MONTHLY PUBLIC SANITATION EXERCISE REGIMENS: A PERSPECTIVE ON SUSTAINABILITY OF LABOUR AND HYGIENE

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ABSTRACT: The idea of public participation in clean-up exercises on a monthly cycle has caught in Africa probably signalling a failure of municipal or other authorities in managing sanitation and therefore a certain imperative in conscripting the public. The theory of sustainability guided the discourse. The present effort assesses the sustainability of this development in the light of suitability of deployment of the public as manpower for this and the value of the ultimately achieved hygiene. It does this through participant observation of this exercise in 10 different locations in Imo State and review of literatures. The study found that the deployment of highly trained professionals in basic janitorial activities and menial engagement not only fails to optimize the value of their specialized skills but prevents the development of janitorial activities as a professional engagement. The implementation cost is also prohibitive given its coercive, command and control orientation while its achievement in the area of hygiene is poor given that it promotes a culture of waste storage and an orientation of living with stowed waste all month long. The avalanches of evacuated waste on the fixed 'clean up' days also outstrip the management capacity of waste disposal systems. The study suggests mainstreaming waste management into daily life rather than monthly regimens.

Keywords: Sanitation, Sustainability, Labour, Hygiene, Regimens

BACKGROUND

All through Nigeria, and since the year 1985 there has been a history of observance of public sanitation exercise termed 'Monthly Clean-up' which usually comes at the end of the month. It was introduced by Military fiat as the fifth phase of a now rested policy of civic order maintenance known as 'War Against Indiscipline' (Stock, 2007). The military Government of Nigeria as at that time, going by the branding of this policy, 'War Against Indiscipline', probably was under some messianic complex.

Under this Military Government, the people were supposed to be incompetent and needed to be babysat or flogged into compliance. Discipline was to be realized through a policy that promoted same or the people will be lacking in it, disorderly and lawless. In the aftermath of its adoption and particularly since the return of civil authority in the governance of Nigeria

in 1999, there has been some rethinking that placed these military creations in proper perspective and identified the derogatory component of some of them. While some scholars accept that discipline was not an appropriate area for government intervention in public life as it portrays the people in bad light while conceding too much control powers to government institutions (May, 1984); most agree that the publicly beneficial aspects of military policies should be retained in post-military era or society. The idea is that retaining military legacies in a post military era is for the sake of negotiating peace and support of the military (Pereira and Tesch, 2015). Hence several Decrees of Military Governments such as the Land Use Decree have smoothly been adopted as Acts of Parliament. Also adopted is Decree No. 58 of 1988 which created Federal Environmental Protection Agency. Section 4 of the Decree stipulates the agency's obligations including setting and implementing environmental standards. Having started out as military policies the chances are good that a good dose of the vestiges of coercion may have been retained alongside or as components of these policies. Coercion is a major instrument of state policy in military rule. It is brought into planning, urban governance, regional development, development control and public service in preference to inducement measures, market mechanisms or economic incentives.

Currently, state governments now shoulder the responsibility of implementing the monthly sanitation exercise within their states across Nigeria as followed right from inception in 1985. The plan entails that on a specified day by the end of the month, usually on the last Saturday of the month, movement is restricted to only emergencies for specified number of hours, usually three, in observance of public participation in the exercise. It is also paralyzing from a social and economic perspective. Manual labour is largely involved in clean-up exercises with sanctions for non-compliance enforced through mobile courts and task forces. Roadways are blocked by stowed solid wastes evacuated from homes and other spaces prior to evacuation which is presently undertaken particularly in urban centres by Government or Municipal authorities in a very slow and inadequate process that tends to worsen the waste crisis.

While the operational mode raises apprehension about compliance with global best practice and issues of sustainability, other countries of Africa have kept adopting this model. In Rwanda, Umuganda (monthly clean-up) was formally introduced by the government in 1998 as one of the country's home grown solutions to achieve socio-economic development and good use of cultural resources. Much like Nigeria's, it is held on the last Saturday of every month (Cgtn.com; Uwimbabazi, 2012). Ghana, in November 2014 started her 'Ghana Sanitation Day' on first Saturday in every month in reaction to a Cholera outbreak of that year (Basiru, Arkorful, Ashu and Lukman, 2019). In East Africa, Mwelu (2018) documented monthly clean-up at Mathare slum in Nairobi Kenya, (UHABITAT, 2018). The United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) has also launched Umuganda to clean the Capital, Juba (www.newtimes.co.rw>news). Others have followed as shown on Table 1.

