept will be critically applied to highlight the efforts of SEs to establish CE principles of recycling and repurposing in Lagos, and the effects of their actions. Chapter nine will draw the implications of the empirical findings in the three chapters (six, seven and eight) and highlight the key contributions of this study to literature.

6.1   CE strategies in Lagos

Nine organizations involved in solid waste management activities were selected and interviewed in Lagos. These are summarily presented in table 5.1 (see shorter version in table 6.1 below and the full version in appendix 3) using the five sampling criteria highlighted earlier in section 5.3.2 (i.e., organizational type, income source, areas of waste services, type of recycling activity and stage in entrepreneurship process). As shown in the table (5.1), all of these organizations have been in operation for a minimum of two years and a maximum of seven years as at the time of interview, thereby meeting the phase of enterprise criteria for matured organizations (Baron, 2002). Matured organizations will be organizations that have existed and operated for more than 24 months in Nigeria.

Table 6.1: Summarized version of sampled cases

Case	Organizational type	Areas of waste services	Type of recycling	Income source	Stage in the entrepreneurial process
Red	Social business	Waste recycling	Door-to-door and onsite collection	Selling waste or waste equipment such as multicolored bins and bin bags etc.	Matured organization

Case	Organizational type	Areas of waste services	Type of recycling	Income source	Stage in the entrepreneurial process
Blue	Social business	Waste recycling	Door-to-door and onsite collection	Selling waste such as processed plastics	Matured organization
Yellow	Social business	Waste recycling	Door-to-door and onsite collection	Selling waste such as processed plastics and consulting services	Matured organization
Brown	Social business	Waste recycling	Door-to-door and onsite collection	Selling waste such as processed plastics	Matured organization
Pink	Social business	Waste recycling	Door-to-door and onsite collection	Selling waste such as processed plastics	Matured organization
Violet	Social business	Waste upcycling	Transforming car tyres into furniture	Selling waste products e.g. furniture and training	Matured organization
Orange	Social business	Waste upcycling	Transforming car tyres into furniture	Selling waste products e.g. furniture	Matured organization
Gold	NGO that trades	Waste clean-up and advocacy	Cleaning-up to acquire recyclables	Selling waste products e.g. furniture and training	Matured organization
Magenta	NGO that trades	Waste clean-up and advocacy	Cleaning-up to acquire recyclables	Selling waste such as processed plastics and renting out public spaces such as decorated beach front.	Matured organization

Source: Qualitative data

Also, table 6.1 showed that seven of the cases were legally operating as for-profit enterprises or social businesses, while the remaining two operates legally as non-governmental organizations with income generating activities (see definitions in section 3.2.1). Meanwhile, to address the research question set at the start of this chapter, this table (6.1) was further analyzed to extract the strategies of these SEs and the CE principles behind them. Five strategies were identified which were: collection, aggregation, upcycling, clean-ups, and advocacy (see table 6.2 below).

Table 6.2: Data structure leading to the circular economy strategies.

1st order codes	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimensions
Collecting recyclables such as varieties of plastics, aluminium cans and tins, cartons, bottles, water sachets, papers and vehicle tyres	Collection	Circular Economy strategies
Going door-to-door to pick-up bagged recyclables from households, corporate organizations, artisans and entire communities		
Use of various transportation means such as specially crafted bicycles, motorized tricycles, van and trucks to collect waste		
Accumulation of recyclables in a particular spot till it reaches a large enough volume suitable for sale or for upcycling purposes	Aggregation	
Separates and aggregates different types of recyclables such as plastics, paper, aluminium etc.		
Use of machines to compress sorted recyclables in order to make it more suitable for sale		
Remaking or repurposing of solid waste materials into new items or for new uses e.g. converting tyres to furniture pieces	Upcycling	
Sanitization of waste at the point of conversion to make it safe for home use and touch		
Using manual crude means or machine tools to transform waste		
Organizes regular clean-up activities of public spaces e.g. community	Clean-ups	
Use a variety of cleaning tools such as rakes, gloves, re-usable bags, litter pickers, banners and branded uniforms		
Plants trees in public spaces for beautification and to clean the air		
Raise awareness on the need for a cleaner environment and proper waste disposal habits through trainings and collaborations	Advocacy	
Adopt public spaces such as the beach or garden for advocacy purposes		
Formed or joined an association of recyclers in Nigeria for advocacy		

Source: Qualitative data and Kirchherr et. al. (2017); Holt & Littlewood (2017); Nzeadibe & Iwuoha (2008); Olukoju (2018); Ghesellini et. al. (2017).

6.1.1   Collection

This is a very common strategy among all the cases. It entails collecting solid wastes such as varieties of plastics e.g., polyethylene terephthalate (PET), polypropylene, High- and Low-density polyethylene (HDPE and LDPE), aluminum cans and tins, cartons, bottles, water sachets, papers, and vehicle tyres. Most common of these is the PET bottles and car tyres. The underlying principles driving this collection is synonymous to the principles of recycling and repurposing as described by Potting et. al. (2017) (see section 2.2.3 for definition of these principles) because SEs either collects these wastes to process and sell to recyclers or for upcycling purposes.

These organizations pride themselves with collecting recyclables that are clean and not co-mingled with other wastes, which they are able to do by setting up mechanisms to retrieve such materials before they are disposed of. Such mechanisms include going door-to-door to pick-up bagged recyclables from households, corporate organizations, and communities, as well as, collecting from other practitioners involved in waste related activities such as informal collectors and local tyre repairers.

To facilitate collection, some of these cases (Red, Yellow, Brown and Pink) involved the use of various transportation means such as specially crafted bicycles, motorized tricycles, van and trucks (including a compactor truck) to pick-up and move recyclables across Lagos. Other cases that could not acquire a dedicated means of transportation for picking recyclables, either rents one (Blue) or use privately-owned cars for such activities (Violet, Orange, Gold). The workers responsible for picking up accumulated waste are named differently in each organization such as '*riders*' (Pink), '*waste busters*' (Brown), *'driver'* (Red) and *'waste marshal'* (Yellow).

These waste pickers are hired and managed by the founder or a manager who assigns daily routes for waste pick up activities in households or organizations. Important to mention is the fact that, for some of these cases (Red, Blue, Yellow, Brown and Pink), collecting recyclables is their core strategy when compared with the other activities they carry out or when compared to the other cases also involved in the collection of waste, as briefly stated below:

"...our core business is collection and that's where we focus a lot of our energy on..." (Red's Co-founder & CEO).

"...my core business is collection...it is actually waste management in the sense that collection of plastic bottles...collection of plastic bottles, collection and sorting and baling of plastic bottles..." (Blue's Founder).

For these cases, collection is so crucial that some of them set up a subscription service system to guarantee a constant source for recyclable material supplies. They relate with target households and organizations through collection programs (e.g., community recycling program, household recycling program, corporate recycling program etc.) that are designed to engage them in a continuous collection activity, as found on cases Red, Yellow, Brown and Pink's website. A target group once registered onto their program become known as a "*subscriber*". Subscribers are then scheduled into a regular pick-up routine, managed manually or through an app technology.

Both old and new subscribers can also approach these organizations at their hubs or centers to drop off their recyclables. In a case where picking up of waste is impossible, usually due to distance issues, cases Brown and Pink were found to extend their collection activities to such difficult-to-reach areas through franchises. Other SEs that do not have the material resources or capacity to set up franchises uses word of mouth or marketing to reach new areas and gain new subscribers. However, for other cases (Violet, Orange, Gold and Magenta), collecting recyclable waste is part of what they do but there are other activities that takes pre-eminence over collection in terms of where they invest their time and resources. For example, cases Violet and Orange do not directly collect recyclables or make it their intention to do so but would rather engage the services of local tyre repairers (also known as "vulcanizers") to collect variety of car tyres for their use, as shown below:

"...number one, I don't like us picking tyres right...I want some people who will gather the tyre, put it in a place because when you go around, how many tyres...you save time too right..." (Violet's Founder).

 These vulcanizers are paid incentives at the point of collection to encourage them to keep or acquire more used tyres for them. Also, as part of their core advocacy work (elaborated in section 6.1.5), cases Gold and Magenta engages in collection activities in public places to promote the need for a clean and healthy environment. The collection activities of these four

cases (Violet, Orange, Gold and Magenta) does not involve significant investment in collecting these recyclables when compared to what the previous five cases did with investments in means of transportation specifically for picking up recyclables (Red, Blue, Yellow, Brown and Pink), neither do they need to worry about collecting significant volume of waste materials like these latter five cases would need to do (this need for volume is more suitable for and better captured in chapter seven on hybrid organizing).

6.1.2 Aggregation

Six of these organizations have a collection and sorting hub where recyclables are dropped off and aggregated (cases Red, Blue, Yellow, Brown, Pink and Magenta). Aggregation entails the collection of recyclables in a particular spot till it reaches a large enough volume suitable for use (upcycling) or sale to recyclers, further demonstrating an underlying recycling and repurposing CE principles. This activity was a core strategy in five of the sampled cases mentioned above (excluding Magenta), where aggregating waste was an essential next step after collection. The significance of this activity is evident in how they describe their organization's positioning within the recycling value chain, as captured in the quote below:

"...where we fall within the chain is that we are like aggregators...we are like the middlemen between the consumers, everyday consumers and the guy who makes out the new products a new material from that...so our own end product is like their raw material..." (Yellow Founder).

During aggregation, these organizations (all six of them mentioned above) separates collected recyclables into their distinctive parts e.g., PET bottle from its lid and wrapped label, through a process of waste sorting. Other types of recyclables also collected e.g., papers, cardboards, aluminum containers etc. are also stored separately to avoid any form of co-mingling. Such aggregation strategies are made possible by the availability of some key resources such as sorters and space. SEs (particularly cases Red, Blue, Yellow, Brown, Pink and Magenta) hire sorters who are most women and elderly to carry out the cleaning and separation of recyclable parts from non-valuable or contaminated materials. However, critical of these resources for the six cases, aside their workers, is space. The importance of land space as a resource is evident in this case's description:

"...space is a constraint...space is a major factor to play in this industry, especially at the level where I play as an aggregator...as an aggregator you need space to store whatever it is you are collecting..." (Yellow's Founder)

An important part of their aggregation strategies also involves the use of machines to compress sorted recyclables in order to make it more suitable for transport and for manufacturing uses as a ready-made raw material. This procedure was referred to by interviewees as *"baling"*. As shown in the quote below:

"...in short, the company prefers accepting this (processed recyclables) *because I have removed majority of the waste...because when it arrives their facility, they are putting it straight into their machine... when it arrives their facility, it doesn't occupy space because it has been baled...so you just stack them, stack them..." (Blue's Founder).*

Only four of the organizations listed above carries out this latter part of processing i.e., the baling aspect (Blue, Yellow, Brown and Pink). Case Red and Magenta exchanges collected recyclables with any of the other SEs interested in their aggregated waste. Such an exchange is usually for cash and is further described in chapter seven where selling of waste was better explored. Other cases also carry out one form of aggregation or the other such as aggregating vehicle tyres at the point of use or the aggregation of plastics, fabrics, and fashion accessories for use in manufacturing finished products by cases Violet, Orange and Gold.

When aggregated wastes are sold, returns are shared with subscribers in the form of incentives for the waste collected from them, as a way of helping them derive value from what they once call waste. This forms a crucial part of the work they do in using forms of trading to provide social returns, while also removing waste from the environment, a combination better explored in chapter seven on hybrid organizing.

6.1.3   Upcycling

As confirmed by the co-founder of case Red below, five out of the sampled SEs aren't involved in upcycling strategies leaving four social enterprises (Violet, Orange, Gold and Magenta) engaged in such activities.

"...I got somebody who wanted to pitch for funds, want to start a new company and he was like he has something different...something totally new...there was this part, where he said he was

going to upcycle…for me that would be different thing because you are doing something that we are not doing…" (Red Co-founder & CTO).

For these SEs, upcycling involves the remaking or repurposing of solid waste materials into new items or for new uses. This strategy is synonymous with the repurposing principle described by Potting et. al. (2017) as involving the use of discarded products or its parts in a new product with a different function. Two out of the cases that upcycles (Violet and Orange) were mainly involved in converting tyres to furniture pieces as their core activity. They utilize various types of tyres e.g., cars, trucks, tricycles, and other post use materials such as fabrics, buttons, plastic spoons, wine cups, upholstery foams and glue to make different types of furniture and home decorations ranging from single-seater to three-seater sofas, wall clocks, wall decorations, earrings, hairbands, handbags etc. The waste-to-furniture is their well-known upcycling activity.

Although, for core-transformers, there seems to be an understanding of this core strategy as recycling, even though the actual strategy and their description of it reveals a repurposing principle at work. As shown by one of the SEs in this category, upcycling is understood as recycling but then went on to describe the actual strategy which involves repurposing what was once waste (vehicle tyre) and wasted into furniture for home use.

"we are an upcycling company that we recycle tyre…we make furniture from tyres" (Orange's founder).

The reason for this can be garnered from case Violet who stated that the popularity of the collection and aggregation strategies for recycling has kind of set the limit of what people think is possible with waste, thereby masking the idea (repurposing) behind their strategy.

"…so the first impression of waste, reuse and everything they had were people picking them and crushing them and that…they don't know what these people turn it to...they cannot appreciate it...but when they saw what we, by the time you see the finish product and you won't even see the tyre, they are like, it's not tyre now…they just start arguing among themselves, they started seeing it…then they started telling us, can we come with tyres…can we do this…they started buying into the idea of this that oh it can be this right…" (Violet's Founder).

This mix-up between recycling and repurposing reflects some conceptions of these principles in literature, where some studies presented recycling as involving downcycling acts that reduces the value of post-use materials and upcycling activities that retains material quality

e.g., Manickam & Duraisamy (2019). Although Potting et. al. (2017) presented both principles as separate. However, this repurposing principle was also found in Clean advocates, such as Case Gold that similarly makes furniture and home decoration pieces out of tyres and plastics but not as a core activity. This SE leverages this to either raise funds to support the other works they do or to empower others (see chapter seven for more on raising funds). Case Magenta does not convert tyres to finished products such as furniture but uses such waste in new ways e.g., using care tyres to create playgrounds for kids.

SEs that convert tyre into furniture (Violet, Orange, and Gold) are quick to acknowledge that the process of upcycling is a creative kind, which sets them apart from organizations that made collection and aggregation their core strategies, as one of the cases stated below:

"...a lot of people are just doing, they don't do this, this is a creative...this is upcycling...they take...all these big big names you know, they take plastic and crush and, it wasn't what I want to do...because I am a creative person..." (Violet's Founder).

This creative activity starts with sanitization at the point of conversion to make it safe for home use and touch, after which, the conversion begins. It was discovered that upcycling strategies can either be manually carried out using crude means e.g., designing a tyre playground, or using machine tools such as glue gun, drills, screw drivers, as well as paint brushes and sandpaper during production e.g., making complicated furniture designs. As identified in the accounts of cases Violet, Orange and Gold, the upcycling process starts with a design in mind, followed by a sketch of the design and collaborations with a local carpenter to make the parts of the design structure, particularly the complex parts that requires wood or metal e.g., the chair stands or round tabletops that will fit onto the tyres.

Case Gold, like Magenta, also engages the use of car tyres and plastics in designing and beautifying a public space, which is further elaborated on in section 6.1.5.

6.1.4   Clean-ups

Significant public clean-up activities were witnessed in some of the cases sampled for this study (Red, Blue, Yellow, Brown, Pink, Gold, Magenta). Such activities usually tagged as "*clean-up events*" involves social enterprises organizing internally and collaborating with other similar enterprises to clean and beautify one public space or community at a time. This activity is carried out to raise awareness about environmental pollution issues, as well as, about SEs

recycling programs, locations, and incentive packages. For some of these cases, this is a consistent activity (Gold and Magenta), while for others it's a once in a while engagement (Red, Yellow, Brown and Pink).

For example, case Magenta organizes monthly clean-up activities and have so far engaged in *"beach clean-ups for about 17, 18months...back-to-back clean-ups…"* (Magenta's Founder). Case Gold also confirms that they *"always have clean-up events…"* including a yearly clean-up program at a popular institution of higher learning in Lagos. Other cases engage in clean-ups activities occasionally either as a means to acquire more subscribers and recyclables or because they just do not see it as a central part of why they exist as demonstrated in the quotes below:

"...** told us that they want to do cleaning, they want to go to market and clean up the market…they partnered with us and I was there too… we played the role of cleaning with them, but our own benefit is getting these (recyclables) *and going…" (Pink's Kiosk manager).*

"…obviously in terms of community clean-up and all that but then, it's just an aspect of it…we just keep (to) promote what we are doing...but our core business is collection and that's where we focus a lot of our energy on…but it's an aspect in that It goes along with it but we don't spend more of our time with it, we spend more of our time on the collection as the core business that we have…" (Red's Co-founder & CEO).

As shown in the quote above (Pink's Kiosk manager), clean-up activities are mostly collaborative events. The six cases that carries out this activity do collaborate with each other or with corporate bodies and the government occasionally to carry out such events. This is particularly more likely between SEs, if the selected community has any of the six cases domiciled and already operating in the area as shown in the quote below:

"we have been doing clean-ups in the past…but for that particular year, our choice location was Isolo (a community in Lagos)…we needed organizations that are into environmental issues in Isolo to partner with...that was where we got in touch with ** because they operate within that axis…Isolo…" (Yellow's support network).

When doing clean-ups in any public spaces or specific remote communities, organizations go with cleaning tools such as rakes, gloves, re-usable bags, litter pickers, banners, and branded uniforms. They pick all types of waste and separate such waste in separate bags, with the recyclables in one bag and non-recyclables in another. Non-recyclable collected waste are

usually handed over to state designated truckers, while the recyclables are either utilized by the SE for upcycling purposes or handed over to other SEs with a core aggregation strategy (e.g., cases Red, Blue, Yellow, Brown and Pink) for processing and selling to recyclers, if they are collaborators on such events. This shows how SEs' clean-up strategies are also driven by underlying principles of recycling and repurposing, as illustrated in the following quote by one of the cases:

"...in cleaning up...and not just cleaning up and telling LAWMA to come and carry their waste...we are cleaning up to use the products into something beautiful that people can buy...of value... (Gold's Founder).

Case Gold and Magenta also beautifies public spaces by planting trees in either adopted public spaces (see section 6.1.5) or in spaces contracted to them to clean and beautify, as briefly stated below:

*"...** state parks and gardens...because we are doing a garden here and they said they wanted me to replicate it in their local gardens...which I'm happy about..." (Gold's Founder).*

From the analysis of each organizational account, it was discovered that three out of the nine sampled organizations (i.e., cases Blue, Violet and Orange) were not engaging in clean-up practices. Case Violet specifically stated why in the following quote:

"...some of them in a bid to show they do CSR, most of these plastic organizations (referring to SEs that makes collection and aggregation their core strategies)*...they do all these clean up exercises...so they go from street to street, cleaning gutters...the day one of them said...to me...I don't clean gutter...is it me that dirty their gutter that I should clean it...so I would leave my gutter and I would go to Surulere* (a community in Lagos) *and be cleaning, Surulere that I know is dirty and smelly and stinky...if government cannot make policy...I told them, let government go and make policy I cannot leave my house for pictures... no no no...I say, we don't do it ...the people that dirty the environment should go and do it....it's not my business...I have been able to know what we do, what we don't do..." (Violet's Founder).*

6.1.5 Advocacy

All nine cases were found to be engaged in one form of advocacy or another. When these organizations advocate, they are either raising awareness among their target audiences about

"…climate change…greenhouse gases…", linking *"…greenhouse gases to the cause*(s) *of climate change and the people who contribute to climate change, which is human beings…"* as case Gold's founder stated or simply about the need for *"…a cleaner more united world…"* as case Magenta's founder stated. Raising awareness on the need for a cleaner environment and proper waste disposal habits through advocacy was said to be very crucial for the cases activities, as shown in one of the cases below:

"… creating the awareness…that's the bulk of our work…because what somebody does not know, they cannot do…" (Yellow's Founder).

While previous studies have highlighted how external pressures such as those from a green pressure group might make a business rethink their contributions to environmental degradation and influence their behavior (Holt & Ghobadian, 2009), SEs are extending such pressures to other members of society by carrying out their awareness raising activities in public and private schools and local communities across Lagos. Highlighting some specific approaches, one of the ways they advocate is through training. SEs train students in schools, women and young ones in communities (Red, Yellow, Orange, Gold, Magenta, Violet), as well as corporate organizational staff (Red and Brown) on waste management and recycling best practices. Cases Violet, Orange and Gold targets women and youths to train them on how to upcycle waste. Another advocacy approach of these SEs involves setting up *"green clubs"* in schools across the state.

This was witnessed in cases Red, Yellow, Gold and Magenta's strategies, where they visited schools to further engage and encourage students in such clubs, aside from training them. Eight of the cases (except Blue) sampled are involved in public speaking activity as another form of advocacy. They are frequently invited to public events, particularly around issues on waste management and recycling in the state. This allows these SEs to use this platform in appealing to people and the government about the plight of people and the environment and how it can be salvaged through proper waste disposal and recycling practices. These SEs also either organizes events on special environmental or global observances as demonstrated in the quote below:

"…one of the NGOs that collaborate with us on environmental issues…most importantly on UN observances like World environmental day, World ocean's day…particularly those days and then we also sometime from time to time invite them to be speakers at dialogues that has to do with our SDG…particularly that has to do with climate change, climate action,

environment…we call on them to be like speakers…they are like speakers…they are speakers…" (Gold's Advisory Board member).

Besides, such globally celebrated days are usually used by most of the SEs to campaign for environmental causes they care about. Another important form of advocacy work these SEs do involves forming or joining an association. This association is called the *"Recyclers Association of Nigeria (RAN)"* with eight out of the nine cases sampled (excluding Violet) actively involved in this association and participates in most associational activities such as clean-ups campaigns in communities, seminars, workshops and forums on waste management or circular economy etc.

Also, all of the cases carry out significant advocacy work through various media channels, such as social media (all nine cases), local and international newspaper (Violet, Magenta, Brown, Pink, Gold, Red and Yellow) and local radio and TV shows (Magenta, Brown, Pink and Yellow, Gold and Red). These media work is important as previous studies have shown that it is a means of successfully engaging the public and promoting increased levels of consciousness and knowledge of social and environmental issues in society (Holt & Barkemeyer, 2010). Few of the cases are involved in significant advocacy work on waste management, recycling and upcycling through writing on blogs (Violet), websites (Violet, Brown and Pink) and in an academic journal (Pink). Cases Gold and Magenta also adopt public spaces such as the beach (Magenta) or school garden (Gold), not only to beautify it, but for use in their advocacy work.

They see such spaces as a way to showcase or preach the environmental challenges facing the city and what it can look like if people, particularly, children take action and start to properly dispose of or recycle their waste. Case Gold's adopted space is used to teach students about upcycling, organic farming, and the rearing procedures of farm animals like rabbits. Case Magenta also adopted a public beach which she cleans regularly and where she organizes several environmental sustainability-themed events at. Lastly, some of the cases also leverage their previous publicly elected roles or position (case Gold's founder was a former beauty queen) or fellowships and memberships of local and international non-governmental organizations in advocating for better policies, cleaner environment, and new waste behavior habits from the public.

The advocacy strategy in these SEs is underpinned by principle of recycling and repurposing, with some of the cases seeing it as part of the value chain of recycling, because they feel the awareness should be the first step in that value chain to ease the collection of waste for

recycling or repurposing, as one of the cases demonstrated below:

"...recycling is a value chain...I see us covering the whole value chain, from the collection, which is where we are at now, actually no from the social part of it, which is the advocacy, social part, collection then having an MRF...then go into the manufacturing part of it whereby the product collected, because that's the end of recycling right..." (Red's Co-Founder & CEO).

Having elaborated on the strategies found across the different cases sampled for this study, these are all captured and presented in detail in appendix 6. Table 6.3 below also demonstrates how these strategies are spread across the cases, with core and peripheral strategies highlighted. However, the next section will present the categories of SEs emerging from the table (6.2).

6.1.6   Categories of initiatives

From the explanations above, a pattern emerged with some organizations highlighting each of the five strategies as either their core or peripheral approach to waste management. This is presented in table 6.3 below.

Table 6.3: Strategies of sampled organizations in Lagos.

CASES	STRATEGIES				
	Collection	Aggregating	Upcycling	Clean-ups	Advocacy
Red	✔✔	✔✔	✖	✔	✔
Blue	✔✔	✔✔	✖	✔	✔
Yellow	✔✔	✔✔	✖	✔	✔
Brown	✔✔	✔✔	✖	✔	✔
Pink	✔✔	✔✔	✖	✔	✔
Violet	✔	✔	✔✔	✖	✔
Orange	✔	✔	✔✔	✖	✔
Gold	✔	✔	✔	✔✔	✔✔
Magenta	✔	✔	✔	✔✔	✔✔

Key: ✔✔ -Core strategy   ✔ - Peripheral strategy   ✖- Not available

Sources: Qualitative data

Based on the table above, three categories of initiatives emerged from the cases sampled for this study in Lagos, and these are presented below with a profile case example for each category detailed in table 6.4 below:

1. Initiatives that collect, aggregate, clean and advocate (Red, Blue, Yellow, Brown, and Pink). Because of their core collection and aggregation strategies, they are labelled in this study as *'Volume-drivers'*

2. Initiatives that collect, aggregate, upcycle and advocate (Violet and Orange). Due to their core upcycling strategy, they are labelled in this study as *'Core-transformers'*

3. Initiatives that collect, aggregate, upcycle, clean and advocate (Gold and Magenta). Due to their core clean-up and advocacy strategies, they are labelled in this study as *'Clean-advocates'*.

While this list seems to represent distinct categories, it is important to point out that these mixes of strategies are not exhaustive and the boundaries among the categories are blurred as explained below. The mixes are not exhaustive as there might be other organizations in Lagos that have a different mix of these strategies e.g., environmental NGOs who are involved in cleaning, collection and advocacy but not aggregating and upcycling to sell. There might also be those that just collects, aggregates and trade or that collects, aggregates, upcycles and trade without advocating for a better environment, training others, or sharing returns (formal, non-incentive type of organizations). There have been lots already in the literature on informal collectors that also offer incentives to collect recyclables, aggregates, and trade, as presented in the context section (section 2.3.1).

As a result, these types of organizations (NGOs, informal, or formal non-incentive types) were not sampled for this study as the focus was on SEs that formally combines aspects of business (trading) and charity (advocating for a better environment, empowering others, or sharing returns) (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Doherty et. al, 2014). The SEs sampled are not only advocating to empower people and for a better environment but are also sharing the proceeds from trade in the form of incentives with participants or subscribers. How they are organizing to accomplish these will be further discussed in chapter seven.

Also, the boundaries are blurred because organizations in these categories of initiatives might, in the future, take on any of the strategies not currently undertaken, as it was noted in the accounts of cases Red and Yellow. Their founders showed interest in upcycling activities as

future goal for their organization and the founder of case Pink talked about converting the waste, they collect into something useful in the future to achieve a full circular economy. Additionally, clean-up is seen by these organization as a form of advocacy as it is done in collaboration with government agencies, private sector, and other NGOs, where education and sensitization are done on issues relating to waste recycling and the environment.

Although, as at the time this research was conducted, these categories hold from the evidence collected. Therefore, in terms of strategies, SEs in Lagos are combining advocacy, collection, and aggregation of waste with upcycling and/or environmental clean-up activities. Having detailed the strategies of SEs, together with the core CE principles they relate to, the next section will present the findings on what is driving these strategies. To fully grasp their conceptualization of this alternative economic model, understanding their enablers is also crucial (Kirchherr et. al., 2017). It has been said that business model and consumers are important enablers of the CE (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017; Kirchherr et. al., 2017).

Such arguments were based on the assumptions that the private sector only cares about how this new economic approach makes business sense and consumer demands for circular products and services are what should drive circular strategies. However, as argued previously in chapter two, most of these scholarly views on CE have been largely Western and big business driven, with limited applicability to developing country contexts (Schroeder et. al., 2019), where the roles of informal collectors, the persistent problems of waste, the lack of infrastructure and more are also crucial factors to consider. The next section, therefore, will detail these antecedents and other factors and their role as drivers of the five strategies previously discussed.

Table 6.4: Profile case example for social enterprise categories

Volume-driver
Case Pink is a for-profit social enterprise established in 2012 and situated in the highland part of Lagos state. It has a female founder, who through a social innovation class at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in the United states, conceived of the idea to tackle social problems in Nigeria and developed the business model underpinning their waste enterprise. As a volume-driver, its main activity involves collecting recyclable waste from households and organizations in order to aggregate and process it for sale to recycling companies or for export. Such collection is done using various transportation mechanisms such as specially designed bicycles, motorized tricycles, and trucks.

This collection is underpinned by an incentive-based system that involves the exchange of recyclable solid waste for number points, which has an associated value in terms of household items or money. Rewarding poor households for waste sometimes freely accumulated from the environment is how the organization is tackling issues of poverty in communities, with some of the reward being used in paying school fees, house rents or in opening businesses directly. Case Pink do not just collect waste, they also aggregate it which is how they infuse value into the recovered materials by processing it. Such processing involves compressing the recovered waste e.g., plastics turning it into bales, some of which are either stacked to be transported for sale or further shredded and turned into flakes for sale.

The organization's focus is on increasing the scale of their collection activities by expanding their collection hubs into new communities and doing a lot of advocacy or clean-up activities. They formed partnerships with a large multinational corporation, who are willing to support their expansion with specially modified kiosks made out of shipping containers. Expansion is also being done through a franchise model where the organization empowers individuals in different communities to be able to set up a local collection hub leveraging their infrastructure such as brand, technology and transportation. Additionally, Case Pink enjoys several partnerships, particularly, from the state's government agency in charge of waste management in the state (LAWMA), through which the organization was able to obtain lands to expand their collection and aggregation activities into new communities.

Their collection and aggregation activities are supported by administrative staff, sorters, and waste pickers. Currently thirteen staff are listed on the company website excluding most of their operational or shop floor workers which usually includes sorters and pickers, giving an indication of the size of this organization. The sorters are mostly women some of whom are older and uneducated young adults, who are trained by the social enterprise to work in such a formal organization and in relating with stakeholders in a professional and customer-friendly manner. Despite the success of Case Pink signaled by the various local and international awards that has been won, the organization's leadership believes they are still scratching the surface as it concerns the problem of waste and its recycling in the state and country. They have plans of further expanding into more states, aside from Lagos. |
| **Core-transformers** |
| Case Violet is a for-profit social enterprise established in 2015. The founder is a female who was a former technology professional with experience in large corporate firms. She founded her social enterprise after being inspired to go into upcycling waste by a wall decoration she bought in Dubai, which she later |

discovered was made from corn husks. Such discovery led her down the path to think of other waste materials that can be creatively transformed into products that can serve low-income households unable to afford a decent furniture. Case Violet's main activities involves transforming vehicle tyres into furniture.

To do this, the organization has to collect discarded car tyres which they do through collaborating with local vulcanizers and carpenters who stores this material for them to buy. Their well-known products include a range of one seater sofas named as COXE chairs, Ottomans, pouffes and footstools, as well as center tables with glass tops. Case Violet also make use of magazines, straws, plastics, fabrics, and wood among other things to design other household products such as home decorations, wall clocks and fashion accessories. Their furniture pieces cost between 20 000 (lowest) – 70 000 (highest) Nigerian Naira per piece (i.e., between 38 to 132 pounds), excluding customized products with varied prices. Case Violet is a small organization and has between one to three staff employed at any one time, some of whom are interns and temporary workers.

While not employing many, case Violet empowers and trains many women and interested individuals in communities on the upcycling process and its commercialization. The social enterprise also enjoys partnerships from local, international, and intergovernmental agencies, targeted mostly at capacity development of youths and women in learning upcycling as a means to tackle both pollution and poverty in Lagos and Nigeria more broadly. Aside this, case Violet also makes upcycled products for schools that lacks decent classroom furniture and visits such schools for advocacy purposes to educate the students on the benefits of waste materials.

Clean-advocates

Case Magenta is an NGO situated in one of the highbrow areas of Lagos state. It was established in 2011 by a female founder who sought to develop and transform children by making them more environmentally conscious and to inculcate recycling habits. They generate income mostly from donations but also through innovative means such as encouraging the adoption of plants, renting out publicly decorated spaces and charging a token to train women and youths who are interested in upcycling waste. The most important activity of case Magenta is environmental clean-up, where they also gather recyclables in the process. This clean-up is carried out in dedicated spaces such as a beach or a garden, as well as, in poor and remote communities across Lagos.

The dedicated spaces feature is a unique aspect of case Magenta's clean-up and advocacy strategy. The organization adopted a public space e.g., a beach and made it into a space where children can be taught about the importance of keeping the ocean and its surrounding environment clean and free of recyclable waste. They also repurposed waste such as car tyres to design the beach into playgrounds for children and showcases upcycled products in the space, therefore showing the possibilities of waste to children and adults that visits the space.

Case Magenta uses clean-up as a medium not only to collect waste but also to aggregate, sort and trade it to other social enterprises that are involved in waste processing and trading. Case Magenta enjoys partnerships from agencies and organizations across the public, private and NGO sectors, supporting in different capacities such as financially, awards and in kind (giving free products to support events). Most especially, in communities where they carry out their clean-ups and advocacy work, they endeavor to build a good relationship with the king or chief in order to have unlimited access to the community. They

also involve the state government's waste management agency in clean-up programs and leverages their trucks to remove waste that are not recyclable after such events. Case Magenta engages more volunteers for their activities than hiring full time staff, although they do have and patronize dedicated skilled workers such as photographers, graphics designers, waste pickers, etc., to cover each organized event.

Source: Qualitative data

6.2   Environmental, social and economic drivers of circular strategies

The focus in this section is to explore the factors that are driving social entrepreneurial activities in the CE in Lagos. This is important in order to be able to understand what their objectives are and, in the next chapter, how they set out to achieve them. Although these factors are labelled as opportunities due to the way SEs saw them, they all came from socio-economic and environmental hygiene needs they claimed were prevalent in Lagos. Also, even though the drivers are all interconnected, they have been divided into three subsections based on SEs' account of them as follow - sustainable environment opportunity, social opportunity, and commercial opportunity (see table 6.5 below).

'Sustainable environment opportunity' was used to capture the environmental challenges that motivated SEs to act and organize to proffer solutions e.g., negative effect of waste, poor public understanding of waste and the environment etc. 'Social opportunity' captures the social issues caused by the environmental challenges in Lagos that influenced SEs actions such as the effect of waste on people and the demeaning of waste-workers and waste work by people in the state. Lastly, 'commercial opportunity' was used to capture the business motivations that led SEs to set up their organizations to establish circular principles such as the increasing demand for recyclable over virgin materials, infrastructural deficit in the waste space needing profitable investments etc. The table below and subsequent sections further lists and elaborates on each of these drivers.

Table 6.5: Opportunities in the waste management sector in Lagos

1st order codes	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimensions
Blocked drainages filled with recyclable materials across the states preventing it from flowing	Waste effect on the environment	Environmental opportunity
Polluted streets and public spaces which ends up getting washed into the ocean, lagoons and beaches.		
People's lack of consideration for the environment makes them litter	Negative public attitude towards waste and the environment	
People seeing waste as waste to be discarded		
Low levels of household recycling as compared to western countries	Influence of western countries successful in recycling waste	
Highlighting of resource efficient examples in the west that also now exist in Lagos e.g., reusable bags		
Up to 90% of adults are clueless about recycling or the value that is in discarded plastics	Lack of knowledge about recycling, waste and the environment	
Recycling as a practice was non-existent for a long time in the state making people ignorant about it		
Communities suffering from flooding issues	Waste effect on people	Social opportunity
Blocked drainages lead to endemics such as malaria		
People calls waste work a dirty job	Negative public attitude towards waste work and waste workers	
People give waste workers demeaning looks		
Grew up in a system that encourages comingling of waste	Effect of existing waste collection system on people	
People assumes environmental sanitation is to be done only on government set days.		

1st order codes	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimensions
Engaging children early to teach them about recycling will help them in the long run	Need to protect children from poor waste disposal habits	
Children are easy to influence to adopt sustainable waste practices		
Big companies finding it difficult to source for recyclable materials	Demand for recyclables from companies	
Offtakers pay in advance to secure future supplies of recyclables		
Market women see exchanging plastics as a business	Business or earning opportunity	**Commercial opportunity**
Posting upcycled products online attracts buyers and signals an opportunity		
Only mad people can do business in Nigeria and survive	Existing business climate	
Fluctuating market prices for waste materials		
Government struggling with collecting recyclables across the state	Infrastructural gaps and opportunities	
Lack of waste or recycling infrastructure in most remote communities		

Source: Qualitative data, Akanle & Shittu (2018) and Kirchherr et. al., (2017)

6.2.1 Sustainable environment opportunity

Before any of the cases in this study started their enterprises, they all acknowledged the damaging effect waste was having on their surrounding environments. It was said that "…*there was the problem in Nigeria of waste, and it was in a situation whereby we all see it every day…" (Red's Co-founder & CEO).* Lagos, in particular, was worse off as *"...you can hardly walk five minutes without seeing a blocked drainage…" (Yellow's Founder)* and even the oceans are not spared as most of the city's waste ends up being washed into the beaches,

lagoons and ocean. The most damaging effect of the blocked drainage systems were flooding that was a frequent occurrence in some communities across Lagos as evident in one of the cases below:

"...we had this issue with streets getting flooded…" (Red's Co-founder & CTO).

While giving their accounts, there is a wide agreement among SEs that the city's waste crisis has one major culprit – its inhabitants. SEs blamed the crisis on the attitude of people towards the environment with one of the cases saying that there is a need to *"get people to adjust what they think of waste as something that they produce and throwaway…" (Red Co-founder & CTO).* Several norms and beliefs behind people's disregard or attitude towards the environment were stated, with some of them unscientific and cultural.

