



Kent Academic Repository

Garbin, David, Coleman, Simon and Esiebo, Andrew (2026) *Air, rubber, and repair: a visual urban ethnography of the worlds of tyres in megacity Lagos, Nigeria*. Visual Studies . pp. 1-11. ISSN 1472-586X.

Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/116324/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

The version of record is available from

<https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2026.2728640>

This document version

Publisher pdf

DOI for this version

Licence for this version

CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives)

Additional information

Versions of research works

Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in **Title of Journal** , Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk. Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).



Air, rubber, and repair: a visual urban ethnography of the worlds of tyres in megacity Lagos, Nigeria

David Garbin, Simon Coleman & Andrew Esiebo

To cite this article: David Garbin, Simon Coleman & Andrew Esiebo (22 Sep 2026): Air, rubber, and repair: a visual urban ethnography of the worlds of tyres in megacity Lagos, Nigeria, Visual Studies, DOI: [10.1080/1472586X.2026.2728640](https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2026.2728640)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2026.2728640>



© 2026 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 22 Sep 2026.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

VISUAL ESSAY

Air, rubber, and repair: a visual urban ethnography of the worlds of tyres in megacity Lagos, Nigeria

DAVID GARBIN^a, SIMON COLEMAN^b AND ANDREW ESIEBO^c

^aUniversity of Kent, UK; ^bUniversity of Toronto, Canada; ^cIndependent photographer, Lagos, Nigeria

This visual essay explores the overlapping worlds of tyres in Lagos, Africa's largest megacity, as a lens through which to examine the entanglements of labour, infrastructure, mobility, and urban informality. Drawing on the Pneuma-City project and sustained collaboration with a Lagos-based photographer, the essay traces the tyre across three registers: as an object of continuous repair by roadside vulcanizers; as waste accumulating in streets, waterways, and peripheral dumpsites; and as repurposed material improvised into the fabric of everyday urban life. Grounded in object-oriented ethnography, the essay foregrounds the practices of vulcanizers alongside the diverse afterlives of rubber as it circulates through Lagos's social and material ecologies. Photographs function not only as documentary evidence but as active mediators of meaning, recognition, and collaborative inquiry. Together, images and ethnographic encounters reveal a city sustained by fragile yet inventive practices of repair, reuse, and improvisation, in which the tyre serves as a particularly revealing index of the precarity, creativity, and contested governance of urban life in the Global South.

INTRODUCTION

Lagos, Africa's largest megacity with a population exceeding twenty million, constitutes a complex urban ecosystem where material flows, human labour, and spatial practices intersect in the everyday work of maintenance,

repair, and transformation. The city is also a site of rapid and often disruptive redevelopment: Lagos State Government and urban investors harbour 'world-city' aspirations – waterfront regeneration, new road infrastructure, upmarket developments – that frequently come into tension with the livelihoods, spatial claims and the 'right to the city' of those who live and work 'on the ground' (Olajide and Lawanson 2022; Ajayi, Soyinka-Airewele, and Samuel 2019). This double dynamic of aspiration and precarity, of formal planning and informal improvisation, shapes the city at every scale.

Among the many objects that mediate these interactions, the tyre plays a significant yet largely unnoticed role. While in cities across the world tyres are indispensable to modern transport infrastructures, in Lagos their socio-material presence extends beyond mobility in at least three important ways: first, as discarded objects that accumulate as waste in streets, waterways and open spaces; second, as a versatile material available to be reused in a wide range of formal and informal applications; and third, as objects of continuous repair by the thousands of 'vulcanizers' (tyre repairers) who operate along the city's polluted and busy roadsides.

Can the urban everyday be apprehended through the visual tracing/framing of an object that is at once ubiquitous and invisible? Can the tyre – both mundane and infrastructurally central – serve as an entry point into the complexity of Lagos's daily urban realities, revealing the entanglements of infrastructure, labour and mobility? In this visual essay we engage with these

David Garbin is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Kent. His research examines migration, transnationalism, urban religion, infrastructure and urban change, with fieldwork across Africa, South Asia, Europe, and North America. He led the Pneuma-City project on tyre economies and ecologies in Nigeria and has published widely on religion, migration and global urbanism today.