Table 1: Monthly clean-up events among some African countries

Countries	Clean—up Day	Time	Date Declared
	Monthly – Day		
Rwanda	Last Saturday		1998
Liberia	First Saturday		April 2009
Gambia	Last Saturday (Clean the Nation	9 -1pm	Nov. 2009
	Day)		
Ghana	First Saturday		Nov. 2014
Zambia	Last Saturday	9 – 11am	Relaunch April 2018
Sierra Leone	First Saturday	7 – 12pm	April 2018
Zimbabwe	First Friday	8 – 10am	Dec.2018
Ethiopia	Every Sunday	7.30 – 9am	April 2019

Source: Diverse Literature Sources

Are they taking the right step in jumping into a public sanitation work bandwagon? Is the Nigerian experience sustainable and worth replicating?

The Problem

Nigeria's scheme of end-of-month-public sanitation works involving all persons is largely hailed in both mainstream media and academic circles as a major milestone in environmental governance without which environmental crisis at a much higher level would have been the experience (NEST, 1991). It is a fact that such mass mobilization may instill in the populace a greater sense of civic duty and lead to more rewarding social engineering and bonding (Adorsu-Djentuh, 2018). It is also important to count the costs to ascertain that the benefits are worth the efforts considering the labour costs and hygiene compromises possible with this plan of action. Interestingly the scheme enjoys currency. In Imo State of 2019, the State Government set up a planning, sensitization and implementation committee for the July 2019 edition chaired by a former governor of the State (Vanguard, July 16, 2019). The effort was largely to revamp the scheme in the face of its dwindling fortunes. It is thus clear that the programme has been a subject of public disinterest. Many also consider it out of tune. In consideration of the Lagos experience and legal challenges thereto, Guardian (22 Sept. 2019), contends that "it is anachronistic to rely on peoples manual labour in a period awash with technological solutions". Presiding Justice Mohammed Idris had ruled against the State imposition of travel restriction on Federal Highways during the Clean-up exercise in the case of Ebun-Olu Onagoruwa challenging Lagos State powers to implement movement restrictions.

The problem of compulsory implementation and disruption of people's lives is also not localized. Residents of Aba, while not advocating outright abrogation of the programme in apparent discomfiture about the programme's command and control rigidity, sought modifications in the timing of commencement from 7am to 9am (Sampson, 2019). Perhaps in recognition of the need to ease the pressure on people, the government of Abia State

allowed free movement for the November edition (Daily Times, 27 Nov. 2016). The Shenanigans with a weary public is replicated across many States in Nigeria. There is therefore a need to review the programme on the basis of its sustainability particularly in optimizing labour resources and attaining hygiene objectives.

Aim and Objectives

The study through the lens of sustainability, aims at establishing the actual place of monthly sanitation exercise as a policy option. Objectives are to,

- a. Assess the labour cost of the exercise against the gains.
- b. Assess the implications of the practice for intended hygiene objectives; and
- c. Assess the overall contribution of the policy to waste management.

Theoretical Framework

Sustainability has become a major organizing principle of management since the world got engrossed with doing more with less in order to provide for the world's population that has tremendously grown in the last two centuries, hitting seven (7) billion from just one (1) billion that took two (2) million years to reach. Project sustainability is defined by the World Bank as the ability of a project to maintain an acceptable level of benefit flows throughout its economic life (Khan, 2000). What is sustainable is therefore politically defined, as only the political value system establishes what is worth society's sacrifice and what is not. The key word is 'acceptable'. A society's value system is central to what can be sustained and what cannot be sustained. If society attaches great value to anything, it can pay a huge price to keep it in place (Magbadelo, 2015; Scoones, 2016; Sabau, 2020). Gladwin (2000) sees sustainability as the capacity to satisfy on multiple fronts short of which industry becomes non-sustainable. Projects that are sustainable will therefore satisfy a natural imperative of preserving nature and a humanistic imperative of accommodating human needs and preserving culture. A project is not sustainable if it torpedoes cultural elements such as social stratification, social mobility and socially recognized reward system.