As shown in table 6.6, some people have traditional beliefs such as the presence of '*magic cleaners'*, which are either the ocean or some 'water deities.' The ocean is believed to self-clean itself of all our waste or there are beliefs that 'water deities show up and cleans up any waste material that ends up in the ocean. Another traditional belief people hold about waste is that keeping it within a house for whatever purpose is evil as it attracts spiritual garbage or even poverty, so as a result, it should be quickly disposed of.

Aside people's beliefs, the behavior of Lagos inhabitants was also a source of concern for SEs as their accounts showed how people justifies their normal littering attitudes. Some see littering as normal and doubts the possibility that it ends up in the ocean, with some quoting proximity of where they live to the ocean as why they should not be bothered, as shown below:

"...they don't understand why they cannot fling their bottles out in… they don't see why if they fling the PET bottle out over there…they will tell you they don't live close to any ocean (that is after telling them it all ends up in the ocean) …" (Gold's Chairman of the Board)

Aside normalizing littering, there is also the problem of shifting responsibilities of who should clean or look after the environment, with some people seeing it as purely a government's problem or the responsibility of those employed and paid to clean streets and communities (see quote below).

"...they see things like normal...oh the waste on the beach, the waste in the waters, the waste in the environment...they would say…okay..." Ijoba ma se... (meaning) it's the government that would do it….you know they don't care…" (Magenta's Founder).

Table 6.6: Some norms and beliefs about waste and the environment in Lagos

1st order category	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimensions
Belief in water deities as waste cleaners	Magical cleaners	Traditional beliefs
Ocean as self-cleaning of all waste dumped in it		
Waste attracts spiritual garbage if kept or piled at home	Waste as evil	
Waste attracts poverty if kept or piled at home		
Doubts about waste ending up in the ocean	Okay to litter	Justified norms
Littering as a filthy habit because people see it as an okay thing		
Somebody is always there to clean after littering	Not my responsibility	
Lack of concern for environment because it is the government's responsibility		

Source: Qualitative data and Omorede,2014

SEs stated that these norms and beliefs of the city's inhabitants are problematic and dangerous as demonstrated by following cases:

"...the first problem to waste in Nigeria is the problem of misconception and perception and the cultural belief that waste is waste…" (Violet's Founder).

"...non degradable is the most horrendous crime against humanity…some people will classify it as the subtle long-term infanticide to just continuously pour out non degradable waste into the various systems of earth and sea…" (Gold's Support network)

SEs claimed why the state is experiencing this environmental crisis was due to the lack of public knowledge about waste, recycling, and the environment. As one of the cases stated, *"...a*

lot of people do not even know that recycling occurs in Nigeria…" (Yellow's Founder) and that *"…the awareness about recycling before now…was very low…" (Yellow's Support network & NGO).* When most of the SEs started their enterprises, recycling as a practice was almost non-existent, as demonstrated by the quote below:

"…at the time…nobody was talking about recycling…it was like people were still trying to manage the waste on the street…" (Magenta's Founder)

Such lack of awareness was also said to be widespread among the adults in the state with one of the cases, using a saying, stating that *"..like they always say that for every Messi that came out of Buenos Aires, there is a thousand pellets that are attached with him...which means for every Lionel Messi that came out of the rural slums of Buenos Aires, we have 1000 others who end up as gangsters so...so for a single me that comes out of Ibadan and is* (not) *enlightened about this…imagine thousands of others who doesn't know about this and who are adults as well…" (Magenta's Program Officer).*

This lack of knowledge was said to be the reason why people burn their waste, which then in turn pollutes the air and affect their health. The influence of Western practices on SEs was also evident as some of them compared Nigeria to other developed countries as it concerns waste recycling, with one of the cases stating that *"…we don't embrace recycling like they do in the western world…and that's a problem…." (Yellow's operations manager).* As would be shown later, this influence flagged up an opportunity for SEs to pursue cleaner and sustainable environment agendas locally in Nigeria.

6.2.2   <u>Social opportunity</u>

The waste problem in Lagos was also said to be very dangerous, not only to the environment, but to people. SEs stated that blocked drainage systems are breeding grounds for endemic diseases such malaria as evidenced below:

"…if they are not being taking care of, they end up in the drainage systems, in the city, community street and they litter around…and what is the next thing…so these are the things that can cause flooding and cause…other endemics like malaria…" (Blue's Founder).

Some of the SE leaders themselves have been victims of waste litter and flooding in their respective communities, as stated by the founder of case Yellow below,

"...we have all these things...waste as in quotes as you will call it...littering the entire environment, causing floods, causing me to get into trouble at work because somebody splashed water on me..." (Yellow's Founder).

With Lagos being a coastal city, people living close to the oceans suffer immense flooding that makes commuting difficult, because of waste blocking the drains in such communities. This makes SEs to see this not only as an environmental problem but also a social one, as shown in the case evidence below:

"...especially people leaving in Lekki Ajah...every time it rains, they will tell you what they go through...so it's a social issue that needs..." (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.).

Upon further probing on why this issue was also a social one, SEs highlighted the beliefs people hold and their normative behaviors are parts of the problem. However, this belief system was blamed on the effect of the existing waste management structure of the state on people. Highlighting some of them, there was once a system put in place by the state's government for many years, which assigned one day in a month for cleaning and taking care of the environment. These practices over the years were said to have influenced people by making them complacent with such an approach to sanitation, meaning they can litter on the rest of the days and clean only on assigned days, as one of the SEs, challenged by someone in a local community about their frequent waste picking activities, stated below:

"...because they believe that environmental is every Thursday and every last day of the month (as instituted by the government) *...I will say okay, our own environmental is not last month...our own environmental is everyday...they say how..." (Yellow's pickup driver).*

Also, the system of waste disposal in the state have long promoted the one-basket for all waste approach, although the recent government administration has now introduced a multi-colored waste bag approach for waste separation, as found on the state agency's website *(www.lawma.gov.ng)*. But with the length of time the one-basket/bag approach had lasted for, Lagos inhabitants were said to be at ease with comingling their waste for collection by state designated truckers, as also shown below:

"...everyone just has one basket and put all their waste into one basket... that was how we grew up...that was what we grow up to meet...you can imagine over forty years of our life...growing up to know that this is how the best way we can collect our waste...". (Yellow's support network).

The years of getting used to such a system was mentioned by some of the SEs as the reason why adults are set in their ways already, inferring they will be difficult to influence, thereby leaving them (SEs) with the opportunity to influence children and young adults before it's too late. It is believed that there is a need to catch them young now because *"...when they grow up, they will not forget..." (Orange's Trainer)*. Case Magenta also believes that if there is going to be any change in public attitude towards waste and the environment, it can only come from children, as demonstrated below:

"...but when a child is saying it and when a child is not just saying it, but doing it...everybody will be like, okay, let me just support this child...I can see something....so it has to take the children..." (Magenta's Founder).

However, the existing waste management system of the state was also said to be non-functional most times and problematic in some areas, with most low-income communities reportedly cut off from access to the system, leading to difficulties in managing their waste, as the cases below confirmed:

"...we have to go across the river...because those people don't have access to ...but we move closer to them..." (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.).

"...She discovered that a lot of people that lived in communities like that, low-income communities, struggle with how to deal with their waste..." (Pink's CEO)

The attitudinal problems of the public were also said to have contributed over the years to public perception of waste work and waste workers, to the extent that they are looked down at, as one of the cases' participant stated, *"...the way people look at you is like you are mad..." (Magenta's waste manager)*. This was why informal waste pickers were referred to as the *"unsung heroes" (Yellow's Founder)* because of public perception of their activities on landfills as unhealthy and dangerous to the public.

Also, the government deemed their activities illegal and blamed them for causing more environmental pollution through illegal dumpsite creation across the city. Most people generally perceives waste work as … *"a dirty job" (Red's Co-founder & CEO)* with waste workers being questioned by people that "*...you dey gather plastics (you are gathering plastics) ...wetin you dey gather plastics for (what are you gathering plastics for – in a condescending manner) ....do you understand...so it's not a demeaning...." (Yellow's Founder).*

6.2.3   Commercial opportunity

Aside the impact of people's behaviors, the lack of state coordinated, and widespread formal recycling system was also said to be lacking in the state, although there have been attempts by government over the years to establish such a system, but to no avail. This presented an opportunity to create such a system formally working together with the state, as many of the SEs acknowledged there were less formal recycling companies during the time that they started their enterprises.

"...the only two formal(ly) *registered...but even the formal meaning they now made it, they packaged it and made it known to everybody..." (Yellow's Founder)*

Also, the existence of informal collectors already engaging in widespread commercial strategies trading waste and have influenced a lot of people at the grassroot e.g., market women and street traders, to see post-use material exchange as a commercial activity, as confirmed by the case below:

"...market women, they already see this as a business...like gather your plastics give it to these people and they give you money...I mean that's what all these aboki's (informal collectors) do..." (Yellow's Operation manager).

This further influenced SE to not only see the business side of the challenges facing the state, but also as that which can be leveraged to create entrepreneurial opportunities for the unemployed or low-income earners, as inferred by one of the cases' support network below:

"...no matter how much you collect as salary...it would not be as when you have the opportunity to work for yourself..." (Orange's support network).

This business opportunity was further shaped by rising demand for recyclables by recycling companies who, due to the expensiveness of virgin materials for their production activities, are switching to these waste materials, which they need in large quantities, as shown below:

"...if you are talking about virgin material that is sift...this one is more better for us...we cannot afford it...it's too expensive...and it's not available in Nigeria..." (Blue's offtaker)

Additionally, it was said that the inconsistencies in getting the required volume of waste from landfills, where informal collectors operate, and the cleanliness of such waste for use in their

production processes, makes recycling companies to seek for alternative suppliers. This then created a demand gap for SEs to take advantage of formally. Finally, in taking up these commercial opportunities, SEs highlighted the existing business climate in Nigeria as that which can stifle a business venture. They stated that sudden policy changes, unstable political environment, and multiple government agencies each with their own demands, are all some of the challenges businesses in Nigeria faces.

One of the SEs stated that to start and run a business in a Nigeria, the entrepreneur *"…have to be smart to survive"*, as the case further stated that *"…it's just like being in a water with sharks…if you are not smart…I keep telling you, it's only mad people that can do business in Nigeria and survive…" (Violet's Founder).* Such a toxic environment for businesses was said to be the reason why most informal economy actors, such as the scavengers, stay clear of formal regulated systems of government, so that they can avoid unnecessary payments and levies, as demonstrated below:

"…that's why sometimes these vendors …you know they don't want to pay…they won't register…that's why they create all those blackspots…" (Magenta's Waste manager).

Such findings were also reflected in Sepulveda & Syrett's argument (2007) that while the procedures to become formal might be easy in developing and developed country contexts, there are no clear explanation from respective governments on how being formal can be beneficial or cost-effective, creating barriers to formalization for many economic agents. These issues in the waste management environment in Lagos, and in Nigeria generally, shaped the motives of SEs to respond by organizing purposively. Based on the opportunities they saw, they created their enterprises with commercial, social and environmental objectives, which will be further discussed in the next chapter on hybrid organizing and institutional work.

6.3   Summary and preface to the next chapter

This chapter has focused on how SEs in Lagos conceptualizes the circular economy. Kirchherr's et. al., (2017) definition was instrumental in framing SEs' conceptualization as the research question and data were further explored, albeit in a critical manner. Five strategies were found, among the nine cases sampled for this study, implementing the CE principles of recycling and repurposing in Lagos. With variations in the ways the organizations engaged with the strategies, three categories of SEs emerged, labelled in this thesis as volume-drivers,

core-transformers, and clean-advocates. To summarily describe each category based on their core activities, volume-drivers prioritizes the collection of a lot of waste, which is crucial for sales and for the fulfillment of their objectives; core-transformers prioritizes upcycling waste, which is how they make income and fulfil their other goals; and lastly, clean-advocates prioritizes clean-ups and advocacy, which is crucial to raising funds and addressing wider environmental sustainability concerns.

Each of these strategies have underlying CE principles which are either recycling or repurposing. The drivers of those strategies were identified as competing elements in the institutional environment (waste management sector), which provided SEs with "*opportunit*(ies) *to realize interests that they value highly*" (DiMaggio, 1988, pg. 14). Such opportunities informed and shaped their motives for organizing in novel ways, which is the focus of the next chapter (seven), in terms of presenting empirical evidence of such acts.

Therefore, after this chapter's detail on their conception of the CE, the next chapter will detail how SEs organize to achieve multiple objectives, after being inspired by commercial, social, and environmental opportunities presented by their context.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 <u>Hybrid organizing</u>

This thesis sets out to investigate the CE strategies of social enterprises (SEs) in Lagos. In the last chapter, SEs' conceptualization of the CE was presented with details on the various strategies found within the organizations sampled for this study, which includes collection, aggregation, upcycling, cleaning, and advocacy. SEs were motivated to employ these strategies due to the presence of commercial, social, and environmental opportunities in the waste management sector, as discussed in section 6.2. Therefore, the focus of this chapter is to detail how SEs are leveraging these opportunities and organizing to meet commercial, social, and environmental goals.

The research question for this chapter is:

How are social enterprises combining their social, commercial, and environmental aims to have an impact on the circular economy in Lagos?

As SEs have been theorized as boundary spanning organizations with aspects of business and charity at their core (hybrids), scholars have emphasized the need to understand how such different organizational aspects are arranged within and without organizations (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Battilana et. al., 2017). Described as hybrid organizing, this was said to be important in further understanding the processes of organizational change (Battilana & Lee, 2014) and the practical efforts of actors in realizing, or defending against, such change (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Therefore, drawing from the institutional logics and hybrid organizing literatures, the compositional elements of each logic (rules, norms, beliefs, identities, values, priorities) evident in SE's strategies will be identified and how those elements are combined in practice will be explored (Vickers et. al., 2017).

As explained in chapter three of this thesis (section 3.4.1), the Institutional logics theoretical lens provides a good framework to investigate and interpret the combination of multiple objectives in hybrid organizations (Battilana & Lee, 2014; Ocasio et. al., 2017). Defined as taken-for-granted beliefs and practices that guide actors' behavior in fields of activity (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012), logics are said to be employed as 'cultural tools' (Swidler, 1986) by actors, who uses it in the construction and the reproduction of organizational forms and individual identities (Battilana & Lee, 2014).

Such cultural "toolkit" was also said to be significant in inter-organizational relationships where organizations, said to be embedded in a "web of social relations" (Granovetter, 1985; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008), are able to select and combine forms (and logics) through the external relationships they enter into with other organizations (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Having presented the drivers of SE actions in the last chapter, this chapter will present empirical evidence on how SEs are organizing to realize multiple objectives, which will be instrumental in understanding the institutional work during such processes in the next chapter (chapter eight).

In presenting such organization accounts, this chapter will be structured as follows. Using the categories of organizations establishing circular principles that was presented in section 6.1.6 (i.e., volume-drivers, core-transformers, and clean advocates), the evidence of commercial, social and environmental logics will be highlighted for each category. Afterwards, how the logics are organized to realize to commercial, social, and environmental objectives will be presented for each of the CE strategies (collection, aggregation, upcycling, clean-up and advocacy) focusing on organizations where each strategy is core. Also, the organizational features where such combination takes place will be highlighted before concluding the chapter, with a preface to the next chapter, where the institutional work done in combining multiple logics to establish CE principles, will be detailed.

7.1 Evidence of logics as a basis for hybrid strategies

To answer the research question posed above, this section will first detail the evidence of logics that SEs draw on, as a basis for their hybrid strategies that will be discussed later. Due to the opportunities presented in the last chapter (section 6.2), SEs set out to create a new system that disrupts waste as a concept in a commercially and socially sustainable way (see appendix 7 for evidence of intended disruption). They believed that the way people perceive, and handle waste, need to change in order to facilitate the establishment of the recycling and repurposing principles necessary for a CE, as demonstrated by one of the cases below:

"...for us, I will always say it is promoting waste recycling...trying to get people to see that there are other alternatives and trying to get people to adjust what they think of waste as something that they produce and throwaway...there are consequences for all of it...and to get people to be conscious about it..." (Red's Co-founder & CTO).

Therefore, to create this disruptive system, they leveraged commercial, social, and environmental logics to organize their waste collection, aggregation, upcycling, clean-up and advocacy strategies in order to realize their intentions. This is in line with Ocasio et. al.'s (2017) view that logics provides organizational actors with *"vocabularies of motive"* with which they craft their objectives and organize to meet them. Therefore, the subsequent sections will highlight these logics or organizing principles that SEs in Lagos draw on as they organize their strategies to realize their environmental, commercial, and social agendas.

7.1.1   Commercial logic

To take advantage of the commercial opportunities in the waste management sector in Lagos, SEs leveraged the commercial organizing principles of trade, service charges, efficiency, as well as customer service and professionalism in developing their strategies (see table 7.1 below). These organizing principles are known in this thesis as 'commercial logic' which is synonymous with Vickers et. al.'s (2017) 'market logic' used to capture how organizations adopt the practices and guiding values that are more commonly associated with the business world.

Table 7.1: Constitutive elements of a commercial logic

Opportunities	Intention: To create a disruptive waste system that:	Constitutive elements of logics (values, priorities, principles, norms, beliefs etc.)	Logic
Commercial opportunity	makes money from selling waste and waste products	Trade	Commercial logic
	make money from waste related services	Service charges	
	meet demand for recyclable waste in the manufacturing sector in an efficient and low-cost way	Efficiency	
	is professional and values customer service	Customer service and professionalism	

Source: Qualitative data

The goal here for SEs is to create a disruptive waste recycling and repurposing system that is financially sustainable. Starting with volume-drivers, the commercial logic of trading to make a profit was evident in their intention to collect and sell processed recyclables. This logic is also evident in their aggregation practices, where the goal was to accumulate large volumes of

waste in order to make a sustainable profit from selling it. When collecting recyclables, the commercial logic of trade makes them prioritize high earning recyclables such as PET bottles over other waste that might be found in the environment and they request that the waste materials be collected clean to prevent a reduction in its commercial value due to contamination. The logic of efficiency is also evident in volume-drivers' waste practices to meet the demand for recyclable waste.

They intend collecting waste in a low-cost manner and cut out business waste anywhere possible to ensure their waste collection processes are sustainable. Volume-drivers always emphasizes the values of customer service and professionalism, particularly in terms of how they attend to and deal with subscriber issues and demands, drawing lessons and examples from the private sector. Specifically, they adopted this logic to gain and maintain subscribers' loyalty and ultimately make profit (Epstein & Westbrook, 2001) from their continuous engagement with waste collection.

In core-transformers, the commercial logic of trade is evident in their intention to make and sell upcycled products for profit. As mentioned earlier in section (6.1.3), both SEs in this category are well-known selling household furniture made from waste and they emphasize making quality products using low-cost methods and cutting out waste in order to make a sustainable profit, hence demonstrating an efficiency logic. The commercial logic of service charges is also evident as core-transformers intend to make money from waste-related activities such as training others on how to upcycle waste for a fee.

Lastly, the commercial logics of trade and service charges are both apparent in clean-advocates intention to clean-up public spaces and to be financially sustainable doing so. They peripherally sell collected and sorted recyclables or transform the collected recyclables into products that can be sold. They also rent out acquired public spaces that they decorated with waste to interested visitors looking to participate in their clean-up programs. Clean-advocates demonstrate the commercial logic of service charges when they charge corporate organizations to brand and promote their company on their cleaning materials.

Also, common in clean-advocates, is the idea of running a "side-business" using the funds generated from such business activity to fund their SE. While their side-businesses offer services that are related to the social and environmental pursuits of their SEs, it is more geared towards making a profit and sustaining their SEs, thereby demonstrating a service charge logic.

In summary, the commercial logics of trading (waste or upcycled products), service charge (training), efficiency (in waste collection, aggregation, and transformation processes) and customer service and professionalism, are particularly evident as basis of SE strategies.

7.1.2 Social logic

'Social logic' has been referred to in studies on civil society (Corry, 2010), social economy (Defourny & Develtere, 1999) or the third sector (Wagner (2012), where the focus has been on social goals in which organizations provide a crucial safety net to impoverished people (Borzaga & Galera, 2014) or fills the gaps that were not addressed by the market or public sector (Vickers et. al., 2017). To create a system that disrupts the idea of waste in a socially responsible way, SEs in Lagos developed their strategies using the social logic of job creation, inclusivity and capacity development as shown in the table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2: Constitutive elements of a social logic

Opportunities	Intention: To create a disruptive waste system that:	Constitutive elements of logics (values, priorities, principles, norms, beliefs etc.)	Logic
Social opportunity	generate income for people	Job creation	Social logic
	help people benefit from waste related activities	Inclusivity	
	encourages wider participation in waste work by making it less demeaning to work in the waste sector		
	challenges old beliefs about waste work and waste workers		
	enables low-income communities' access formal recycling services		
	educates children on waste, recycling and the environment	Capacity development	
	empowers local entrepreneurs and people interested in waste related activities		

Source: Qualitative data

Starting with volume-drivers, the social logic of job creation was evident in how they hire for both office administrative and shop floor operational roles such as waste sorters, cleaners,

pickers, and processors. They emphasize the amount of people they have been able to provide jobs to and their intentions to scale up and employ more people to earn a decent livelihood. The social logic of inclusivity was apparent in their intentions to help low-income people benefit from waste that can be easily found in their environment, therefore involving them in market activities that rewards them in exchange for collected waste.

They also hire and train underprivileged people in their communities to do manual or less technical jobs and earn a livelihood. This inclusive hiring approach is also to challenge old beliefs about waste work as a dirty job by ensuring their hires are well kitted for their jobs with appropriate equipment. The social logic of inclusivity is also apparent in volume-drivers' intentions to provide access to recycling services in remote community, where there has not being one, through franchising and awareness raising activities.

For core-transformers, the social logic of inclusivity is apparent in their intentions to encourage wider participation in waste work, particularly with their prioritization of women and girls in upcycling training. They intend to ensure people benefit from waste upcycling practices and one way this is demonstrated is in how they support local crafts by engaging and including local artisans such as vulcanizers, carpenters etc. in the waste upcycling process, thereby contributing to their earning capacities, and supporting their development.

The social logic of capacity development was also evident in their intention to ensure that children are educated in schools on upcycling practices, while empowering people that are interested in learning about waste upcycling in communities. Core-transformers do hire on a lesser scale when compared to volume-drivers and leverage more of volunteers for their upcycling practices than hiring full time workers. The belief here is that by volunteering for a cause, it can enhance participants' profile to secure paid jobs in the future, thereby representing the social logic of job creation.

However, clean-advocates also demonstrates this social logic (i.e., job creation) which is evident in their hiring practices as they make use of volunteers to help deliver their clean-up programs and advocacy campaigns. Whenever they organize a clean-up, the social logic of inclusivity is obvious as they prioritize poor and distant communities, providing inhabitants of such places the access to formal recycling services, which sometimes includes rewarding them with cash and gifts for collected waste. The social logic of capacity development is apparent in their intention to educate children on appropriate waste disposal and on recycling/upcycling waste therefore contributing to the development their creative capabilities.

In summary, the social logic of job creation, inclusivity in market practices (women, poor households, and local artisans) and capacity development (children, people in poor communities and local artisans and businesses) are all evident in SEs strategies for establishing the CE.

7.1.3   Environmental logic

'Environmental logic' is defined by Lee & Lounsbury (2015) as a shared belief system in a community that attributes high intrinsic value to environmental goods and pollution reduction. SEs in Lagos were found to draw on the environmental logic of pollution reduction and climate action in organizing their circular strategies in Lagos, as shown in table 7.3 below.

Table 7.3: Constitutive elements of an environmental logic

Opportunities	Intention: To create a disruptive waste system that:	Constitutive elements of logics (values, priorities, principles, norms, beliefs etc.)	Logic
Sustainable environment opportunity	removes recyclable waste from the environment and prevent it from getting to landfills	Reduce pollution	Environmental logic
	increases the awareness of environmental sustainability challenges and the need for recycling/upcycling waste		
	locally adapts western recycling practices		
	challenges people's perception of waste so they see waste as something to value	Climate action	
	challenges people's throwaway culture, old habits and beliefs and make them accountable for keeping their environments clean		

Source: Qualitative data

For volume drivers, core-transformers and clean-advocates, the environmental logic of reducing pollution, which is under UN's SDG twelve, was evident across all in their intentions to create a disruptive waste recycling and repurposing system. They believe that disrupting the idea of waste is necessary to realize the goal of stopping recyclables from ending up in landfills, where they get contaminated, pollute the atmosphere, or end up in the ocean. Therefore, volume-drivers priority is to get the waste from the source and aggregate them in a centralized

location away from landfills, where they can be further processed and put back into production systems. Core-transformers wants every waste to be seen as a resource for upcycling so that such materials are kept away from the environment, thereby reducing pollution and protecting the oceans.

Clean-advocates prioritize clean-ups because they want to stop waste from polluting the oceans, thereby harming fishes and other sea animals. The environmental logic of reducing pollution is also evident across all SEs in their intention to increase the awareness of environmental sustainability challenges, while promoting recycling and upcycling as a solution to the waste crisis. With all the SE founders demonstrating some knowledge about western recycling practices, their intention is to have similar recycling system adapted to the peculiarities of their local communities to reduce waste pollution.

All volume-drivers, core-transformers and clean-advocates also acknowledged the need to disrupt waste as a concept by motivating people to take responsibility for their own waste and to see waste as something of value that should not be carelessly disposed of (climate action logic). In summary, to achieve their environmental intention of disrupting waste as a concept, SEs leverages the environmental logics of reducing pollution and climate action in organizing their strategies.

Having presented the evidence of commercial, social, and environmental logics, the subsequent sections will detail how they are being combined to shape SEs collection, aggregation, upcycling, clean-up and advocacy strategies.

7.2   Organizing for collection

Waste collection by SEs are attempts to retrieve recyclables and prevent them from being landfilled. While this is a common strategy across SEs, it is core among volume-drivers that collects, aggregates, cleans and advocates, making such organizations a suitable context to explore how logics are combined through waste collection to achieve their commercial, social and environmental objectives. With this strategy, volume-drivers pursue their multiple objectives by collecting waste from door-to-door and on-site, expanding their reach, hiring and managing workers and relating with other organizations, which are further illustrated in table 7.4 and discussed in subsequent sections.

Table 7.4: Combination of logics for collection

Strategy	Activity	Combination of logics (commercial logic- CL; social logic- SL; environmental logic- EL)	Dimensions of hybrid organising
Collection	Collecting waste	collect from as many sources as possible to sell (CL), prioritize low-income households (SL), removing waste in the environment through collection (EL), prioritize high earning material collection (CL), gives incentives to households encourage more waste collection activities (CL), help low-income households earn extra income (SL), while reducing pollution from increased waste collection activities (EL). Set controls between cash and gift incentives to support acquiring waste in huge volume (CL) and to prioritize the environment in collection decisions (EL).	Operations
	Expanding reach	setting up kiosks and hubs in new communities or doing awareness campaigns to gain subscribers (CL), operate a franchise model to support local business start-ups (SL), conducts environmental impact assessment before moving into a new community to minimize waste pollution chances (EL).	
	Hire and managing workers	hire low-skilled workers and trains them (SL) to have customer service skills and to be professional (CL), attach incentives to encourage hired waste pickers to collect from as many sources as possible (CL)	Workforce practices and incentive systems
	Relating with other organizations	collect waste from low-income households (CL, SL, EL), work with informal collectors to boost volume targets (CL), sell waste to offtakers or manufacturing companies (CL), gather recycling data for government (EL), charges corporate organizations a fee to collect their waste (CL), partners with production companies to draw back post-use materials (EL), refer waste pickup to other SEs in close proximity for efficiency purposes (CL).	Inter- and extra-organizational relationships

Source: Qualitative data and Battilana & Lee (2014)

7.2.1 Collecting waste

The combination of multiple objectives was evident in the way volume-drivers collect waste. As described in section 6.1.1, they target households, communities, and organizations to collect their recyclables. They use a door-to-door approach to collect from these sources, but they also allow for onsite drop-off of recyclables within the community they operate. This is part of their commercial aims to collect waste from as many sources as possible to sell for financial sustainability **(trade),** as stated by one of the cases below:

*"...the success of the company depends on every day, we are always on the road, chasing people...since we have a target, in every household, **(Brown) that name has to ring a bell..."* (Brown CEO & Exec Dir.).

For households, they prioritized low-income families and communities for their collection activities to provide them with access to a formal recycling system and, most importantly, to help them in capturing value from waste **(inclusivity).** As highlighted in section 6.1.2 in the last chapter, the business of waste collection is that which requires volumes of waste materials in order to make a sale or any form of profit.

This places a demand on volume-drivers to ensure volume collections, meaning they would have to ensure they find ways to cover a lot of households to be able to accumulate significant volumes, regardless of the infrastructural deficits (in terms of road conditions) in the state. Therefore, to implement the door-to-door approach, volume-drivers leveraged a variety of transportation means as listed in section 6.1.1 to enable flexibility and accessibility to remote low-income areas without a formal recycling or waste collection system. Volume-drivers also believes that the more waste they can collect, the more of it they are removing from the environment **(reducing pollution).**

In capturing value from collected waste, volume-drivers know that not all waste are valuable to sell. Therefore, they select the recyclables they collect based on the availability of a buyer and the worth of the waste material **(trade),** as briefly shown below:

*"...**Blue manager:** The green plastic bottles...all these Limca, bitter lemon...etc.*

***Interviewer:** why are you not doing them for now*

***Blue manager:** because the price is low...the price you sell them is very low and it doesn't pay us..."* *(Blue's operational manager)*

Volume-drivers have dedicated recycling companies they trade their waste with and as a result, have a sense of what is in high demand and what is not. However, to make it easier for subscribers, volume-drivers ensured the various types of waste collected are listed with pictures both on their flyers as stated earlier and websites i.e., website and app. This helps subscribers to exchange only what the SE finds valuable, while handing the rest over to state's designated truckers.

However, this door-to-door approach would not have been possible without incentives. Volume-drivers added incentives to their collection practices by giving household items or money in exchange for waste. As volumes of waste is needed to sell and make a profit, the logic behind this system is, therefore, to encourage large scale recyclable collection by motivating the people they engage with (in households, communities, or organizations) to get involved in a rewarding waste recycling activity **(trade).** Also, giving of incentives is how they help people in the low-income bracket to earn a livelihood from the exchange of their waste for money or items **(inclusivity),** a process that also simultaneously influences the environment by reducing such recyclables from ending up in the environment **(reducing pollution)**. However, to support this commercial objective of volume acquisition **(trade),** volume-drivers introduced control systems between cash and gift incentives.

They believe this control system will also help maintain focus on the environmental benefits of collecting waste, thereby reducing the effects of waste pollution **(reducing pollution),** as shown in the quote below:

"...we don't want the incentive to be the focus of why they are doing what they are doing... we want them to see that they are part of... that they are building a nation... so they feel proud to say oh I'm not doing something demeaning, I'm helping my environment...I'm helping my community, I'm helping my own children ...." (Yellow's Founder).

Therefore, volume-drivers had control systems set for choosing between money and household items as rewards. Knowing that cash can distract the low-income subscribers easily from broader interest in curbing waste pollution problems, volume-drivers use the point-based system to first set when they can come forward to claim their rewards (control for volume capture) and how much points are required for each of the reward to maintain interest in environmental matters. For the former, they explain to their subscribers that to qualify for any form of incentives, they need to have accumulated waste with them up to a certain value in points.

This is to ensure random people do not just bring few used plastics for example and expect to be rewarded. This also helps ensure that subscribers are engaged in active gathering of recyclables to qualify for any of the rewards. For the latter, volume-drivers increased the points for those interested in cash than for household items, therefore making it easy for most subscribers to know what they are working towards and what they are likely to get. They also reward huge volumes of waste with cash payments instead of items to simply make subscribers

accumulate more if they want money in exchange for it, as started below:

"...for those that collect money, they have a target.... they have to meet up to this points, either 400 000points...or 250 000points...so it now depends on this is my target, I want a TV or I want this, maybe in the next 3 months, next 4 months...let me work towards cash..." (Brown CEO & Exec. Dir.).

This incentive system hardly applies to richer neighborhoods covered by volume-drivers' activities as they acknowledged that there is greater awareness about the dangers of climate change among people from such places and that they are less concerned about the rewards for recycling. Communicating the environmental benefits of their activities helps them secure the recyclables they need from such high-income communities. Overall, these approaches help the volume-drivers in their environmental objectives of stopping waste from getting to landfill, reducing the effect of waste on the environment by capturing volumes of it, while also pursuing their own commercial aim of volume acquisition for trade.

7.2.2   Expanding reach

To further boost the volume waste collection, volume-drivers prioritize expanding into new communities and gaining new subscribers **(trade)**. One of the aspects they are looking to expand is the infrastructure that supports collection activities. For SEs with the capacity (mostly Pink and Brown), they expand by opening new hubs and kiosks in new places to make recycling more accessible and to gain more subscribers. as shown by the quote below:

"...currently now, our goal is to collect about 2000 tons of recyclables this year...I just look at it from a tonnage perspective...tons...and my role is to be able to capture it...we are expanding the kiosks...." (Pink's CEO).

For those without the capacity for expanding hubs into new areas (Yellow, Blue, and Red), they tend to focus on acquiring subscribers in new areas within a community or in another community through awareness campaigns, as demonstrated by one of the cases below:

*"...I think **(Yellow) is now trying to gain new grounds...trying to open up other markets by going to other locations...I think she is trying to do something around this place...around this location... she wanted me to help her with venue (for) like a sensitization advocacy around this location..." (Yellow's support network).*

Aside extending hubs or acquiring new households, cases Pink and Brown also operate franchises to boost collection in remote areas and support local business development **(inclusivity)**. Although before setting up a franchisee, case Brown, for example, stated that they carry out an environmental impact assessment (EIA) to ensure their activities will not negatively affect people, such as preventing stench or other disasters that can occur when living close to a waste site **(reducing pollution),** as shown in the quote below:

"...the location should be like an open place where it would not affect household people.... you understand...as this where its located (pointing to their hub), there is no houses around it...because of sometimes the smell and...then we look at whether the place is damp..." *(Brown's Project supervisor).*

It was unclear from the data if the other SEs also carry out the same EIA processes before setting up their respective hubs. However, volume-drivers have to hire and develop a workforce for their collection purposes, which offers another avenue to explore their pursuit of multiple objectives.

7.2.3   Hiring and managing workers

For volume-drivers expanding hubs and kiosk to facilitate collection in new communities (cases Pink and Brown), there is an acknowledgment that such expansion comes with an increasing need in staff numbers as well to manage collection in the new areas, as inferred below:

"...so, we have to come up with a good way to evacuate the materials to our different hubs...and obviously...there is going to be some staffing needs" (Pink CEO).

Since volume-drivers operate a door-to-door model of collection, they all have dedicated workers that carries out such collection task. Given different names in each of the enterprises (see section 6.1.1), some of the SEs recruited their waste pickers informally through word of mouth or referrals (Yellow, Blue) and others (Red, Pink and Brown) follow formal processes of CV submission, interviews, and salary negotiation etc. As learnt from some of the cases, there seem to be a certain characteristics volume-drivers look for when recruiting these pickup drivers formally. They assumed not everyone is comfortable working with waste and as a result uses their instinct to guess who can and who cannot fit based on how the interviewees present themselves when they meet, as evidenced below:

"...there was an interview...in fact he didn't want to take it...because he was asking for so much money and we are like this is not what we can...so we had another guy, the other guy, when I look at him, this guy is not core...he won't fit into it...there are people that you see and you know that being able to be comfortable with handling plastics and not feel at odd with it...so the other guy wasn't looking that way...he didn't sound that way, he just sounded too high for it....for me he wasn't..." (Red Co-founder & CTO).

As most of the SEs acknowledged the low-skilled nature of the workers they hire for the job, ability to read digital scales, register new households, assign, and record points both for the SE and subscribers are essential skills they need to have to do the job **(job creation)**. Therefore, pickup drivers are trained on such collection processes, while also teaching them basic customer service skills to enable them respond effectively to subscribers when out collecting **(customer service and professionalism),** as shown below:

"...riders are like the face of **(Pink) because they relate with our subscribers...so when you go out, you talk to subscribers, you greet them...we will tell you have to be polite..." (Pink's Hub manager).

Additionally, in controlling internally for volume collection, volume-drivers attached pickup driver's wages to the number of volumes they collect to motivate them to collect from as many sources as possible within the daily working hours, supporting the commercial logic of volume acquisition to sell **(trade).** As these sections have been about organizing within, volume-drivers also pursue multiple objectives in their collection strategies through the kinds of relationships they initiate or build.

7.2.4   <u>Relating with other organizations</u>

When it comes to recyclable collection, volume-drivers acknowledged the informal collectors who does similar kind of collection work. These group have been at it for years and are savvy when it comes to trading waste materials, as well as, getting volumes of recyclables from landfills and sometimes in communities. To take advantage of their savviness and the system of collection they (informal collectors) already had going on, volume-drivers work with them to boost the volumes they collect for sale, especially whenever they (SEs) are falling short of meeting set targets **(trade).** As volume-drivers have regular supply targets with offtakers per delivery, they built relationships with informal collectors and opened opportunities to **trade**

recyclables with them. Including them in the formal system of recyclable collection is not only beneficial to volume-drivers but also to the informal collectors who sometimes are looking for where to trade their accumulated wares.

Also, SEs have a waste collection relationship with the government agency in charge of waste in the state to capture data on the amount of waste collected for recycling, hence prevented from getting to landfills or polluting the environment **(reducing pollution)**. Due to this relationship, they need to report their collection activities to the agency weekly for data gathering purposes and their work with informal collectors helps to boost the numbers volume-drivers report because of the huge volumes they trade with them, as stated by one of the cases below:

"…have targets…that we were not meeting up…so the best thing to do is okay lets go and meet the scavengers…lets meet the informal sector…every week, can you give us five five tons… because at the end of the year, you should be able to say, Lagos state generate 15 000 tons…out of this 15 000tons, **(Brown) is able to morph up…" (Brown CEO & Exec. Dir.).