Simon Coleman is Chancellor Jackman Professor in the Study of Religion at the University of Toronto and Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. An expert anthropologist of global Christianity and pilgrimage, he has conducted fieldwork in Europe and Africa and co-edited major works on religion, mobility, and urban life worldwide.

Andrew Esiebo is a Lagos-based photographer whose work documents everyday life and urban transformation in Nigeria and beyond. He is a recipient of the Visa Pour la Création Prize and the Musée du Quai Branly Artistic Creation Prize. His photography has been exhibited internationally and featured in outlets including The Guardian, National Geographic, The New York Times and BBC Africa.

© 2026 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

questions by exploring the overlapping worlds of tyre-work and tyre-waste, foregrounding the practices of vulcanizers and the diverse afterlives of rubber as it circulates through the city's social and material ecologies.

This essay emerges from the Pneuma-City project (<https://pneuma-city.org/>), which follows the trajectories of tyres from their roadside repair and 'life-or-death' assessments by vulcanizers to their disposal and reuse in both formal and informal ways. A central part of this work has been a sustained collaboration with photographer Andrew Esiebo, whose lens has, for over two decades, captured the textures of Lagosian urban life (<https://www.andrewesiebo.com/>). Andrew was not simply commissioned to produce images for the research, he was a co-investigator of the visual archive from its outset. Fieldwork was conducted over multiple visits between 2019 and 2023, during which project researchers (including the co-authors) and Andrew were together in the field, in particular on the roadside with vulcanizers or in waste and recycling sites. Photographs were also taken independently by Andrew as he moved across Lagos, the tyre becoming a literal guiding 'thread' of his urban journeys.

Our overall approach resonates with the broader turn towards object-oriented ethnography over the last three decades, which uses material things as methodological entry points into global processes and everyday life (Hicks 2010; Knowles 2014; Miller 1998; Neely 2019). Unlike many consumer goods designed for rapid obsolescence, tyres in Lagos remain objects of continuous intervention. Vulcanizers patch, cut, stitch, and inflate them; they evaluate when a tyre might be granted a further lease of life or condemned to disposal. Repair, in this sense, is not a marginal or residual activity but a constitutive practice through which urban mobility is sustained both materially and cost-effectively. It exemplifies what Steven Jackson (2014) has termed 'broken world thinking': an orientation that foregrounds repair and maintenance as the ongoing, often invisible conditions of social life, and in this case, one of the key material conditions of mobility in the city.

The tension between visibility and invisibility running through this essay also speaks to contemporary Africanist scholarship, for instance Mbembe's (2001, 145–146) insight that the invisible is not the other side of the visible but 'inhabits' it and that the image is never merely a surface but always a vessel for what it conceals. Similarly De Boeck's ethnography of Kinshasa attends to a city of layered, 'half-seen' urban worlds – a city he reads as simultaneously above and below ground, where the visible built/material environment is shadowed at

every point by invisible networks of exchange and spiritual power. From his early collaborative work with photographer Marie-Françoise Plissart on the 'invisible city' (De Boeck and Plissart 2004) to his more recent collaboration with artist Sammy Baloji (De Boeck and Baloji 2016), De Boeck's work consistently foregrounds what cities conceal as much as what they display. This work ethnographically and visually showcases how urban residents actively 'suture' the gaps and holes of city life, stitching together losses and gains in the improvised moments of everyday life, what De Boeck calls the 'urban now'. The world of tyres in Lagos, we suggest, is a particularly revealing index of this social infrastructure and of the productive analytical tension between invisible and visible (urban) realities, and it is through the lens of the labour of tyre repair that we begin our visual ethnography of the 'pneumacity'.

