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AN OVERVIEW OF YORUBA ORAL LITERATURE, ITS VIABILITY AS A HISTORICAL DATA SOURCE AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN YORUBA HISTORIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT: *Like most oral literary corpora, Yoruba oral literature has mostly been viewed through skeptical lenses when it comes to being a viable source for the providence of sound historical information. The reason for this skepticism is tied to its capricious aural medium of transmission and its collocation with non-literacy and pre-literate epochs. This study aims to problematise this prevalent perception by underscoring the historicalness of Yoruba oral literature and exploring the different ways its genres have been employed by scholars of modern orientations in the discovery or validation of historical information in and around the Yoruba nation. Ample focus is given to reviewing the tentacular outlooks of scholars on the historical functions of Yoruba oral literature. Within the loci of the divergent stances examined, the hypothesis that Yoruba oral literature has an enduring historical dimension that has contributed to modern Yoruba historiography is presented and tested using various examples.*

KEYWORDS: Oral literature, Yoruba, Nigeria, Modern history, Orality

INTRODUCTION

Once upon a time, history was transmitted by means of spoken words crafted into stories, poems, songs and made alive by every wit of grit the person(s) who bears the burden of telling possesses. Or so it was believed till written scholarship came and eroded this assumption with the claim that no form of history conveyed by word of mouth should be believed as truth because it is utterly subject to being inaccurate. Franz Kafka made an implicit inference to this through his often-quoted statement that “the history of the world, as it is written and handed down by [word of mouth], often fails us completely”. In truth, Kafka’s statement somewhat extended to include written and ‘transmitted’ literature passed down from ancient scholars but his words elaborately explicated by an English translator is an indicator of the ambivalent sentiment towards oral literariness and its historical significance (The Kafka Project | Octave Booklet D (I, 21), n.d.). By way of support, an American historian also maintained assertively that “folklore… passed by word of mouth… [is] opposed… [to] history which is written down and stored in an archive” (Jill Lepore Quotes, n.d.). The purpose of this essay is to challenge this pervading viewpoint by defending the historical essence of oral literature. What this means is that this essay purports to not merely test the validity or invalidity of the premises which support the claim that literary orality amounts little to historicity, but to also legitimise the slant that oral literature does contain viable historical qualities that have, over time, contributed immensely to the development of modern historiography. The fulcrum that forms the base of this essay stems from the oral literariness of a particular group in Western Nigeria: The Yoruba people. With their oral literature having a dynamic, vast repertoire of oral literary conventions as well as a rather entangled relationship with modern history especially in the Nigerian context, it presents itself as a fitting exemplar for engaging in a study such as this.

Although the role Yoruba oral literature plays for acquiring historical knowledge has been acknowledged by some scholars, most of whom are anthropologists, not many have made the effort to support the claim. For one, a leading researcher in African oral literature highlighted the import of oral literature to historical knowledge, weighing on how “poetry in non-literate as in literate societies can be illuminating for the historian - of direct relevance for the intellectual history of the time and indirectly useful for other aspects of society” (Finnegan, 1970, p. 196). However, she expressed a well-founded scepticism with regards to the viability of the prosaic form of oral literature like historical narratives to provide historical resources for scholars (Finnegan, 1970, p. 197). Considering the constant flux of academic research, the skeptically coloured valuation of oral literature in relation to prevalent historical traditions ought to be re-evaluated and this is what this article intends to venture into. Ilemobayo Omogunwa and Marcel Onyibor (n.d.) argue from a philosophical perspective that the disinterest in defending the viability of oral testimonial words has created a vacuum in African epistemological philosophy as many in this circle do not consider oral tradition as veritable sources of reference. The same can be said for African and postcolonial history; Robin Law (1976) stresses just how sceptical many educated Yoruba historians are about the “value of traditional evidence”, in so much that Yoruba local historians like J.O George, Euler Ajayi and even Samuel Johnson who put them to use were apologetic about their reliance on orature.

For others like Chris Johnson, oral traditions should only be used if they can be corroborated with written evidence; but interestingly, there are more oral sources than written materials especially with regards to the prehistory of the Yoruba people, hence it seems quite offhanded to insist on the corroboration of oral references with written documentations (Law, 1976, p. 78). More so, it should be noted that oral literature is only a smaller fragment of the broader spectrum of oral tradition, which denotes the generality of how “knowledge about reality [is] transmitted orally from one generation to another” (Omogunwa & Onyibor, n.d.). Aribidesi Usman and Toyin Falola (2019), in their seminal book, sufficiently explored Yoruba oral tradition with emphasis on its religious trademarks, oral history, concrete and visual arts to bodily aestheticization and music. But most of these form part of oral tradition, not oral literature.