On corporate organizations, volume-drivers have a commercial relationship with them in terms of collecting their recyclables*,* while also charging them a fee. Although, one of the cases (Pink) stated that they do sometimes offset monetary charges in replacement for large volumes of recyclables from companies, since such volumes will mean that they can make a profit when sold **(trade),** which then offsets the cost of logistics incurred during pickup, as inferred by the case below:

"… I had a meeting with **(corporate organization) …to collect their recyclables…I don't know if we would get paid though…most companies pay us (but) I think their volumes are enough that we can make money off…" (Pink's CEO).

Aside corporates, volume-drivers also fits into the waste draw-back plan of producers, who are under pressure to meet the demands of the regulators regarding Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR) scheme. This finding is synonymous with previous studies who stated that organizations demonstrate their sincere commitment to sustainability by greening their supply chain (i.e., making their logistic activities more sustainable) and improving their environmental performance in order to comply with mounting environmental regulations (Bacallan, 2000; Holt & Ghobadian, 2009; Rao & Holt, 2005). This EPR scheme is part of efforts to **reduce** waste **pollution** and its effects by making producers to be accountable and

responsible for the waste generated from their products**.**

With such scheme being enforced nationally, some of the SEs have formed new partnerships and alliances with manufacturers as their collection partners and are obligated to formally report back on related collection activities, which will be used by the manufacturers to report back to the government. Lastly, volume-drivers also refer waste pickups to each other based on proximity. Such referrals are made for cost reduction and to eliminating unprofitable or costly activities **(efficiency),** since it might make more commercial sense for another SE to go collect the recyclables than the original SE being originally reached out to.

Summarizing the combination of logics across volume-drivers' collection strategy, the commercial logic of trade, efficiency, customer service and professionalism; social logic of inclusivity, job creation and capacity development; and the environmental logic of reducing pollution are used to drive this strategy. The combination of these logics cuts across different aspects of volume-drivers such as their operational activities, hiring practices and incentives systems, as well as the inter-and extra-organizational relationships they engage in. These findings are summarily presented in table 7.4 above.

After the collection of waste comes aggregation and the next section will detail SEs hybrid organizing practices as they implement the waste aggregation strategy.

7.3   Organizing for aggregation

Aggregation involves the accumulation of waste by SEs till it reaches expected volume, suitable to sell to manufacturing companies (see section 6.1.2). While this is a common strategy across SEs, it is core among volume-drivers that collects, aggregates, cleans and advocates, making such organizations a suitable context to explore how logics are combined through aggregation to achieve their commercial, social, and environmental objectives. In this strategy, volume-drivers pursue their multiple objectives by accumulating waste, hiring and managing workers and relating with other workers and subscribers, which is further illustrated in table 7.5 below and discussed in subsequent sections.

Table 7.5: Combination of logics for aggregation

Strategy	Activity	Combination of logics (commercial logic- CL; social logic- SL; environmental logic- EL)	Dimensions of hybrid organising
Aggregation	Accumulating waste	Accumulate to a certain volume to sell for profit (CL); Increase the value of accumulated waste to sell at higher prices (CL); Leverages technology in processing waste to improve efficiency (CL)	Operations
	Hiring and managing workers	Ensure shop-floor workers are well dressed in protective equipment to make waste work less demeaning (SL); Pay sorters per amount of waste sorted as incentives to boost volume of processed waste (CL); Sanctions for staff activity that directly affect subscribers' relationship (CL); Hiring through informal methods such as word of mouth and referrals to absorb unemployed people with little or no skills (SL); Operates a temporary and permanent hiring practices to manage demands for extra working hands (CL)	Workforce practices and incentive systems
	Relating with other workers and subscribers	Leaders promote values of customer service and professionalism among workers and between workers and subscribers (CL); Respecting the elderly when coordinating them (SL); Prioritize sorters and operational workers' health and wellbeing (SL)	Organizational culture

Source: Qualitative data and Battilana & Lee (2014)

7.3.1   Accumulating waste

Aggregation takes place at volume-drivers' collection and sorting hub (CoSo hub) as explained in section 6.1.2. The logic here is based on the more the volume of waste aggregated, the more the income of the SE **(trade),** which can be used in meeting other objectives. As they aggregate, they also process and this activity is to add extra value to the aggregated materials, as they sell cleaned and baled or shredded waste at a higher price than if unprocessed **(trade).** As volume-drivers also receive drop offs of collected waste at hubs, weighing, recording incentives, baling and sorting out subscriber complaints are also part of the activities there. Volume-drivers use technology such as digital standing scale to scale received items; baling machines to compress

the recyclables; and software to manage operations at the hubs for **efficiency** purposes, as stated by the case below:

"…we weigh it, we don't count it…because you can get a very big sack of pure water…so when you get something like that, if you start counting it, you spend an entire day there…so we weigh it, we put it on scale and check the weight…" (Brown's operations manager).

With the accumulation of waste at their CoSo hubs comes the need to understand how they hire and manage workers that runs such hubs.

7.3.2 Hiring and managing workers

In the CoSo hubs, volume-drivers have an administrative office and a shop floor. The shop floor is where operational activities take place such as drop offs of waste, processing, storage, and truck loading for transportation. As explained in section 7.2.3, SEs in this category have a sense of the type of people that can do such waste work as low-skilled workers and as a result, they operate mostly at the shop floor with administrative offices mostly for skilled staff, although office access was not denied for any of the workers. Workers operating mostly on the shop floor are provided with protective equipment such as hand gloves, boots etc. to make sure they are well dressed for the job, contrary to old beliefs of waste work being a dirty job that can only be done by dirty people **(inclusivity),** as inferred in this quote:

"…haa it a dirty job but I'm doing it…so what's the dirty about it, just get yourself prepared, wear your gloves, wear your boots, its eh its work...it's doable …" (Red Co-founder & CEO).

It is also a way of making it less demeaning to work or participate in waste related activities that preserve the environment. Based on volume-drivers' commercial aim to capture value, they also pay sorters per total volume of waste sorted at the close of business, as incentives to boost volume acquisition to meet such targets, as the more waste sorted leads to more waste being processed and available for sale **(trade).** Also, volume-drivers always ensure hub activities directly related to subscribers or that can affect volume acquisition receives urgent attention and is duly reported for management assessment later. In the spirit of customer service, there are sanctions for staff activity that directly affect subscribers' relationship and their waste related activities with the SE **(customer service and professionalism)** as demonstrated by case Pink below:

"...one of these was giving to one of our riders to send to me ..it was given about two weeks back but he claimed that he forgot to bring it here...so he brought it here....they wanted to even sanction him because it's absurd, when a customer is complaining...although he came at the end of the day...he was suspended for like one or two days..." (Pink's Kiosk manager).

At their hubs, volume-drivers follow a mixed approach in their hiring process for operational and administrative duties. They recruit office staff through formal processes of, submitting CVs, interviews, and employment contracts, while shop floor workers are hired through informal methods such as word of mouth and referrals. This enables them to absorb informal waste collectors and other interested unemployed people with little or no skills interested in participating in waste work **(inclusivity).** With the informal method of hiring, volume-drivers attract workers from a wide-range of age-groups, with elderly women found to constitute majority of the sorters, while the machine processors (balers) consist of mostly middle-aged men.

They also operate a temporary and permanent hiring practices, basically hiring low-skilled workers as the need arises (temporary). One of the SEs (case Pink) engage in a floating and fixed job appointment strategy to effectively manage overwhelming collection demands, where a floater can be assigned to any of the work on the shop floor and logistics, should in case demands for extra hands for processing is needed **(efficiency).** These hiring approaches was aptly summarized by case Red below:

"...the sorters, mostly informal...so but like the four full staff that we have, they were interviewed but for those that sort, they are part time...they just come in and out..." (Red Co-founder & CTO).

Lastly, with this hiring approach and quality of workforce comes the need to explore the relationship dynamics within volume-drivers.

7.3.3   Relating with other workers and subscribers

The way workers relate with each other inside the hub and externally with subscribers also reveals volume-drivers' multiple objective pursuits. As an organization set out to challenge old beliefs about waste work and waste workers*,* private sector logics of **customer service and professionalism** always promoted by SE leaders, as each of them have had previous

experiences in such sector. The workers also exude these skills in their daily relations with subscribers, even in difficult circumstances as demonstrated by a manager in case Pink below:

"...what is your surname, I told her, what for. She was asking me all sort of questions....when did you join them...I was like these questions is getting too much and I was upset that she is customer, I have to treat her right...it got to a point she asked me a question, I didn't answer because if I answer, it will be in a harsh manner...I had to like tolerate her...after some time another person attended to her and she left this place..." (Pink's Kiosk manager).

Also, because of the nature of workers they attract, a culture of respect was said to be important, particularly when dealing with elderly women on the shop floor **(inclusivity).** This was described as the benefits of being a 'home grown company' by one of the cases, who was comparing the workforce practices of a Chinese recycling company to theirs, as shown below:

"...like those Chinese people they don't treat them with respect...they are just shoveling them around ...it...cos we are more of a home-grown company..." (Pink CEO).

SE managers and leaders all displayed a consciousness of this culture of respect and relates with these shop floor workers, accordingly, as stated by the manager of case Blue below:

"you will see that some are old enough to be your parent...so you have to give them respect...you have to give them respect..." (Blue's Manager)

The leaders also showed prioritization of sorters and operational workers' health and wellbeing **(inclusivity)** by prioritizing clean plastics in their collection activities to reduce the effect of odors from dirty recyclables, allowing time off crucial work when sick and taking care of hospital bills, as well as, other supports when such need arises, as summarily put by case Red's pickup driver below:

*"... that is how one day that I was hit by a bike, they paid for my hospital bill, that is why I said **(Red) is good...they are nice to me...when I went to bury my father too, I know how they supported me[1]..." (Red's pickup driver).*

Summarizing the combination of logics across volume-drivers' aggregation strategy, the commercial logic of trade, efficiency, customer service and professionalism; social logic of

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[1] *Original quote in Local language: "...bena ni ojokan na, ti okada gba mi...awon lo san owo hospital mi, owun ni mo she so wipe, **(Red) daa....won nice si mi..igbati mo she oku baba mi na, momon kan ti won she fun mi..."*

inclusivity; and environmental logic of climate action are used to drive this strategy. The combination of these logics cuts across different aspects of volume-drivers such as their operational activities, structure, workforce practices and incentive systems, as well as the organizational culture. These findings are summarily presented in table 7.5 above. In the following section, the hybrid organizing practices of SEs with a core upcycling strategy will be presented.

7.4 Organizing for upcycling

Upcycling involves repurposing waste into usable household products. Most of the SEs sampled, as explained in section 6.1.3, were involved in waste to furniture and house decoration products mostly. While this approach was employed by both core-transformers and clean-advocates, it is core to the former that collects, aggregates, upcycles and advocates (i.e. core-transformers), making such organizations a suitable context to explore how logics are combined through upcycling to achieve their commercial, social and environmental objectives. In this strategy, core-transformers pursue their multiple objectives by creating and selling upcycled products, which is further illustrated in table 7.6 below and discussed in subsequent sections.

Table 7.6: Combination of logics for upcycling

Strategy	Activity	Combination of logics (commercial logic- CL; social logic- SL; environmental logic- EL)	Dimensions of hybrid organising
Upcycling	Creating upcycled products	Prioritize making quality products from waste (EL) to sell for profit (CL); Support local capacity development by working with and paying artisans in their communities (SL) Leverages technology or machine tools in the production process to improve efficiency (CL)	Product development
	Selling upcycled products	Display on social media or in online and physical shopping malls to appeal to a larger audience for sale (CL); Prioritize the waste aspect of their products by emphasizing that every buyer must know that it was made from waste at the point of sale (EL); Operate two social media accounts, one to drive sales for their product (CL) and the second account to promote the environmental aspect of removing waste from the environment (EL); Cut off business waste by outsourcing some services e.g. auditing or leverage technology extensively instead of hiring in-house (CL) Set up in-house delivery service to cut out the inefficiencies of renting trucks for logistical purposes (CL) Brand or customize upcycled products for corporates to create opportunities for bulk ordering and more income (CL)	Marketing and sales

Source: Qualitative data; Mooijman et. al. (2021) and Rey-Garcia et. al. (2019)

7.4.1 Creating upcycled products

Core-transformers make money through upcycling and their activities are channeled towards achieving this. As explained in section 6.2, both SEs in this category saw it as a business opportunity before starting their enterprises and that orientation remains strong throughout their conception of this strategy. When an upcycled product is being made, their aim is to sell it and to profit doing so **(trade).** Although, core-transformers are also removing waste from the environment for every product made, thereby contributing to **reducing pollution** simultaneously. Therefore, they prioritize making quality products and they work with a local

carpenter whose expertise is in making conventional furniture to create their upcycled products, as stated below:

"...You know that furniture work is of different kinds...I know furniture work, making wood into this...then I now also know upholstery, I also learnt upholstery... I can sow fabrics on chairs...so that helped me with her job[2]..." (Orange's Carpenter).

As they still make use of wood for some parts of the product design, core-transformers recruit externally and informally for the woodwork. They also negotiate and reach an agreement with either a carpenter (case Orange) or wood traders in sawmills (case Violet), on the furniture work to be done and what is required to make the production financially sustainable. After an agreement is reached, core-transformers work with the carpenters to prepare the furniture designs in advance (e.g., cut wood to necessary shapes and sizes), which are then collected, stored and assembled by the SE into some furniture to be sold, when there is a demand (see quote below).

"...we give them the design, the length...everything based on what we want...then we collect it...so we have it...so when we want to use it, maybe spray, we can carry it and give it to the sprayer..." (Violet's founder).

Working with local artisans to create upcycled is how core-transformers support **capacity development** by creating extra avenues for them to earn additional income that can lift them out of poverty, as shown below:

"...if we say we want to take poverty out, is it too much of a job to pay 100 (to a local artisan) *with something you are selling for 15000...you have to...a bit of humanity in what you do..."* (Violet's Founder).

In assembling an upcycled products, core-transformers can manually do so but mostly make use of machine tools such as glue gun, drills, screw drivers, as well as paint brushes and sandpaper during production for **efficiency** purposes. They either start with a design idea that is theirs or they get designs for furniture from conventional carpenters and tries to make similar design using waste products in place of wood as shown below:

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[2] Original quote in Local language: *"...emo pe ise furniture, o pe orishirishi, emi nisinyi...mom o furniture, ki a kan igi bayi, ka shey...then mo tun wa mo uphoslstery...mo tu lo ko upholstery loto..mo le ran asho si chair...so owun lo help mi pelu tiwon..."*

"…okay I follow some furniture makers so I could get some design, it may not be exact…mine may not be…mine could be rebranded…" (Orange's Founder).

Core-transformers also make customized upcycled furniture for clients to increase earnings and targets middle to low-income earners with their products. As stated by the founder of case Violet, their product *"bridges the gap"* for those that cannot afford expensive conventional furniture. After creating these products, SEs have to figure out ways to sell it.

7.4.2   <u>Selling upcycled products</u>

After the upcycled product is made, core-transformers display it on social media (case Orange) or on their website. They also leverage other online and physical shopping malls with large footfalls (case Violet) as avenues to sell their upcycled products **(trade).** Sometimes the products are also already ordered in advance, in which case, the SE organizes delivery to the buyer. The process of selling upcycled products involve emphasizing the waste aspect in order to generate an emotional response, due to core-transformers' belief that you need to play on people's emotions to sell, as inferred by the case below:

"…you have to play on people's emotions to sell… we tell people this is waste…we cannot sell it to you, and you don't know its waste…no…you will first know its waste…" (Violet's Founder)

As noted in the quote above, the SE founder prioritizes the promotion of waste as a resource by first communicating that the product was made with waste removed from the environment before selling or at the point of sale, demonstrating an environmental logic of **reducing pollution).** On the marketing aspect of the upcycling process, core-transformers confirmed having two social media accounts, one strictly for the commercial purpose of selling **(trade)** and the other account for telling the waste story on how much of it was taken away from the environment **(reducing pollution).** This, according to one of the cases (Violet)**,** makes you a good storyteller, which is good for making sales and for winning grants, as shown in the quote below:

"…when you are applying for grants and competitions, you are applying with like 1million other people… what story are you putting there…so there is a way we tell stories right…so it's a skill…it's a craft you need to learn… so we know the type of story that fits each pages….because one is e-commerce, I'm selling goods…another is where corporate

organizations go to see us to know what we do…so we talk about the number of waste we took away…so you have to learn how to tell your story…". (Violet's founder).

To further make the upcycling processes sustainable, one of the cases (Violet) adopted a lean strategy approach that ensures business waste is cut to the barest minimum **(efficiency).** The SE implemented this approach by outsourcing some services to reduce the cost of having to hire inhouse workers e.g., auditing, carpentry etc. Technology is also leveraged, where necessary to cut the need for recruitment or outsourcing. Additionally, the SE (case Violet) set up in-house delivery services to cater for shipping upcycled products to buyers and to ensure upcycled products are protected during transportation in order to cut out the inefficiencies that comes with renting trucks **(trade and efficiency).** While case Orange does not have a dedicated in-house delivery vehicle, its activities bear similarities with case Violet in areas such as outsourcing critical works to reduce costs of internal hires and using technology as much as possible e.g., sells majority of her upcycled products by listing them on social media.

"…one of the things I try to do was to be a lean start-up strategy…. Where if machines can do the work of people, then I don't have to employ people…I hire very slow and I fire very fast…" (Violet's Founder).

Lastly, core-transformers also engaged in different selling practices such as branding or customizing products for corporates to create opportunities for bulk ordering and more income **(trade)***.* This concludes this section on the upcycling strategy of SEs and how they combine multiple objectives through their practices. Summarizing the combination of logics across core-transformers' upcycling strategy, the commercial logic of trade and efficiency; the social logic of capacity development; and the environmental logic of reducing pollution by upcycling waste are used to drive this strategy. The combination of these logics is apparent in their product development, marketing, and sales, within which core-transformers organize to meet their commercial, social, and environmental objectives. These findings are summarily presented in table 7.6 above. The next section will detail the hybrid organizing practices of SEs with a core clean-up strategy.

7.5 Organizing for clean-ups

Clean-ups involve the removal of waste from public places using cleaning tools and kits, while promoting environmental cleanliness as such task is carried out. While this approach was

employed by both volume-drivers and clean-advocates, it is core to the latter that collects, aggregates, upcycles, cleans and advocate (i.e., clean-advocates), making such organizations a suitable context to explore how logics are combined through clean-ups to achieve their commercial, social, and environmental objectives. In this strategy, clean-advocates pursue their multiple objectives by planning and doing clean-ups, relating with authorities and with other organizations, which is further illustrated in table 7.7 below and discussed in subsequent sections.

Table 7.7: Combination of logics for clean-up

Strategy	Activity	Combination of logics (commercial logic- CL; social logic- SL; environmental logic- EL)	Dimensions of hybrid organising
Clean-up	Planning and doing clean-ups	Engage in frequent clean-up activities to make the environment more hygienic (EL); engage children in low-income communities to clean their environment (SL), motivating them with gifts after each clean-up event (EL); engage in tree planting to clean and beautify the environment (EL); uses clean-up campaigns to teach people about waste sorting for recycling and upcycling purposes (EL); communicate in different languages e.g. native language, to motivate people to take part in cleaning their environment (EL)	Operations
		recruit volunteers to participate in cleaning up, while acting as a native language translator at such events (SL); encourage people to participate in clean-up activities by making waste work look less demeaning through appropriate dress codes and use of cleaning tools (SL)	Workforce practices
	Relating with authorities	Work with government agencies to evacuate waste that are not recyclable from clean-up sites (EL); liaise with community kings or chief to mobilise people for clean-up events (EL)	Inter- and extra-organizational relationships
	Relating with other organizations	Uses innovative ways to earn income, such as a pay-to-get-promoted approach where organizations can support SEs in exchange for promoting the environmentally friendly aspects of their activities (CL); brand cleaning tools with corporate organizations' details in exchange for financial or material (e.g. cleaning tools) resources (CL); work a lot with other local NGOs to spearhead clean-up projects in communities or to gain access to children for clean-up activities (EL); partner with intergovernmental and international agencies on strategic priority areas related to the environment, which includes cleaning-up waste in communities (EL).	

Source: Qualitative data and Battilana & Lee (2014)

7.5.1 Planning and doing clean-ups

Both SEs in this category engages in frequent clean-up activities. They do this to make the environment cleaner and to increase the awareness of recycling waste **(reducing pollution)** as shown by both cases below:

"...when I go to the communities, sorry I'm going back to communities, and I start to teach them about cleaning and recycling..." (Magenta's Founder)

"...I didn't start with that vision...what I started with was to keep the environment clean..." (Gold's Founder).

Their work is mostly with children from schools or in low-income communities **(inclusivity)** and they engage them in cleaning the environment and teach them about recycling, although adults are also engaged by the SEs to participate in such activities. To keep participants motivated, clean-advocates introduce competition and gifts to them during or after each clean-up event. This is to encourage participation in waste work by securing their commitments and ensuring they do not find cleaning boring **(climate action),** as shown below:

"...I tried to infuse in everything we do is fun. We try to make sure that everybody has a good time, especially the kids, because cleaning, can be a boring activity...promotion, we make sure we do promotions..." (Magenta's Founder)

"...they love the message... but they are not committed to it...now if we pack waste in our clean up exercises ...I always involve competitions....how many bottles did you pack, 1000 bottles...oya (now) take...for the 1000 bottles..." (Gold's Founder).

Also, when clean-advocates carry out clean-ups, their aims are to attract and engage the inhabitants of the community, where such activities are taking place, to join them to do the waste work. That is why they carry out such activities well dressed in customized uniforms, equipped with cleaning tools and with an enthusiasm to clean, as inferred by case Magenta below:

"...when we want to approach to people, we do more of action...we do the work...they see us cleaning so when they see us, they say "ha awon people to ma cleani yen" (it is those people that cleans)...they already have a mental picture of what we do...we act and then as we are

doing it, people come around one after the other...and we just have to engage them..."
(Magenta's Founder).

Simultaneously, by going into communities dressed up and with tools, they are challenging old beliefs about waste work and waste workers, while also making it less demeaning to work in the waste sector **(inclusivity)***,* because they are now quickly recognized as those people that cleans, as shown in the quote above. As part of clean-ups, clean-advocates also engage in tree planting as a complementary activity that is also part of making the environment cleaner **(reduce pollution),** as illustrated below:

"...that's why I clean up and. plant trees...I clean up and plant trees...Clean up takes the dirt away, plant trees take the carbon monoxide away..." (Gold's Founder).

More significant is the role that planting a tree or flower also play in challenging people's throwaway culture and symbolizing what a clean environment should look like, as case Magenta illustrated below:

"...anytime we clear a blackspot like that... what I do is to just take the flower and place it at the so that they would reason before they can dump anything there... you know what flowers speaks is that we are trying to beautify this place so they won't want to pollute the place..." (Magenta's Waste manager).

Also, clean-advocates use the clean-up campaigns to teach people about waste sorting for recycling and upcycling purposes **(reducing pollution).** They practicalize it by engaging them in waste picking and separating the waste collected in different bags at every clean-up event. Additionally, they have to deal with language barriers in the communities they visit for clean-ups, because they are usually low-income settings, with most inhabitants unable to communicate in English. Therefore, SEs either work with another NGO that specializes in teaching English language to translate for them at such events or recruit volunteers who can speak both English and the local language e.g., Yoruba language, and have them join the event as a translator **(job creation)**. They sometimes also mix both local and English language in their communications in such communities, if the SE have communicators internally that are fluent in several languages, as case Gold illustrated:

"...in Yoruba now (local language) ...Yoruba and English together...in fact, Ibos (a tribe in Nigeria) too were there...so if I am speaking too much Yoruba, the Ibo woman will say 'we no

hear wetin you dey talk oo' (I don't understand what you are saying)....so I would speak English…" (Gold's Founder).

From such quote, combining languages is part of their goals of increasing the awareness of recycling and encouraging wider participation in waste work **(climate action).** Clean-advocates also follow global observances, particularly UN global event days, and organize clean-ups locally to show solidarity with global efforts, as inferred below:

"…includes monthly clean-up exercises, which is what we do every last Saturday of the month and every day recognized by the UN, we actually follow the UN calendar when we do our activities…" (Magenta's Program officer).

The next section will detail how they are relating with authorities for their clean-up practices.

7.5.2   Relating with authorities

As stated in section 6.1.4, clean-ups are collaborative events, where clean-advocates work with other organizations and individuals to clean an adopted space (beach or garden) or a local community**.** For these SEs, it is also an avenue to raise awareness of environmental sustainability challenges and increase recycling awareness in low-income communities. An important collaboration for clean-advocates is with the government agencies in charge of waste and the environment, as both cases accounted working together with them in their clean-up events. The agencies play the most important role of helping to evacuate accumulated waste from clean-up events **(reduce pollution),** but only those that are not recyclable as case Magenta aggregates them while case Gold uses them in their upcycling activities as stated below:

"...in cleaning up...and not just cleaning up and telling **(government agency) to come and carry their waste…we are cleaning up to use the products into something beautiful that people can buy…of value…" (Gold's Founder).

Aside this collaboration between clean-advocates and the state, there is also the community where the event takes place, as every of the clean-up is scheduled for a specific community or for case Magenta, mostly at the adopted beach. The beach itself is within the territory of a community and whenever any clean-up event is to happen, clean-advocates must first write to invite and get the approval and support of local institutions such as kings, chiefs and associations responsible for the targeted area. A king or chief is the local authority endorsed by

the government to play a part in local governance over a specific territory, referred to in Amoako & Lyon (2014) as *"parallel cultural institutions"*.

These community chiefs exercise powers of leadership and manage the affairs of their community with capacities to settle disputes and sanction community members, as well as be the voice of the community. A king is more superior to a chief and some communities only have such chiefs as traditional heads, locally referred to as "*Baales*". Clean-advocates intending to carry out public cleaning activities in a community will have to liaise with either of these rulers in charge and the reason is to encourage wider participation in waste work **(climate action)** as it is customary to first seek permission before starting to clean or engage with people in a community to avoid being disrupted, as illustrated in the quote below:

"...basically, when you are doing any clean-up, as long as it is out of your house...you must always look for the institution or authority…" (Magenta's Program officer).

"...you cannot just go into any community...all of them have heads…so you go through a protocol…" (Gold's Founder).

The next section will also explain how they are relating with other organizations for their clean-up practices.

7.5.3   Relating with other organizations

When it comes to their regular cleaning-up activities, clean-advocates highlighted the need to make it financially sustainable. These made them come up with innovative ways to earn income through their relationships with corporate companies by writing them and proposing a win-win relationship, where the company offers financial support, free products, or services for SEs' clean-up campaigns, and in return get promoted and projected as an environmentally sustainable company (see quote below).

"...we get more partners and say okay if you support us with products, we will actually let our community know what you have done, and we will tell the community that if you support us with funding, we will give you products free...so we started doing things like that…" (Magenta's Founder)

Clean-advocates leverage the **service charges** logic for such promotion by branding the support materials received e.g., cleaning materials like rakes, waste bags etc., with the funding company's details (logo or name), as explained below:

"...if you donate a particular amount of rakes, we would brand the rakes, or cleaning tools basically, with your company logo for instance for a particular amount of time and things like that.so when they know that okay so I can be doing good and looking good at the same time..." (Magenta's Founder).

The products clean-advocates receive are what they use to motivate children that comes to their adopted spaces to clean up waste. Some of these products are obtained at a discount as a result of partnerships SEs forged with organizations, that are also interested in supporting and benefitting from their strong environmental identities. Aside relating with corporates, clean-advocates also work a lot with other local NGOs to spearhead clean-up projects in communities or to gain access to children for clean-up activities **(climate action).** Additionally, intergovernmental, and international agencies liaise with SEs to work together on strategic priority areas related to climate change and the environment, including clean-up campaigns and climate awareness programs in communities **(climate action),** as confirmed by one of the cases below:

"...we had the united nations, UNEP...they also partnered with us...some of the other agencies...in fact that was when I started working with UNEP...we have been partners since way back...but you know partners via email...but now we are now strategic partners..." (Gold's Founder).

Summarizing the combination of logics across clean-advocates' clean-up strategy, the commercial logic of trade and service charges; social logic of job creation and inclusivity; and the environmental logic of reducing pollution and climate action, are used to drive this strategy. The combination of these logics cuts across different aspects of the SEs such as their operations, workforce practices, as well as the inter-and extra-organizational relationships they engage in. This concludes this section on the cleaning strategy of SEs and how they combine multiple objectives through their practices. The next section will detail the hybrid organizing practices of clean-advocates' advocacy strategy.

7.6 Organizing for advocacy

Advocacy involves raising awareness about the dangers waste pose to the environment and promoting waste sorting for recycling in schools, government institutions and to the international community. While this is a common strategy across SEs, it is core among clean-advocates that collects, aggregates, upcycles, cleans, and advocates, making such organizations a suitable context to explore how logics are combined through advocacy to achieve their commercial, social and environmental objectives. These organizations pursue their multiple objectives by doing advocacy, relating with authorities and with other organizations, as shown in the table 7.8 below and further discussed in subsequent sections.

Table 7.8: Combination of logics for advocacy

Strategy	Activity	Combination of logics (commercial logic- CL; social logic- SL; environmental logic- EL)	Dimensions of hybrid organising
Advocacy	Doing advocacy	Engaged in raising awareness of environmental sustainability challenges by engaging in wider sustainability initiatives to reduce pollution and protect biodiversity (EL) Train to earn revenue (CL), while also empowering women and girls with upcycling skills (SL) Include children from poor communities in training programs (SL) using income generated from charging children that can afford it (CL) Decorate a public space like beach or garden to use in advocating for a cleaner environment (EL) and charges people to have access to the beautified environment (CL)	Operational activity
	Relating with authorities	Partners with state schools to educate children on upcycling and recycling (SL) and the government to give approval to carry out such waste related training (EL)	Inter- and extra organizational relationships
	Relating with other organizations	Partners with NGOs as implementing partners on issues relating to waste, pollution and the environment (EL) Get funding and media support from international NGOs for their work in driving climate awareness and action in Lagos (EL) Get invited to speak on climate related topics at key sustainability themed events across the state (EL)	

Source: Qualitative data and Battilana & Lee (2014)

7.6.1 Doing advocacy

For organizations in this category, advocacy is one of their core strategies. Such work focuses on waste elimination from public spaces, but clean-advocates also take on wider sustainability perspectives, such as adopt-a-tree initiatives, tree planting exercises, protecting sea animals from being hunted or killed by local community inhabitants etc. These are all to raise awareness of environmental sustainability challenges, while clarifying responsibilities on keeping the environment clean **(reduce pollution),** as stated below:

"...(Gold's) business is advocacy...letting people know that when you do this, you will destroy your environment...but if you do this.... you can make some change out of it...so we create that link..." (Gold's Chairman of the Board).

However, these organizations approach this strategy sometimes in different ways. For example, case Gold carries out training activities and does so for the commercial reasons of generating revenue **(service charge)** and for social reasons of empowering many people at once, especially girls and women, with upcycling skills **(women empowerment),** as illustrated below:

"...Gold's Founder: yea...trainings are better for us...when we added trainings to all these things haa...we earn more...
Interviewer: training schools...
Gold Founder: training schools and organizations, women and girls...government...
Interviewer: so, they buy that more than even coming to buy eh
Gold Founder: you know when you train, you don't train one person or two, you train 20 50 people...so when you train them, 50 people have been empowered..."

The original intention of this SE was to train for free because of the low-income status of those they train, so that they know how to make upcycled products for their own use or as a means to earn an income, but the training is now a paid activity because of the SE's belief that it is the only way to make people serious and committed, as stated below:

"...the commitment is always...you must collect something because that is what makes them serious...so they sent me 10 000naira...5000 naira...they say they don't have 10 000...I requested for 10...they sent me 5000..." (Gold's Founder).

Alternatively, case Magenta's advocacy is targeted at children because they believe revolutionary change can only be spearheaded by children, as highlighted in section 7.1.2. Therefore, they organize numerous children's programs around the adopted beach, as illustrated below:

"...apart from just the ** clean club..., we have the ** beach garden, we have the tyre playground, we have different initiatives that help with mental development and environmental development, focusing on children..." (Magenta's Founder).

A good example of one of their programs is a children's camp where the SE charges a fee to engage them for some days teaching them everything from environmental awareness, financial literacy, arts, and craft, as well as sports and games **(service charge).** To ensure the children in the poor community where the beach is situated are not left out, this SE charges those that can afford it **(service charge)** and uses the funds generated to also accommodate children that cannot afford it **(capacity development and inclusivity),** as explained below:

"...the funds we get, we can now then rationalize and then incorporate those cannot afford it as well that you know what, just come and join...just for free...just play with the kids...so it's a communal engagement scheme, whereby we are getting from the society and also giving back to the society...." (Magenta's Program Officer).

Clean-advocates uses public spaces in their advocacy activities such as case Gold who created an ecological garden in a private school. The founder created artefacts from recycled materials and display them at the garden, while also carrying out wildlife conservation activities there also. Case Magenta also got a concession for a beach and designed it to function as a beach garden. The aim of both cases' space is to serve as places where they can educate children on waste, recycling, and the environment **(climate action),** while also supporting revenue generation. For case Magenta, revenues are earned using the beach by leisure-seeking individuals or corporates for their social responsibility plans, as well as, from their own programs organized on the beach which are paid for **(service charge).** However, for case Gold, they are being contacted by other organizations for a possible replication of the same garden in other places, which the SE intends to charge for as explained in section 6.1.4. The pursuit of multiple objectives was also evidenced through clean-advocates' relationships with both community and government authorities, as explained below.

7.6.2 Relating with authorities

Clean-advocates also forge relationships in order to fulfil their advocacy objectives. For their work in communities, they also have to go through community chiefs or kings in order to have access to community inhabitants for either upcycling training (case Gold) or clean-up activities (case Gold and Magenta). In doing this, they must write a letter in order to gain such access and wait for it to be approved before proceeding with their plans.

Also, clean-advocates partnered with schools in other to have access to educate children on waste, recycling, and the environment **(capacity development)**. Aside from case Gold using a school compound in creating an upcycling garden, both SEs go into classes and hold short sessions with children, where they educate them on the environment. However, in order to do this, they have to seek approval from the state's education ministry in writing if the school they intend visiting is a public school and after getting approval, they need to relate with the school of interest showing them the government's letter of approval to gain access. In these relations, clean-advocates put forward the need to increase the awareness of recycling in schools to minimize the effect of waste on the environment **(reduce pollution),** as stated below:

"...we went to the ministry of education to get an approval to go into the public schools in Lagos state to talk about waste management and how the children should manage their waste better...why they should recycle so that it doesn't get into the ocean." (Magenta's Founder).

Clean-advocates also relates with other organizations in order to achieve their objectives, as explained below.

7.6.3 Relating with other organizations

Due to the nature of their practices, corporate organizations partner with clean-advocates on campaigns related to children and the environment. Case Magenta have also enjoyed partnership support from NGOs, whereby the SE serves as the implementing partner for their funding programs targeted at coming up with solutions to the environmental challenges in the state. As inferred in the quote below, this partnership was based on the SE's intention to challenge the throwaway culture, old habits, and beliefs as it concerns waste **(reduce pollution).**

"...the focus of our project with **(Magenta) is, the program is around waste...and when you tickle it further, we're looking at pet bottles, plastic bottles...the recycling of plastic bottles or any form of waste that is plastic related, particularly pet bottles...so the drive for medic is engagement with...so their strategy is to change behavior...the aim is behavioral change amongst young people..." (Magenta's Support network & NGO).

International NGOs and development partners play a lot of supportive role to clean-advocates, supporting them with funding, media activities and international exposures because of their work increasing the awareness of waste and the environment and driving **climate action** in Lagos. Clean-advocates see these international organizations as catalyst to their potential to scale up their offerings now and in the near future. The nature of these supports is described in the quote below:

"... we got our first international grant.... because we always write proposals and stuff like that....so in 2016, we got ** (amount) thousand dollars from **(company name)...That was in 2016, in 2017 we got another, we got sponsorship for our world environmental day...we got about ** (amount) million from **(company name) as well...right after that, we applied to a grant at ** (foundation name), we got a ** (amount) million naira from them that year..." (Magenta's Founder).

Clean-advocates engage in a lot of social media activities, where all their beach and community sustainability related engagements are shared, and support are solicited for. The intergovernmental organizations also invite SE founders to speak on issues related to waste, climate change and the environment at organized events. Such invitations were said to be based on their track record in the areas of increasing awareness of environmental sustainability challenges in the state and the need to act **(climate action),** as shown below:

"...it's what they have been doing, what their interactions has been with the general public...about the need for people to begin to see the environment as an important aspect and the need for government to take more policy action to be able to understand that climate action is key to maybe to achieving all of the goals of the sustainable development..." (Gold's Advisory board member).

Summarizing the combination of logics across SEs advocacy strategy, the commercial logic of service charges; social logic of women empowerment, capacity development and inclusivity; and the environmental logic of reducing pollution and climate action, are used to drive this

strategy. The combination of these logics cuts across different aspects of clean-advocates, such as their operational activities, as well as the inter-and extra-organizational relationships they engage in. This concludes this section on the advocacy strategy of SEs and how they combine multiple objectives through their practices. The next section will summarize the findings in this chapter and link it to the next chapter on the institutional work SEs are doing to establish the CE in Lagos.

7.7   Summary and preface to next chapter

The aim of this chapter was to bring to light the multiple objectives inherent in each of the CE strategies identified in chapter six, therefore showing how they are being pursued i.e., the practices being engaged in to realize their goals. The organizational features where multiple logics were apparent in each of the five strategies were identified and elaborated (Vickers et. al., 2017) from the day-to-day activities of SEs. Tables summarizing the dimensions of hybrid organizing across the five strategies of collection, aggregation, upcycling, clean-ups, and advocacy were also presented. The volume-drivers combine commercial, social, and environmental logics through their operational activities; workforce practices and incentive systems; inter- and extra-organizational relationships and organizational culture.