'SEALING AIR' – THE RESTORATIVE WORK OF VULCANIZERS

It is mostly men (of all ages) who work as vulcanizers in Lagos, many having come to the trade through apprenticeship networks that connect urban and rural Nigeria, and Lagos to neighbouring states. Vulcanizers work on the roadside (Figure 1). Their day begins before dawn and often extends past dusk, and their stalls, in their great majority modest assemblages of compressors, tools, and stacked tyres, serve as much as advertisements to passing commuters as they do sites of labour.

Given the predominance of so-called *tokunbo* tyres (cheaper second-hand imports that have reached their end of life in Europe) and the condition of Lagos's roads, vehicles require the services of vulcanizers on a recurring basis. Though they are much needed, vulcanizers themselves operate under multiple vulnerabilities. Inflating or repairing large tyres can be dangerous, and constant exposure to dust, fumes, and pollution further compounds the risks. Income is low and unpredictable, fluctuating significantly from day to day. Tools are often basic (see collage Figure 2) while compressors are bulky and difficult to store.

Compared with mobile transport workers, who face incessant predatory harassment from bus station/stop 'tax' collectors as they move across Lagos (Agbibo 2022), vulcanizers benefit from their relatively stationary position. Their fixity enables them to develop localised strategies for negotiating everyday challenges, including demands for payments from 'area boys' (gangs of street youth), police, and other agents who operate in public space. Through their association, the Lagos State Vulcanizers Association (LSVA), senior leaders mediate these interactions, offering a degree of protection and



FIGURE 1. Lagos roadside vulcanizer inflating a car's tyre.

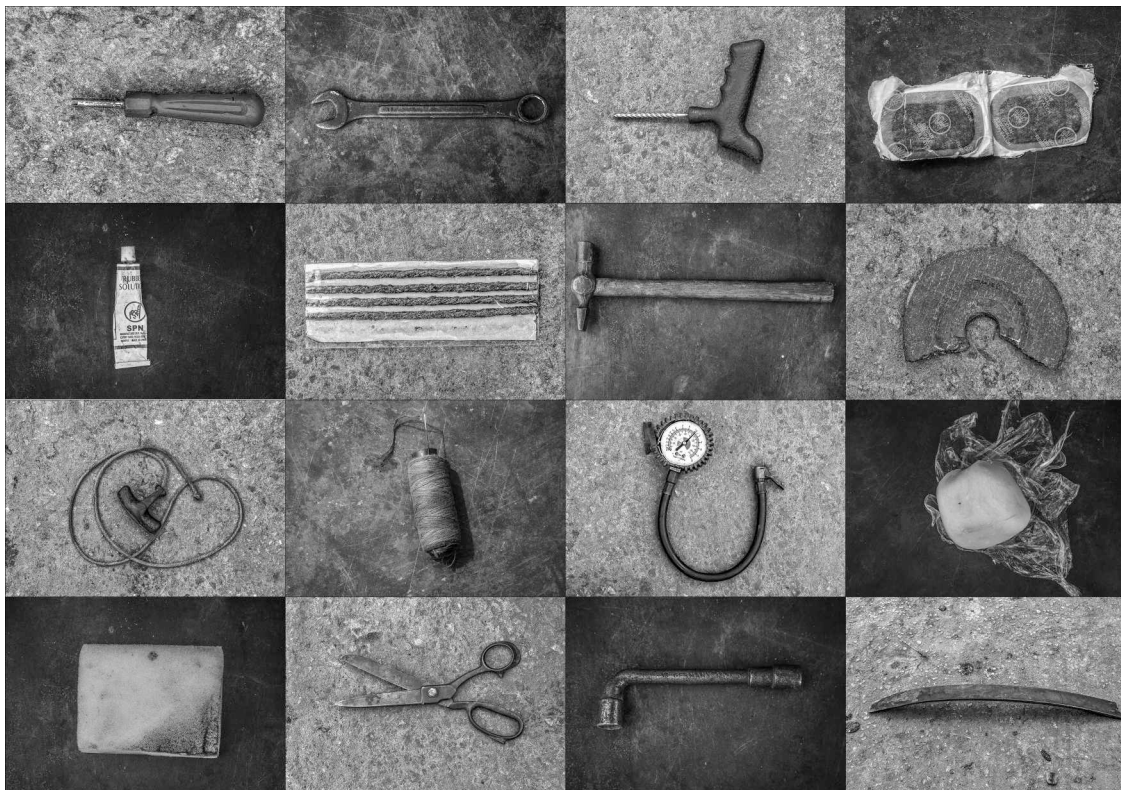


FIGURE 2. Tools used by a typical roadside vulcanizer (collage).