As an industrial model, sustainability is about capital maintenance; that is nurturing capital that is in use so that it becomes inexhaustible and capable of perpetually sustaining industry. Sustainability is also a social model with an economic dimension that emphasizes welfare and equity – intergenerational and intra-generational equity. To this extent, it is a legal model defining peoples' rights as stopping at the point where those of third parties start. As an economic model, sustainability emphasizes feasibility of adequate return on investment based on Cost-Benefit Analysis. Hence for a programme or project to be deemed sustainable, it has to have and operate on a successful business case. The business case is infact a major step in project initiation (Azuwike, 2019). It establishes whether some envisaged venture is worth undertaking and has proven capacity for generating investment returns far in excess of input. Sustainability is however, ultimately a political model to the extent that political consideration trumps all others in defining sustainability. Hence a programme may fail to establish a favourable business case, but yet gets favourable political

patronage for satisfying the State's objectives. What the State wants is supreme within its sovereignty and that bestows sustainability on any project. The implication is that a tenable analysis of sustainability of a programme such as the clean-up exercise has to be conducted only outside of political influences and basically on the economic rationale. How easily can the public be mobilized for social works? Experience shows that the clean-up programmes are implemented against a whole gamut of public resistance with much resource spent on enforcement of compliance. Reliance on public goodwill to keep the environment clean seems to suffer from the psychological phenomenon of diffusion of responsibility (Maitland, 2010). Under this phenomenon, there is a reduced sense of personal responsibility that anyone person feels to help out and this increase in proportion to the size of the group under consideration and possibly extent of attachment to group or alienation.

METHOD

The study has relied on observations made in participatory capacity in several study locations at Aboh Mbaise, Owerri West, Owerri Municipal, Okigwe, Isiala Mbano, Onuimo, Orlu and Ohaji Egbema local council areas. The researchers and their assistants have intermittently participated in these clean-up exercises in different locations for a period spanning 30 years. The study locations are in three local council areas in each of the three political zones of Imo State. In each zone also, the urban centres and rural areas have been represented so as to capture the clean-up experience across settlement typologies. The locations are shown on Table 2

Table 2: Locations for study on clean-up exercises

Location	Local Council	Settlement Status
Nguru-Nweke	Aboh Mbaise	Rural
Umuguma	Owerri West	Semi urban
Uzzi	Owerri Municipal	Urban
Ubahu	Okigwe	Urban
Okwe	Onuimo	Rural
Amaraku	Isiala Mbano	Semi urban
Eziachi	Orlu	Urban
Ihittenasa	Orsu	Rural
Asaa	Ohaji Egbema	Rural

Source: Authors' Fieldwork

Participation involves several episodes in a single location but varies from minimum of three episodes to tens of episodes.

Sustainability of the clean-up exercise is questionable along the following lines:

Observations of Sustainability of the Practice

Sustainability of Labour Input

Labour is not a cheap production factor. It is also variegated in its value as indicated in the varied number of years of training and levels of specialization. Thus, labour across any geographical space does not get equal treatment in both the diversity of applications and in reward systems. This is very much in line with the basic economics of labour production that puts a premium on high quality labour resources while applying non-skilled and semiskilled labour to menial, low-end activities (Filho, 2013). This economic benchmark is here used to appraise the sustainability of labour application in the clean-up exercise along the lines of observed practices.

Non-discrimination Policy

The policy does not discriminate across labour typologies. All professional groups are mandated to participate, with only persons on essential duties allowed a waiver. From the perspective of labour economics, it amounts to a waste of resources to compel highly trained manpower to undertake manual labour that can be easily undertaken by lower skilled labour which also happen not to be scarce.

Observations on the number of professionals involved in the clean-up exercises are shown on Table 3.

Table 3: Average number of highly technical professionals encountered participating on various observation occasions

Study Area	Settlements	Number	Total	Percent of
	Status		Participants	Total
Nguru-Nweke	Rural	16	62	23.88
Umuguma	Semi urban	29	54	53.70
Uzzi	Urban	48	59	81.36
Ubahu	Urban	20	38	52.63
Okwe	Rural	6	38	15.78
Amaraku	Semi urban	27	43	62.79
Eziachi	Urban	36	57	63.16
Ihittenasa	Rural	13	35	37.14
Asaa	Rural	5	23	21.74

Source: Field Observations

From Table 3 professionals are part of the experience and they also are in larger numbers around urban areas. While rural areas post poor professional component in the public sanitation experience (as low as 15.78 percent for Okwe), areas of mixed rural and urban (semi-urban) forms are intermediate. The implication is that labour attrition due to

sanitation-related man-hour losses affects urban areas differently from rural areas. It also points to a certain labour migration of highly skilled persons to urban best-price markets. The rural areas are not nearly as profligate as the urban areas in the wasteful application of highly trained personnel. They also have little to waste.