The combination of logics was also apparent in core-transformers' product development, as well as, in their marketing and sales aspects and lastly, for clean-advocates, they combined logics through their operational and workforce practices, as well as the inter- and extra-organizational relationships they forge. All these dimensions were linked through their daily activities, wherein they draw on and integrate those logics to realize their commercial, social, and environmental objectives. The concluding chapter (nine) will help further make sense of the empirical findings detailed in this chapter and implications that can be drawn from it.

However, the next chapter will focus on the institutional work SEs are doing as they combine these logics together to have an impact on the CE in Lagos. As covered in section 4.3, organizations are known to operate in pluralistic institutional environment in which they have to be skilled in managing the multiple logics it presents, that are sometimes incompatible or conflicting (Kraatz & Block, 2008; 2017). Previous studies on hybrid organizing showed that actors integrate and differentiate these logics in order to make them co-exist within an organization and that such combinations are the locus of disorder or change (Battilana et. al., 2014). More relevant is studies on institutional work that details the practical effort of actors

to combine multiple logics to bring about such change or maintain stability in the face of disorder (Jarzabkowski et. al., 2009; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

These views are necessary for this study that explores how SEs are attempting to disrupt the concept of waste in order to establish CE principles in Lagos, as such efforts will likely require changes to existing rules, norm and behaviors associated with the linear take-make-dispose economic model. The purposive acts of SEs to bring about those changes, from the combination of commercial, social, and environmental logics detailed in this chapter, is the point of emphasis in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.0 <u>Institutional work</u>

This chapter will shed light on the institutional work SEs are doing to establish the CE in Lagos. It will contain empirical findings and discussion for the third research question, which is: *What institutional work are social enterprises doing to establish circular economy principles in Lagos?* This question was framed in response to calls for more studies that highlights how to accomplish the socio-institutional changes necessary to establish or transition from a linear economic system of production and consumption to a CE (Blomsma & Brennan, 2017; Moreau et. al., 2017). The belief in these studies is that establishing a CE will require significant changes in behaviors or ways of living that diverges from the take-make-dispose approach of a linear economy. Achieving a CE will require that life extending strategies, such as reducing, reusing, and recycling of materials and energy, replaces such linear approach and become more commonplace at all levels of society, in order to achieve the goals of sustainable development (Schroeder et. al., 2018).

However, while some have called for more practical CE implementation examples to advance and facilitate a CE understandings and implementation (Kirchherr et. al., 2017), others have raised the view that more studies are needed on how to achieve the necessary institutional changes instead, as circular practices are likely not to have any effect without fundamental changes to the way the current economic system works (Korhonen et. al., 2018). Therefore, in line with the view that there is an opportunity to better understand processes of transformation and disruption of cultural beliefs, traditions, and customary practices, by studying social entrepreneurs' attempts to create new institutions or change existing ones in developing countries (Marti & Mair, 2009), this chapter aims to contribute to such discourses on the disruptive attempts of SEs to establish a CE in Lagos.

Having detailed the conceptualization of the CE in chapter six, the last chapter on hybrid organizing started to explore the institutional work of SEs as they set out to realize their environmental objective of disrupting waste as a concept in a commercially and socially sustainable way. By drawing on and combining various organizing principles e.g., trade, inclusivity, job creation, climate action etc., they were able to organize their strategies in pursuit of such an objective, that is not only environmental but also commercial and social in nature in order to establish a CE in Lagos.

Chapter seven was necessary because previous studies have highlighted that institutional work is not done in isolation, but in the midst of other existing rules, norms, beliefs or interest groups (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Kraatz & Block, 2008). Triggered by the opportunities or tensions in their institutional environments, actors are said to make sense of and combine several logics in their attempt to change the institutions within which they operate (Battilana & Lee, 2014). Therefore, the last chapter first detailed how SEs are making sense of and combining commercial, social, and environmental logics. By so doing, it becomes a segue into this chapter, which is to highlight the purposive strategies they employed in combining those logics to create, maintain or disrupt institutions necessary to establish circular principles and meet their multiple objectives (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

Therefore, to achieve the goal of this chapter, the institutional repertoire in the seminal work on the institutional work concept (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) will be critically employed to explain how SEs are organizing to realize their multiple objectives. In the scholars' framework, they interpreted the practical strategies adopted by actors in the organizing processes towards creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions, thereby introducing the elements of institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). This chapter intends to similarly draw out those elements of institutional work evident in the hybrid organizing practices of SEs to realize their disruptive intentions for the establishment of the CE in Lagos.

In structuring this chapter, tables capturing the institutions SEs are working towards creating will first be presented per organizational category (i.e., volume-drivers, core-transformers, and clean-advocates). This will be followed by highlighting the strategies been employed to achieve such outcomes in another table, which will be discussed in subsequent sections. This is in line with suggestions by Lawrence et. al. (2009) to define the scope of institutional work based on its effects, in order to be able to highlight the role of relatively less visible microprocesses, relationships and action. Similar categorical efforts at formalizing their practices will also be presented, therefore demonstrating institutional maintenance work at play and lastly, the disruptive effects of SEs strategies on waste and informal collection practices will be presented. This chapter will conclude with a preface to chapter nine, where further discussions considering existing studies will be presented with key insights emphasized.

Therefore, starting with volume drivers, the next section elaborates on how they are working towards creating a recyclable waste collection system in Lagos.

8.1   Institutional work of volume drivers

For volume-drivers to be able to meet their environmental objective of disrupting the idea of waste in a commercially and socially sustainable way, they decided to create a recyclable waste collection system in Lagos, as shown in table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1: Evidence of the institution volume drivers intend to create

Representative data	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimension
…that's what we exist for…we want to even strive to stop these materials from getting into the dumpsite (Yellow's Founder).	To create a way to stop or reduce recyclables from reaching the dumpsite by collecting from source.	Create a recyclable waste collection system
the whole idea is trying to reduce the plastics that go into the landfill (Blue's Founder)		
what we say we do differently is that we are trying to make sure that it doesn't get to landfill…we want from source (Red Co-founder & CTO)		
…normally, what people do is mix it up with their general waste…so to curtail that, we developed this (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.)	To stop the mixing of waste before disposal	
(we are) creating the atmosphere to empower recycling collection, which I think, in fact is the most challenging aspect to the state government is collection (Pink's CEO).	Create a way to enable the collection of recyclables, which the government have not being able to successfully do.	

Source: Qualitative data

Elaborating this table a bit further, it was gathered from the analysis that it is impossible to encourage behavioral change around waste issues without having the right infrastructure in place to remove waste or recyclables immediately they are generated, therefore justifying the need to create a collection system if they (volume-drivers) are going to achieve their goal of disrupting waste as a concept, as demonstrated in the following quote.

"…you know for you to say separate your waste, what infrastructure have you put in place for you to take care of separated waste…" (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.).

As explained in the last chapter on logics, this collection system was created with the logics of pollution reduction and climate action to stop or reduce recyclable materials from ending up in landfills and to promote the act of waste sorting in order to stop the mixing of recyclables with other waste that can contaminate them. They are also creating this collection system to enable an organized collection of recyclables across the state, which was said to have been difficult for the government to accomplish.

However, aside this main intention, the collection system have to be able to meet not only their environmental, but also their commercial and social objectives, as shown from table 7.1-7.3 in the last chapter. Therefore, to create this system of recyclable collection that meets their multiple objectives, volume-drivers employed some strategies to change existing informal collection practices and to legitimize the newly created collection system, as discussed below.

8.1.1   Changing existing informal collection practices

In their accounts of how this door-to-door system was developed, volume-drivers acknowledged that going from street to street was not a new approach when it comes to waste collection in Lagos. One of the SEs highlighted the old acts of informal collectors with carts moving across streets and neighborhood looking for recyclable waste materials to buy.

"...no exactly if you grow up in Lagos, you would know that growing up, you have always seen people push things on the road...aluminum cart pushers...yes...those people are recyclers...they are the unsung heroes...they do it informally...they probably don't have as much education or whatever to...do you understand...but there is always been recycling done in one way or another..." (Yellow's Founder).

The informal collectors have already commercialized waste by buying it from households and paying instant cash at the point of collection, thereby demonstrating an existing commercial logic of trade and social logic of helping people benefit from waste related activities. However, volume-drivers are taking a different approach by adding the environmental aspects of reducing waste pollution and driving climate action through their intentional activities to disrupt waste as a concept, as captured by the case below:

"...so they go to the dumpsite or wherever this recyclables are aggregated in very large volumes bought them, took them to XYZ factory...make new stuff out of it or make pellets out of it and sell the pellets...so it was all about money for them (existing practices)*...so seeing*

somebody who was bringing in another angle...impact...you know environmental impact and all that was really exciting to him and he supported us…" (Yellow's Founder)

Therefore, they created their door-to-door approach that facilitates access to household and corporate recycling by innovating the existing cart collection model of the informal collectors **(enhancement work).** Some of the SEs initial approach involved custom made, three-wheeled, cargo bikes that are branded for use in carrying out the door-to-door collection. This was an improvement from existing pushcarts used by informal collectors to allow volume-drivers penetrate low-income communities to fulfil their social objectives. As SEs started to mature, they added motorized tricycles, trucks, vans and/or compactor trucks to their logistic fleet, based on their respective capacities, which helps them with the commercial logic of accumulating volumes of waste for sale.

"...we have incorporated motorized tricycles, vans, and trucks to expand our reach across the Lagos metropolis..." (company website).

Aside improving on the existing informal cart collection system, volume-drivers also acknowledged that the idea of incentivizing waste is not new. They all highlighted how incentives are being used to drive behavior change in western countries. Also, as mentioned earlier, SEs highlighted how informal collectors had some form of incentivization going on in the past, and still do at present. These informal collectors have been exchanging waste for cash and do go from house to house, especially in low-income communities, buying waste as explained below:

"...all these ideas started when I was young…as early as 9years old...I grew up in Enugu (a state in Nigeria) *…9years old and I was into, I started with exchanging waste we have at home...exchanging it for value... I do exchange because we do have people that walk around our street then in collection of all these households' wastes...I could remember exchanging bottles... newspaper…tyre…yea these are the things I could remember that I exchanged...in exchange for value…" (Blue's Founder).*

So, SEs leveraged this persistent local and global idea in designing the point-based system, while extending this former monetary incentive for waste accumulation and trade to include gift items. Such an extension is **changing the normal association** of waste with money to waste for specific household items. All volume-drivers adopted the same point-based system of waste collection that exchanges waste for points or instant cash payments. However, with

these changes comes the need to **construct new meanings** to help with legitimacy. First, volume-drivers had to figure out a way of estimating the quantity of waste that will result into a point, and it had to be done in a commercially sustainable way and in a way that does not confuse the beneficiaries of the incentivized program. One of the pioneering SEs gave a hint into how they derived their own point-system for plastic bottle waste exchange, which is by doing some mathematics using the market cost for 1 plastic bottle as a baseline, as demonstrated below:

"...I think it was based on some mathematical knowledge...because we figured out that what is the value of the product. So, we actually did a calculation on what's the cost of one bottle, which is about 50kobo. For us that is what we valued at 1 bottle, that's 50kobo..." (Pink's CEO).

As all SEs weighs the recyclables before collection, each weight is converted into points and the total will determine what can be exchanged for cash or redeemed for household items later. They all have different waste to point conversion charts, which is part of what differentiates each SE.

"...recycler B told me 10bottles gives me 15naira, recycler C told me 10bottles gives me 20naira...which one will I work with...that's how it is, all of them they don't have the same model...they have very different charts...incentive based..." (Yellow's Support network).

Also, some of the volume-drivers named their points differently such as case Yellow calling it *'greenpoints'*, case Brown calling theirs *'recyclepoints'* and case Red naming theirs as *'ecopoints'*, all branding it according to their organizational identities. They all refer to those that participate in their point as '*subscribers*' and they created a chart which shows how the point conversion process will work, which one of the SEs named the *'point-earning chart'* (case Brown). With this chart, subscribers can see the quantity of waste that can be equated into points and what the equivalent incentive will be (cash or gift items). These terms are new in the waste recycling sector that have largely been dominated by informal collectors.

Significant is the fact that SEs did not only leverage the former idea of an incentive to design their point-based system, but they also included the local informal collectors into such scheme from the start because of their capacity for aggregating volumes of waste necessary from a commercial standpoint. This approach by volume-drivers **bridges** formal and informal waste collection practices, without which the point-based system might be unsustainable, as stated by

one of the cases below:

"...they basically support our...we are using their system to support our existing structure...that's what the waste picker program is all about..." (Brown CEO & Exec. Dir.).

This means once SEs do not get enough volumes for sale from the point-system, the informal collectors' option is always there as a backup route to meet their volume targets. Therefore, informal collectors are a crucial part of keeping the point-based system in place, as shown below:

"...because I needed constant supply...something I can depend on...so with these volumes, I can depend on...and also maybe once in a while, I will tell truck (informal collector trucks) *to come and big trucks will just come and drop two tons at once..." (Blue's Founder)*

Also, due to the core environmental objectives they are also pursuing, volume-drivers prioritized the sorting of waste from the source before collection. This they belief will help change how people handle waste, which is necessary to avoid contamination of valuable waste materials and landfilling. Therefore, as a change to former informal practices, some of the SEs (e.g., case Yellow, Brown etc.) invested in bin bags to freely give to households that are concerned about where to separate waste readily for pick up**.** By doing this, they are **directly aiding** the act of waste separation from source through this upfront commitment in bin supply.

Several studies have shown that providing residents with waste bags and recycling services in Nigeria will aid their motivation to engage in active recycling (e.g., Momoh & Oladebeye, 2010; Babaei et. al., 2015; Khalil et al., 2017) and SEs added this mechanism to their repertoire in order to achieve their environmental and commercial objectives. Some of the SEs (cases Red, Brown, and Yellow) also trade waste bins with corporate organizations to facilitate waste separation in such organizations therefore easing its collection.

"...We offer a variety of properly labelled and branded internal and external recycling bins for clients to properly segregate their waste..." (Company website).

After creating this new approach to door-to-door waste collection and incentivizing, volume-drivers employed a set of strategies to ensure it becomes legitimate to those that will be involved, especially those familiar with the former informal waste collection approach e.g., households, government etc. These are demonstrated below:

8.1.2   <u>Legitimizing new collection practices</u>

After enhancing the means of transporting recyclable waste, volume-drivers had to also engage in a lot of **education** to establish their door-to-door model. Firstly, SEs started by **educating** both new and old workers on the knowledge and skills necessary to interact with the enhanced collection model, as illustrated in the quotes below:

"...they go through a training...we have a boarding process where we... get to also understand the kind of skillset you have that we can use to be able to put you in the right place…" (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.).

"...you have to train people to have customer service…learn how to ride a tricycle, be honest, be professional...be a safe driver…" (Pink's CEO).

As they would also need to interact with households or organizations that they collect from about the point-based system and on any concerns, they might have regarding collections, volume-drivers trains their pickup drivers on using and reading weighing scales, as well as, on using a digital app technology for logging subscribers' points. As one of the SEs illustrated, such a training is a combination of teaching them how to relate with subscribers and letting them experience the actual task been carried out by an experienced staff, as shown below:

"...when a boy comes to work with us as a rider, we train him, and then tell him to go out with another rider for a month…so that way you learn how to write, you learn how to relate with customers and then you learn how to use the app…" (Pink's Hub manager).

Despite the differences in design across volume-drivers, the newly constructed system of assigning points is widespread across the SEs and serves as a guideline to new entrants into the field. As confirmed by one of the cases below, the founder was invited by another SE to participate in their daily activities for a short period in order to observe how the point-based system works, while planning to set up a new recycling enterprise. This is one of the ways SEs fulfils their social objective of capacity development by **educating** other entrepreneurs who are interested in creating a similar system by allowing room for such practical observation, as demonstrated below:

"...so, I went visiting one.... I don't know if that particular hub is still existing until now because they have moved now to Yaba…so they use to be in Oshodi at the time then…so I went there, saw them, asked a few question...." (Yellow's Founder).

Additionally, all SEs **educate** subscribers on how the system works due to its newness (see quotes below). This is important especially when volume-drivers are offering points and not instant cash, as well as household items in exchange for waste, both of which needs further clarification to better engage their audiences familiar with informal collectors' monetary incentive approaches.

"...you know when new things come into existence...it actually takes a while...some will think that you just bring small, you give eh 1000 no it doesn't work that way..." (Blue's Founder).

"...we have to educate them about how things really work because we are actually paying close to what the market value is..." (Pink's CEO).

This informal incentive approach has made people in general to expect a high reward from SEs for waste exchange because of the potentially higher rates they use to pay when buying waste. Based on such expectations, volume-drivers faces the tension of increasing monetary rewards to keep subscribers engaged with their collection system and risk financial unsustainability or continue with their current point-based practices and gradually loose people's interest in the scheme. Also, incentives cannot be stopped as their environmental aim risks being compromised. Therefore, education is key to volume-drivers in order to clarify what is obtainable and to build trust for their point system. The point-earning chart plays a crucial role in **educating** interested audiences about the system also. This education is not just for other SEs or subscribers, but also for the staff of each organization to orientate them on how to use the newly created point system, as illustrated below:

"...when they were employed, we had to teach them that 1kg is equal to 350 pieces...and 10 pieces is equal to one point...so that ultimately means that 1kg is equal to 35points...so we thought them all these...so we understood that PET bottle are recorded as 1 piece to 1 point..." (Brown's operations manager).

Aside education, volume-drivers prioritization of environmental objectives alongside the well-known commercial and social aspects of recyclable collection, means that they must ensure their incentives are serving such multiple objectives. The former incentive approach of the informal collectors has also gotten people used to the cash they get in exchange of waste, so volume-drivers' introduction of household items is new and need to be legitimized. Therefore, to maintain the new system of waste exchange, SEs set incentive boundaries to determine when subscribers can exchange their waste for money or gift**.** As subscribers are more prone to want

money (see quote below) instead of the household items, partly because of the former informal cash incentive systems, SEs had to put in place a structure to ensure this extension of waste for household items persists.

"...I spoke with some market women, and you know we provide incentives for recycling...but the market women, they didn't want that, they wanted cash…" (Yellow's Operations manager & intern)

They did this by increasing the volume targets for waste to be exchanged for cash compared to those being exchanged for household items. The strategy is to **maintain the new association** of waste with household items instead of money and ultimately, the point-based system by making subscribers continue accumulating and aiming for certain points to get either money or items based on their preference. Although, volume-drivers also reward huge volumes of waste with instant cash payments to accommodate informal collectors who will not accept gift items in exchange for waste. Aside meeting their commercial and social objectives with this strategy, it also helps volume-drivers realize their equally important environmental objective of reducing pollution as illustrated by one of the cases below:

"...some will say oh you no (will not) give me money...we would say no we no dey give money (no, we do not give money)…till now we don't give cash incentives yet…yeah...because for us, the impact you are having on the environment for us…that is the first thing first…the incentives is just to encourage you...to reward you…to give you a thumbs up to say oh good you are doing the right thing….so we don't want the incentive to be the focus…" (Yellow's Founder)

Lastly, volume-drivers had to **embed**, in the point-based system, mechanisms that became a **routine** and hence, help maintain it. Such mechanism includes registering every participant because until you are registered, you cannot be classified as, or enjoy the benefits of being, a subscriber. During such registration process is when volume-drivers clarify the incentive boundaries to the new subscribers to keep the normative association of waste with household items going. SEs usually hands over their flyer containing the point earning chart with a subscriber card to the new subscribers to help continue the education in their private spaces.

When the new subscriber starts accumulating and exchanging waste, SEs has a waste recording process that weighs and assign points as laid out in the flyer. Technology is used to ensure that subscribers are updated about their former and new point after every collection, which is done by first recording it on a card for the subscriber to keep, while also updating their online

database with the new point for the SEs' record. Simultaneously, a digital text message is dispatched to the subscribers' phone to further remind them about their points, should in case there are any concerns about its accuracy.

"...so whatever kilogram we get from them, automatically we send them an sms (short messaging service) *through their phone that this is the incentive they are getting...that this is the amount, or the value for the plastics they are giving us...it's like, we are trying to like put innovation into it...technology into it..." (Red's Support network & SE founder)*

Also, subscribers sometimes call to validate the points they have accumulated after losing the card given to them during registration. Therefore, having the digital database in place is how these SEs ensure such validation are successfully done to avoid arguments and to reinforce trust. Aside validation, SEs also organized a quarterly event called the 'redemption day', which is a ceremonial gathering where subscribers' points can be redeemed for gift items and monetary rewards. Such a ceremony again further maintains this point-based system by making subscribers anticipate such a day, therefore actively engage in waste collection and aggregation to further increase their points. Through these **embedded mechanisms** in their daily practices, SEs were able to **routinize** and maintain the point-based system of waste exchange.

This concludes the changing and legitimizing work of volume-drivers to create a new recyclable collection system that will change or disrupt how people perceive and handle waste in Lagos, while meeting their commercial and social objectives. The findings of this section are summarized in table 8.2 below, with illustrative codes for each row presented in appendix 8.

Table 8.2: Institutional work to create a recyclable collection system

Social enterprise category	1st order concepts	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimension
Volume drivers (collects, aggregates, clean-up and advocate)	Facilitating access to household and corporate recycling by innovating existing cart collection model of the informal collectors.	Enhancement work	Changing existing informal collection practices
	Extending monetary incentives for waste accumulation and trade to include gift items, backed by the point-based system.	Change normative association	
	Constructing new meaning systems to support legitimacy building in waste recycling sector.	Constructing new meanings	
	Using informal waste collection system to supplement the formal point-based waste collection approach.	Bridging	
	Investing in bin bags for households and marketing waste bins for recycling to corporate organizations in order to ease door-to-door collection.	Direct aiding	
	Educating organizational and societal actors in skills and knowledge necessary to support this point-based system of waste collection, while also allowing room for practical observation of their practices as a medium for hands-on learning.	Education	Legitimizing new collection practices
	Setting incentive boundaries to maintain the exchange of money or gift, based on points accumulated.	Maintaining normative association	
	Infusing the management and appreciation of incentives and waste points into subscribers' day-to-day's routines.	Embedding and routinizing	

Source: Qualitative data and Lawrence & Suddaby (2006)

The next section details the institutional work of core-transformers to create an upcycling culture that achieves the similar disruptive purposes.

8.2   Institutional work of Core transformers

For core-transformers, they intend to create a culture of upcycling in Lagos to disrupt the idea of waste in a commercially and socially sustainable way, as demonstrated in table 8.3 and subsequently discussed below.

Table 8.3: Evidence of the institution core transformers intend to create

Representative data	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimension
"..they don't know what the end product is….so we said there a problem of waste…and this is the solution…so people are saying we know there is a problem but we did not know the waste can turn to this thing…but you telling us now, actually showed what we can do right….."	Demonstrate the possibilities of waste	**Create an upcycling culture**
"…I think what we are doing differently is letting people see the end product of what they call waste…".		
"…you know Nigeria…we are just embracing this upcycling….like the global recycling day where we met, it was very strange that people don't know the meaning of the word upcycling…we are trying to get people to buy into it…"	Promote the uptake of upcycling waste and its products	
"…the Nigerian woman did not buy it…a Chinese woman came, is that tyre…I said yes…and she bought it…straight…she did not think twice…I believe she understands the concept than our own people…that is why I do something which is free for school and that's where ** comes in…we go together…and to train the children because it's about catching them young…exposing them at that young age…"		

Source: Qualitative data

Drawing on the logics of reducing pollution and motivating climate action, they aim to achieve such an outcome by first letting people know what is possible with waste. This is because SEs believes that people are only familiar with the practices of buying waste to recycle into other products, therefore insinuating that there is a lack of knowledge about other possible uses of recyclables which they intend to demonstrate. Accompanying this intention is the need to promote the uptake of upcycling as a more relevant and sustainable practices that requires little effort and investment to do.

However, core-transformers are aware that their disruptive environmental goal of establishing an upcycling culture have to be able to also meet their social and commercial objectives, as shown from table 7.1-7.3 in the last chapter. Therefore, to create this upcycling culture that meets their multiple objectives, they employed some strategies to change existing woodwork practices and legitimize the new upcycling practices, as discussed below.

8.2.1 Changing existing woodwork practices

According to core-transformers, upcycling as a strategy involved **changing the normal association** of using wood to make quality furniture to using waste to make similar, cheaper, and environmentally friendlier furniture. The prevalent furniture practices are those made with woods and these SEs see a potential for waste to serve similar purposes, as stated below:

"...it could be a normal furniture...okay when I'm going through social media, I am following some furniture...once I see a design that's round the next thing that comes to my own head is to have tyre...even if it is square...we will make it and its going to come out in tyre shape..." (Orange's Founder).

Using waste in place of wood is how core-transformers are advancing their environmental objectives of disrupting waste alongside the well-known commercial aspects associated with the furniture industry, which involves trading bespoke or traditional products. However, in making their upcycled products, core-transformers leverage a diverse range of available waste materials such as different sizes of tyres (car, tricycle, truck etc.), plastic bottles and spoons, fabrics, used cardboard papers etc. in such a creative process to reduce the use of wood or to replace it **(bricolage).** Such materials are mostly freely available in the environment, where they can be easily collected, although core-transformers also do patronize local artisans such as vulcanizers, tailors and carpenters to buy their stored waste for upcycling purposes.

The creative designing and assembling of different available waste into a product usually leverage and **remodel** existing taken for granted woodwork practices and technologies to make the desired output possible**.** One of the SEs confirmed always getting ideas from carpenters' and their works on social media, which are then creatively **remodeled**, as shown below:

"...okay I follow some furniture makers so I could get some design, it may not be exact...mine may be...mine could be rebranded..." (Orange's Founder).

The other SE hinted getting inspirations from, and competing against, international brands such as Ikea, as stated below:

*"...I am not competing against them...I am competing against the likes of Ikea...I go and check what Ikea does...I am following ** concept...I want to know what they are doing...I am not thinking local..." (Violet's Founder).*

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Core-transformers are not only copying what existing furniture makers are doing, they are also leveraging existing technologies, tools, and woodworkers' experience in designing and producing their upcycle products. They do this by either manually producing their products or using machine tools such as glue gun, drills, screw drivers, as well as, paint brushes and sandpaper, familiar to product designers and manufacturers. They also start with a design in mind, sketch out such design and work with a local carpenter to make the parts of the design structure, particularly the complex parts that requires wood or metal e.g., the chair stands or round tabletops that will fit onto the tyres if making a tyre furniture. Core-transformers rely on the experience of woodworkers in producing their intended design or furniture parts, as explained in sections 6.1.3 and 7.4.1.

However, using waste to model furniture made with wood comes with its difficulties and core-transformers that are aiming for quality uses non-stop **experimentations** to finetune the product until the desired quality is reached. They both emphasized the importance of quality in their product offerings and the importance of trying to model a design repeatedly until they get it right, as illustrated by both cases below:

INTERVIEWER: *what make you think you can do it...achieve it*
Orange's Founder: *as long as something that cannot talk, cannot be your master now...you can always speak to it...so it was a bit of going back and forth of trying to make it work..."*

"...because you cannot compare our quality...because we are looking at the little details...we are taking it up...we are yanking it off right (meaning tearing it apart for rebuilding) *..."* *(Violet's Founder).*

After creating a satisfactory upcycled product, core-transformers give names to their finished products and some of the names includes, *"Ottomans, Kids Ottomans and COXE chairs"* by case Violet, *"Apekee stool"* by case Orange. Even though some of these names were borrowed from traditional furniture design industry e.g., Ottomans, SEs are promoting these names differently using them for products made from waste, thereby **constructing new meanings** to support legitimacy building in furniture industry and waste recycling sector. Having created and named their products, core-transformers engage in a set of strategies to legitimize the use of waste in making the traditional and bespoke furniture that people are used to.

8.2.2 Legitimizing new upcycling practices

A common step taken by the core-transformers after finishing a product is to showcase it, if the product has not been pre-ordered. **Showcasing** involves exhibiting a product to communicate its waste aspect as a means of shaping cultural perceptions and beliefs about it (waste), with an additional intention to sell. Some studies have defined showcasing as a form of promotion and advertisement, famous in the arts community where it is done either through exhibition, site-specific installation, or performance (White & Hemmings, 2010). According to Bartlett (2010), it is an act used to reinforce an underlying commitment through which norms, under the right conditions, can be enhanced or shaped. This ability to influence new norms makes it significant as a form of institutional work.

Core-transformers implement this strategy by either posting the product on social media (cases Violet and Orange), website (case Violet) as explained in section 7.4.2, or by attending exhibitions and trade fairs where their product range can be displayed, and its waste aspects can be verbally highlighted (cases Violet and Orange). Additionally, both cases leverage TV shows, conferences, and public shows as good mediums to display their upcycled products and project the different ways it can be used to larger audiences. Core-transformers also organize their own exhibition where their products are displayed, and participants are **educated** on how it was made.

Education is an important part of what these core-transformers do. As shown in section 7.1.2, they provide knowledge about the upcycling process, not only through exhibitions, but also through school visits and organizing dedicated training programs. In these programs, participants are shown the practicality of making an upcycled product and are allowed to make one for themselves also. The social media handles of the SEs are filled with pictures of those they have trained who went on to reproduce what they have been thought, and mostly promoting new designs, as also stated below:

"…I trained another group of women too and the woman said she has started using it…but she does her own in form of storage…her tailor friends in her community and it's amazing how people are beginning to reproduce what they have been taught…" (Orange's Founder)

Educating others is also how core-transformers advance their social objectives of capacity development and inclusivity by targeting low-income schools, women and children in their upcycling training programs. By empowering others to upcycle, core-transformers are

spreading such practices throughout the state, thereby legitimizing the use of waste in making conventional products, as shown in the quote below:

"...I have trained a whole lot on Lagos...so I have spread in real sense...I have spread to Ogun state (a state in Nigeria) ...and they are the group I said they produced for their Oba (King)...so I Have been to Ogun state...my work is in Ogun state...so I've reproduced myself...." (Orange's founder).

Aside from educating others, core-transformers also **gifts** branded upcycled products to high status individuals and organizations such as company and NGO executives and intergovernmental agencies. The act of **'gifting'** is well known in anthropological studies where something is given without receiving payment in return, often in the expectation of reciprocation and relationship development with the recipient (Davies et. al., 2010). One of the seminal authors on gifting stated that it has a symbolic dimension to it where such acts signal an invitation to partner and as an expression of a social relationship (Sherry 1983).

However, Davies et al. (2010) pointed out other outcomes of gifting that does not have any expectation of reciprocation e.g., charitable giving. They also argued that there are gifts giving with the expectation of a relationship, which they tagged relational, as well as, those giving without such expectation, which they called transactional. Other outcomes mentioned by the authors included self-satisfaction, social approval, or psychological well-being (Davies et. al., 2010).

These background works on gifting makes it suitable as a mechanism for institutional work due to its symbolic characteristics and the fact that its outcomes can be broader than reciprocity or relationship development. In this study, SEs were discovered to give out their products made from waste to high-profile individuals and organizations in order to build legitimacy and attract resources. They do this to further promote upcycled products for a wider acceptance, knowing fully well the endorsement of such leaders will grant them (core-transformers) access to their wider network. One of the SEs also stated how **gifting** an NGO executive was used to win over and attract necessary funding for their social project in schools, as illustrated below:

"...when it got to me, I noticed that I needed to do something different....I am not going to ask, I am going to give...so I just told him that I see what you do, this is what we do.......I just thought we can come and give you like two three of our furniture, put it at the reception so that you change the perception of people to waste, especially the rigid...he was like wow, that's

interesting...don't you think we need to talk more about that...take my email address, let's talk more." (Violet's Founder).

One of core-transformers legitimizing strategies involves promoting the adoption of upcycled products for use as gifts on special occasions or ceremonies. As a result, they are not only gifting it to legitimize their craft as mentioned above, but they are also being strategic by attaching upcycled products to celebrated days such as valentine days, company annual lectures, end of the year celebrations etc. By promoting upcycled products for use as gifts on such special and recurrent occasions, core-transformers are keeping their upcycling practices going, especially when the next event or any global observance is approaching that will drive request for, or warrant them to showcase more of, their products. This **embedded and routinized** approach is promoting a new norm of using upcycled products as gifts for special days and events. Such approach by core-transformers to support the repurposing of waste are captured in the quotes below:

"...see you have to know when your market moves...so valentine is coming we are doing a project around valentine, buy gifts...you need to know when you make sales, it's not every time you make sales..." (Violet's Founder).

"...they were doing like a renewable energy week or something...like a lecture...and they needed something to gift the speaker and they wanted to use a recycled product...so they contacted..." (Orange's Founder).

Lastly, SEs leverage their interpersonal relationships in maintaining their upcycling practices. This group of close friends and associates **serve as normative networks** that sanctions the actions and decisions, they make regarding such practices. This was most apparent in case Violet's account where the founder's former private sector network advises, monitors, evaluates and gives advice on her decisions, as shown below:

"...when we got the van, the van was meant to do **(company name) recycling delivery and then we bought the van in at a very cheap money...around 2.5 and I realize the van was selling around 5million in Nigeria... so I said I'm going to sell this van, you know now, business woman...I will sell it and order another one...laughs...and one of them said, won bi mi da...dem no born you well (meaning you cannot sell it- but said in an authoritative tone).....that bus pays for what it is meant to do and that's it..." (Violet's founder).

The founder acknowledged most of the successes experienced with international sponsorships was because of the group of former friends, turned mentors, who has always *"held our hand and opened doors for us…" (Violet's Founder).* These group of friends all come from different backgrounds and have different expertise which has been useful in monitoring and evaluating the organization's practices to help keep it running as originally intended. They also help ensure the SE complies with necessary institutional directives e.g., from the state or donor organizations, as it concerns her upcycling practices as shown below:

"…I was able to fill that gap for her...to help her understand that documentation is necessary to a certain extent, for posterity sake...yet I was able to still help her to cut all the unnecessary bureaucratic steps that's was involved... without knowing where she was coming from, they would have probably done a lot more scrutiny to find out what is your purpose of bringing this furniture, are you trying to make a statement that government is not doing their job or something…so it could be misconstrued for so many wrong reasons…" (Violet's Support network- Assistant Director in a Government department).

This concludes the changing and legitimizing work of core-transformers to create an upcycling culture that will change or disrupt how people perceive and handle waste in Lagos, while meeting their commercial and social objectives. The findings from this section are summarized in table 8.4 below, with illustrative codes for each row presented in appendix 9.

Table 8.4: Institutional work to create an upcycling culture

Social enterprise category	1st order concepts	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimensions
Core Transformers (collects, aggregates, upcycles, advocacy)	Extending generalized woodworking norms to include the use of waste in making similar designs or products.	Changing normative association	Changing existing woodwork practices
	Creating products from a diverse range of available waste materials.	Bricolage	
	Leveraging existing sets of taken for granted woodworking practices, designs, knowhows and technologies in creating new upcycled products in order to ease adoption and acceptance.	Remodelling	
	Favouring small steps and reversibility in designing upcycled products to desired specifications.	Experimenting	
	Naming upcycled products so that they might become a part of the cognitive map of the furniture industry and waste recycling field.	Constructing new meanings	
	Exhibiting upcycled products to shape cultural perceptions and beliefs about waste	Showcasing	Legitimizing new upcycling practices
	Providing knowledge about the upcycling processes	Educating	
	Giving upcycled products to high status individuals to support legitimacy building and attract material resources	Gifting	
	Promoting a new norm of using upcycled products as gifts for special days and events	Embedding and routinizing	
	Using interpersonal connections which acts as a relevant peer group with respect to normative compliance, monitoring and evaluation and through which SEs' practices gets normatively sanctioned	Leveraging normative networks	

Source: Qualitative data and Lawrence & Suddaby (2006)

The next section details the institutional work of clean-advocates to create a clean-up culture that achieves similar disruptive purposes.

8.3   Institutional work of Clean advocates

Clean-advocates intend to meet their environmental objective of disrupting the idea of waste in a commercially and socially sustainable way by creating a clean-up culture in Lagos, where coming out to clean the environment is fun and intentionally done, as illustrated in table 8.5 and discussed below.

Table 8.5: Evidence of the institution clean advocates intend to create

Representative data	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimension
"…. let's come and clean to make it intentional…we need to now make it like conscious…I want people to start feeling that way…" (Gold's Founder). "…How can we change this narrative and things like that….so I started by getting kids to come out to clean the environment and they would get gifts afterwards….it was fun they liked it…and it became very popular in the area at the time…" (Magenta's Founder)	Make clean-up fun and intentional	Create a clean-up culture
"…we always try to make sure that there is a mental shift or a paradigm shift…right now…we have kids that are disturbing their parents, mummy I want to clean the beach…so if 4, 5 years old, are already thinking like that because there is a platform, you know when they are 10, it would be normal to go to the beach and clean it, it would be normal to separate your waste from source….all these things would be normal" (Magenta's Founder) "…one way is that adults, I don't have time for you people…you guys are set in your ways…the people I really want to focus on are the children…" (Gold's founder)	Change people's mindset so that it becomes normal to clean	

Source: Qualitative data

Drawing on the logics of reducing pollution and motivating climate action, Clean-advocates aim to imbibe this culture among people in Lagos due to the widespread negative attitude towards the environment (see table 6.6). Clean-advocates particularly targets children to change their mindsets towards waste and to make them see clean-ups as a normal activity necessary to preserve the environment. However, Clean-advocates are aware that establishing a clean-up culture have to be able to also meet their commercial and social objectives, as shown from table 7.1-7.3 in the last chapter. Therefore, to create this clean-up culture that meets their multiple objectives, Clean-advocates employed some strategies to change existing environmental sanitation practices in Lagos and legitimize their new clean-up practices, as discussed below.