legitimacy. The association also resists ongoing attempts to 'formalise' (that is, to control, displace, or even suppress) informal livelihoods and roadside economies by the state.

Figure 3 is where the essay's argument about mobility and fixity becomes visually apparent. A slow shutter speed has allowed the passing *okadas* (motorcycle taxis, subject to successive bans across much of Lagos) to blur



FIGURE 3. Lagos roadside vulcanizer stall.

into streaks of motion, while the vulcanizer's stall – advertised by a tyre hung by the busy road – remains sharply present in the frame. The image does not merely illustrate the contrast between mobility and immobility; it enacts it. The blur is the city's kinetic energy, at times frenetic and chaotic, rendered visible, pressing against the stall's grounded, 'anchored' presence. This tension is at the core of what vulcanizers told us repeatedly: they keep the city moving, their sheer number and spatial density ensuring an everyday coverage of the urban fabric that serves private drivers, commercial vehicles, and public transport alike. There is also a discourse that places the tyre at the centre of this mobility. To keep tyres turning, vulcanizers insist, is to keep Lagos moving – *no tyre, no movement* is their association's motto after all. This centring of the tyre is compositional as much as discursive and one of our key photographic choices was to make the tyre the main character of many of the images of labour (see Figure 4).

Despite (or perhaps partly because of) the multiple challenges of the work of repair and maintenance on the roadside, vulcanizers usually express a strong sense of pride in their craft. As one repairer remarked: 'We are the doctors of tyres.' Another added: 'We seal air,' a reminder that the air a tyre contains is not merely absent space but an active material presence, load-bearing and generative of motion. This resonates with Ingold's account of air as 'an essential material constituent of the inhabited world' (2010: S132), not backdrop or void, but

substance. In many ways the air that vulcanizers 'seal' holds the city's weight (people and things) and keeps it moving, though of course the same pressure that enables mobility can, in an instant, become a source of serious occupational injury.

As part of the Pneuma-City public engagement activities, we organised a series of photographic exhibitions to showcase the worlds of tyres in Lagos, in particular the work of vulcanizers, with their collaboration (<https://pneuma-city.org/public-program/>). The first exhibition took place inside the LSVA headquarters, where large prints lined the meeting room walls: hands at work, tyres undergoing repair. Later, the images were also exhibited on the roadside, mounted as posters on the very walls that framed or adjoined their stalls. For weeks, they caught the eyes of a vast urban audience, before gradually eroding, curling, and peeling under sun and rain, until they became part of (dissolved into) the megacity's material fabric. Vulcanizers spoke with pride of these photographs, which operated as public affirmations of dignity, skill, but also belonging and, in a way, urban citizenship.

These collaborative interventions raise wider questions about the role of photography in visual ethnography, showing how images can function not merely as representations but also as active mediators of recognition and status. Such mediations aim to produce significant transformations of value by shifting



FIGURE 4. Tyre being inflated by a vulcanizer.

representations of vulcanizers, their work and tyre materialities to visible locations around the city. These translations emerge as forms of collaborative labour between ethnographers and vulcanizers, so that the latter become not merely interlocutors (noting the verbal metaphor underlying such a term) but also co-semioticians, enabled to deploy a visual vocabulary that can act more powerfully than words in acknowledging and re-presenting the urban significance of a relatively ignored (or taken for granted) set of workers.

SORTING

When tyres can no longer be repaired or kept in circulation, vulcanizers usually set them aside until they are collected. Given that tyres are bulky objects, their disposal requires dedicated pathways: many are transported to peripheral dumpsites where they are disassembled and their constituent materials – rubber, fabric, metal – segregated for reuse or resale, and often converted into Tyre Derived Fuel (TDF), now an important energy source for Africa's expanding cement industry.