The Professional Engineers' time and training or that of the consultant paediatrician for instance is not optimized when she/he mandatorily partakes in sweeping his own compound and mowing his own lawn himself.

Table 4 shows a comparison of the time value of professionals work as compared to that of menial labourers

Table 4: Comparison of professionals' time value in two different job roles - Naira worth of professionals' 3-hour work at practice against their value at manual labour

Professional/Specialist	Value of 3 hours at Bonafide work* (Naira)	Value of 3 hours at manual labour ** (Naira)	Difference in 3 hours
Medical (Specialist)	6000	1200	-4800
Doctor			
Consultant Engineer	4000	1200	-2,800
Certified Land	3000	1200	-1,800
Surveyor			
Building Professional	4000	1200	-2,800
Certified Computer	5000	1200	-3,800
Scientist			
Chartered Accountant	4000	1200	-2,800
Accomplished City	4000	1200	-2,800
Lawyer			
University Professor	6000	1200	-4,800

^{*}Value derived from wage structure in Nigeria's public service.

Cumulatively this shows wastage of precious man-hours for the professional class that translates to great revenue loss for the country.

Professional Development of Environmental Services

What seems to be lacking is the full commoditization of this level of skill in such a way that it can be exchanged for money in a free market. Adequacy of revenue accruable to this level of skills is at issue. The political economy of most developing countries is such that competences in activities such as cleaning service tend to be undervalued and they are therefore barely capable of providing those with them a livelihood. Janitorial services will

^{**}Value derived from pay for a full day's work as obtains in Nigeria's informal sector.

fail to develop as a professional field if everyone is compelled by the State to be his own janitor. In Nigeria, janitorial service is poorly developed and very few tenement spaces, residential neighbourhood and corporate outfits outsource cleaning and maintain a cleaning retainership. The do-it-yourself attitude pervades the space and the result is littering and diffusion of filth across the Nigerian space. The much many corporate outfits and some neighbourhoods do engage is the service of artisan itinerant waste collectors that operate hand-drawn carts. These artisans as a component of environmental health maintenance are also ill-equipped and poorly educated on waste handling. They are barely recognized in national environmental policy and as such operate at low organizational level without documentation and recognition. They have been banned in States such as Lagos (Vanguard, 2018).

Occupational Health

Occupational health issues are involved in the kind of activities involved in this clean-up exercise. De-silting of murky stagnant drainage systems, a major area of activity, for instance is a major community health exposure particularly for the persons involved in it. There has to be some training on Occupational Safety and Health for those involved and application of Personal Protective Equipment. This need makes a compelling case for a professional class in this enterprise.

Table 5 shows significant gaps and consequences in the deployment of materials and equipment.

Table 5: Deployment of materials and equipment for public clean-up exercise

Study Area	Assistance from Government (Machinery)	Equipment Adequacy (of 5 Strategic Ones) Among Groups of 10	Average Number of Days Dredged up Materials from Drains are on the Road	Average Number of Days Produced Solid Waste are Not Evacuated
Nguru-Nweke	Nil	1	2	6
Umuguma	Nil	2	7	14
Uzzi	Nil	2	24	6
Ubahu	Minimal	2	14	10
Okwe	Minimal	1	6	8
Amaraku	Nil	2	12	10
Eziachi	Minimal	3	14	7
Ihittenasa	Nil	1	7	3
Asaa	Nil	1	3	2

Equipment assistance is essentially urban biased with no such logistic support for rural areas. However overall, the number of materials and accessories observed among 10 persons

out of 5 strategic materials that should be part of the work is abysmal. Only 1 urban centre has groups of 10 with up to 3 of 5 indicated materials such as personal protection equipment, wheel barrows, rain boots, sprayers Backpacks, disinfectants, etc.

Dredged up materials, as a result lie about on the roadsides from 3 to 24 days prior to evacuation while produced solid wastes are heaped up between 2 and 14 days prior to evacuation.