8.3.1 Changing existing environmental sanitation practices

Cleaning public spaces is a well-known activity in Lagos, mostly carried out by the state agency in charge of waste management. There was once a custom in Lagos where every last Saturday of the month was declared as environmental sanitation day and all households were expected to come out to clean their surrounding environment and pile up the waste for state designated truckers to collect later. As captured by one of the cases (although, in the volume-drivers' category), such custom did not work as expected as people hardly obey or engage in any clean-up acts on such days, especially when there was a widespread belief that it was not their responsibility to do so.

"...then I do a lot of write up and research on waste management...most especially when the state government said every last Saturday is for environmental cleanup.... Instead of people doing that, I see them playing football...nobody is coming to (clean)*...so I decided to do a research on them..." (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.).*

Aside from abdicating responsibilities, there was a feeling among people that cleaning-up is a tedious and boring work and if they are going to be motivated to participate in doing it, there needs to be something in it for them i.e., something to be earned (money or gift) to make them commit to it, as illustrated by case Gold below:

"we started doing that kind of evangelism...to tell people to clean up...I started looking at people's antecedents to receiving my message...they love the message...they want me to talk about it...but they are not committed to it...because there is nothing in it for them..." (Gold's Founder).

Therefore, this existing practice paved the way for clean-advocates to innovate by **changing the normative association** of cleaning with tediousness and boredom to cleaning with fun, which they did by introducing competitions, games, music etc. into their clean-up events. Along with these fun activities were also giving out rewards at clean-up events making every participant stand a chance of earning a reward for participating in such exercises. Particularly with children and youths, clean-advocates attach an incentive for every amount of waste they can collect from dirty environments, turning it into a competitive activity where the largest collector wins the biggest prize etc.

"...one thing I tried to infuse in everything we do is fun. We try to make sure that everybody has a good time, especially the kids...because cleaning, can be a boring activity, you know. There are some things that are chores basically, but when you introduce a little bit of fun to it, it makes it exciting, and anybody will want to do it....so that way we always put some fun activities or if you do this you win this if you do this you win that..." (Magenta's Founder).

Part of this innovation is also to make clean-ups look trendy and to make it an activity every person and organization can happily participate in. Therefore, another thing clean-advocates did was to make use of themed spaces, which are adopted public spaces (beach and school) for use in their awareness campaigns. The works of Gottdiener (1997) described this **'theming'** strategy as the usage of symbols, themes, and motifs to create new environments that people consume. SEs in Lagos creates themed environments using wastes and with such spaces, they are advancing their environmental sustainability messages, while also generating commercial returns

They turned such spaces into places that communicates what it means to keep the environment clean, while also showing the upcycling possibilities of waste materials through place design **(theming).** Examples of public spaces used in both cases sampled were a beach (case Magenta) and a school compound (case Gold). Such spaces were also created to serve as places for human interactions, as well as interactions with the natural environment, as stated below:

"...yea because they are promoting exactly the same thing... very committed, trying to persuade people to...have a more harmonious relationship with nature..." (Gold's Advisory Board Member)

This created space is given a name and serves as the central spot for most of their awareness campaign activities, such as regular clean up events and any environmentally related events. Such spaces are making it cool to clean and enables clean-advocates to raise awareness about environmental sustainability challenges and the need for recycling or upcycling from the waste collected during clean-ups. This theming strategy is also how clean-advocates are able to create income-generating activities to meet their commercial objectives by renting it out for public or corporate uses. However, having introduced these new strategies to make clean-ups interesting and trendy, Clean-advocates engage in a set of strategies to legitimize and make it acceptable to the public.

8.3.2 Legitimizing new clean-up practices

Cognizant of the fact that people are interested in the benefits of cleaning-up, Clean-advocates engage in **educating** their audiences on such benefits and how participating in such activities can reduce pollution and contribute towards establishing a CE. This involves informing people that collected waste can be gathered and sold to recyclers or that any recyclable can be upcycled into useful household products for personal uses. Clean-advocates also gathers children on their themed spaces and **educate** them on environmental hygiene and the importance of making waste recycling and upcycling a lifestyle. In meeting their social objective of inclusivity, they take the education outside of their created spaces into remote or poor communities, where they put up a show to draw attention to their activities and then, leverage the attention they attract to pass across their environmental messages. Called **grandstanding**, such acts involve storming a community with a team of uniformed staff and volunteers, plenty of cleaning tools and sometimes, with a loud music to attract people.

"…when we are like on the streets and everything, we would play it with the mic and everything and everybody will hear…" (Magenta's Founder).

Grandstanding was highlighted in a study as the practice of performing a 'sport' primarily with a view to gaining the approval of spectators (The LSE GV314 Group, 2020). Although, grandstanding was used negatively in such a study to represent acts of 'showing off' instead of being serious about the task at hand, SEs in this thesis uses it to garner people's attention and to encourage their participation in cleaning their environments, while earning a return doing it.

As SEs are not only in those communities to attract people, but they also want to leave an impression on children and adults in such places about the importance of cleaning-up. Therefore, they go to work by starting to clean in a fun and pleasant way, interacting with people as they do so. Through their practical and likeable acts of cleaning, they are able to pass across their message on environmental hygiene and the benefits that comes with it. A common example clean-advocates give to inhabitants of remote communities is the possibility of an increased traction of people into their communities or the possibilities of earning an extra income through recycling or upcycling waste removed from their environment, as shown below:

"…look at now…the environment is not clean…some of them, faeces here and there…all these wash into the ocean but if you keep the place really clean, it will be a tourist centre for

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you…people will now come…. there will be business for all of you…" (Magenta's Advisory Board Member).

Their **grandstanding** acts combined with **education** is making them recognizable *"as those people that cleans"* (Magenta's Found*er)* when they visit new communities. There is also the **beautification** work clean-advocates do using collected waste from clean-up events such as using post-use vehicle tyres as decorative shields for flowers planted to cover dumpsites in order to ward off people from further using it for dumping purposes. Such waste (tyres) is also used to design playgrounds for children in communities that have lots of these wastes littering their environment. Such new uses of waste from clean-up exercises are shaping people's perception of its possibilities as objects for decorative or beautification purposes **(beautifying),** while also promoting the need for a clean environment as demonstrated in the quote below:

"…so, what I do is to just take the flower and place it at the so that…. they would reason before they can dump anything there …that there is plant there now…you know what flowers speaks is that we are trying to beautify this place, so they won't want to pollute the place…" (Magenta's Waste manager)

However, when clean-advocates promote the need for a clean environment either in their created themed spaces or in local communities, they do so in the company of the state, interested private companies, media houses and NGOs willing to participate. This is an avenue for SEs to advocate or individually lobby for resources **(individual organizing)** as they ask companies to sponsor such campaigns as part of their CSR activities, as explained in section 7.5.3 and 7.5.4. They make sure such events are captured on camera and promoted via their social media pages to attract local and international sponsors to their work on environmental hygiene in the state. When these pictures are taken, SEs ensure they are graphically creative and show their experience in cleaning activities, as stated below:

"…you know when you see beach hangouts, you look at they have already done something like that before...so and the kind of ..they are trying to do it again...I will like to join this people and then we give them the details…I make the pictures more beautiful attractive and catchy...She also taught us something about erm how to create a good graphics…" (Magenta's Graphic designer).

Such digital pictures capture people having fun cleaning dirty environments, which is crucial to demonstrate how clean-advocates are changing the normative association of cleaning with tediousness to cleaning with fun, as earlier described (also see quote below):

"...I can show you some pictures to try to explain...okay like this, it shows the kids having fun and enjoying what he is doing in cleaning the environment...not that you are just doing it just because you are supposed to do it..." (Magenta's photographer).

These images are intentionally published on various media platforms and serves as references to interested sponsors, although clean-advocates also uses such pictures to prove their legitimacy during their advocacies as enterprises working towards a clean environment in Lagos, hence attracting financial and resource support, as shown below:

"...people see all our antecedents...they see pictures...so those are the pictures we take to people like Pepsi...even if they don't want to do... because they don't know if we are credible enough...just because of this hard work, they will give us (support)*..." (Gold's Founder)*

Aside financial and material resource support, clean-advocates also need the approval of local institutions such as a king or chief, as explained in section 7.5.2, before conducting clean-ups in any community. They seek such approval by writing letter to the respective king or chief or visit the palace in person to make known their clean-up intentions **(permission-seeking).** Having such approval granted from the local authority gives clean-advocates the legitimacy to carry out their clean-up activities in communities and to avoid possible disruption from vigilante groups or area boys who might want to stop and extort them.

Lastly, in creating a new culture where clean-up and waste are perceived differently, SEs acknowledged the need for consistency if such meaningful outcomes will be achieved. As stated by the chairman of case Gold, the problem of waste and pollution is a cultural problem that will require consistent awareness raising over a long period of time to see a change, as shown below:

*"...you know culture takes time to change...it's built over years and it takes years to also demystify many of those things...it gets to be difficult...so there is a need for continuity...as I often say it, the founder of ** that advocacy is where it is...I think you will need to continuously spread the news..." (Gold's chairman of the Board).*

So, to ensure it becomes a continuous legitimate activity, SEs organizes regular clean up and awareness campaigns and **routinized** it to take place on a specific day of every month, such as case Magenta having such events every last Saturday of the month. This is similar to the environmental sanitation practices of the state which formerly takes place on such days (last Saturdays), therefore further increasing its acceptability. Also, both SEs leverages global observances to organize an awareness campaign, as highlighted in sections 6.1.5 and 7.5.1. By **embedding** these campaigns in such recurrent global observances such as the "world environmental day", "world ocean day" etc., clean-advocates are able to continuously legitimize the need to clean-up for recycling or upcycling purposes, as part of their disruptive agenda to change how people perceives or handles waste.

This concludes the changing and legitimizing work of clean-advocates to create a clean-up culture that will change or disrupt how people perceive and handle waste in Lagos, while meeting their commercial and social objectives. The findings from this section are summarily presented in table 8.6 below, with illustrative codes for each row presented in appendix 10.

Table 8.6: Institutional work to create a clean-up culture

Social enterprise category	1st order concepts	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimension
Clean-advocates (collects, aggregates, upcycles, clean-up and advocates)	Using images to change the normative association of cleaning with tediousness to cleaning with fun through creative graphic design and display	Changing normative association	Changing existing environmental sanitation practices
	Creation of an environment as a themed space suitable for interactions among humans and with nature.	Theming	
	Providing knowledge about keeping the environment clean, as well as, how to recycle and upcycle waste.	Educating	Legitimizing new clean-up practices
	Creating a scene to attract favourable attention from community inhabitants and the media.	Grandstanding	
	Shaping people's perception of a public space by using waste as objects for decorative or beautification purposes.	Beautifying	
	Mobilizing material resources support from corporate and government agencies for SEs' campaign programs promoting environmental hygiene.	Individual organizing	
	Seeking approval from local institutions (King or Chief) to avert the consequences of breaching laid down protocols on community engagements.	Permission-seeking	
	Infusing the promotion of environmental hygiene into repetitive organizational practices	Embedding and routinizing	

Source: Qualitative data and Lawrence & Suddaby (2006)

While all the sampled SEs were involved in such creative works to disrupt the idea of waste, there were also obvious intentions across categories to maintain a formal organizational structure as they work towards establishing CE principles in Lagos. Such maintenance work is discussed in the following section.

8.4 Institutional work to formalize practices

All the SEs see their activities as part of a wider effort to formalize the waste recycling sector in Lagos (see table 8.7 below). This is particularly obvious among volume-drivers, where the role of informal collectors was well known, and they are acknowledged as *"unsung heroes"* (Yellow's Founder) due to old practices of collecting recyclables from landfills and households for sale.

Table 8.7: Evidence of SEs intention to formalize their activities

Representative data	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimension
…there are going to be like some informal sector people that work… we want to try to formalize it (Red Co-founder & CTO) …now there has been a lot of informal recycling going on before we were born… where I was doing my research…the only two formally registered…but even the formal meaning they now made it, they packaged it (Yellow's Founder) we are trying now to more of like formalize the informal sector (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.)	Structure how recyclables are collected	**Formalize waste related practices**
…the reasons is to be able to have a platform that would allow ourselves to kind of get an understanding about the various recyclable items that we are all involved in dealing with… platform where we would enlighten them on the odds…the processing of recyclables so people don't get to do the wrong thing… (Support institution 1 – President)	Have an organized platform for sharing information	

Source: Qualitative data

Evidence from the state agency in charge of waste management shows an interest in formalizing the waste recycling sector that is dominated by such informal activities, as demonstrated below:

*.".the reason for that was because we wanted to have a structure in place...we wanted to be able to account for the volume of waste...what was being generated, where it was going...so the registration was for us to have an organized system in place...like I said to you, it was more of an informal sector when it started - for ** (government agency) registration was to help have a structure in place..." (Support institution 3 – Head Recycling Unit).*

The reasons for this, as seen in the quote above, was to structure the way recyclables are collected and accounted for and to have records of who is involved in such activities for further support and information sharing purposes. Therefore, all SEs intended to maintain this formal structure as they create their collection, upcycling or clean-up systems in Lagos, and they do this by adopting the following strategies discussed below.

8.4.1   Maintaining the formal organizational structure

As briefly mentioned earlier, to be considered a legitimate waste management practitioner by the government, SEs in Lagos have to come into the sector and operate as a formal organization. To do this, SEs **registers** with the state agency in charge of waste management in Lagos in order to obtain their approval or license to operate. Such registration grants SEs the right to make use of the government logo in their correspondences and in branding their facilities or vehicles to further show their legitimacy to carry out waste in the state. This registration is so important for SEs, particularly in meeting their commercial and environmental objectives.

For example, an organization not registered with the government or government initiatives such as the EPR scheme, cannot collect waste from any corporate organization and cannot have access to major offtakers to sell their waste as they (corporates and offtakers) have been authorized to only deal with government registered enterprises. This form of economic coercion was also extended to being able to access the necessary government support in facilitating waste collection, which is needed for security in moving waste within the state, as stated below:

"...that is also for security for movements on the road because I know they get a lot of, even with the.... if you look at the PSP arrangement, when it first started, they had a lot of issues

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with traffic warders and police and all that and all that…" (Support institution 3 – Head Recycling Unit).

There are also other government supports that unregistered organizations will not be able to benefit from, such as free allocation of landed spaces to use in aggregating waste, which is one of the costly aspects of volume-drivers' activities.

*"…they have what they call, like **(government agency in Lagos), their own is ** (government agency in another state) …** state waste management authority…they have a space…they say okay, let's give you the space…for you to operate…" (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.).*

One of the SEs also confirmed that international NGOs and development agencies willing to fund social and environmental initiatives in the state request for government registration documents before being given a chance to compete in their funding programs, as stated below:

"…it is one of the criteria because there are some international grants that you had to register because they need to ask you for your registration number… if you are registered, have a CAC number, have a CAC certificate, you are being taken more seriously…" (Blue's Founder).

Therefore, **registering** with the state was important to SEs' multiple objectives, as well as the need to fulfil the requirements that comes with it, such as submitting regular reports on the amount of recyclable waste collected by each registered organization. Particularly in volume-drivers, where there seems to be a huge importance attached to reporting how much of the waste generated in Lagos were collected for recycling by each volume-drivers. Some of the volume-drivers even had to liaise with and buy from informal collectors to boost their numbers or to meet a set target of collected recyclables they report, as seen in the quote below:

*"**Brown CEO & Exec Dir.:** like I told you some of them have targets, targets from our other competitors that we are not meeting up…so the best thing to do is okay let us go and meet the scavengers…lets meet the informal sector…every week, can you give us 5 5 tons…*

INTERVIEWER: you mean you guys have a target

*Brown CEO & Exec Dir.: of course, because at the end of the year, you should be able to say, Lagos state generate 15 000 tons…out of this 15 000tons, ** (name of SE) is able to morph up…*

INTERVIEWER: who do you report that to?

Brown CEO & Exec Dir.: *of course, you report to LAWMA, because they are the regulator of waste management in Lagos state.*

INTERVIEWER: *LAWMA demands of that?*

Brown CEO & Exec Dir.: *we give report every Thursday that this is the volume of what…because they too they are building their own statistics…they are building their own database…yes, because they are the regulator and they are building their own database too…so every Thursday, you must submit report to them that this is the volume of item, one by one…as long as you are in Lagos, you operate in Lagos…you have to…because they too they are building their own database…they will be able to tell you…that Lagos generate 20 000 tons and this month, **, through **, this is the number of recyclables captured…"*

As obvious in the above transcript excerpts, volume-drivers engages in acts of **deterrence** by consciously obeying regulatory bodies in charge of waste, in terms of ensuring the regular submission of report on their waste related activities, to avert the consequences of breaching laid down protocols on formal recyclable waste collection. This is necessary to keep the legitimization as a formal organization in place as they work towards their multiple objectives. Also, SEs across the state involved in similar waste related activities (including sampled volume-drivers, core-transformers, and clean-advocates), particularly around the same waste stream e.g., plastics, paper, aluminum cans etc., all came together **(collective organizing)** to form an organized association called the "*Recyclers Association of Nigeria*" (as briefly described in section 6.1.5). This was also a collected effort directed at formalizing or structuring recycling activities in the state, together with the government, as shown below:

"…how to address the different streams of waste and how to proffer sustainable solutions to waste management in Nigeria…there was a need to come together not only as a network but as an association that can forge a stronger alliance to be able to proffer solutions in a structured way...there was also a need for us to get registered as an association..." (Support institution 1 – Vice president).

Acts of collective organizing as a form of advocacy have been widely documented in literature on social movements where organizations, in similar or across sectors, gather to advocate for a cause (e.g., Lindell & Adama, 2020; Goss & Heaney, 2010; Bergman, 2004). This is a mechanism for institutional work as it is usually aimed at influencing policies such as how SEs

in Lagos are coming together to represent a united front when engaging with government agencies or manufacturing organizations that buys waste.

Other acts of maintaining the formal organizational structure were also evident in volume-drivers formal collection system. Out of the sampled cases, some of the volume-drivers are privately working towards formalizing the activities of informal collectors in their various collection programs. Aside from incorporating such actors into their collection system as described in section 7.2.4, one of the cases described a program designed to help these collectors to **enhance** their image and activities and make them more structured in their waste collection practices. This SE also want them (i.e., informal collectors) to be able to monitor their contributions to waste management in the state, as illustrated below:

"...we are trying now to more of like formalized the informal sector by actually using programs like the waste pickers initiatives to support them to have accounts, where we can monitor their inflows...tell them how much materials they are recycling...how they can improve and all..." (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.).

Also, when it comes to integrating uneducated and low-skilled workers, with no prior formal work experience, to work in their formal organizational setting, volume-drivers acknowledges that they have to do extra work to make it easy for such employees to work in a formal structure. One of the cases' main assumption behind recruiting for waste related activities is that there are certain people who are not comfortable with handling waste as their main source of livelihood and are therefore, not suitable for shop floor or waste pick-up roles. Since finding these types of workers formally through advertisements, CV processes or hiring agencies is impossible, as inferred in the quote below, volume-drivers devise a means of hiring such workers through referrals and word of mouth. By doing this, they are extending generalized private sector, for-profit norms of human resources to include informal and opened mode of hiring shop floor workers **(changing normative associations).**

"...well you cannot advertise because those guys cannot read...no but it's true...the type of people that would do that job are not people who have a degree or who have an OND or something ...some of them are sit home moms that don't do anything...some of them are you know petty traders...they do it as a part time stuff...so it's just word of mouth...it goes out oh I'm looking for women o...that will sort oo...(Yellow's Founder).

However, adopting this approach in a formal organizational setting involves **experimentation,**

as the volume-drivers cannot predict what to expect from a candidate that was referred to them or randomly recruited. They simply follow a trial-and-error method by putting the individual to work to see if suitable or even if the individual will feel comfortable in such a setting, as explained below:

"INTERVIEWER: so how do you go about getting people you work with then?
WYC01: most people are through referrals...mostly from referrals or trial and error…" (Pink's CEO)

However, they still recruit formally for office administrative positions which they do through job advertisements, reviewing applications and conducting interviews. Therefore, volume-drivers are making the normal formal recruitment procedures, common in the private sector, to coexist with informal forms of hiring, where employees do not have to submit CVs or be extensively interviewed, as demonstrated in the quote by one of the cases:

"...the sorters, mostly informal...so but like the four full staff that we have, they were interviewed but for those that sort, they are part time…they just come in and out…" (Red's Co-founder & CTO).

Also, to support this mixed recruitment approach, SEs **educate** all workers employed through the informal means of hiring, how to work in formal settings. Such education includes introducing them to kits and working on their appearances when on shop floor premises as well as, matching them with experienced workers for them to learn how to clean, sort or pick up waste first-hand.

"...so we employ a lot of people…okay so literate, semi-literate and illiterate…so when they come...so you don't need to talk too much…just tell them, oh mama, once you come here, once you get here in the morning, you just need to wear your PPE, your gloves, after wearing your glove, wear your safety boots...make sure you are on a cloth that is really not valuable anymore...because these recyclables will definitely stain your cloth…so once you have educated them on that, you tell them how to sort…" (Pink's Hub manager).

Through these acts, SEs are maintaining the formal organization structure in the waste recycling sector in Lagos. The findings from this section are summarized in table 8.8, with illustrative codes presented in appendix 11.

Table 8.8: Making recycling a formal activity

Social enterprise category	1st order concepts	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimensions
Volume drivers, Core transformers and Clean advocates	Enlisting with a regulatory body to obtain legitimacy for waste-related activities in the state	Registering	Maintaining the formal organization structure
	Conscious obedience of regulatory bodies to avert the consequences of breaching laid down protocols on formal recyclable waste collection	Deterrence	
	Forming intra- and inter-field networks to create a united voice, entity and common identity and to develop collective codes of conduct	Collective organizing	
Volume drivers	Helping informal collectors to improve their collection activities and image by facilitating access to their formal structure and training.	Enhancement work	
	Extending generalized private sector, for-profit norms of human resources to include informal and opened mode of hiring shop floor workers	Changing normative association	
	Using trial and error method to determine suitability of informal hires to work in formal structures	Experimenting	
	Training informal hires how to work in formal structures and this includes kitting up for work and practical observation of experienced workers to learn their task first-hand	Educating	

Source: Qualitative data and Lawrence & Suddaby (2006)

With their creation and formalization works to disrupt the idea of waste and establish circular principles in a commercially and socially sustainable way, SEs in Lagos acknowledged the intentional and unintentional effects of their strategies, as explained below.

8.5   Effects of institutional work

From the data analysis, it was gathered that the action of SEs in creating and maintaining institutions, to establish the CE principles of recycling and repurposing waste in Lagos, are having both an intended and an unintended outcome in the waste management space. These are summarily presented in table 8.9 and further discussed below.

Table 8.9: Disruptive effects of social enterprise strategies in Lagos

Social enterprise category	Illustrative extracts	1st order concepts	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimension
Volume drivers, Core transformers and Clean advocates	*"...when they saw what we, by the time you see the finish product and you won't even see the tyre, they are like, it's not tyre now...they just start arguing among themselves, they started seeing it...then they started telling us, can we come with tyres...can we do this...they started buying into the idea of this that oh it can be this right..." (Violet's Founder).*	Separating waste from what is to be thrown away by associating it with what can be exchanged for value or as raw materials for further production or transformation.	Intentionally dissociating the moral foundations of waste	Effects of institutional work
Volume drivers	*"...we understand that in the transition that is going to happen, we are probably putting some waste pickers out of their job...we know that...we want to make sure that people don't have to work in the dumpsite...you know like we don't want that to be a livelihood..." (Pink's CEO).*	Gradually undermining normative informal collection practices focused on waste from landfills through contrary formal collection practices, which intercepts waste at the source of generation	Unintentionally undermining informal collection norms	

Source: Qualitative data and Lawrence & Suddaby (2006)

8.5.1 Dissociating the moral foundations of waste

As shown in the table above, evidence from this study suggests SEs actions to disrupt the concept of waste in Lagos to facilitate the establishment of CE principles is having such intended effects. Starting with volume-drivers, their formal recyclable collection activities are **dissociating the moral foundations of waste** through their point-based system of waste exchange. This disruption is occurring through their association of waste with money or household items framed as value. By so doing, they are changing what the society regards as waste from what is to be disposed to what is to be exchanged for some value.

This disruptive effect is being evidenced by volume-drivers who stated that some individuals and organizations, who would not regard waste before, but simply co-mingle and hand it over to state designated truckers at a monthly fee, are now coming to the realization that such waste need not be thrown away but exchanged for something useful such as household items or even

money. This realization has partly led to high expectations in terms of rewards for accumulated waste, as demonstrated in the quote below:

"...so it's very interesting to find out that what mrs Alimosho, for argument sake, throws away on a regular, that she discharge of it...that the moment you come to her and say oh I'm interested in this waste...that becomes gold to her...it suddenly becomes such an interesting and valuable material so she expects you to give her a generating set or a car for the plastics or the waste that she use to throw away..." (Yellow's Founder).

For core-transformers, they are also **dissociating the moral foundations** of what the society regards as waste by associating it (waste) as raw materials for production. As shown in table 6.6, waste is normally seen in Lagos as dirt that should be thrown away. Therefore, this **dissociating waste** from what it is normally known to something that could be used for a different and creative purposes is disruptive and such disruption is evidenced in people's reactions to an upcycled product below:

"...when they saw what we, by the time you see the finish product and you won't even see the tyre, they are like, it's not tyre now...they just start arguing among themselves, they started seeing it...then they started telling us, can we come with tyres...can we do this...they started buying into the idea of this that oh it can be this right..." (Violet's Founder).

Clean-advocates are also disrupting what is usually regarded as waste to be thrown away by **dissociating it from its moral foundations**, which they do through their awareness campaigns that promotes waste exchange to earn money and save the environment, instead of the usual disposal of it, as shown below:

"......my organization have also inspired more youths to be ecofriendly...you know...it has made youths to be environmentally conscious...now they don't have to litter...they know they don't have to misuse their plastic waste...even if they have to use it...they can keep it and do something with it...they can even use to teach children...you can use it bless someone...gift someone..." (Gold's founder)

This effect is intentional as SEs knew that the concept of waste had to be disrupted to sustain the establishment of circular principles of recycling and repurposing in Lagos. However, their activities are also having an unintentional effect on the informal collectors or waste pickers that existed in the field before them. This is discussed below.

8.5.2 Undermining informal collection norms

Volume-drivers' door-to-door waste pickup model, and the collective efforts or alliance of all SEs (i.e., RAN) at disrupting the idea of waste, are also having an unintentional disruptive effect on informal collectors' practices that are reliant on waste situated on landfills. As shown in table 8.1, volume-drivers' recyclable collection system was set up to stop waste from getting to landfills by intercepting it at the source of generation i.e., household level. The disruptive potential of this approach in the near future, although unintentional, was well articulated by one of the cases' executive below:

"...we understand that in the transition that is going to happen, we are probably putting some waste pickers out of their job...we know that...we want to make sure that people don't have to work in the dumpsite...you know like we don't want that to be a livelihood..." (Pink's CEO).

The quote above shows how SEs are aware of the effects of their well-meaning actions to disrupt waste, justifying why such unintentional outcome might be a good idea after all since working on the dumpsite is not that healthy. Their strategies are, therefore, **undermining the norms of informal recyclable collection** that have long existed, with their door-to-door model of preventing waste from getting to landfill by capturing from source, which is contrary to informal collector's sourcing from landfill approach and could soon put such informal actors out of work.

Also, the formal organizational status of all SEs mean that they can collaborate with the state, corporate organizations and international agencies on waste related activities and access the crucial support to sustain their organizations. Such formal status further makes it difficult for informal collectors to access any sort of support, thereby undermining their effectiveness or capabilities. As a result, SEs predicts most of them will soon run out of capacity, as illustrated by one of the cases below:

"Red's Co-founder & CTO: that's the thing, they are informal.... they are not registered....so they sort from people that probably will sort from landfills.... they just go about with their day-to-day activities and try to earn a living from it...

INTERVIEWER: so, they are still around

Red's Co-founder & CTO: of course, although some of them will fold up at a point in time because, like I said the cost..."

8.6   Summary and preface to next chapter

This chapter has been a continuation of chapter seven, where the hybrid organizing activities of SEs were analyzed and presented. The disruptive intentions of SEs to disrupt waste as a concept, as they establish the CE principles of recycling and repurposing, were highlighted in that chapter (seven). This was deemed necessary by SEs if pollution is going to be controlled and people are going to see and handle waste differently by putting it back into production system through recycling or transforming it into useful products through upcycling activities. However, chapter seven also showed that SEs want to achieve their disruptive intention in a commercially and socially sustainable way. Therefore, how they are combining their environmental mission, with commercial and social objectives was explored throughout that chapter (seven), thus paving the way for further analysis in this chapter on the institutional work underpinning such combinations.

Therefore, this chapter started by highlighting the institutional creation work of SEs as they set out to disrupt waste through the creation of recyclable collection systems, upcycling, and clean-up cultures in Lagos. Afterwards, the strategies employed to create such systems in order to meet their commercial, social and environmental objectives was discussed under two forms of creation work, which are - strategies to change existing practices and strategies to legitimize newly introduced practices. Efforts at formalizing their activities were also highlighted and discussed as a way to maintain formal organizational structure in the new system or culture they are creating. This enables them to attract the necessary material and relational support to be able to sustain their activities.

The intentional and unintentional effects of SEs' approaches were presented last and includes the intended effect of changing how waste is seen or handled and the unintended disruption of informal collection practices that is taking place because of SEs' formal door-to-door or capture waste-from-source approach. Having highlighted these institutional outcomes from the work of SEs, the next chapter will discuss the key insights that can be drawn from this chapter, as well as, from the empirical chapters six and seven. The policy and practical implications of these findings will also be presented alongside areas for further studies on the CE, SEs, and the institutional work concept.

CHAPTER NINE

9.0 <u>Discussion</u>

This thesis sets out to explore the actions of SEs implementing circular economy principles in Lagos. Such focus was in response to calls for studies that: links SE research to the sustainable development (SD) discourse (Hudon & Huybrechts, 2017); that theorizes how organizations implementing circular principles holistically pursue the multiple objectives of SD (Geissdoerfer et. al., 2017; Moreau et al. 2017); and that elaborates on how the socio-institutional change necessary for implementing CE strategies can be accomplished through institutional work (Boons & Howard-Grenville 2009; Blomsma & Brennan, 2017; Schroeder, Lemille & Desmond 2020).

To respond to these calls and other issues highlighted in the literature review chapters (2-4), an overarching research question, which states *How are social enterprises establishing a circular economy in Lagos? -* was posed, alongside three focus questions, which are as follows:

1. How do social enterprises in Lagos conceptualize the circular economy?
2. How are social enterprises combining their social, commercial, and environmental aims to have an impact on the circular economy in Lagos?
3. What institutional work are social enterprises doing to establish circular economy principles in Lagos?

The findings from interrogating these questions were presented from chapter six to eight, with each chapter describing the empirical responses to each of the questions above. Such findings will now be considered in the light of existing research in order to further interpret, explain and evaluate them, while also simultaneously highlighting areas of new knowledge. Therefore, this chapter aims to discuss the research questions considering the empirical findings and insights from this thesis. The limitations to the study and areas for future research will be highlighted also, followed by practice and policy implications for key actors in the city's circular ecosystem in further enhancing their circular economy practices and interventions.

9.1   RQ1: How do social enterprises in Lagos conceptualize the circular economy?

This thesis answers this question and contributes to knowledge in four key areas: **circular strategies; waste livelihood models, circular principles, and drivers of circular practices**. These are further discussed below.

9.1.1 <u>Circular economy strategies</u>

This thesis demonstrates how SEs' conceptualization of the CE is evident in the strategies they are employing and principles they intend to establish in Lagos, thereby representing practical implementation examples of the CE in a LMIC context. It brings an African country perspective to the CE and SE discourse that is needed to advance some prior understandings of the circular practices in such contexts, which have been said to be mainly economically motivated involving the collection and trading of waste (e.g., Preston & Lehne, 2017; Down & Medina, 2000). As presented in empirical chapter six (sections 6.1.1-5), the CE means recycling and repurposing of waste to SEs in Lagos and the five strategies of collection, aggregation, upcycling, clean-ups and advocacy were their means of establishing such principles.

Elaborating the strategies a bit further, collection involved using incentives such as money or goods to motivate households in sorting their waste such as plastics, fabrics, paper, glass and scrap metal for collection, which is done with in a door-to-door approach or through a waste drop-off mechanism using innovative cargo-bikes, tricycles or trucks. Collected waste are aggregated, sorted, cleaned, and compressed into bales which are then sold off to recyclers who uses it in production or export them. Contrarily, upcycling involves the transformation of collected car tyres, fabrics and plastics into furniture that is sold for home or office use.

The clean-up strategy involves SEs going into local communities or significant public spaces e.g., beach, garden, or park, to clean up waste and retrieve recyclables. It is also how SEs raise awareness and connect with people interested in recycling their waste for an incentive, while keeping important public spaces and the environment clean as well. Aside the awareness raised through clean-up activities, SEs do engage in advocacy, which is a strategy to connect with the authorities, corporate organizations, adults, children, and informal collectors in order to further raise the awareness of pollution and how to facilitate circular practices in Lagos.

From these findings, it is evident that SEs are innovating the mechanisms for collecting and processing waste beyond the informal cart collection methods, that is well studied and common

in the literature on recycling practices of LMICs. Clean-up and advocacy strategies are also presented in this study as how SE conceptualizes the CE in Lagos, further contributing towards understanding the variety of ways in which practitioners engage with the concept. Previous studies have identified waste collection and environmental sanitation services in Lagos as the domain of governments (e.g., Daramola, 2012). This study however extends this view by showing how SEs are taking on such tasks as part of efforts to establish the CE, through clean-ups and advocacy that also enables the collection of recyclables littering the environment for further recycling or upcycling purposes. Common views of clean-ups have been that it is an activity done to curb the negative effects from linear economic activities, with the CE proposed as a means to mitigate the need for such clean-ups (e.g., Ingle et. al., 2014).

However, such views have not considered the role of clean-ups in a CE too and this thesis have shown how this is a core strategy of SEs underpinned by the circular principles of recycling and repurposing. Seeing clean-ups as a CE strategy is necessary, particularly in LMIC contexts such as Lagos, where the issue of environmental pollution persist, with majority of the waste being recyclables in need of collection through such clean-up practices. The recyclables that SEs collects through clean-ups are either accumulated for recycling or upcycled into new products. Also, clean-ups were used by SEs (e.g., clean-advocates) as a medium to promote circular principles and encourage wider participation in associated activities.

9.1.2   <u>Waste livelihood models</u>

A key finding of this thesis was that the five strategies differ in terms of their importance to each SEs' objectives and are therefore, either a core or peripheral strategy to each of the sampled organizations. This 'core-periphery' approach (Krugman's 1979) led to the categorization of SEs according to how central each strategy is to organizational functioning (see table 6.3). As a result, three categories of SEs emerged which are labelled in section 6.1.6 as volume drivers, core transformers and clean advocates.

Volume-drivers have core collection and aggregation strategies while engaging in cleaning and advocacy at the periphery. Core-transformers upcycles waste as a core approach while engaging in collection, aggregation and advocacy as peripheral activities. Lastly, clean-advocates clean and advocate for better waste practices as core approaches, while engaging in collection, aggregation and upcycling at the periphery. Whilst it was stated in section 6.1.6 that the broad categories are not mutually exclusive, with some of the SEs likely to adopt any of

the five strategies where necessary or as desired, such clusters do allow to further explore the variability in their conception of the CE.

As a result, these emergent categories contribute to knowledge on the examples of circular practices in a LMIC context that could serve as models elsewhere. Previous studies have helped in understanding that there are different waste livelihood models or, in this case, categories that can be adopted to create jobs and generate financial returns in low income and resource-constrained environments. The works of Holt & Littlewood (2017) that identified collectors, transformers and retailers as waste livelihood models or the work of Gall et. al. (2020) that presented a model for partnering with the informal recycling sector in an effective, scalable, and sustainable manner were valuable studies reviewed in this area (i.e., on waste livelihood models).

However, this thesis builds on such works by highlighting how clean-ups and advocacy are also income-generating and job creating activities that needs to also be considered in discourses on waste models as demonstrated, for example, in the core activities of clean-advocates. Clean-ups to these organizations are ways to retrieve recyclables and they have designed mechanisms to ensure such activities are financially sustainable through the inhouse services they offer and through the support they receive from external partners. Volunteers are also engaged in clean-up campaigns, as well as women hired to sort through and clean collected waste from the event.

Aside cleaning or advocating, this study also showed that SEs do not just stop at waste collection or transformation to capture financial value, but they combine collection and aggregation with upcycling, clean-up, and advocacy in different ways, with each strategy mutually reinforcing another and contributing to income generation, as well as, to job creation and environmental sanitation. Such varying combinations was how the categories (volume-drivers, core-transformers, and clean-advocates) emerged, representing examples of new models that can be leveraged to make a living from waste, which can be deployed or widely adopted in low-income and resource scarce environments, thus extending the previous views of such waste livelihood models as earlier mentioned.

However, it is important to also state that these emergent waste categories might qualify as 'higher value livelihood models', which Holt & Littlewood (2017) said could be important development tools if the right training and capital are provided to support their implementation. This is because the waste collection and aggregation practices of SEs are technologically advanced beyond basic waste picking or scavenging jobs that requires little or no skills to start.

They make use of vehicles, machines and internet technology that requires a certain level of knowledge, education, and skill to operate. Also, clean-ups and advocacy will require having appropriate legitimacy and relationship building skills in order to relate with corporate bodies, government or international development agencies, who are usually the support providers that sustains such strategies, aside other incomes generating activities that SEs are engaged in.