The photograph (Figure 5), taken by Andrew with a drone, captures one stage in this broader circuit of disposal, deconstruction, and reuse: a large site on the periphery of Lagos where tyres are sorted and cut before their components are channelled elsewhere – iron to nearby petty metal traders, rubber rims to what workers

described as a 'Chinese factory' for fuel extraction and located in a neighbouring state. Piles of dismantled tyres dominate the frame, their sheer mass and density forming a mountain of blackness, itself the product of industrial chemistry: rubber is naturally white, but the addition of carbon black (made from petroleum) gives tyres both their colour and their durability. Andrew's decision to render the image in black and white was to reflect this 'industrial blackness', aesthetically binding the material substance of the tyre to its visual representation. The photograph also echoes Andrew's reflections on the importance of scale in visual storytelling. As he explained: 'Scale gives an idea about the impact of tyres. A tyre is a single object but when you have it as a collection ... it brings your attention to what's involved in the scale because when you talk about climate change or as an ecological problem, people don't see it when it's on a micro level.'

With these words, and through his photo, Andrew provides a striking echo of a notorious exhibition staged by the American performance artist Allan Kaprow, who was known as an 'assemblagist'. For his show called 'Yard', first put together in 1961 in New York and re-staged many times since, Kaprow filled a courtyard space with hundreds of car tyres, covering a number of statues by such luminaries as Barbara Hepworth and Alberto Giacometti. One of Kaprow's aims was to disrupt conventional divisions between art and the everyday object, and thus he and Andrew aimed to produce visual



FIGURE 5. At the periphery of Lagos, heaps of waste tyres are collected and sorted for recycling.

arguments by asking viewers to refocus on an object normally taken for granted. In Andrew's case, relating to work carried out some six decades after Kaprow's, the sense of scale conveyed by so many tyres was also meant to make perceptible the otherwise dispersed and unseen ecological burden of tyre waste.

In the Pneuma-City project, tracing the trajectories of tyres proved revealing, yet also exposed the obstacles of mapping circulation in practice. As Knowles (2014) has shown in her global ethnography of flip-flops, following the routes of materials and objects (including discarded objects) often means confronting opaque, fragmented, and perhaps even concealed pathways. This challenge was equally true in Lagos: the circulation of tyre waste involved a wide range of actors, porous boundaries between formality and informality, legality and illegality, and sometimes puzzling crossroads or hidden infrastructures. For instance, attempts to follow the cut tyre rims to the so-called 'Chinese factory' proved impossible, as workers suggested secrecy was maintained due to the pollution generated there and the mobilisation of nearby residents against what may have been an illegally established operation.

LOOKING THROUGH THE TYRE: REFUSE AND REUSE

The resistant qualities of rubber mean that an abandoned tyre becomes waste that lingers stubbornly in

place, embodying a damaging form of urban 'resilience' when pooling stagnant water that breeds malaria-carrying mosquitoes or blocking the flow of waterways. The project's photography documented these persistent traces, capturing how such abandonment blends almost imperceptibly into the cityscape, joining many other forms of material abandonment that can be discerned by those prepared to look. In Figure 6, the abandoned tyres sit at the visual centre but the layered realities of the megacity are also brought into view. We see an iconic Lagosian *danfo* (collective taxi) blurring past in motion – its 'conductor' (who collects fares) half out of the vehicle, a central if brash character of the city's informal transport economies (Agbiboa 2022). There is also a wall covered with adverts for jobs and financial loans presenting Lagos as a site of aspiration and advancement – even as such promises unfold in a context where scams and predatory schemes remain a constant risk.