The chances of infection are high where ill-equipped nonprofessionals are made to handle waste. Recruitment of all in a concerted effort as shown in clean-up exercise has limitations in terms of specialization and development of a professional class.

Loss of Man Hours

During the hours in which the clean-up exercise take place, all markets are closed, all industrial plants are on downtime, and transport services are on hold as well as other services. The implication is heavy loss of man hours. In industrial economies, the cost of such man hour loss on the economy will be too high to be contemplated. Cleaning services undertaken by a professional class, on the other hand, can proceed simultaneously with full social and economic activities and without stalling productivity. Labour is wasted in poorly policed spaces within the mosaic of states especially inter-state highway points where passengers and motor vehicles tarry to bid for time and see off the statutory hours of labour before resuming their interstate journeys.

Cost of Administration

Money is spent on many fronts in administering the clean-up exercise with particular reference to mobilization and enforcement of embargo on movement. Cost of policing, where it proves prohibitive, is ordinarily a reason to disapprove a policy. Recreational marijuana bans across the world, for instance, is being relaxed on account of high cost of enforcement (Beckett and Herbert, 2009; Collins, 2018). Mobile court units, patrols and task forces add to the logistics challenge in enforcing compliance. Related to this problem are the differentials in ease of evasion across spaces. Rural and urban areas show remarkable difference in people's ability to evade the exercise which may be factored to improve policies. Urban dwellers tend to evade participation simply by staying off the roads and away from patrol teams. The rural dwellers on the other hand are compelled through traditional governance mechanisms to participate or face fines or other sanctions. Most urban areas lack the equivalent of such potent governance structures. After the communal work in rural areas what follows is picketing the home of all defaulters and extracting fines in cash payments for their failure to participate or seizure of household items that will have to be redeemed with cash. To a large extent therefore the urban area involves greater execution costs and possibly less sustainability than rural areas. However, in both settings the cost of enforcement in terms of manpower deployment is prohibitive.

Distribution of Available Labour

There is no mechanism for managing the distribution of available labour for optimal spatial coverage of affected areas that require work. Participants along the lines of enlightened self interest, manage their own immediate environments (Azuwike, 2002). Incidentally the worst environments that require the most attention occupy stranded spaces away from most residents. It therefore becomes possible to achieve cleaning while the worst spaces, the nomans-lands within the mosaic of the living space remain filthy.

Lack of Flexibility

The labour administration has the trappings of a fascist command- and-control mechanism. There is no flexibility in terms of opportunity to substitute oneself with another or making capital inputs to substitute for one's labour. The mandatory labour also amounts to some double taxation for a people whose tax revenue entitles them to municipal services. The problems that follow the regulatory framework based on command and control was actually what gave rise to flexible options such as economic incentives, and the creation of a market place for market based instruments.

Counter-productive Application of Labour

The labour resource becomes a problem if it is of such quality that creates more problems than existed. Take for instance the making of drainage channels. Incompetent hands may inadvertently go about it in such a way that brings flood problems for lack of knowledge of the topography and its implications. There is also little or no technical input and supervision. Tools used do not match the job requirements. Heavy equipment are usually lacking.

From the foregoing it can be observed that the sanitation work is of questionable costeffectiveness. The value of the service done in the three hours is usually less than the economic returns realizable if the man hours were committed to other rewarding forms of industry.

Sustainability of Hygiene

A programme of three hours per month despite the input of man-hours it involves cannot easily cope with the level of solid waste generation in Nigeria today even if it is preoccupied with only solid waste management. Nigeria produces 42 million tones of solid waste per day (Chinedu, Ezeibe and Anijiofor, 2018). The failure to effectively remove solid waste and rid the environment of filth has other implications for hygiene.

Stowing of Waste

The regimentation of clean-up exercise implies the conditioning of households towards stowing waste for an entire month prior to evacuation. It detracts from the orientation of regular evacuation on a daily or weekly cycle. The public has to put up with the stowed

waste, and its nuisance value, its pest generation and spread of diseases. The stowing period is remarkably longer than the gestation period and life cycle of many pathogens and pests. Herr, Niedan, Stiliangkis, Gider and Elkeman (2004) observed association between longer storage of organic waste and skin rash, itching skin rash, lifetime diagnosis of skin disease by a doctor, allergy probably due to endotoxins from indoor microbial contamination.