Although these models might be unattractive to informal collectors or waste pickers that are known to lack the legitimacy or formal education and skills required to engage companies or the government, this thesis has shown that it is possible to implement them (i.e., the emergent waste models) in a way that provides some form of access to markets and jobs to such informal actors and any unskilled individual interested in participating. Of course, there is still the issue of how such higher value waste models can include informal waste pickers beyond ordinary execution or beneficiary roles that ignores their experiential knowledge and innovative entrepreneurialism (Schroder et. al., 2019), which still need to be addressed in future research.

However, these categories of different strategy combinations contribute to further understandings of the ways waste can be operationalized for income generation, job creation and awareness raising in LMICs, thereby extending current knowledge beyond the singular waste collection, transforming or trading models.

9.1.3 Circular principles

This study provided valuable insights into the CE principles that SEs in Lagos are trying to establish, thus contributing to the discussion on practitioners' understandings of, and engagement with, the concept. Particularly, in the 3R principle of reduce, reuse, and recycle, practitioners have been said to settle more for recycling for commercial reasons instead of the environmentally favorable option of reducing or reusing material and energy consumption (Kirchherr et. al., 2017; Ghisellini et. al., 2016). The findings from this thesis aligns with these views as SEs in Lagos relies on the generation and appropriate disposal of waste in volumes in order to have materials to sell. The principle of recycling allows them to aggregate waste in large quantities and profit from selling it, therefore, making it a preferred choice among the other principles for most of the SEs (particularly volume-drivers).

Similarly, some of the SEs e.g., core-transformers, prioritizes another R principle known as repurposing and are working towards establishing it in Lagos. This principle requires creativity

on the part of the SEs to be able to transform waste into a product and as a result was quite unique or rare (Holt & Littlewood, 2017) in Lagos, with the SEs confirming that people are more used to collecting and selling waste for recycling than transforming it through the creative process of upcycling, which is underpinned by the principle of repurposing (see section 8.2 and table 8.3). These findings further back a previous claim by Blomsma & Brennan, (2017) that practitioners are likely to have varying conceptualizations of the CE, as this understanding of the CE by core-transformers shows how different they see their activities when compared to volume-drivers or even clean-advocates.

Most important is that this thesis provides insights into the CE principles that SEs are working towards establishing in Lagos, which demonstrates a lack of preference for principles that requires curbing consumption and economic growth and the favoring of principles that promotes exactly the opposite i.e., more consumption and waste generation in order to sustain their organizations.

9.1.4   Drivers of circular practices

Thirdly, the findings from this study contributes to the discussions on drivers of circular practices and to the emerging calls on conditions, local or global, that are conducive to the emergence and development of SEs (Akanle & Shittu, 2018; Battilana et. al., 2017). From the analysis of what enabled SEs' actions, this study identifies environmental, social and commercial opportunities available in the waste recycling space in Lagos that motivated the enterprises to set out to disrupt the idea that people have of waste in a way that is commercially and socially sustainable.

Environmental opportunities such as traditional beliefs about the role of the sea which is seen as natural waste cleaners and waste seen as evil that should not be kept around for too long in the home, as well as justified norms about indiscriminate waste disposal because of the belief that it is the government's responsibility to clean it up, were all highlighted in this study. Also, social opportunities to improve the image of waste workers and to help low-income household benefit from trading their waste were also found as motivating SE strategies, while commercial opportunities to meet demand for recyclables from manufacturers and to create new business models from transforming and selling products made from waste also drove SEs to embark on realizing multiple objectives.

These contextual factors did not only contribute to knowledge in understanding what motivates hybrid practices in the CE, it also provides a unique perspective on the behavior of people that organizations like SEs are engaging with in Lagos. This is relevant for discourses addressing the consumers' perspectives in establishing CE principles, which Kirchherr et. al. (2017) feels have been under researched. As SEs target people in low-income communities mostly with their strategies, their (people's) negative perceptions of waste, waste work and waste workers mean that the willingness to participate in circular activities will depend on if they are convinced that their involvement can *'meet their needs and improve their wellbeing, while minimizing harm to others and the environment'* (Schroeder et. al., 2019, pg. 14).

Thus, the evidence from this thesis suggests that a skillful combination of sustainable livelihood and sustainable lifestyle approaches is needed if majority of the consumers in LMICs are going to be convinced to participate in organized CE practices. It needs to be clear to people, particularly those in remote communities, how living a sustainable lifestyle that is conscious about minimal waste generation and healthy disposal practices can lead to having good incomes, getting jobs and tackling the problem of poverty. Therefore, the answer to this first research question shows how SEs have conceptualized the CE as a way to make such connections by proposing recycling and repurposing to people as mediums for income generation and sustainable living that respects and protects the environment.

This is the essence of core-transformers and clean-advocates' strategy to train women and children on upcycling practices so that they can leverage the transformation of their generated waste into useful products, as a means of earning an income or meeting their basic needs. It is also behind volume-drivers incentivization and franchising practices that empowers people to accumulate their waste according to the type of incentive they desire, which could be household items or cash. By participating in collecting, transforming or cleaning-up waste, consumers are told they are helping to keep the environment clean through such acts, thereby highlighting and reinforcing sustainability values in consumers, necessary to live a sustainable lifestyle. These shows the different pathways to enhance consumer contributions to CE in LMIC contexts.

Having presented these key insights from investigating the question on SE conceptualization of the CE in Lagos, the next section will continue such discussion by expanding on the multiple objectives associated with their strategies. The focus is to draw out the insights from how SEs manage commercial, social, and environmental objectives as they set out to establish the principles of recycling and repurposing in Lagos.

9.2 RQ2: How are social enterprises combining their social, commercial, and environmental aims to have an impact on the circular economy in Lagos?

This thesis answers this question and contributes to knowledge in two key areas: **understandings of hybrid dimensions** and **the social dimension of the CE**. These are further discussed below.

9.2.1 Understandings of hybrid dimensions

This thesis demonstrates how SEs in Lagos are organizing to realize their objectives, drawing on some commercial, social, and environmental organizing principles. These organizing principles are also known as logics, which, according to Pache & Santos (2013b), helps suggest alternative actions and give organizational actors a broader base of legitimate resources. As presented in tables 7.1 to 7.3, SEs drew on the commercial logics (CL) of trade, service charges, efficiency and customer service and professionalism. These are to ensure they organize their activities in an efficient and financially sustainable manner, either from selling processed waste materials and products made from waste or from charging a fee for offering waste related services such as upcycling training and decorated space rentals.

To address their social concerns, SEs draw on the logics of job creation, inclusivity, and capacity development to ensure people benefit from participating in waste related activities. Also, the environmental logics (EL) of reducing pollution and motivating climate action were used by SEs to achieve their aim of disrupting the idea of waste. These triple logics were deemed crucial to successfully establish the circular principles of recycling and repurposing in Lagos.

However, to strategically apply these multiple logics, SEs integrated them through their activities to ensure their multiple objectives are being pursued. The organizational features by which such integration of logics is being achieved and sustained were presented from table 7.4 to 7.8 for each of the five strategies. Although, one of the key insights from this chapter (seven) came from the critical application of the dimensions of hybrid organizing as conceptualized in the well cited study of (Battilana & Lee, 2014), whose focus was at the organizational form's level of analysis. Drawing on this study, which provided a conceptual model showing five organizational features where hybridity is apparent in SEs (see fig 3.4), this thesis reflected on

their framework, but at the institutional logics level, in order to further explore its relevance and contribute to emerging discussions.

In doing so, this thesis addresses calls for mechanisms for achieving multiple goals in different contexts (Haugh et. al., 2018), particularly in African contexts where social and environmental issues are prevalent and commands equal attention (Littlewood & Holt, 2014) as the economic aspects. It also addresses calls to advance research on hybridity and hybrid organizing in SEs and other relevant organizations (Battilana et. al., 2017). Additionally, analyzing hybridity at the institutional logics level allowed this thesis to explore SEs juggling more than two logics, which have been highlighted as characteristic of most hybrid or SE studies and criticized by scholars who argued for a need to go beyond such binary approaches (Kraatz & Block, 2008; Smets et. al., 2017).

As revealed from the data analysis, this thesis suggests that organizational features are linked through activities, which also serves as the medium where multiple logics are integrated to realize organizational objectives. Starting with the features presented in tables 7.4 to 7.8, volume-drivers are integrating commercial, social, and environmental logics in their collection strategy through acts of collecting waste, expanding reach, hiring, and managing workers and relating with other organizations. These activities then resulted into **operations, workforce practices and incentive systems, and inter- and extra organizational relationship features,** after further analysis. As volume-drivers also aggregate as a core strategy, they integrate logics through acts of accumulating waste, hiring, and managing workers and relating with other workers and with subscribers. These then resulted into **operational activities, workforce practices and incentive systems, and organizational culture features** also from further analysis.

However, for core-transformers, the core strategy is upcycling making their organization a suitable context to explore how they are drawing on logics to organize this strategy and realize multiple objectives. Through acts of creating and selling upcycled products, further analyzed as coming under the **product development and marketing and sales features**, core-transformers are integrating commercial, social, and environmental logics to meet their multiple objectives. On the clean-up and advocacy strategies, these are core to clean-advocates who engages in such activities to meet commercial, social, and environmental objectives. Through acts of planning and doing clean-ups and advocacy, as well as, relating with authorities and other organizations, clean-advocates are able to realize and sustain the

integration of commercial, social and environmental logics to achieve their multiple goals. Their activities were further analyzed as representing **operations, workforce practices and inter- and extra organizational relationship features.**

With these organizational features, this study is extending previous conceptions of hybrid dimensions through its focus on logics, which led to the addition of extra features that SEs uses in realizing and sustaining their multiple objectives, such as **operations, product development, marketing, and sales**. Also, some of Battilana & Lee's (2014) features from analyzing the combination of organizational forms were found to still be relevant even at the logics level e.g., **organizational culture, incentive systems etc.**, thereby echoing the interconnected views of logics and forms that have been highlighted in previous organizational behavior studies e.g., Creed et. al. (2010).

However, 'workforce composition' was extended to '**workforce practices'** to be more relevant in describing SEs' hiring activities than its composition, as labelled in Battilana & Lee's (2014) study (see fig 3.4). Also, 'interorganizational relationship' in their study was extended to include SEs' **extra-organizational relations**, in order to capture their links with the 'macro environment consisting of influences from outside actors' (Priego-Roche & Rieu, 2009), such as households, government, inter-governmental organizations etc. However, this discovery of new features where hybrid organizing are apparent, when looked at from a logic's perspective, is consistent with studies that have explored the dynamic interplay of more than two logics in which new features were highlighted as relevant to the context of such study e.g., Vickers et. al. (2017). Therefore, this thesis aligns with the views of other organizational behavior scholars that believes that context matters and determines the hybrid features and configurations that occurs, hence creating a rich avenue for future studies.

Another key finding of this chapter (seven) was on the social dimensions of the CE, which is discussed below.

9.2.2   Social dimension of the CE

This second question also enabled contribution to be made about the social dimensions of the CE concept by shedding more light on issues of inclusivity, gender, class, and intergenerational dimensions evident in SEs' practices in Lagos. The most common scholarly criticism of the CE concept has been its inability to adequately capture or elaborate on the social dimension of

SD, as much as it emphasizes the commercial and environmental aspects of it (Kirchherr et. al., 2017; Schroeder et. al., 2020; Murray et. al., 2017; Geissdoerfer et. al., 2017; Blomsma & Brennan, 2017; Ghisellini et. al., 2016). This leaves issues such as "*social equality, in terms of inter- and intra-generational equity, gender, racial and religious equality and other diversity, financial equality, or in terms of equality of social opportunity*" (Murray et. al, 2017, pg. 22) less understood in the diversity of scholarships on the CE concept. Starting with gender, the subsequent sections will elaborate on this thesis's contribution to discourses on the social dimension of the CE.

9.2.2.1 Gender

Scholars have highlighted the need for studies on how CE initiatives can contribute to improving the lives of women living in poverty or how gender inequity can be minimized as a result (Schroeder et. al., 2019). In this study, such gender dimension was witnessed across all categories of SEs. For example, in volume-drivers (i.e., cases Red, Pink, Blue, Brown, Yellow and Magenta), cleaning and sorting of waste is a manual work, which requires workers with limited technical skills in order to accomplish such tasks. Therefore, these SEs engage older women and mothers, usually from poor communities, who might find it difficult meeting the requirements of a formal recruitment system due to reasons of their age, lack of education or their inability to correspond properly in English language.

The women are recruited via word of mouth or referrals, as explained in section 7.3.2 and they are equipped with uniforms and other protective gears to protect them while sorting through waste. Studies have shown that what makes the quality of recyclables retrieved in LMICs better in quality when compared to those in developed nations is because they are manually sorted (Owolabi et. al., 2016) and the main actors employed for such crucial work are mostly women in these SEs.

Also, core-transformers engage women mostly in training activities as a way of empowering them with means of creating livelihoods from the waste that they generate. Synonymous with studies from other LMICs (e.g., Bebasari, 2017; Schroeder et. al., 2017), such training helped the women to be aware of the waste in their environment and what they could do with it, as well as build their confidence to leverage new economic opportunities by upcycling waste into products for home use or for sale. However, an interesting finding in this thesis, and contribution to these discussion on gender and the CE, is the fact that some of the SEs (e.g.,

case Violet and Gold) charges training fees from women intending to learn how to upcycle waste, for the sole purpose of making them take the learning seriously and, to be motivated to monetize or make use of the skills acquired to meet their respective needs afterwards. Therefore, while this serves as an avenue for revenue generation for the SEs, the motivating factor was to drive social impact by inspiring women to take upcycling serious as one of the ways to enhance their livelihoods and make the environment cleaner.

9.2.2.2 <u>Inclusivity</u>

One of the biggest challenges of policy makers, practitioners and thought leaders in the waste management space of LMICs has been how to handle or include informal waste pickers and scavengers in formal recycling plans and initiatives. For example, poor handling of these actors has led to their marginalization whereby governments placed and enforced bans on their activities and excluded them from landfills around the Lagos metropolis (Nzeadibe & Iwuoha 2008; Adewole, 2009). Also, while households were known to participate less in recycling while generating the most wastes (Akanle & Shittu, 2018), understandings of how they are made to participate in formal recycling systems are still limited.

This study however contributes to these discourses by demonstrating how poorer households and the informal waste pickers are being included in SEs' collection and aggregation strategies. These enterprises are not only employing elderly women to work, but they are also ensuring poorer households captures value from their waste, while ensuring informal collectors are included and prioritized in their business model by paying them cash for accumulated waste, contrary to the common approach by governments to ban such actors.

In volume-drivers, poorer households are awarded points for every waste they collected, which they then exchanged for household items or cash. The most interesting aspect of their (volume-drivers) engagements with households is the choice to work towards any desired type of incentives, which the SEs made available. These choices are communicated through a flyer at the point of registration (see section 7.2.1), in which the points for specific weights of waste are clearly documented, which households then uses to determine the amounts of waste they need to accumulate in order to earn desired gift items or cash. Such freedom to determine ones' goals and act towards them was defined by Kabeer (1999) as 'agency', a necessary requirement to boost confidence in order to take advantage of economic opportunities.

However, as women and single mothers were mostly the targets of SEs when visiting households, this is one of the ways SEs are adopting to drive inclusivity and contribute to the wellbeing of these households in the communities where they operate. These engagements of SEs in Lagos, therefore, advances the discussions on the need to look beyond job creation as the only social benefit of the CE for developing countries (Preston et. al., 2019), by elaborating on how SEs in Lagos are driving inclusivity, equity, and wellbeing through the strategic inclusion of informal collectors and poorer households as critical resource providers, rather than formally hiring them.

9.2.2.3 Class

This study also contributes to the sustainable livelihood and sustainable lifestyle discourse within the CE (Schroder et. al., 2019; Schroder et. al., 2020). A class dimension was evident in how SEs communicates with their target audiences in different parts of Lagos. When SEs visits poorer and remote communities, their message is usually on how recycling waste and keeping their environment clean can help meet their economic needs and improve their wellbeing. However, when visiting richer neighborhoods, SEs communicate the environmental aspects of their activities, whether in collecting waste or upcycling, and how signing up as a subscriber can help mitigate the impact of climate change and reduce the effects of pollution (see section 7.2.1). With these findings, this study therefore responds to the question posed by Schroder et. al. (2019) which seeks answers to how sustainability messages can be reframed in a way that will make it more relevant and appropriate for both the poor and the affluent.

By emphasizing the material benefits, it is more likely to catch the attention of the poor and by highlighting the environmental consequences of waste generation, the rich are more likely to pay attention and seek redress. Although, the challenges of targeting the poor with benefits first, as evidenced in this thesis, is that emphasizing the incentive aspects of SEs' strategies led to a fixation on the economic benefits of recycling with less interest in the environmental consequences of poor waste disposal habits (see section 8.1.2). Also, while people in rich communities care less about incentives and appreciate the importance of eradicating pollution in any form, their weakness is the willingness to commit to regular recycling or upcycling, sometimes due to the size of the recyclables and the space it occupies at their homes.

As a result, it poses a challenge to SEs whose aims are to promote recycling as a lifestyle in poor and affluent communities. By highlighting the approaches of SEs as they relate with both

communities in Lagos, this study, therefore, contributes to knowledge by highlighting the challenges of promoting CE practices as a way to earn a livelihood or as a lifestyle.

9.2.2.4 <u>Intergenerational dimension</u>

At the core of the SD framework is an intergenerational dimension that aims to protect the future of generations to come while meeting the needs of those present now (WCED, 1987) and scholars have highlighted the CE as a suitable way to achieve intergenerational justice (Marczak, 2016; Hes, 2017). However, such future dimensions have been less mentioned in prior CE studies (Kircherr et. al., 2017). This thesis, therefore, contributes to this discourse by highlighting how SEs in Lagos are aiming and working towards the enlightenment and empowerment of children in order to take charge of their own future. Aside the recycling and upcycling activities they carry out, SEs were also involved in cleaning and advocacy strategies, though it was a core activity in some of the cases (e.g., Gold and Magenta) and peripheral in others (see table 6.3). These strategies take them to schools, where SEs inform children and their teachers on waste sorting, recycling, and upcycling.

Some of the SEs (e.g., cases Red, Yellow, Gold, Magenta, Orange, and Violet) also priorities children in their awareness raising campaigns on appropriate waste disposal habits for a cleaner and healthier future whenever they visit remote communities. SEs (i.e., cases Magenta and Orange) organize paid, children camp programs where they teach them aspects of waste recycling, upcycling, and nature in general (see section 7.6.1). As shown in section (7.5.1), SEs take advantage of global observances around environmental sustainability to visit or invite children where they are engaged on protecting their own futures. With these strategies, SEs are advancing some prior understandings of developing countries' CE practices (e.g., Preston & Lehne, 2017; Down & Medina, 2000) as consisting of mainly economically motivated activities, involving the collection and trading of waste. This study also shows how the business side of the circular economy is being combined with advocacy for promoting intergenerational justice, which is at the core of the SD discourse.

However, there have been concerns of child labor and exploitation (women and children) that has been raised in previous studies about such context e.g., Adama (2012), but not evident in the data analysis on SE activities for this thesis. Such possibilities are, therefore, areas worthy of further research. Having detailed the key insights as it relates to the second question for this

thesis, the next section will discuss the third research question on the institutional work SEs are doing as they combine these multiple objectives to advance CE practices in Lagos.

9.3   RQ3: What institutional work are social enterprises doing to establish circular economy principles in Lagos?

This thesis answers this question and contributes to knowledge in three key areas: forms of institutional work; elements of institutional work; and intentionality and its effects. These are further discussed below.

9.3.1   <u>Forms of institutional work</u>

As the data revealed (see appendix 7), SEs in Lagos are working towards disrupting the concept or logic of waste to facilitate the establishment of circular principles. This is in line with studies that highlighted 'cultural lock-in' to linear economic system as barriers that would need to be tackled to pave the way for the CE (Schroder et. al., 2019; Ehrenfeld, 2000). However, to **disrupt this logic of waste** in a socially and commercially sustainable way, this study shows that SEs engage in **creative form of institutional work**, drawing on commercial, social, and environmental organizing principles. Tables 8.1, 8.3 and 8.5 represents the creative institutional work SEs are embarking on to realize their intentions.

A key finding of this creative work of SEs involves its processes, which include efforts geared at **changing existing practices** and other efforts geared at **legitimizing the new practices**. The three categories of SEs (Volume-drivers, core-transformers, and clean-advocates) are all changing an old and well-known practice either directly or in a subtle manner. For example, volume-drivers acknowledged drawing from and making direct changes to the existing practices of informal collectors that formerly picks up waste from households, in creating a new recyclable collection system in Lagos. On the other hand, this study shows how core-transformers intend to create an upcycling culture by directly drawing from and changing existing woodworking practices, using waste in place of wood to make similar furniture design.

Also, clean-advocates intend to create a new clean-up culture or norms that subtly draws from and changes existing environmental sanitation practices instituted by the government. Several strategies were employed for changing such existing practices, which were all discussed in sections (8.1.1, 8.2.1 and 8.3.1). However, in addition to the changing work, all the SEs also

embarked on **legitimizing acts** that intends to make the changed or new practice "desirable, proper, or appropriate' (Suchman, 1995). Strategies employed to legitimize their practices due to differences in the type of systems they are creating are presented and discussed in sections (8.1.2, 8.2.2 and 8.3.2). Aside the creative institutional work (i.e., changing and legitimizing works), another interesting finding in this study is the **institutional maintenance work** that SEs are doing to maintain the formal organizational structure in the field of waste recycling in Lagos, which were discussed in section (8.4.1).

Based on these findings, this thesis contributes to calls for studies that combines the institutional logics and institutional work perspectives to explain how actors work to shape institutionalized practices, beliefs, and norms (Hampel et. al., 2017). Most importantly, this study sheds light on the efforts of actors to shape societal institutions, which have been less focused upon in previous research. Such institutions have been said to be more 'complex and distal' (Hampel et. al., 2017) and exerts greater influence on social behavior than the simpler and more proximal institutions at the organizational and field levels.

Insights from this study shows SEs are working to delegitimize the idea of waste in Lagos, which can be synonymously described as a large scale and complex institution. Complex because Lagos's waste problems are widespread and infused with different beliefs and normative behaviors, which this study shows has been difficult problem for the state government to tackle in the past (see section 8.1). It also requires novelty, infrastructure, and the ability to penetrate distant and remote locations where poor waste handling practices are prevalent due to people's lack of knowledge on what to do with the waste they are generating. Therefore, this thesis suggests that the disruption of old waste practices might require the creation of new institutions, which must also be legitimated if the old behaviors are to fall out of favor with people, hence contributing to the further understanding of how organizational actors work to delegitimize old beliefs and practices, which has been raised by previous scholars (e.g., Johnson et. al., 2006).

However, to be legitimate, the new practices must fit with some socially constructed systems of norms, beliefs, and definitions (Suchman, 1995), which meant that SEs had to be strategic in the creation of new waste practices by leveraging and changing existing taken for granted informal waste collection, wood working, and regular environmental sanitation practices in order to support its acceptability. Acts geared towards legitimating the new activities, therefore, becomes less daunting for SEs and more meaningful to their audience who can draw

similarities or congruence with their old waste practices as they consider or take on the new one.

The institutional creative work of actors is therefore incomplete without the ongoing processes of legitimation, in which organizational actors work continuously to shape the generalized perception of the new waste practices 'as appropriate and desirable within a taken-for-granted system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions' (Johnson et. al., 2006). Therefore, this finding agrees with studies that sees institutionalization as a process (Barley & Tolbert, 1997) and combines such perspectives with institutional work to explain the process of institutional creation in SEs. In doing so, it provides a more nuanced description of institutional creation work as described in the seminal work of Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) by showing how such work consists of purposive changing and legitimating acts, before highlighting the elements that makes up such acts.

Additionally, this thesis shows that the disruptive intention of SEs in Lagos did not only lead to the creation and legitimation of new waste practices but also the maintenance of the formal system of organization, in order to appear legitimate to corporate regulatory regimes or authorities. By registering with, and reporting their activities to, the government, they demonstrate correspondence to ideal types which grants them legitimacy and leads to attracting relational and material support from other organizations alike also e.g., corporates, intergovernmental agencies etc. This sets them apart from other informal activities within the waste space and supports their legitimacy building activities as they advance their new waste collection, upcycling, or clean-up culture in the state.

These insights illuminated the dynamic nature of institutional work by highlighting the **co-occurrence between its different forms** (disruption, creation, and maintenance). It agrees with, and provides empirical evidence to, studies that stated that efforts to tackle any of the 'grand challenges' such as climate change, pollution or poverty etc. are likely to require creative, maintenance and disruptive works simultaneously to do so (e.g., Hampel et. al., 2017). Each of the institutional work outcomes, therefore, can also serve as a means to an end, such as how the creative and maintenance work of SEs was their means of achieving the disruption of waste as a concept in Lagos.

9.3.2 Elements of institutional work

Another significant contribution from the data analysis are the additional mechanisms of institutional work that it elaborates, in order to add to what is already available in the seminal study of the concept (i.e., Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). As shown in table 4.1, Lawrence & Suddaby's (2006) mechanisms were critically applied to the actions of SEs in Lagos but are found to be limited in interpreting the diversity of strategies actors were implementing in Lagos to establish the recycling and repurposing of waste. Through their seminal work, it was possible to highlight strategies such as **changing normative associations, embedding, and routinizing, education, deterrence, dissociating moral foundations, and undermining assumptions and beliefs**, in this thesis.

Additionally, other studies have highlighted more strategies that were also useful in interpreting SEs' strategies in Lagos such as **bridging** (Jarzabkowski et. al., 2015); **enhancement and experimenting** works (Marti & Mair, 2009) and **bricolage** (Battilana & D'Aunno, 2009). Based on the findings from the data analysis, new strategies such as **direct aiding, showcasing, gifting, theming, grandstanding, beautifying, and registering** emerged and were presented in this study, adding to the previous institutional work mechanisms highlighted above. Also, other new strategies discovered serves as an extension of previous mechanisms discussed in the seminal work of Lawrence & Suddaby (2006), such as the need to **maintain normative associations**, which was left out in their study as they only accounted for changing normative association as a strategy. Additionally, actors sometimes **leverage the normative networks** which they might already have, as seen in this study (see section 8.2.2), instead of having to construct a new one as suggested in Lawrence & Suddaby's (2006) work. Furthermore, advocacy work can be an **individual effort, as well as a collective effort** with other similar actors in the field, as SEs have shown in this study, thus providing more insight into such a strategy beyond their initial conception of it.

Aside finding out these extensions, the data analyses also shows that some elements of institutional work included in this study, though categorized differently, bears similarity in meanings with some of the mechanisms in Lawrence & Suddaby's (2006) study. Examples include **'constructing new meanings'** in this study is similar in meaning to their *'theorizing'* strategy; **'remodeling'** in this study is similar to *'mimicry'* in theirs; and **'permission-seeking'** in this study is similar to acts of *'deterrence'* in their study, further demonstrating variations in

the mechanisms presented in this thesis. However, the objective here is not to suggest that these strategies are definitive.

While the intended outcome might be similar, strategies are likely to differ because institutional work is largely context specific (geographical, industry etc.), which is in alignment with other views such as the work of Zolska et. al. (2019) that adjusted the institutional work framework to explicate how urban sharing organizations are working to create new institutions. Therefore, the intention in this thesis is to shed light on the current work, unfolding in the daily practices of SEs in Lagos as they establish circular principles, which may or may not achieve its desired end, thereby highlighting useful or relevant strategies for organizations interested in or implementing related principles for sustainable development.

9.3.3   Intentionality and its effects

Previous scholars have called for a need to document institutional work, its role and effect if the concept is going to be any useful in dealing with societal grand challenges, in terms of knowing what works and what failed (Hampel et. al., 2017; Lawrence et. al., 2013; Beunen & Patterson, 2019). The claims have been that institutional work scholarship has been flooded with intentional strategies for institutional change but failed to show the effects of such strategies on achieving their intended effects. This is synonymous with calls in SE research to document the impact (positive or negative) of hybrid organizations in order to better understand their roles in bringing about SD and in addressing pressing social and environmental problems (Holt & Littlewood, 2015).

Thus, this thesis contributes to these discussions by highlighting the intentional and unintentional disruptive effects that SEs' actions are having in Lagos. Starting with the former, the sampled SEs initially set out intentionally to disrupt the logic of waste in order to establish the CE and there were indications that such objectives were being achieved, as the data analysis revealed (see section 8.5). However, what is significant is the latter i.e., the unintentional effects of their strategies, which was revealed as undermining informal collection practices in Lagos.

This was an unintentional effect because SEs never highlighted such actors (informal waste pickers) as an initial reason for their purposive actions, as shown in section 6.2, even though their activities are preventing waste from getting to landfills, where informal collectors will

normally have access to it to further sort, accumulate and sell in order to earn an income. Several of the SEs referred to informal collectors as "unsung heroes" to describe their historic and unappreciated acts of recycling waste in the state (see section 6.2.2), while some are including waste pickers in their collection supply chains due to the volume of recyclables they can accumulate, further showing they were not the target of SEs' disruptive intentions or activities.

Also, SEs intention to maintain a formal or registered status, even though it got them on the good side of the government, is contrary to the informal status of waste pickers that have suffered sanctions and bans in the past. Therefore, SEs formalization efforts is contributing to or supporting government's efforts to facilitate '*new ways of acting that replace existing templates or decrease the perceived risks of innovation and differentiation*' (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, pg. 237) with new forms of organizations. However, insights from the data revealed that the acquisition of tangible resources such as financial capital, from a local or international organization, is tied to the formal organizational status, which was part of their (SEs) justifications for registering their enterprise in order to acquire the needed legitimacy to access support for their organizational sustenance.

However, this unintentional effect of SEs disruptive action responds to the inquiry by Marti & Fernandez, (2013, pg. 23) that: *are there or might there be types of institutional work that seriously threaten the possibility of agency for others?* It shows how the well-intentioned acts of SEs to establish a CE that tackles the issue of waste pollution and that help some people make a living from the waste they generate, might be taking away the livelihood of another in the process.

While these strategies are needed to scale up the uptake of recycling and repurposing principles in the state, they risk further marginalizing and displacing waste pickers that represents an existing form of circularity in the state when fully established. Therefore, this thesis contributes to calls for studies on socio-institutional changes necessary to facilitate a CE by highlighting how a well-intentioned act to change rules, norms, and behaviors towards circularity in LMICs might be meeting the interest of some groups, while having a disproportionate effect on another group of actors, hence making issues of inequalities and poverty that is already commonplace in such contexts to persist.

Having highlighted these findings and insights, the subsequent sections will reflect on the limitations of this research and the policy and practical implications resulting from it.

9.4   Limitations and future research

This thesis is a single-country study focused on exploring the CE strategies of SEs in Lagos Nigeria. The overarching aim was to explore how SEs are establishing the CE in Lagos (a state in the country Nigeria) and the various sections have detailed their strategies, drivers of those strategies as well as their strategic efforts at institutional change. As African contexts in general are characterized by complex institutional layers at the community, state and country levels, similarities and differences exist across and within its geographical boundaries, particularly in areas of tribal leadership and ethnic dynamics (Rivera-Santos et. al., 2014). Therefore, there is no way of showing in this study how similar or different the CE strategies of SEs are in other states in Nigeria or in other African and LMICs, neither can the applicability of these strategies in those contexts be evidenced. This thesis therefore suggests that, while future researchers of this subject will find some of the approaches presented in this study useful in a LMIC context, they should not be treated as definitive either, hence allowing room for adaptation and new discoveries as relevant to their context.

The selection of the cases was quite balanced across the more publicly known to the less famous SEs. However, only few organizations were analyzed in the category of SEs that upcycle or that cleans and advocate as core practices. While selecting cases for these categories, it is possible that the more visually present SEs on various media platforms have been selected while potentially underrepresenting those SEs that have little or no presence on media channels, making it difficult to identify them. There is also the possibility that labelling organizations of interest as 'social enterprises', during the recruitment of cases, might have side-lined others who do not have a good understanding of the concept or consider their enterprises as one, even though they carry out similar activities as the sampled SEs. The researcher acknowledges this limitation and ensures a relatively large sample of enterprises, covering the range of waste related activities in Lagos, were included in the study.

However, the awareness of social enterprise as a concept in LMICs is still quite low and more needs to be done towards understanding the characteristics of organizations that can be classified as SEs in such contexts. Such lack of clarifications is unhelpful as it can hinder supportive policy making for SEs and hinder their growth in such contexts. While this study drew from the work of Rivera-Santos et. al., (2014) which uses self-identification as a criterion for defining which organization is or is not a SE, further studies that sheds light on the

institutionalization of the social enterprise concept (Sepulveda, 2014) in LMICs might be very useful to help highlight the barriers to legal form creation and adoption, while learning from contexts that have successfully created the necessary legal change to support the emergence and distinction of such enterprises.

Also, majority of the SEs involved in this study, though theoretically classified as matured (see table 5.1), are quite young having been in operation for two years, as at the time of this field work, with the oldest being 7years old. This has implications for capturing and understanding the process of institutional change in propagating circular principles in Lagos. While this study provides a rigorous summary of a relatively large sample of enterprises captured within the 5months of fieldwork in Lagos, future studies can take a much longer, longitudinal approach to capture and reveal the outcomes of the institutional work of SEs after years of operation.

While this study highlights how their efforts might be disrupting the field and societal level institutions of informal collection and the perceptions of waste, the researcher is also aware of the contentions that institutionalization is a continuous process whose operation can be observed only through time (Barley & Tolbert, 1997). Studies that take a much longer approach to study these enterprises and the process of change might help further shed light on intentionality and its effects. As mentioned earlier, this is necessary if the institutional work concept is going to be any useful in dealing with societal grand challenges, in terms of knowing what works and what failed.

This study might also be interpreted by institutional work scholars as having strong undertones of planned change, hence 'projective agency', especially as SEs were presented in this study as working towards meeting specific distant objectives. Although, emphasis was put on the day-to-day practices of actors, this study did not highlight the different dimensions of agency, such as 'practical evaluative and iterative' dimensions that enabled SEs to carry out such institutional works.

Therefore, future studies can take this work further by more comprehensively adopting the framework of Emirbayer & Mische (1998) to shed light on the different dimensions of agency actors draw upon as they implement CE strategies in their respective contexts. Not only will this help fill a gap in the CE literature, but it will also help uncover the dynamic interactions and changing order of dominance among the various dimensions of agency, relevant in advancing institutional theory and work studies.

While the recent COVID-19 pandemic represents exogenous shocks that have led organizations, both large and social enterprises, to massively change several aspects their organizations and daily activities, scholars believes that institutional change are best studied during times of apparent stability, where the new complexities it produces are no longer novel, but settled in routines that allow actors to balance competing demands continuously and dynamically (Smets et. al., 2017). Therefore, there is a future chance to study how SEs responded to the covid-19 pandemic and the potential changes to their rules, norms, values, and objectives, as well as the work done to realize such changes. Following the work of those authors, this will be a future study when SEs' response has been routinized and the complexities that comes with the pandemic are no more novel to them.

Also, one of the discussions these pandemic, and other events such as the Black Lives Matter (BLM) mass protests, has re-ignited is the issue of social inequality and injustices that is calling for urgent institutional changes globally. For example, Nigerian government have been accused of not having an inclusive approach to waste management that considers the plight of informal waste pickers in their response plans to the covid-19 virus spread (Nzeadibe & Ejike-Alieji, 2020). Also, while this study highlights the work SEs are doing which involves integrating these crucial actors in their business models, it also shows that their strategies are disruptive towards what these informal collectors are doing.

While SEs were seen to justify the effect, their actions might be having based on waste pickers' health grounds in this study, there is a need to understand how they (informal waste pickers) see and interpret the role of SEs in the space that have been their main source of livelihood. Further research can, therefore, decide to investigate the impact of SE practices on informal waste collection in Lagos and any LMIC context where such dynamics are present. Additionally, the strategies of SEs raise a theoretical question for further research on institutional work and morality (Moore & Grandy, 2017), such as- are their purposeful disruptive works ethical and how can this help advance the discourse on social enterprises and institutional work?

There have also been tendencies to label the lack of institutions significant to the west as institutional voids in LMICs, a view some scholars with alternative perspectives clearly disagrees with (e.g., Hamann et. al., 2019). However, based on the findings from this thesis, the researcher however argues that African contexts are characterized by both institutional

voids and institutional complexities, which makes it a unique context to study how both impacts organizations and how they deal with or respond to both.

SEs in this study were not only faced with lack of appropriate recycling infrastructure and suitable roads to transport their waste, but they also have to deal with multiple agencies, police, community kings and chiefs and vigilante groups, each with different demands, as they navigate communities to collect or transport waste within the city. While this represents efforts in propagating circular principles, future studies can, therefore, attempt to capture how SEs tackling other social or environmental issues in LMICs, cope with voids, while responding to the conflicting demands of the multiple objectives they aim to achieve, instead of treating both concepts separately or as a causation.

The role of faith and its influence on the social aspect of SEs' practices is an area, not looked at in this work, but is worth considering in future studies, as the significant role religion plays in social entrepreneurial activities have earlier been highlighted (see Omorede, 2014). There is also the whole issue of power relations among countries and the influence of global CE policies on African countries (Desmond & Asamba, 2019) that is not covered in this work due to its scope but are areas for further research.

Also, as nations develop strategies to minimize resource and energy consumption through CE strategies, it presents an opportunity to carry out empirical international comparative research that looks at similarities and differences in individual, organizational and governmental approaches towards propagating circular principles, while highlighting lessons that developed economies can learn from LMICs and vice versa. Such insights can be useful for facilitating circular transition by providing private and government actors in various contexts with additional strategies that can be adapted or adopted, while also sharpening the understanding of the CE among scholars and practitioners that are keen on the concept.