Figures 7 and 8 invite the reader to look *through* the tyre rather than at it – quite literally. Figure 7 uses a discarded tyre which has been propped by the vulcanizer as an advertisement of his trade. The tyre becomes an alternative viewfinder through which to capture the urban everyday, the photographer's own act of framing nested within the object's found geometry. Figure 8 extends this logic: another discarded tyre marks a vulcanizer's stall nearby, and through its hollow, two porters from the Lagos Island market can be seen resting, presumably between loads. Together, these images do not simply ask what is visible and what is unseen, but more specifically what the tyre's



FIGURE 6. Abandoned tyres near a busy Lagos road.



FIGURE 7. Discarded tyre near a vulcanizer's stall.

own material form, its circular aperture, makes available to sight. These images are also metaphors for the project as a whole. In a way, we too 'repurposed' the tyre, using it as a lens through which to bring into focus the interlocking

dimensions of urban life we sought to investigate, in particular labour and its rhythms, the infrastructures of mobility and waste, as well as the governance and negotiation of informality in megacity Lagos.



FIGURE 8. Lagos Island porters resting, seen through a discarded tyre.

Between the state of abandoned waste and that of the working tyre under regular repair by vulcanizers, we encountered many visible yet blending-in-the-landscape uses that tyres occupy in Lagos. Tyres can thus serve as

makeshift parking dividers, weight to stabilise roofs, stands for the display of market goods or to support portable diesel generators (themselves used to respond to irregular electricity provision, see Larkin 2016, also



FIGURE 9. Old tyre used to cover a missing manhole.



FIGURE 10. Old tyres deployed as goalposts for football games in a Lagos residential area.

discussed in Coleman, Garbin, and Esiebo 2025). Tyres frequently become informal infrastructure, repurposed to fill the gaps the city leaves unaddressed. Figure 9 shows this plainly: a tyre placed over a missing (possibly stolen, we were told) manhole, alerting and protecting pedestrians where formal maintenance has failed, and in

doing so providing another quiet mobility affordance. The image also captures, once again, a multilayered street scene in which the rhythms of work, movement, and improvised urban repair fold into one another. These improvised ‘placements’ (or ‘replacements’) reveal another register of invisibility (who positioned the tyres



FIGURE 11. Old tyres reused in the making of an outdoor gym.



FIGURE 12. Old tyres reused as a punching bag.

there often remains unknown), yet through such micro-acts tyres become ‘urban fixes’, materials for patching the city itself, reflecting the necessity of finding immediate solutions to the infrastructural hazards that permeate urban space.

We also observed how tyres extend into the sphere of sports and leisure. They are reworked as seats for swings, goalposts for impromptu football matches (Figure 10), or serve as punching bags in training spaces. The ‘outdoor gym’ captured in the drone image (Figure 11) shows tyres as literal building blocks and as materials uniquely adapted to the demands of exercise. A boxer we spoke to stressed that a tyre made a better punching surface than a conventional bag, describing it as tougher, longer-lasting, and ultimately more ‘satisfying’ to strike (Figure 12). Such (re)appropriations show how tyres can move beyond repair and circulation into the embodied practices of recreation, becoming part of the city’s physical culture and further evidence of the creative labour through which Lagosians improvise infrastructure for everyday life.

CONCLUSION

This essay has shown how tyres circulate through Lagos as infrastructures of repair, waste, and improvisation. In our images, the breakdown of this object appears not as ‘failure’ but as a generative moment through which urban

life is sustained. Yet photography of course both reveals and conceals. It brings into view the material and ‘patching’ improvisations that hold the city together but often leaves invisible the anonymous labour behind them, such as the unknown hand that positions a tyre over a manhole, the negotiations over the governance of space, the long acquisition of skills in repair, or even the dark history of the tyre’s material components (see Tully 2011, who calls rubber ‘the devil’s milk’: whose extraction was largely built on exploitation and colonial violence). This tension between visibility and invisibility speaks to Knowles’s (2017) idea of city-making as a ‘plastic’ process: tyres, like literal plastics in Addis Ababa, are not (only) static waste but can be generative matter reworked into urban fixes and solutions. Their multiple and often stuttering trajectories between conventional use, careful repair, creative reuse, and condemned waste provide a partial mapping of the demographics, politics, and precarities of the city (cf. Botha and Iqani 2026, 2). Through the interplay of images and ethnographic encounters – encounters between researcher, photographer, and vulcanizer, between the analytical and the visual – Lagos emerges as a city shaped by fragile yet inventive practices, sustained by materials and labours that are at once seen, unseen, and continually in motion.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

FUNDING

This work was supported by the British Academy [grant number MI2\100026].