Poor Sorting and Separation

Waste in storage come as a mix of non-sorted, non separated mass. The quality of the waste is compromised inhibiting recovery of the otherwise recoverable category degeneration of the recoverable valuables and promoting the development of pathogenic habitats. Eventual recovery of these wastes becomes a pathological hazard – one scavengers face on a daily basis.

Dumping

There is a certain malfeasance in the dumping activity which involves rescue of waste storage bags leading to proliferation of the waste across space and the diffusion from temporary dumping grounds. There are no standard landfills in localities across Nigeria to serve as the ultimate destination of evacuated solid wastes. According to Omuta (1986) 'no landfill meets these (American Society of Civil Engineers') specification in Nigeria. The solid wastes dumped on the open dumpsites find their way back to the homes or spill to the street. In this light the entire exercise may amount to mere relocation of the environmental nuisance.

Checklist of Analytical Issues for Sustainability of the Practice

A number of indicators for appraising project sustainability under World Bank's Monitoring and Evaluation exist (Khan, 2000). There is relevancy, acceptability, economic and financial viability, environmental sustainability, implementation/monitoring strategy and post implementation operation and maintenance. They are here used to appraise the clean-up exercise. Notations VH indicates Very High, H is High, N is Neutral, L is Low and VL is Very Low.

- 1. Relevancy: Urban (H), Rural (L). The programme scores on relevancy. Keeping the environment clean is good policy relevant to all other welfare objectives and planning goals. Viz; aesthetics, convenience, economy, health, safety, security and efficiency.
- **2. Acceptability:** Urban (VL) Rural (L). It fails to score on acceptability. It is not acceptable for cleanliness to be achieved through prohibitive labour/manpower cost. It also does not treat waste in a sustainable manner.
- **3. Economic and Financial Viability:** Urban (VL); Rural (H). It fails to score on viability. It is not economical to use highly trained manpower for basic janitorial services.

- **4. Environmental Sustainability:** Urban (VL); Rural (L). It partly scores. Whereas mass mobilization for sanitation is a coercive demand, the masses do not have the competence to manage wastes as professionals, hence the unsatisfactory performance and uncleared volumes weeks after the exercise.
- 5. Implementation/Monitoring Strategy: Urban (VL); Rural (N). It fails to score on implementation strategy. Cost of implementation is too high from communication, to deployment, monitoring taskforces, civil trials and administration of penal policies.
- 6. Post Implementation Operation and Maintenance: Urban (H); Rural (L). It fails to score. The practice has no post implementation continuity strategy. Hence participants are only 'forced' by government whims to repeat the process on a monthly basis. Otherwise sanitation is abandoned for the entire month by the public. Sanitation in public consciousness rather than an issue of shared responsibility, an issue on which the public takes responsibility, becomes a manifestation of government over zealousness and show of force; something to be resisted.

Recommendations

- 1. Evolving a national environmental policy that integrates the work of artisan groups; waste collectors, scavengers and labourers to the end that these occupations are upgraded to a professional class with requisite training and material provisions.
- 2. Amending the laws governing clean-up exercises to enable professionals employed outside environmental activities substitute capital for their labour.
- 3. Removal of curfews as a component of the clean-up exercise, to ensure that other socio-economic activities hold simultaneously with clean-up exercises.
- 4. Adjustments in the scheduling regimens of clean-up exercises from the monthly cycle to a weekly cycle to eliminate the orientation of prolonged waste storage.
- 5. Rechanneling administrative overhead costs such as go into patrols and mobile courts into provision of greater support systems of equipment and logistics to enable comprehensive evacuation of post clean-up wastes within acceptable and conducive time frame.

Conclusion

This study has identified shortcomings in the regimented clean-up exercise which Nigeria has practiced since 1985 and which model many African countries are increasingly adopting. These shortcomings have been shown to challenge the sustainability of the practice in diverse ways including through the abuse of worth of professional's time; the underdevelopment of a cleaning/janitorial profession, compromises on occupational health of participants; natural loss of man-hours, prohibitive administration cost, lopsided distribution of deployed labour, detestable command and control rigidity and hygiene compromises in protracted waste stowing, poor waste sorting culture and dumping behaviour. It therefore recommends policy adjustments and rechanneling of available capital to 'free' professionals employed outside environmental sanitation from the manual engagement and facilitate the development of a professional class with full professional

orientation in this very critical industry. Governments of African countries that are increasingly taking up this sanitation programme should appraise the caveats.

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