9.5   Practice and policy implications

The CE is one of those approaches that has piqued the interest of governments in Africa and the world due to its potential for economic development, as well as, for social and environmental sustainability. However, this thesis has demonstrated that achieving a circular economy is impossible without necessary changes to the rules, norms and beliefs that has shaped the behaviors of people and organizations through the dominant take-use-dispose

economic model. Therefore, regarding institutional work to facilitate the implementation of CE principles in Lagos and Nigeria, there are implications for policy and practice in five areas, which are in public policy, scale of existing practices, infrastructure, collaborations, and a fair and inclusive CE.

Starting with public policy, the government in Nigeria has already made good policy progress in terms of the implementation of the EPR Program aimed at businesses to ensure they protect the environment and manage waste responsibly. This is, indeed, a significant step for CE transition in such context as there are empirical studies that have highlighted legislation as a good instrument to mount pressure on organizations to improve their environmental performance (e.g., Holt & Ghobadian, 2009). While the challenge of governments in Nigeria, and in most LMICs, have been the enforcement of rules and regulations, there have been considerable steps taken so far to engage relevant stakeholders and drive compliance with the EPR demands through sensitization and dialogues.

Although there is still more that could be done in terms of the government adopting a stricter stance on sustainable production with severe sanctions enough to discourage infractions and unethical practices. There are legal options of enforcing appropriate product labelling to reduce consumer confusion on what is recyclable and what is not and the options of plastic tax, that can incentivize the use of recycled materials in product manufacturing, if properly implemented.

However, as the government tightens up on this coercive aspect, SEs and various environmental NGOs should also be empowered and supported to continue the propagation of the principles of reducing, recycling, and repurposing as evidenced in this study. Through their practices, they are contributing to the management of what Nakpodia et. al. (2018, pg. 400) called the "*more seemingly silent activities of humans as it relies on morality, ethics and value*", particularly on issues related to the environment. No matter how well enforced rules and regulation are, if consumers do not possess or develop the ethical fiber or behaviors to protect their environment and recycle their waste, such rules will be broken immediately as soon as the opportunity presents itself. What is evident in this thesis is that SEs' efforts are changing the societal perception of what waste means, influencing anyone they engage with about their environment. Supporting and scaling up such enterprises therefore becomes paramount in other to achieve the goals of the EPR and other waste related policies at the state and national level.

Such government efforts could come in terms of recognition of social enterprises and those leading change in their communities through dedicated legal forms and advocacy. Some of these enterprises can also benefit from tax relief initiatives, funding support, as well as inclusion in public procurement plans that can help them boost their incomes to be able to engage in more socially and environmentally beneficial activities. Governments at the state and national level can show support for these enterprises that are promoting circular principles through patronage, such as buying their upcycled products for public offices and events.

As seen in this study, SEs can benefit from the legitimacy a government organization can bring to their products that are made from waste by boosting its public acceptance and making people see the possibilities of waste. Nigerian government can also learn from practices in other countries like the UK government, who enacted the Social Value Act in which public procurers were mandated to factor in social, environmental, and economic well-being concerns, when making decisions at the pre-procurement stage, as well as consider the need to consult relevant organizations if necessary (Social Value Act, 2012). Such act could see SEs become more supported and actively involved, not only in local economic development issues, but also in social and environmental dialogues and decision-making activities necessary to facilitate circular transition and achieve the SDGs.

In terms of infrastructure, if the government is serious about getting people and organizations to recycle their waste, investing in appropriate infrastructure to support such activities is paramount. As learnt from this study, SEs encounter individuals and organizations willing to recycle or upcycle their waste but are always discouraged by either the lack of color-coded waste bins, waste bags or effective transport services that will ensure such waste were evacuated on time. While the state government in Lagos has pioneered the sharing of waste bags to communities through SEs, the extensiveness of such initiative, in terms of ensuring every household have such bags to separate their waste, are still unclear. Logistics is also crucial to what SEs do and not having the luxury of good roads to transport waste in the local, and sometimes remote, communities that they operate in, has been detrimental to their growth.

Considerable amounts of their earnings go towards fixing their broken-down trucks or tricycles because of bad roads. There is also the issue of having to deal with law enforcement officers on the road to justify where they are transporting waste to and why, or if they have the required federal, state, and local government licenses to operate. As previous studies have highlighted a close link between an organization's supply chain and its economic performance (Rao &

Holt, 2005), some of these SEs are considering cutting out logistics from their activities to minimize the cost associated with it, which might see them backtrack on their social objective of providing waste pickup jobs to those unemployed. Institutional change efforts by the government that tries to lessen these hurdles that SEs have to go through either to transport waste, advocate in schools or campaign in communities will go a long way in improving the experiences of these SEs as they advance the multiple objectives associated with the CE.

This infrastructural requirement calls for cross-sector and cross-border collaborations as Lagos and Nigeria make efforts towards adopting the CE as a way to develop differently. Local private sector support is important to generate the kinds of investments that such a grand plan will require, and the incentives to guarantee corporations how a CE transition will not affect their private economic activities, but instead enhance it, have to be very clear. Also, significant financial and expert support are needed from the international community to support infrastructural development that will be needed and to share knowledge on progress and lessons from establishing circular principles in their respective countries.

Withing the SE community, there is a need to get more disruptive and play a role in shaping the rules and regulations governing waste recycling and repurposing in the state, country and internationally. Their collective organizing efforts through the Recycling Association of Nigeria (RAN) is a way to go in collaborating and in advocating against rules and norms that poses a threat to their organization, but such efforts will need to be strengthened and become better structured. This is where building trust among association members and securing their commitment to the groups' ideas and ideals are crucial. The association leadership have to ensure that the areas they are competing with each other in does not affect the areas they are willing to collaborate on, if they are going to be successful as an association and advocate for solid waste recycling in the country. How to ensure cross organizational representation in their activities, including social media promotion and showcasing, is also an area to deliberate upon to ensure all members are fairly represented and empowered by belonging.

Lastly, how to be fair and inclusive is the biggest task of government as they kickstart policies and plans to promote and establish circularity in the state and country wide. To minimize the disruptive effects that supporting SEs might have on informal collection practices, effective means of engaging informal waste pickers in the dialogues that will ensue about the CE need to be considered. Such engagements should also consider including them as experts,

particularly in the area of recovering and recycling post-consumer waste, and not just as beneficiaries that needs to be trained and formalized.

9.6 Conclusion: Circular Economy as a tool for developing differently in LMICs

The need for sustainable development through alternative economic principles that guarantees a different kind of development but also regenerates environmental resources is an urgent global concern. The CE proposes closing the loop in production and consumption systems by reducing, reusing, and recycling waste, thereby prolonging the lifetime of materials and conserving energy resources. This study contributes to the broader understanding of this alternative economic approach by exploring the CE concept in the waste management sector in an LMIC context. The focus is to explore the strategies of SE aimed at establishing the CE to manage and control the challenges of waste in Lagos. Summarizing its findings, this thesis sheds light on how SEs have conceptualized the CE concept; how they are organizing with its inherent multiple objectives (i.e., CE) and the institutional work involved in such hybrid organizing processes. This institutional work aspect is one of the crucial contributions of this study where the institutional and social dispositions that are necessary to consider in discourses on CE implementation at the individual, organizational and societal levels, were highlighted.

But what does it all mean for developing differently in a LMIC such as Nigeria? From the analysis presented, it was clear that changing rules or policies alone will not do the trick, as there are norms and beliefs that needs to be challenged and changed if circular propositions and implementations are going to achieve such an objective, particularly in such contexts. Most importantly, social enterprises are rising to such gargantuan task in the waste sector setting examples on how to shape beliefs and norms around waste in a commercially and socially sustainable manner, thereby showing how organizations can lead the way in developing Lagos and Nigeria differently. The work of these enterprises matter, not only because they help connect with local communities and hard to reach area or people, but because their actions, as presented throughout this study, holds the potential for a radical transformation of the economy with the potential to help the country develop differently.

However, there is also the question of what a formalized and highly structured CE approach will mean for LMICs where majority of the economic activities are informal, with numerous unsuccessful attempts by regimes to formalize or regulate such sector. This thesis has demonstrated how the practices of informal collectors might be getting disrupted by the

activities of SEs in Lagos that aims to stop valuable waste from getting to landfills through advanced recycling and repurposing schemes. They are also doing this in conjunction with the government and international support agencies, that prioritizes organizations having a formal 'registered' status in other to be allowed to operate or access the much-needed support to sustain their activities.

While it was also evident that SEs are being inclusive in their approach and are not out to displace waste pickers, but to enhance their activities, they currently serve as a vehicle through which formalized waste recycling system can be scaled up and informal collection activities displaced, through the kinds of attention they are getting from powerful local and international actors. This highlights the dimension of power and its uses, which has been highlighted as an important part of institutional work but not reflected upon in this study because of the questions it is focusing on, although it can also be a subject for future work.

However, since the discussion on the CE is being held in such formal circles (government, SEs, corporates etc.) and backed by international countries that promotes and supports formal organizations, the concern here is that the voices of the scavengers or waste pickers risks being unheard, or their choices are likely not to be considered in efforts to circularize Lagos state. Their contributions to environmental sustainability and job creation risks being glossed over, as well as their expertise from years of pioneering recyclable waste collection, sorting, trading for recycling and repurposing in the state. Not including such actors in circular discussions based on their 'informal status' will mean that their agency or efforts to create or transform existing institutions are being unrecognized, seeing such works as only possible within the remit of formal organizations.

The lack of clarity on the social dimension of CE conceptions in literature have also not helped, especially when most of the focus have been on job creation, without really considering previous issues and impact of marginalization and displacements of informal waste pickers from their known means of livelihood due to harsh stances taken on formalization by past and present governments. Although this thesis advanced discussions on the social dimension of the CE concept with the activities of SEs in Lagos, it is still important to reflect on the effect of such treatments on waste pickers' trust for a formally organized CE system to replace their existing ways of earning a livelihood, under the framing of job creation. Such move is likely to pose great challenges, particularly in trying to absorb them into formal organizational structures and could potentially deepen the social issues of poverty and inequality that already

pervades such context. Previous studies have shown this also that the fragility of LMICs due to the absence of macro-economic stability can turn a well-intentioned policy approach into blunt instruments, which is also capable of further exacerbating the economic inequality that is already a reality of such contexts (Sepulveda & Amin, 2006).

The quote from Marti & Fernandez's (2013, pg. 23) reflections on institutional work is somewhat suitable in capturing the nature of these inherent tensions and what needs to happen, as presented below:

"*If people feel their capacity to shape their lives has been taken from them…; or that they have been pushed into herds like animals…or treated with no dignity…, is there still any point in discussing how they may transform or create institutions? We believe it does. But we should be well aware that without some minimum control and dignity, institutional work – and for that matter, any sort of work and even life – becomes unbearable…People need to feel and be treated as worthy human beings in order to envision and execute acts of agency*."

Therefore, serious questions need to be asked on what a fair and just transition to a CE should look like if it is going to suitable as a pathway to develop differently in Lagos, Nigeria and other LMIC alike. These types of insights are also only possible when discussions on circular transformation or transition are grounded in political and institutional perspectives or conditions that shapes people's lives. As SEs are being considered as important stakeholders in establishing circular principles, informal collectors also need to be included at the same and higher-level discussions and the means to make that happen have to be devised with inclusivity in mind i.e., taking into consideration their educational backgrounds, literacy levels, technical capabilities etc. Also, they should not be included solely as beneficiaries of what the CE will provide but as experts who have some firsthand and years of experience in leveraging waste as a resource.

SEs in Lagos have examples that can be emulated in terms how they have designed their business models to co-exist with informal collectors' model, sometimes buying waste from them and helping them enhance their activities through technological inputs. By being practical examples of how to use enterprise to deliver human services; how to make work more inclusive; how to redistribute wealth to reach the poor; and how to commit to a cause that preserves the planet for future generations as detailed throughout this study, SEs in Lagos are laying the foundations for a new economy needed to develop differently. Crucial task before those with facilitative or supportive capacities is how to support these enterprises and replicate

these alternative enterprise ideas across other sectors nationally, without trampling on the rights and livelihood of the incumbents.

With the practical implementation examples detailed in this thesis, it can serve as guidebook for scholars looking to extend their understanding of the CE concept and engage in discussions on how its applicability to a LMIC context can help advance discussions on the social dimensions of the model. It can also serve as an information piece to policy makers and development partners, locally and globally, interested in how CE implementations can engage formal and informal means and actors, to drive inclusive development and environmental sustainability in LMICs. Lastly, this study can provide useful tools and strategies that practitioners can draw on and that nascent social entrepreneurs, interested in waste related activities in Nigeria and other LMICs, can learn, adopt, and adapt to the exigencies of their institutional environments.

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APPENDICES
Appendix 1

Gatekeeper letter (1) granting permission to members of staff

Ensure submission is on letter headed paper/work logo

Name
Company/Organisation
Physical address
Contact details (phone number and email)

Date

To whom it may concern:

I certify that Adeyemi Adelekan (the researcher) has been granted permission to collect data at our organization in relation to the study:

Exploring the circular economy strategies of social enterprises: A case study of organizations in Nigeria's solid waste recycling sector.

This involves data collection with Founders/CEOs of social enterprises, members of staff and their network partners.

Specifically, data collection will relate to the following: a 30-45minutes interview covering the following themes-

- company background information,
- conception of and motivations for waste related practices,
- organisational design and practices,
- social relationships/partners,
- communication and organisational strategies for waste related practices
- challenges you encounter running this organization in Nigeria.

The questions will be open-ended allowing the sharing of stories with the researcher about the enterprise and what we do within the solid waste recycling sector in Lagos. I acknowledge that Adeyemi will be required to provide Consent Forms and Participation Information Sheet before proceeding with data collection.

Yours sincerely
Name and position

Signature

Gatekeeper letter (2) granting permission to interview network partners

Ensure submission is on letter headed paper/work logo

Name
Company/Organisation
Physical address (with postcode)
Contact details (phone number and email)

Date

To whom it may concern:

I certify that Adeyemi Adelekan (the researcher) is conducting a doctoral research, using our organization as a case study, titled:

Exploring the circular economy strategies of social enterprises: A case study of organizations in Nigeria's solid waste recycling sector.

As a result, the study involves data collection with Founders/CEOs of social enterprises, members of staff and their network partners. Since you are one of our esteemed partners, I have directed him to you for an interview about your work supporting our activities.

Specifically, data collection will relate to the following: a 30—45minutes interview covering the following themes-

- Participant's background,
- Nature of and motivations for partnership,
- Conception of waste related practices,
- Communications and organizational strategies,
- Organizational and contextual challenges

The questions will be open-ended allowing the sharing of stories with the researcher about the enterprise and your supporting role within the solid waste recycling sector in Lagos. I acknowledge that Adeyemi will be required to provide Consent Forms and Participation Information Sheet before proceeding with data collection.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely
Name and position

Signature

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Exploring the Circular Economy strategies of social enterprises: A case study of organizations in Nigeria's solid waste recycling sector.

Name of Researcher: Adeyemi Adelekan

1.   I confirm that I have read and understand the information for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2.   I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3.   I agree that this form that bears my name and signature may be seen by a designated auditor.

4.   I am assured that the confidentiality of my data will be upheld through the removal of any personal identifiers.

5.   I understand that my interview may be taped and subsequently transcribed.

6.   I agree to take part in the above study.

_____   _____

Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____

Researcher   Date   Signature

1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher

Full description of cases

Case	Organizational type	Areas of waste services	Income source	Type of recycling	Stage in the entrepreneurial process
Red	- *Privately held For-Profit business.* - *Registered as a Limited Liability company* - *Emphasized social dimension and impact to people.* - *Describes self as a social enterprise that has social impact, while also making profit.*	*-Aims to prevent waste from getting to landfills.* *- Intercepts waste at the source and also buys from landfills, when needed.*	*- Sales of recyclables* *- Offers trading services such as colour-coded bin supplies to individuals and corporates* *- Earns from training people and organizations on waste management and recycling.* *- Receives support grants and loans*	*-Offers door to door collection of waste as part of the recycling chain.* *-Aims to prevent waste from getting to landfills.* *- Intercepts waste at the source and also buys from landfills, when needed.*	*-Matured organization.* *- Started the idea around 2016.*
Blue	- *Privately held For-Profit business.*	*- Aim to reduce plastics that goes to landfill.*	*-Sales of recyclables*	*Collects plastics waste from source*	*-Matured organization.*

	- *Registered as sole-proprietorship* - *Emphasized doing it for social impact*	- *Divert waste from household to facility.*	- *Receives local and external grants*	- *Aim to reduce plastics that goes to landfill.* - *Divert waste from household to facility.* - *Processes recyclables for final buyers (recyclers) after collection.*	-*Started operations around 2016/2017.*
Yellow	-*Privately held For-Profit business.* - *Emphasizes impact as what drives revenue.* *Describes self as a social enterprise.*	- *Preventing waste from getting to landfills.* - *Gets recyclables from source.*	- *Sales of recyclables* - *Offers paid consulting services on recycling* - *Offers paid services to set up co-curricular clubs (on recycling) in schools.* - *Receives local and external grant support.*	- *Collects recyclable items* - *Working with small and informal collectors to collect from them.* - *Processes recyclables for final buyers* - *Preventing waste from getting to landfills.* - *Gets recyclables from source*	*Matured organizations having started full operations around 2017.*
Brown	-*Privately held For-Profit business.* - *Registered as a Limited Liability company.* -*Describes self as a social enterprise*	- *Taking waste away from landfills.*	-*Sales of recyclables.* -*Receives local and external grants*	*Collects recyclable materials* *Aims to take it away from landfills.* - *Processes recyclables for final buyers.* - *Offers corporate services to act as official collector of recyclables.*	- *Matured organization.* - *started operating since 2013 but registered*

	that helps people capture value from their waste.				*business in 2012.*
Pink	*-Registered as a Limited Liability Company.* *- Privately held For-Profit business.* *- Emphasizes making social impact as main goal* *-Describes self as a social business.*	*- Offering simpler ways of getting recyclables so that it doesn't get to landfills.*	*- Sales of recyclables* *- Wins competitions prizes* *- Receives local and external grants.* *- Offers paid services to corporations to collect recyclables.*	*- Collects recyclables* *- Processes recyclable waste for final buyers* *- Offers corporate collection services*	*Matured organization having started operation since 2012.*
Violet	*-Privately held For-Profit business.* *- Started operations with as sole-proprietorship but later changed to Limited liability Company for grant purposes.*	*- Aim to prevents diseases caused by tyres trapping rainwater.*	*- Sales of finished upcycled product. Have a B2B and B2C selling strategies.* *- Trains others on upcycling for a fee* *- Receives local and external grants to train others and make furniture for deprived public places.*	*Turns waste tyres to furniture* *- Turns tyres into raw materials to be used for further production.* *- Produce a variety of home decoration products.*	*-Matured organization.* *-Started operations since 2015.*

	- *Emphasizes the social dimension of the business.*		- *Receives competition prizes* - *Charges extra for corporate services to brand their finished upcycled products.*		
Orange	-*Privately held For-Profit organization.* - *Operates a non-profit arm as well and sometimes conducts upcycling trading activities under this form.*	*Aim to prevent drainage problems by using tyres littering the environment.*	-*Sales of product* -*Receives honorariums for training and empowering others (women and children)* - *Brand products for people and organizations at an extra charge.*	- *Converts tyre to furniture.* - *Trains women and children on how to upcycle.*	-*Matured organization.* -*Started operations in 2016.*
Gold	*Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) that trades*	-*Aim to encourages proper waste sorting and disposal habits, as, well as, keeping the environment clean.*	-*Upcycles and sells products* - *Trains others for a fee* - *self sponsors activities with no grant or loan received at the time of interview.*	- *Targets organizations, groups and vulnerable groups on upcycling.* - *Maintains an ecological garden using tyres, planting trees and organic farming strategies.* - *Engages in advocacy campaigns through clean-up activities.*	-*Matured organization having started operations since 2010.*

				- Trains others on upcycling for personal use, emphasizing waste to wealth or converting it into furniture for use at home.	
Magenta	*Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) with income-generating activities.*	*- Aim for a cleaner environment, with children as champions of such initiatives.*	*-Receives donations and crowdfunds.* *Receives local and external grants.* *- Gets program sponsorships in funds and resources.* *-Charges fees to use public spaces*	*- Carries out Adopt-a-tree and tree-planting programs and activities.* *- Cleaning and beautifying the beach/shoreline. Organizes sustainability-themed events on the beach.* *- Carries out regular clean-up activities.* *- Training children for free on waste collection and recycling.*	*-Matured organization.* *-Started operation since 2011.*

Sources: Qualitative data

TOPIC GUIDE FOR FOUNDERS/LEADERS OF THE SOCIAL ENTERPRISE

(VERSION 1)

Interview code: F/CEO/01

Number of years running the enterprise:

Size of the organization (number of employees):

Sector/main activity:

Interview date:

COMPANY BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Please tell me how you started or joined this organization?
    Probe for:
    a) Any Influence of social relations/network?
    b) Any Influence of role/social position/title?
    c) description of core business of organization
    d) registration of business
        I.   If registered, probe for legal form and ownership structure/board composition/senior management team
        II. If not, any reasons why? Probe for ownership structure.

2. How does your organization make money?
    Probe for:

    I.   Money reinvested/Surplus distribution or sharing formula or cap?
         (Financial statements or any proofs to show income and re-investments).

CONCEPTION OF WASTE RELATED PRACTICES

3. What is your vision/future aspirations for this organization/where will you like to see this organization in 5, 10 or 20 years?
    Probe for:
    a.   Why they feel it's necessary or important (the difference)
    b.   Did you started off with this future goal/vision from inception or it developed over time?

i)   If it developed over time, can you describe a particular period when the vision you started with had to change into what it is now currently/what were the factors at play that influenced such a vision change or shift?
>   Probe for:
>   - Reason for change
>   - What had to be changed
>   - How the change was implemented
>   - Any influence of available network/support
>   - Any influence of context

ii)   if not, next question.

c.   Any help from publications in shaping the way you see and think about the future of your organization's activities (books, newspaper, article) or influencer (actor/actress, model, relatives, academic, politician)

d.   If you are to write a book about what you do, what will the title likely be?
>   I.   Why/what informed that title?

4.   What do you think you are doing differently about waste in Lagos?
>   Probe for:

a)   How was it done before that makes you decide to do what you do in a different way/What were you not satisfied with or uncomfortable with in the waste related activities in the state?

b)   And what does that mean for how you set up or organize your company? E.g. activities, staff structure, earning capability, external relations, organizational culture etc.

ORGANIZATIONAL DESIGN AND PRACTICES

5.   You have mentioned what your future aspiration for this organization is. Now let us talk about what you are presently pursuing. Which objectives/goals are you pursuing now?
>   a)   So how do you go about meeting these objectives

6.   Tell me about a crucial moment in time that you found it difficult to fulfil the aims you set for the organization?   (address tensions in hybrid organizing)
>   Probe for:

>   a)   How did you handle such situation?
>   b)   Did you had to consult or talk to anyone?
>   I.   If yes, who and how did you get to originally know the person/company/NGO?
>   II.   If no, move to the next question
>   c)   Did you had to make any other changes aside from the one you just mentioned?
>   If yes, what changes did you make:
>
>   I.   Internally? (staff, roles, tasks, business model)
>   II.   In external relations? (Partners, target audience, funders, volunteers)
>   If no, move to the next question

COMMUNICATION AND ORGANIZATION STRATEGIES

7.   From your business idea or activities' presentations, can you recall any situation when people had difficulties in understanding your business model/idea/concept?

Probe for:

a) Who are the peoples involved? (e.g. stakeholders: funders, private org, international NGOs, state government officials, informal traders, households, members of staff).
b) How did you explain it to them?
c) What examples did you use to make it simpler and why did you use those examples?
d) Did you have to make use of any visuals, sounds, diagrams or objects in the process?

8. From such experience, do you now adjust your presentation according to various audiences or you deliver same message, regardless of who or which organization is involved?
   If yes, how do you commonly describe your organization to:

   I. Households (families)
   II. Informal traders/businesses
   III. New members of staff
   IV. General public
   V. Private organizations
   VI. Intergovernmental bodies (UN, WHO, USAID, BBC. etc.)

   If no, how do you simply describe what your organization do now?

Observations of leaflets, pamphlets, uniform, website or app, email correspondences, logo, office designs etc.

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS/NETWORKS/PARTNERSHIPS/COLLABORATION

9. Kindly describe the nature of your current partnerships.
   a) If you contacted these organizations, how did you reach out to them?
   b) If they contacted you, what did you think made them to?
      i) Could it be because of something they heard or saw about you? What is it and where did you see it?
      ii) If not, how did they come about your organization?

10. Looking back, can you describe a moment when any of these partners/collaborators you are connected to helped you accomplish a critical/urgent task (or project/contract)?

    Probe for:
    a. What was the connection's background/role/title/job?
    b. How did you reach out to the person/organization regarding the task?
    c. Have you maintained the relationship since then or parted ways?
       I. If yes, what other task(s) or project(s) have you worked on together?
       II. If no, why did you parted ways/relationship ended?

ORGANIZATIONAL AND CONTEXTUAL CHALLENGES

11. Please describe what it means/feels like to run an organization like yours in Lagos and Nigeria.
    a) Is/are there any kind of necessary support currently being provided to your organization or lacking?
       i) If being provided, by whom? How did you connect to them?

ii)   If lacking, what alternatives are there and that you are currently leveraging to carry out your activities?
b) What would you say has been your organisation's biggest challenge operating in Lagos since inception till now?
i)   How has it been managed since inception?

12. Are there any similar kind of organizing or organizational activities like yours out there that you think should be discontinued or controlled/monitored?
If there are, probe for:
a. Description of organizing/organization and why?
b. Influence on their organization activities
c. Best way to manage or control such similar external activities
If there aren't any, how about those you think should be more engaged/supportive of your organization's activities, are there currently any?

Probe for:

d. are you reaching out to them? If yes, through which means?
e. what the key points of your message to them?

If no, move to conclusion.

CONCLUDING REFLECTION

13. How do you think your work has influenced others?
Probe for:

I.   NGOs and social enterprises
II.   Other businesses
III.   State government
IV.   Informal traders/businesses

14. Are there anything else not covered in this interview that you will like to comment on?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP.

TOPIC GUIDE FOR MEMBERS OF STAFF OF A SOCIAL ENTERPRISE

OPERATIONS (COLLECTION/PROCESSING/SALES/ADVOCACY), CUSTOMER/CORPORATE/PUBLIC RELATIONS, STRATEGY, FINANCE OR TRAINING UNITS.

(VERSION 1)

Interview code: EMP/01

Number of years employed:

Gender:

Sector/main activity:

Interview date:

PARTICIPANTS ROLE IN THE ENTERPRISE

1. Please tell me how you became involved with "*organization name*"?
   Probe for:
   a. Previous experience before joining?
   b. What initially attracted you to this enterprise?
   c. How can you simply describe the company's mission/objectives?

CONCEPTION OF/ MOTIVATION FOR WASTE RELATED PRACTICES

2. Please describe a moment in time when you have struggled to explain what this organization do.
   Probe for:
   a. Who were you trying to explain it to?
   b. How were you trying to explain it?
   c. How did you handle the situation in the end?
   d. How has that experience influenced the description of the organization activities?
3. Since you joining this organization, can you describe an incident or situation that was a morale booster for you, or encouraged your further contributions, in this organization? (e.g. goal achievement, rewards, awards, referral)
   Probe for:

   a) What did you had to do to get such boost?
      I. Influence of/on social relations/network
      II. Influence of/on role/social position/title

ORGANIZATIONAL DESIGN AND PRACTICES

4. Let us talk about the work you do here, please tell me about a major challenging task/project assigned to you that you successfully completed either recently or in the past.
Probe for:

   a. What is/was the goal of the task/project?
   b. Who did you do it with?
      I. Did it require you relating externally with partners or forming new connections? If yes,
         • how did you go about doing that?
         • What did you say to them to make collaboration easy.
         • Will you say the collaboration was successful and why?
      II. If no, move to the next question
   c. How did you go about the task?
   d. What were the challenges you faced during the task and how were they managed?
   e. Did you have to use any special equipment, or tool, incentives or skill to accomplish the task beyond the normal day-to-day duties and tools?
   f. What do you think you did differently that contributed to the project's success?

COMMUNICATION AND ORGANIZATION STRATEGIES

5. As an experienced staff of this enterprise, can you recall a time that you have personally engaged in advising someone or an organization on their waste related activities?
Probe for:
   a. Who were the people/group/organizations you were trying to advise?
   b. How did you advise them?
   c. Did you make use of any physical objects, signs or data during the period to back up what you are saying? Tell me about the object, sign or data used? What was the rationale behind their selection?
   d. Did you engage the help of an external person or organization during this process? If yes:
      i. Who did you engage?
      ii. How were they contacted?
      iii. Did you had to pay for their services or was it a mutually beneficial collaboration?
      iv. Can you say the collaboration was successful or it failed? If it failed, why?
   e. What was your expected outcome? Was it achieved?
      i. If yes, how was it measured?
      ii. If no, when did thing take an unexpected turn?

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS/NETWORKS/PARTNERSHIPS/COLLABORATION

6. Looking back, please tell me about a project/contract/task you could not have gotten/accomplished without external partners, collaborators, connections.
Probe for:
   a. Who was/were the partner(s), collaborator(s), connection(s)?
   b. How did you contacted/reached out to them?
   c. How did you describe the project to them?
   d. Did it involve the use of any object, material, data, or signs to convey your message across?
   e. Tell me more about this partnership/collaboration, how did you two work together?
      i. Did they have to work on your site or you at their site?
      ii. Or separately at each individual site and then meet for meetings etc.?

     f.   Was the outcome of the collaboration successful?
          i. If yes, how was it measured?
        ii. If no, when and why did things took an unexpected turn?

CONCLUDING REFLECTION

7. Is there anything you would you have done differently looking back since joining this organization?
   a. if there is, please can you elaborate a bit more on it and why?
8. Are there anything else not covered in this interview that you will like to comment on?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP.

TOPIC GUIDE FOR MEMBERS OF SUPPORT INSTITUTIONS (STATE, NGOS, PRIVATE SECTOR, INTERGOVERNMENTAL)

(VERSION 1)

Interview code: S-INST/01

Sector/main activity:

Size of the organization:

Interview date:

PARTICIPANTS BACKGROUND, /NATURE OF AND MOTIVATION FOR PARTNERSHIP

1. Please explain what your organization does, why and how you became involved with "*mention organization's name*"?
   Probe for:
   a. How long have you been involved in the waste sector?
   b. Reasons for working with the enterprise (nature of the problem being solved and how these enterprises are going about it)
   c. Working with any similar organization in the waste sector?
      i. If yes, what is it about these organizations that make you partner or work with them?
      ii. If no, move to the next question.

ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICES AND NATURE OF SUPPORTING ROLE

2. Please describe a current or past project that you are working or have worked on with "*mention organization's name*".
   Probe for:
   a. How was the project described to you/or what was your understanding of the project?
   b. How did they reach out to you?
   c. What makes/made this project important to you also?
   d. What is/was your role in the project? (provide support e.g. financial, human resources, material or infrastructural, documents or training etc.) – probe each of these further to know what it entails.
   e. What does this project/task tell you about the organization's activities/approaches? (probe for commercial and environmental/social tensions)
   f. If ongoing, what is your expected outcome from the project?
   g. If completed, what was the outcome of the project? Any surprises or unexpected outcomes?
      i. If yes, please tell me when and why you think the project's activities took an unexpected turn?
      ii. How was it handled and what role did you play in the management of the unexpected event?

COMMUNICATION AND ORGANIZATION STRATEGIES

3. What do you think these organizations are doing differently in their waste related activities?
   PROBE FOR:
   a. HOW CONNECTED ARE THEY TO LOCAL COMMUNITIES?
   b. HOW IS THEIR APPROACH TO WASTE MANAGEMENT DIFFERENT?
   c. WHAT ELSE ARE THEY DOING IN THE COMMUNITY THAT YOU ARE AWARE OF/ OR PARTNERED WITH THEM ON?
   d. WHAT IS YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR CORE MESSAGE?
   e. HOW ARE YOU CONTRIBUTING TO HELPING THEM PUSH SUCH MESSAGE?

ORGANIZATIONAL AND CONTEXT CHALLENGES

4. Are there any similar kind of individual/group organizing or organizational activities like these enterprises out there that you think should be discontinued or controlled/monitored?
   Probe for:
   a. Description of organizing/organization and why?
   b. Influence on waste related activities in the state
   c. Best way to manage or control such similar external activities

FUTURE OUTLOOK

5. How do you see the future of "*mention organization's name*" in the overall waste management system in Lagos?

6. Are there anything else not covered in this interview that you will like to comment on?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP.

TOPIC GUIDE FOR ASSOCIATION

(CHAIRMAN, COORDINATOR, SECRETARY)

(VERSION 1)

Interview code: RAN/01

Position of participant:

Gender:

Years of experience in the recycling sector:

Interview date:

CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION

1. Based on your experience of the sector, can you please describe the waste management activities or system in Lagos?
   Probe for:

   a. Role and influence of Informal recycling
   b. Public attitude, waste related beliefs and norms

ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICES

2. Why was *(Institution name)* created?
   a. Specific events/incidences that led to the formation of the group
   b. *(Institution name)* membership structure
   c. *(Institution name)* business model (how it earns money)
   d. Group objectives upon creation
   e. Evolvement of the group's objectives
      i. What are the factors responsible for such evolvement?

3. What do you want to work together for?
   a. What do you not want to work together for?
   b. How do you know people are not going to use the information from such association against you?

COMMUNICATION AND ORGANIZATION STRATEGIES

4. What are the objectives of *(Institution name)*
5. How is *(Institution name)* set up to meet these objectives?
   a. How are they working towards meeting these objectives?
   b. Influencing or creating policies
   c. Support for enterprises (NGOs /for profit enterprises)
   d. Work with people at the grassroots
   e. Work with private sector
   f. Work with the state (federal, state and local govt)

6. Are there any main developments in the field since *(Institution name)* started that you can comment about?
    a. If yes, please describe some of them.
    b. If none: what are the new developments, you have noticed in the recovery and recycling of solid wastes in Lagos?
    c. What can you say is leading to those developments?
    d.
7. I noticed that recyclers usually are area specific…What happens if one of the recyclers that you know of decides to expand operations to your area? E.g. wecyclers is coming to Ilupeju for example.

FUTURE OUTLOOK

8. Please describe your vision for *(Institution name)* as the current chairman/coordinator.
    a. What can threaten the achievement of such vision in Lagos and Nigeria.

TOPIC GUIDE FOR PARTICIPANT'S NETWORK (COMMUNITY KINGS, CHIEFS AND VIGILANTE GROUPS)

Interview code: S-INST/01

Sector/main activity:

Size of the organization:

Interview date:

PARTICIPANTS BACKGROUND, /NATURE OF AND MOTIVATION FOR PARTNERSHIP

1. E je ka mo yin (sir/ma), ki e de shalaye bi e se mo **? (Translation: Please can youintroduce yourself and how you knew **?)
2. Bawo ni e se le shalaye ise ti ** n se ni agbegbe yin? (Translation: how can you explain the work that ** is doing in your community)
3. Eni ke ni ti o b afe wa shey iru ise medic yi ni agbegbe yin, kini won ni latishey ni akoko? (Translation: If anyone is interested in doing similar work in this community, what do they have to do?
4. Awon ona wo len gba ran ** lowo fun ise tin won shey lagbegbe yin? (Translation: How are you assisting enterprises like this for the work they are doing in your community?
5. Lati igba ti eti gba ** laye la'agbegbe yin, kini eti se akiyesi nipa ni agbegbe yin? (Translation: What have you noticed since you have allowed these enterprises to come into your community?)
6. Awon ona wo ni ise ** ti ni ipa lara yin, tabi lara awon eyan ni agbegbe yin? (Translation: How have their work impacted you or people in your community?
7. Bawo ni ojo ola ** shey ri ni Ilu Lagos ati Nigeria wa yi? (Translation: What do you think the future holds for these enterprises in Lagos and Nigeria?)
8. Shey e ni afikun kan kan si gbogbo ibere mi yin ipa ise **? (Translation: Do you have anything else to add?)