ETHICS APPROVAL

Granted by the University of Kent on 15 April 2021, application 0371.

INFORMED CONSENT

All participants in this project provided informed consent after being fully briefed about the aims, scope, and methods of the study. Information about the project was communicated either verbally or through an information sheet available in English and/or Yoruba, ensuring accessibility and comprehension for all participants. The consent process covered every aspect of the research, including audio-recorded interviews, participant observation, and visual ethnography, with participants retaining the right to withdraw at any stage without consequence.

REFERENCES

- Agbibo, D. E. 2022. *They Eat Our Sweat: Transport Labour, Corruption and Everyday Survival in Urban Nigeria*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ajayi, O., P. Soyinka-Airewele, and O. Samuel. 2019. "Gentrification and the Challenge of Development in Makoko, Lagos State, Nigeria: A Rights-Based Perspective." *Environmental Justice* 12 (2): 41–47. <https://doi.org/10.1089/env.2018.0020>.
- Botha, T., and M. Iqani. 2026. "Waste Not Want Not: Art, Recycling and Community Building in a Johannesburg Creative Collaboration." *Visual Studies* 41 (3): 555–564. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2024.2435024>.
- Coleman, S., D. Garbin, and A. Esiebo. 2025. "Frictional Infrastructures: Navigating the Socio-Spatial Landscape of Second-Hand and Waste Tyres in Mega-City Lagos (Nigeria)." In *Second-Hand Cultures and Economies of Reuse, Repair, Sharing, and Care*, edited by P. Kuppinger, 175–200. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- De Boeck, F., and S. Baloji. 2016. *Suturing the City: Living Together in Congo's Urban Worlds*. London: Autograph ABP.
- De Boeck, F., and M.-F. Plissart. 2004. *Kinshasa: Tales of the Invisible City*. Ghent: Ludion.
- Hicks, D. 2010. "The Material-Cultural Turn: Event and Effect." In *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, edited by D. Hicks and M. C. Beaudry, 25–98. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ingold, T. 2010. "Footprints through the Weather-World: Walking, Breathing, Knowing." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 16 (s1): S121–S139. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2010.01613.x>.
- Jackson, S. J. 2014. "Rethinking Repair." In *Media Technologies: Essays on Communication, Materiality, and Society*, edited by T. Gillespie, P. J. Boczkowski, and K. A. Foot, 221–239. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Knowles, C. 2014. *Flip-Flop: A Journey through Globalisation's Backroads*. London: Pluto Press.
- Knowles, C. 2017. "Untangling Translocal Urban Textures of Trash: Plastics and Plasticity in Addis Ababa." *Social Anthropology* 25 (3): 288–300. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.12424>.
- Larkin, B. 2016. "Ambient Infrastructures: Generator Life in Nigeria." *Technosphere Magazine*. <https://technosphere-magazine.hkw.de/p/Ambient-Infrastructures-Generator-Life-in-nigeria-fCgtKng7vpt7otmky9vnFw>.
- Mbembe, A. 2001. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Miller, D. 1998. *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Neely, A. 2019. "Worlds in a Bottle: An Object-Centred Ethnography for Global Health." *Medical Anthropology Theory* 6 (4): 127–141. <https://doi.org/10.17157/mat.6.4.642>.
- Olajide, O., and T. Lawanson. 2022. "Urban Paradox and the Rise of the Neoliberal City: Case Study of Lagos, Nigeria." *Urban Studies* 59 (9): 1763–1781. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980211014461>.
- Tully, J. 2011. *The Devil's Milk: A Social History of Rubber*. New York: Monthly Review Press.