Appendix 5
Initial list of codes developed while on the field and immediately afterwards

Legal forms

- Legal form as a segregating tool
- Sole proprietorship as a legal form for SE
- Institutions and resource allocation (legal forms)
- Legal forms as a determinant for resourcing from partnerships
- Legal forms as a means of structuring an enterprise
- Legal form as a determinant of the extent of scale/it creates boundaries of areas where they can play or not play in
- Legal form used to gauge level of seriousness of a venture
- Legal form as a source of legitimacy

Business model

- Incentivisation for recycling/Reward system
- Reversed-subscription-based model where social enterprises pay people with recyclables (plastics, cans, cartons etc.) on a point-based basis – BM
- Volume business/ the more the recyclables, the more the money
- Integrated strategy/Hybrid organising
- Similar model across recyclers- point-based/Isomorphism
- Incentive based model
- Reliance on external grants for survival
- Marketing strategies for upcycled products are B2C and B2B
- B2C will be done through distribution channels such as malls
- Means to scale for upcyclers:- strategy (B2C TO B2B), partnership for CSR, wholesaling or large volume sales, branding gift items and policy/vertical versus horizontal scaling
- Online mall as a distribution channel for upcycled products
- Training as a medium to sell product
- SE also buys from landfill. When they buy from landfill, no incentive needs to be giving to households or individuals. The incentive model is a differentiator from other business-like and some informal businesses alike. So they compromise on their social objective sometimes just to fulfil their commercial aims.
- Bike model, electric ride model, truck, tricycles, bus – different models for recyclable collection
- Offtakers includes private businesses and social enterprises
- "Not a sustainable model if we have to depend on funding"

Informality

- Informality in board member selection
- Partnership arrangement with the informal sector seen as a way to have social impact (give back to society)

- Informal sector: offers good money for recyclables, unsustainable practices for the environment
- Unofficial/Informality in recruitment
- Easier to start as an informal recycler than as a formal (equipment, space, capital etc. needed).
- Informality makes hiring fast and firing easy
- Corrupt practices do also occur in formal processes e.g. scaling of recyclable is filled with acts that tries to influence the weight in favour of the subscribers

Hybrid organising

- Unofficial/Informality in recruitment
- Hybrid organising through object as a pathway for institutional work (Ritefood company and social enterprise logo on work uniform; Unilever and social enterprise logo on office buildings and containers etc.)/ Hybridity and identities in institutional work
- Localised operations and competitions (each social enterprise are known for operating in certain local communities or areas.)
- Social media as a tool for localisation, positioning and legitimacy building/ social media as a geolocation tool for partnerships/ social enterprises as recognized collectors of certain areas.
- Local presence as the basis for legitimacy
- Integrated strategy/Hybrid organising
- Economic sustainability challenge in circular business models
- Marketing strategies for upcycled products are B2C and B2B
- B2C will be done through distribution channels such as malls
- Online mall as a distribution channel for upcycled products
- Numbers matter and numbers do not lie(financial sustainability in social enterprises)
- Outsource social cost to corporate organisations and development agencies
- Tailoring their message/story. pitch according to different audiences, including through social media
- Differentiation strategy through social media is where one was crafted to communicate environmental impact and the other communicates the business or ecommerce side of the business
- Selection of recyclables based on the logic of profit/tension between commercial, social and environmental when it comes to recyclable materials
- SE also buys from landfill. When they buy from landfill, no incentive needs to be giving to households or individuals. The incentive model is a differentiator from other business-like and some informal businesses alike. So they compromise on their social objective sometimes just to fulfil their commercial aims.
- Reason for compromise: volume business, institutional change takes time, people expect bigger rewards
- Licences to operate as a recycler
- Identity and trust- medical doctor's background and enquiries about drugs to take
- Integrated business model where economic and environmental goals are simultaneously achieved while the social element is combined in an alternating manner, where you give this to get that
- Some resource providers grants resources from a good for business perspective e.g. off takers, some from a good for community perspective e.g. government giving space

or private business allowing the use of their space for free/ integrated model overcoming potential paradoxes in the allocation of resources

- People's background in terms of negative experiences inspire how organisations emerge and are set up and the goals the strive to achieve
- Leveraging social relations to reduce commercial and social tensions
- Transferring the cost of resource recovery to the beneficiaries of the social program to sustain the business – reducing number of times to go pick up through advocacy.
- Social enterprise as a source of hope, aspiration for staff and it contributes to staff retention. Promotion also contributes to staff retention
- Staff socialization into the commercial aspect of the business
- Shift the cost of logistics to subscribers as a way to handle the challenges associated with it.
- Drawing on family logic of respect to manage workers relationship
- Culture of cooperation where they all assist each other in reaching organisational goal
- Influence of family on social enterprises
- Creating a culture of saving in enterprises

Community

- Community seen as markets for recyclables
- Recyclables seen as markets
- Social enterprises stands a better chance of engaging with a community than an NGO because of their ability to meet economic needs/ "Everybody likes a giver"
- Hierarchy in the market place/nothing happens without the market leader, community chief or King's consent/institutional constraints and isomorphism

Contextual influences

- Hierarchy in the market place/nothing happens without the market leader, community chief or King's consent/institutional constraints and isomorphism
- Informality breeds corruption or gives room for corrupt practices
- Evading tax seen as smart/weak institutions
- You have to be MAD to do business in Nigeria
- The need for price regulation and government engagement for more policies as a reason for forming an association
- Uncertainty in the business makes enterprises prefer grants to loan
- Contextual challenge:- insecurity impacts on SE logistics
- 'Alayes' or vigilante groups lays claim over certain territories and charges enterprises for evacuating waste from those territories
- Regulatory bodies fear not scaring enterprises away
- Relaxed approach to regulation of SEs in order not to scare them away or kill their businesses

Challenges of SE in the CE in Nigeria

- Limited involvement at the local government level in promoting recycling compared to general environmental sanitation
- Logistics as the main issue for business models around the CE

- Organisational buy-ins for sustainable products easier than individual buy-ins
- Competition among social enterprises affects coming together to form associations
- Low level of government support
- Government bureaucracies as a hindrance to enterprise activities e.g. write letter before anything is done
- "You have to be MAD to do business in Nigeria"
- Various grades of plastics confuses people on what or what not to recycle
- Far from the idea of a closed loop economy due to plastic diversity and selectivity on recyclables
- Bureaucracy – government structures and organisational boards
- Price fluctuations by offtakers as a source of frustrations for social enterprises. It leads to inefficient model due to price changes and high cost of operations
- Licences to operate as a recycler
- Not the safest of jobs to do for staff
- Policing seen as a challenge to the logistic aspect of their work
- Police will either delay, doubt and argue, delay and extort, let you go after checking papers or ask directly for money
- Business name registration as a challenge
- Capital intensive business – high running cost as a challenge
- Government levies, electricity and space for collecting as challenges
- High staff turnover caused by unsafe working environment; low pay rate; and uncertainty in resource supply chain
- Equipment breakdown as a challenge

Perception of the CE

- Evacuation of plastics seen by social enterprises as doing a favour or rendering a service. Market women sees recycling as a business. Conflicting perspective in plastic waste recovery for recycling between social enterprises and their target audiences
- Community seen as markets for recyclables
- Consumer perception of upcycled products affects its pricing
- Organisational buy-ins for sustainable products easier than individual buy-ins
- Circular economy as zero waste, aspirational and organisational
- Scratching the surface
- Far from the idea of a closed loop economy due to plastic diversity and selectivity on recyclables
- Flexibility in scaling due to market demands, enormous opportunity or untapped areas/ uncertainty in future projections as it concerns scaling
- Recycling is capital intensive
- "When people say recycling will reduce cost, im wondering for who now"- Scepticism over recycling as an alternative for cost reduction in organisations
- "Recycling isn't new in Nigeria"..it happens largely in the informal sector..social enterprises are formalising it. A case of the state using SE as a modernising agent.
- Scepticism about getting it right in this generation and emphasis on equipping the young ones to get it right in the future
- SE perceived self as running a logistics business
- Less advocacy on reduction or reusing and more advocacy on proper waste disposal and recycling

- Exchange as a circular economy principle
- Waste management associated with facility management and cleaning services
- Processing (bailing, sorting and shredding) seen as adding value to waste and it helps enterprises bypass queues in assessing suppliers (offtakers).
- Integrity check before trusting with a managerial title
- Collecting plastics as a side business
- Stacked up plastics seen as causing nuisance
- Recycling is seen as reusing (taking waste and recycling them for reuse)

Institutional entrepreneurship (Profile of an institutional entrepreneur)

- Risk taking, reputation, integrity, reading, storytelling ability as a characteristic trait of social entrepreneurs
- Professional background influential to how business is run
- Creating institutions requires teaching + attach rewards + apply rewards at collection point
- Profile of the Social Entrepreneur- professional background
- Co-founders complement each other's strengths and weaknesses
- Drive as a key characteristic of founders
- Enterprising, Passionate, good networker, risk taker, resilient, strong survival instincts, inquisitive.
- More women than men working in areas such as founders, collection, processing and offtakers

Scaling

- Scaling products according to market demands/according to current problems
- Legal form as a determinant of the extent of scale/it creates boundaries of areas where they can play or not play in
- Flexibility in scaling due to market demands, enormous opportunity or untapped areas/ uncertainty in future projections as it concerns scaling
- Still "scratching the surface"
- Scaling as a reason for attracting funding and funders, but also as a reason for funding cut

Institutional change

- Institutional comprehension comes before institutional change/Institutional work for institutional comprehension
- Incentives increases recyclables collection but fails in institutionalizing recycling as a lifestyle
- Upcycler believes the best way to appeal to people's emptions is through the end product/ End product as a means to influence emotions towards institutional change
- Lack of individual will at organisational level

Institutions

- Beliefs social enterprises challenge are - environmental sanitation takes place every Thursday and last Saturday of the month; The sea will wash away the dirt; The government will clean it up/pay people to clean
- Similar model across recyclers- point-based/Isomorphism
- Legitimacy for resource application/funding
- Evading tax seen as smart/weak institutions
- Policy as a way of enforcing institutions
- Institutions and resource allocation (legal forms)
- Strong institutions create opportunities that SE leverages on for resources
- Cultural beliefs that waste is waste/problem of misconception and perception
- We all wear the same shoes- isomorphism
- Isomorphism and unique selling point (USP)
- Training is important to maintain institutions
- Legitimacy from already legitimate institutions is necessary to obtain resources but also to boost the confidence of founders and provide aspirations to staff members
- Building legitimacy takes time and makes founders sceptical about changing locations to start over after its gained.
- Local institutions e.g. chiefs helps sensitize and they also grants access to community.
- Institutional weakness caused by low and unequal pay; lack of appropriate tools

Institutional work

- The role of instant gratification in institutional work (A what can I get now attitude?)
- Cash incentives as a preferred form of reward
- Tailor sales pitch according to audience
- Incentives increases recyclables collection but fails in institutionalizing recycling as a lifestyle
- Play their future before their face/futurism and institutional work
- Legal forms as a determinant for resourcing from partnerships
- Upcycler believes the best way to appeal to people's emptions is through the end product/ End product as a means to influence emotions towards institutional change
- "Changing the face of waste corporately"/institutional work at the organisational level
- Appealing to people's emotion is important to sell but not enough to drive the entire business/ the power of the creative process and finished goods- emotion and institutional work
- Creating institutions requires teaching + attach rewards + apply rewards at collection point
- Institutionalise at organisational level involves provided separate labelled bins, pictures/images through PowerPoint presentations, educate on recyclables, set up a reporting mechanisms to management
- Build a community, appeal to their emotions, and attach a reward to make their actions sustainable
- Consistency with rewards helps build subscriber loyalty and a way to be known in community
- Penalties in form of value deduction as a form of institutional work to control behaviour and prevent fraudulent activities.
- Feelings of being cheated while trying to socialize subscribers into the way they do things/ local language challenge while also trying to do this

Resources

- Strong institutions create opportunities that SE leverages on for resources
- Networks as a source of insider information to get grants/resources
- Licences to operate as a recycler
- Seasonality affects resource flow
- Some resource providers grants resources from a good for business perspective e.g. off takers, some from a good for community perspective e.g. government giving space or private business allowing the use of their space for free/ integrated model overcoming potential paradoxes in the allocation of resources
- Legitimacy from already legitimate institutions is necessary to obtain resources but also to boost the confidence of founders and provide aspirations to staff members
- Having a partner to start is easier than going at it alone due to resource constraints
- Inadequate resources to support staff and keep work environment tidied.
- Local donor programs vs international donor programs

Logistics

- Logistics as a reason for localization
- Policing seen as a challenge to the logistic aspect of their work
- Overreliance on a supplier

Media

- International media features perceived as a sign of enterprise growth
- Tailoring their message/story.pitch according to different audiences, including through social media
- Leveraging media for wider coverage

Tools for institutional work

- Role of flyers/leaflets as institutional objects
- Flyer as a symbolic tool (2 hands - one giving plastics and the other giving cash) symbolising money in exchange for plastics
- Local/native language as a tool for institutional work
- Music as a tool for institutional work (loud music to create awareness and draw attention)
- Social media as a tool for localisation, positioning and legitimacy building/ social media as a geolocation tool for partnerships
- Writing letters as a tool for institutional work
- Upcycler believes the best way to appeal to people's emptions is through the end product/ End product as a means to influence emotions towards institutional change
- Finished goods from waste helps in institutional comprehension and drives behavioural change
- Finished goods from creative processes leads to waste ownership by consumers

- Institutionalize at organisational level involves: provided separate labels bins, pictures/images through PowerPoint presentations, educate on recyclables, set up a reporting mechanisms to management
- Bike model, electric ride model, truck, tricycles, bus – different models for recyclable collection
- Database for management of subscribers and collection cards
- The language of money used in buying interest and acquiring subscribers

Channels for institutional work

- Capacity development/investment as a mechanism for institutional work
- Hybrid organising through object as a pathway for institutional work (Ritefood company and social enterprise logo on work uniform; Unilever and social enterprise logo on office buildings and containers etc.)/ Hybridity and identities in institutional work
- Partnership perceived as an avenue to carry out institutional work on a broader scale
- "Letting your work speak for you"
- Sensitization campaigns as a source of recruitment for "subscribers
- Mentoring as a channel for institutional work
- Customer feedback as a means for institutional work internally – "people will just tell you the truth"
- Finished goods from waste helps in institutional comprehension and drives behavioural change
- Finished goods from creative processes leads to waste ownership by consumers
- Internal institutional work done through organisational structure (separation of waste at collection site)
- Logistics as the source of institutional work on the police
- Collection site as a channel for institutional work where the resources on it are tools for institutional work (human resources, plastics, trucks, tricycles, admin offices etc.

Children

- Children as carriers of sustainability message
- Catching them young

Collective action

- Enterprises uses the SDG goals as a tool to classify the areas they are having impact

Networks/Partnerships

- Local knowledge as the basis for partnerships
- Social media as a tool for localisation, positioning and legitimacy building/ social media as a geolocation tool for partnerships
- Reliance on external grants for survival
- Legitimacy for resource application/funding
- Legal forms as a determinant for resourcing from partnerships
- Networks crucial to social enterprise's development
- Former private sector colleagues as "door openers" for crucial resources

- Networks as accountability partners
- The giving to receive principle- "everybody loves a giver"/ Important in gaining subscribers, securing the interest of companies for partnership and winning grants
- Outsource social cost to corporate organisations and development agencies
- Partnership arrangement with the informal sector seen as a way to have social impact (give back to society)
- Networks as a source of insider information to get grants/resources
- Apathy towards local partnerships and preference of international partnerships among social enterprises
- Build a network through advocacy, communicating benefits and word of mouth.
- Social capital prevents the switching of suppliers and aids resource flow
- Weak ties as a source of institutional work
- Winning awards seen as a way to get legitimacy for corporate partnerships
- Partnership to make recycling activities more efficient e.g. supplying bailed plastics to other enterprises to bypass time for sorting and processing before selling.
- Collaboration as a way to prevent grant failure.

Competition

- Protection of intellectual property i.e. the creative process in making their products
- Competition among social enterprises affects coming together to form associations
- Lack of idea sharing among SE due to competition
- Information sharing is key
- Impact and revenue as the basis for cooperation and competition. Impact drives co-operation and revenue drives competition
- Avoidance of using the word competitive when referring to other players in their space
- Competition with bigger organisation are in – pricing, facilities and staffing
- Recyclers cooperate with one another and also support each other's organisation, except one odd/deviant case of an upcycler.
- Reasons for deviance include: others seen as competitors; misunderstanding of impact as getting grants; refusal to take responsibility for other people's action (such as joining others in cleaning up); avoidance of associational levies and regular cleaning activities.
- "Competition breeds innovation"

Instant gratification

- Informal buyers preferred over formal buyers of waste materials due to instant gratification
- The giving to receive principle- "everybody loves a giver"/ Important in gaining subscribers, securing the interest of companies for partnership and winning grants
- Rewarding with money takes focus away from the goal of behavioural change (take away the money, people go back to the status quo/ "will they eat the environment")
- High expectations of reward from subscribers
- Expectation of something for linking up to where they can sell their recyclables

Impact

- Impact means helping low income earners make a living
- Impact as helping to make ends meet

Capacity

- Capacity building as building self
- Mentoring helped shape idea that won a grant
- Different conceptualization of capacity – funding and people; ability for management
- Handholding to prevent enterprise failure

Identity

- Infusing business name with meaning helps support business
- Identity as a recycler as a motivation to persist and never give up
- Identity, external validation, previous trainings and knowledge, perception about being a change maker are seen as sources of motivations to persist
- SE perceives self as providing opportunities for people in the community and empowering women.

Starting an enterprise

- Family issues as a motivation to start an enterprise
- Easier to start as an informal recycler than as a formal (equipment, space, capital etc. needed).
- Having a partner to start is easier than going at it alone due to resource constraints
- A belief that starting an enterprise is when lessons are learnt, not before

Technology

- Dependence on technology as a tool to curb corrupt practices
- Digital scale preferred over manual hanging scale
- Computer reading is much better than manual reading because it measures from the ground and not while hanging in the air, thereby is affected less by forces of gravity.

Appendix 6
Table of strategies and practices

Cases	*Strategies and practices*				
	Collection	**Aggregation**	**Upcycling**	**Cleaning**	**Advocacy**
Red	*-Offers door to door collection of waste as using a van.*	*-Sorts waste into different types before aggregating*	*N/A*	*-Occasionally carries out clean-up activities and programs in local communities.*	*-Offers corporate training activities to encourage recycling.*
	-Collects post-use plastics, papers, brown cartons, aluminium cans and water sachets.	*- Aggregates waste in loose form (unprocessed) at their collection and sorting hub for pick up or shipping.*		*-Joins other social enterprises for community clean-up programs.*	*- Engages in advocacy activities in schools and communities.*
	- Intercepts waste at the source and also buys from landfills, when needed.			*-Recruits volunteers for clean-ups activities*	*- Sets up green clubs in schools*
	- Collects wastes from corporate organizations and in communities.				*- Speaks at events promoting waste management and recycling.*
	- Supplies recyclable products to organizations to help				*- Joins and participates in association activities for recyclers in Nigeria.*
					- Organizes events to gather stakeholders in waste management space.
					- Contributes to discourses on social media.

	in waste sorting and collection.				
Blue	*-Collects recyclables from local communities* *-Recyclables collected includes various types of plastics such as PET, HDPEs and LDPEs. Most common is PET bottles.* *- Does not offer pick up services and rents trucks to collect volumes of wastes.* *- Also supplies manufacturing factories with plastics in loose forms, aside the processed PET.*	*- Aggregates collected wastes at a shared collection and sorting hub.* *- Sorts waste before aggregation.* *- Processed waste through cleaning and machine compression for storage.*	*N/A*	*N/A*	*- Engages in awareness-raising activities in communities, with future plans to do the same in schools.* *- Joins and participates in association activities for recyclers in Nigeria.* *-*

| Yellow | - Collects recyclable items using a branded tricycle.

- Collects from households and in local communities.

- Recyclables collected includes post-use PET bottles, HDPE, PP and LDPE plastics, cartons, aluminium cans, water sachets and newspaper.

- Working with small and informal collectors to collect from them.

Offers tailor made collection service to corporate organizations ranging from churches to banks and other | -Aggregates waste at a local collection and sorting hub.

- Sorts waste before aggregation.

- Processes sorted waste through cleaning and machine compression for storage. | N/A | Ocassionally organizes rallies and clean-up activities in local communities.

-Joins other social enterprises for community clean-up programs.

-Recruits volunteers for clean-up activities. | Sets up green clubs in schools and engages facilitators that trains children on waste upcycling.

- Engages in advocacy activities in schools and communities on waste management, sorting and recycling.

- Speaks at events promoting waste management and recycling.

- Joins and participates in association activities for recyclers in Nigeria.

- Contributes to discourses on social media. |

	commercial and educational institutions.				
Brown	*-Collects recyclable materials such as post-use PET bottles, LDPE and HDPE containers, beverage aluminium cans, water sachets, office papers, newspapers, cartons and glass bottles.* *-Collects from households, local communities, corporate organizations and at public events.* *-Collects waste using branded tricycles and a company truck.* *- Collects waste from other local communities far from*	*Aggregates waste at a local collection and sorting hub.* *- Sorts waste before aggregation.* *- Processes sorted waste through cleaning and machine compression for storage.*	*N/A*	*-Occasionally carries out clean-up activities and programs in local communities.* *-Joins other social enterprises for community clean-up programs.* *-Recruits volunteers for clean-ups activities*	*- Engages in advocacy activities in local communities on waste management, sorting and recycling.* *- Trains company workers on proper waste collection, sorting and recycling practices.* *- Speaks at events promoting waste management and recycling.* *- Contributes to discourses on social media.* *- Joins and participates in association activities for recyclers in Nigeria*

their hub through franchise operators.

- Acts as official collector of recyclables for some corporate and NGO organizations.

- Use dedicated mobile app to maintain relationship with subscribers.

| Pink | *-Collects recyclables such as glass containers, aluminium cans, PET bottles, papers, cartons, plastic bowls, buckets, lids and covers, water sachets and plastic chairs.*

-Collects waste from households and in local communities. | *Aggregates waste at various waste exchange and Kerbside locations across the state.*

- Sorts waste before aggregation.

- Processes sorted waste through cleaning and machine | N/A | *-Occasionally carries out clean-up activities and programs in local communities.*

-Joins other social enterprises and corporate organizations for community clean-up programs.

-Recruits volunteers for | *- Engages in advocacy activities in local communities.*

- Trains students visiting collection hubs on waste sorting, recycling and sanitation.

- Organizes waste management policy workshop bringing together different waste stakeholders. |

	-Collects waste using branded tricycles, vans and trucks, including a waste compactor truck. - Offers corporate collection services - - Acts as official collector of recyclables for some corporate and NGO organizations. - Use dedicated mobile app to maintain relationship with subscribers.	compression for storage. Has franchises in some parts of Lagos offering collection and aggregation services in hard to reach communities.		clean-ups activities.	- Speaks at events promoting waste management and recycling. - Publishing articles on websites, newspaper and in academic journals, as well as, contributing to discourses on social media. - Joins and participates in association activities for recyclers in Nigeria
Violet	-Collects vehicle tyres from local tyre repairers also called "vulcanizers". - Collects tyres and other recyclables using private car and	- Aggregates collected tyres and other recyclables in moderate quantities in the same workshop where they produce finished furniture.	-Turns waste tyres to furniture -Cleans and sanitizes tyres before use. -Turns tyres into raw materials to be used for	N/A (does not clean or participates in public space group cleaning activities as a matter of	-Publishes blogs on websites and contributes to discourses on social media. - Speaks at events promoting waste management, waste remodelling and recycling. - Offer training services to interested people

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	having it locally dropped off. *- Also collects other recyclables used in furniture production such as used fabrics, PET bottles, as well as, plastic spoons and containers.*		*further production.* *- Produce a variety of home decoration products*	*principle that whoever is responsible for the dirt should clean it up instead.)*	*-Participates in forum discussions and meetings on waste management issues in Nigeria.* *- Advocates through membership and fellowship of local and international organizations interested in waste and environmental health.*
Orange	*-Collects vehicle tyres from local tyre repairers also called "vulcanizers".* *- Leverages the working relationship with carpenters to collect waste materials for use.* *- Also collects other recyclables used in furniture production such as used fabrics, PET bottles, as well as, plastic spoons and containers.*	*- Aggregates collected tyres and other recyclables in moderate quantities in the same workshop where they produce finished furniture.*	*- Converts tyre to furniture.* *-Turns tyres into raw materials to be used for further production.* *-Cleans and sanitizes tyres before use.* *- Produce a variety of home decoration products*	*N/A.*	*- Joins and participates in association activities for recyclers in Nigeria.* *- Contributes to discourses on social media and other media channels such as local radio shows.* *- Speaks at local events on waste management, recycling and upcycling.* *- Trains women and children in schools on waste recycling.* *- Advocates through membership of local*

					organizations interested in waste and environmental health.
Gold	*-Collect post-use tyres and engages local tyre repairers called "vulcanizers" in tyre collection.* *- Also, collects tyres from dumpsites for use in furniture production.*	*- Aggregates collected tyres and other recyclables e.g. fabrics, plastics etc. in moderate quantities in the same workshop where they produce finished furniture.*	*-Converts tyre to furniture products such as chairs, tables, wall clocks and decorations.* *-Designs and maintains an upcycling-garden farming practice.*	*-Carries out clean-up activities and programs in local communities.* *-Joins other social enterprises and association members for community clean-up programs.* *- Recruit volunteers for community clean-up activities on waste management and upcycling.* *-Beautifying public spaces using tyres and planting trees*	*-Leverages her previous public role as an environment beauty queen to advocate for a clean environment and that waste is wealth.* *- Trains others on upcycling for personal use, emphasizing waste to wealth or converting it into furniture for use at home.* *- Engages in advocacy activities in schools and communities on waste management, sorting and recycling.* *-Plants trees and encourages others through designed initiatives e.g. adopt-a-tree program etc. and advocacy to do*

the same for a sustainable environment.

-Organizes public events to celebrate "Global action days" e.g. world environment day.

-Contributes to discourses on media channels e.g. social media, newspapers, TV shows etc. about waste and the environment.

-Speaks at invited events on waste management and the environment.

-Organizes environmentally themed awards, conferences and exhibition with other interested organizations.

| Magenta | -Collects waste on shorelines and in local communities across the state.

-Collects recyclables, mostly plastics found on the shoreline.

-Engage children in recyclable waste collection. | -Aggregates plastic wastes on shoreline to supply to other aggregators.

-Built a temporary collection and sorting hub on the beach, where recyclables were aggregated. | -Designs and maintains a playground made from discarded tyres on the shoreline. | -Carries out clean-up activities and programs in local communities.

-Joins other social enterprises and association members for community clean-up programs.

- Recruit volunteers for community clean-up activities on waste management and upcycling.

-Beautifying public spaces using tyres and planting trees | -Sets up kid's club to engage and train children in the habit of waste management and recycling.

-Adopted a beach to use for advocacy purposes.

- Engages in advocacy activities in schools and communities on waste management, sorting and recycling.

-Organizes public events to celebrate "Global action days" e.g. world environment day.

-Speaks at invited events on waste management and the environment. |

-Contributes to discourses on media channels e.g. social media, newspapers, TV shows etc. about waste and the environment. Also publishes blogs on websites on waste and environmental issues.

Source: Qualitative data

Appendix 7
Evidence of SEs intention to disrupt waste as a concept

Representative data	2nd order themes	Aggregate dimension
…so, this attitudinal change, behavioral change…that is the first thing…even if you are putting up infrastructure, and people's attitudes didn't change…they will continue… (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir) ..what FABE does is that FABE wants you to know that you can remove the plastic…you can put the plastic together…you can create something and you can decide to sell or use them…(Gold's Founder) if ** never did this…they probably never would have known that they can get a meal from waste that is lying out there…or even know that the waste could be sold… (Yellow's Founder) …now trying to tell people that waste is just a mindset, it is not waste until it is wasted, or it is not waste until you waste it... (Violet's Founder) I think they are trying to change the mentality of the people on how they manage waste (Magenta's Waste manager)	Change how people handle waste	**Disrupt waste as a concept**
…okay…it's to change the narrative of how we see waste… (Orange's Founder) …for us, I will always say it is promoting waste recycling…trying to get people to see that there are other alternatives and trying to get people to adjust what they think of waste as something that they produce and throwaway…there are consequences for all of it…and to get people to be conscious about it…(Red's Co-founder & CTO). …through our enlightenment programs about waste, people can actually no longer see waste as waste, will see waste as value, waste as money… (Blue's Founder)	Change how people see waste	

Source: Author's compilation

Illustrative codes for strategies to create a recyclable collection system

Representative data	Strategies
"...there has been a lot of informal recycling going on before we were born...no exactly if you grow up in Lagos, you would know that growing up, you have always seen people push things on the road...aluminium...cart pushers..." (Yellow's founder) *"...they zip past traffic on their specially modified vehicles, dipping in and out of the Nigerian megacity's slums..." (Online report)*	Enhancement work
"...for the market women, they already see this as a business...like gather your plastics give it to these people and they give you money...I mean that's what all these aboki's (informal waste pickers) do, when they gather plastics...they get money for it..." (Yellow's operation manager & Intern) *"...you will also get those that will say wetin you go give me (what will you give me)...we get that a lot...so we tell them...okay cool...you can get a set of pot...I fit get set of pot from my dirty (I can get a set of cooking pots from my waste?)...you can get provision...you know instead of you to buy soap to wash your cloth, you go use your waste take get soap (you can use your waste to get soap)..you know so, we now paint what value is...some will say oh you no give me money (you will not give me money?)...we would say no we no dey give money (we do not give money)...till now we don't give cash incentives yet...yeah. So we no dey give money because for us, the impact you are having on the environment for us...that's the first thing first...the incentives is just to encourage you..." (Yellow's founder)*	Change normative association
"...we might brand it differently, we might say that okay this is how we do it...we put an approach, I call it something....like maybe I call my point, ecopoints..." (Red's Co-founder & CEO) *"even from the name, recyclepoint...so.....it's based on points, each of the items is based on points...if they are able to get to like 120 000 points...you can say okay...I want this..or you might break it down, 60 000 for this, 40 000 for that...if you add it up, that's 100 000..i still have 40 000..you can say okay I want 1, 2, 3..." (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.).*	Constructing new meanings
"...they basically support our...we are using their system to support our existing structure...that's what the waste picker program is all about..." (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.).	Bridging
"...so few people then asked us okay can we get bags to keep them...because where would we be keeping them...we don't want to mess our houses up blab la bla...for some people we actually provide them with disposable bags...those black bags...we invested in those...we bought those black dustbin bags...so when we go and pick up from you, we tear it and give you another one..." (Yellow's founder)	Direct aiding
"...when a boy comes to work with us as a rider, we train him, and then tell him to go out with another rider for a month...so that way you learn how to write, you learn how	

Representative data	Strategies
to relate with customers and then you learn how to use the app…" (Pink's Hub manager). *"…we have to educate them about how things really work because we are actually paying close to what the market value is…" (Pink's CEO).*	Education
"…so for those that collect money, they have a target….they have to meet up to this points, either 400 000points..or 250 000points…so it now depends on this is my target, I want a TV or I want this, maybe in the next 3 months, next 4 months...let me work towards cash…" (Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.).	Maintaining normative association
"…if somebody comes around...I've lost my greencard…we go through the database, record the person activities back to the new greencard..see some people will complain no, this is not what I use to have….that's why we encourage them to make sure that…they are always visiting the app to make sure that monitor what is going on…for instance I recycle today, I have to log into the app to see that my points are recorded...so that when something happens, there would be nothing like I didn't see this particular record or all those things…" (Pink's Kiosk manager)	Embedding and routinizing

Appendix 9

Illustrative codes for strategies to create an upcycling culture

Representative data	1st order concepts
"...it could be a normal furniture...okay when I'm going through social media, I am following some furniture...once I see a design that's round the next thing that comes to my own head is to have tyre...even if it is square...we will make it and its going to come out in tyre shape..." (Orange's Founder).	Changing normative association
"...I started seeing some things around...I said okay...I can grab this into something and then I started making a sculpture with thrash around us, things around us..." (Orange's Trainer)	Bricolage
"...okay I follow some furniture makers so I could get some design, it may not be exact...mine may be...mine could be rebranded..." (Orange's Founder). *"...I am not competing against them...I am competing against the likes of Ikea...I go an check what Ikea does...I am following ** concept...I want to know what they are doing...I am not thinking local..." (Violet's Founder).*	Remodelling
"...so it was a bit of going back and forth of trying to make it work..." (Orange's Founder). *"...because you can't compare our quality...because we are looking at the little details...we are taking it up...we are yanking it off right (meaning tearing it apart for rebuilding) ..." (Violet's Founder).*	Experimenting
"Our #COXE chair has become the favourite #studio chair...Reproduced in different colours and designs. We can't deny the exquisite touch this masterpiece adds to your space. All handmade, locally crafted..." (Violet's social media) *"...this is also another version of our #tireottoman that can be used as a #centretable. If you have leftovers of your chair materials plus tyre, we can make this for you at an affordable and giveaway price..." (Orange's social media).*	Constructing new meanings
"...so I went for the exhibition...I saw lovely decoration...lovely furniture made from tyres and plastics and I'm like okay I think I prefer this..."(Orange's founder)	Showcasing
"...I trained another group of women too and the woman said she has started using it... it's amazing how people are beginning to reproduce what they have been taught..." (Orange's Founder) *"...the student brought the tyres themselves and by the time we are done training them, they saw that the tyres have turned to furniture..." (Violet's* founder*)*	Educating

Representative data	1st order concepts
"...when it got to me, I noticed that I needed to do something different....I am not going to ask, I am going to give...so I just told him that I see what you do, this is what we do.......I just thought we can come and give you like two three of our furniture, put it at the reception so that you change the perception of people to waste, especially the rigid...he was like wow, that's interesting...don't you think we need to talk more about that...take my email address, let's talk more..." (Violet's Founder).	Gifting
"..see you have to know when your market moves...so valentine is coming we are doing a project around valentine, buy gifts...you need to know when you make sales, it's not every time you make sales..." (Violet's Founder).	Embedding and routinizing
*"...when we got the van, the van was meant to do **(company name) recycling delivery and then we bought the van in at a very cheap money...around 2.5 and I realise the van was selling around 5million in Nigeria... so I said I'm going to sell this van, you know now, business woman...I will sell it and order another one...laughs...and one of them (personal network) said, won bi mi da...dem no born you well (meaning you cannot sell it- but said in an authoritative tone).....that bus pays for what it is meant to do and that's it..." (Violet's founder).*	Leveraging normative networks

Appendix 10

Illustrative codes for strategies to create a clean-up culture

Representative data	1st order concepts
"...one thing I tried to infuse in everything we do is fun. We try to make sure that everybody has a good time, especially the kids...because cleaning, can be a boring activity, you know. There are some things that are chores basically, but when you introduce a little bit of fun to it, it makes it exciting and anybody will want to do it....so that way we always put some fun activities or if you do this you win this if you do this you win that..." (Magenta's Founder). *"...I can show you some pictures to try to explain...okay like this, it shows the kids having fun and enjoying what he is doing in cleaning the environment..." (Magenta's photographer).*	Changing normative association
"...yea because they are promoting exactly the same thing... very committed, trying to persuade people to...have a more harmonious relationship with Nature..." (Gold's Advisory Board Member) *"...she just saw what we did with this garden...on Instagram...you know the way we were starting it, how the children cleaning...and we were giving people updates...so now o we need 100tyres o...please come and help us o...somebody just said where is the location..im bringing 5tyres...a mother brought 20tyres the other day..." (Gold's Founder)*	Theming
"...most people still don't understand that if you want to recycle for real, your paper waste shouldn't be kept with your glass waste...your glass waste shouldn't be kept with your plastic wastes, your plastic waste should also be different from your bio-degradable wastes....that is your food waste...and then you should also have another bin for hazardous waste...fluorescent what have you....so we teach them these things..." (Magenta's program officer)	Educating
"...when we are like on the streets and everything, we would play it with the mic and everything and everybody will hear..." (Magenta's Founder).	Grandstanding
"...so what I do is to just take the flower and place it at the so that....they would reason before they can dump anything there ...that there is plant there now...you know what flowers speaks is that we are trying to beautify this place so they won't want to pollute the place..." (Magenta's Waste manager)	Beautifying
"...there is like no plan in place...because every time I'm making calls (to the government) like what's the next plan what are we doing okay how are we...nothing...right now, there is nothing I can hold on to say if somebody is messing up the environment, I can call the local government or I can call...there is nothing...maybe until after the election, we can now start again from scratch to start building again, you know....policies and everything..." (Magenta's founder)	Individual organizing

Representative data	1st order concepts
"...so those are the pictures we take to people like Pepsi now like...even if they don't want to do...they don't know if we are credible enough...just because of this hard work, they will give us (resource support)..." (Gold's Founder)	
"that would save you from having to deal with an institution by saying that oh you breached authorities and you just said...who gave you the rights...basically, when you are doing any clean-up, as long as it is out of your house...you must always look for the institution or authority..." (Magenta's Founder)	Permission-seeking
*"...the ** (organization's name) is a sustainable beach, geared towards promoting an eco-friendly environment and we do that towards communal engagement schemes...which includes monthly clean-up exercises, which is what we do every last Saturday of the month and every day recognized by the UN, we actually follow the UN calendar when we do our activities...basically like on the world environment day, we organize clean-ups...any day that has to do with the environment on the UN calendar, we usually organise clean-ups and engagements..."*	Embedding and routinizing

Illustrative codes for strategies to maintain a formal structure

Representative data	1st order concepts
"...we are registered with LAWMA obviously....they don't want all that...that's why we can boldly write it on our tricycle that in partnership with Lawma..its written on our tricycles...exactly...we can do all that because we are registered with them...Lawma is like come out, let people know...let more people know...don't hide anymore...so that you can get the necessary kind of support as it were..." (Yellow's Founder).	Registering
"...we give report every Thursday that this is the volume of what...because they too they are building their own statistics...they are building their own database...yes, because they are the regulator and they are building their own database too...so every Thursday, you must submit report to them that this is the volume of item, one by one...as long as you are in Lagos, you operate in Lagos...you have to...because they too they are building their own database...they will be able to tell you...that Lagos generate 20 000 tons and this month, **, through **, this is the number of recyclables captured..." *(Brown CEO & Exec Dir.)*	Deterrence
*"...how to address the different streams of waste and how to proffer sustainable solutions to waste management in Nigeria...there was a need to come together not only as a network but as an association that can forge a **stronger** alliance to be able to proffer solutions in a structured way...there was also a need for us to get registered as an association..." (Support institution 1 – Vice president).*	Collective organizing
*"...we are trying now to more of like formalized the informal sector by actually using programs like the waste pickers initiatives to support them to have accounts, where we can monitor their inflows...tell them how much materials they are recycling...how they can improve and all..." (Brown's CEO & Exec. **Dir**.).*	Enhancement work
"...the sorters, mostly informal...so but like the four full staff that we have, they were interviewed but for those that sort, they are part time...they just come in and out..." Red's Co-founder & CTO).	Changing normative association
"INTERVIEWER: so how do you go about getting people you work with then? WYC01: most people are through referrals...mostly from referrals or trial and error..." (Pink's CEO)	Experimenting
"...most of them are not...they are heavily not the literate people...so we have a lot of issues getting them to understand how to work in formal structures and all...so it takes a lot of enlightenment for us to make people understand what it means to make people work in these kind of organizations...we do that..." Brown's CEO & Exec. Dir.)	Educating