Interestingly, oral tradition is of a broader configuration than oral history as the former “consists of accounts of past events or activities rendered by persons who were direct actors, participants, or eyewitnesses” (Faseke, 1990, p. 78). As it is, oral tradition whose forms of existence include cultural practices, religious conventions, songs, rituals performed using several props and instruments have been given more historical credence than its literary aspects believed to be mostly fabrications. These complex relationships among oralities makes it all the more important to engage in a study that exclusively outlines the historical properties of Yoruba oral literature as a very specific area and delineates the several ways in which it has been used in Nigerian modern historiography. To do this, however, there is the need to review past literary endeavours in this regard and touch on what has essentially been the loci of discussion in this field of study. This is to be followed by a typological delineation of the genres of Yoruba oral literature, which will be done in order to give readers a basic understanding of this area of Yoruba oral tradition so that the subsequent evaluation of the historical qualities of Yoruba oral literature and its role in modern Yoruba historical studies by contemporary scholars can easily be comprehensible to the mind.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The general meaning, functions and aspects of oral literature have always been subject to the scrutiny of both western and non-western scholars. An important area of contestation has been the literary quality of oral literature. Given the fact that literature is basically taken to denote a written form of art, the aural nature of oral literature is considered as an oxymoronic collocation that reflects the tenuous conceptualisations of artistic representations. Antonia Carcelen-Estrada (2018, p. 131) captures this paradox in the description of oral literature as "ontologically oppos[ing] any written encoding" yet "projecting and conserving people's cultural values and norms" just as the written form would (Carcelen-Estrada, 2018, p. 131). It does not help that the Latin etymological 'literatura' is derived from 'litera' which essentially means 'written words' (Literature | Origin and Meaning of Literature by Online Etymology Dictionary, n.d.). What this has done is cause historians to be more only interested in the anthropological, ritualistic, socio-religious attributes of oral performances, treating them exclusively whilst disregarding the aesthetic qualities of the oral representations (Binyou-Bi-Homb, 2009).

Despite the apathy towards recognising the literary and historical essence of oral literature, some academics have managed to exhaustively defend its appreciative artistically-inclined attributes with a number of them studying oral artistic forms in several parts of the world to justify their claims. Ruth Finnegan (2012) gave the example of N.K Chadwick who defended the literariness of oral literature based on the fact that oral literary forms have been around in non-literate societies long before the invention of writing. Also, the notion of individual authorship which is a distinguishing feature of written literature is also evident in oral literature as performers also bring in their personalities into the art, even adding or improvising the cultural contents. For one, the aural creative heritage of specific western ancient periods and societies like Anglo-Saxon, Slavic and Iberian communities have particularly received attention, with Sino-platonic oral literature also receiving academic, filmic or literary translational treatments by fantasy writers and anime screenwriters like Hayao Miyazaki, the popular screenwriter and director behind *Spirited Away* and *Princess Monooke*, two movies that gained popularity due to their cinematographic reconfiguration of several indistinguishable Japanese oral literary elements (Carcelen-Estrada, 2018).

However, more interest has been directed to African oral literature in so much that it has been studied in all its vagaries. On the home front, prolific literary writer and scholar Ngugi wa' thiongo has, in several publications, appraised the distinctive qualities of African oral literature and its role in preserving the historical heritage of newly independent African nation-states (Vaidya et al., 2018). He is averse to the caging of creative oratures in the prison house of the English language, hence his choice to write his dramas which borrowed a lot from Kenyan oral literature in his native language Gikuyu. There have, however, been several intensive studies that do not hold quite as strong an opinion as wa Thiong'o but simply explore the facets of African oral literature. In this regard, Ruth Finnegan's *Oral Literature in Africa* (2012) with its inquiry into the oral literary practices of about 150 cultural groups in Africa, including the Yoruba tribe, is considered one of such seminal efforts. Its strong arguments in defence of the literariness of African oral literature and illumination on its characteristic features and forms have been considered a breakthrough achievement.

Toyin Fálolá, Abimbola Wándé, Isidore Okpewho, Adeboye Babalolá, Abiola Irele and Russell H. Kaschula are other prominent scholars whose works have led to milestone discoveries about

African oral literature (Akinsola & Omolola, 2020, p. 314). Although their works might not be as extensive as Finnegan's, they boast more depth and exhaustive exploration of specific areas of interest which might only have been given cursory mentions in Finnegan's book. Their entry into an academic environment that gives more credence to written, printed texts have caused them to publish several materials in which they have vehemently championed theories and postulations related to oral literature and explicated its complex relationships with written narratives and several fields of study. They have managed to do this in different ways. Having spent most of his career studying Yoruba Ijala poetry (hunter's songs), Babalolá is considered as a renowned authority who has put Yoruba Ijala poetry on the world map of oral literature.

While both Wándé and Fálolá are renowned Yoruba historians, Wándé exercises a flair for pre-colonial Yoruba history using Ifa divination poetry as his mantra, while Fálolá dwells more on academic colonial and postcolonial Nigerian history, making only deductive references from Yoruba oral literature. Okpewho and Irele, in their lifetimes, were writers and literary scholars, hence, they were adept at discussing the aesthetic dynamics of oral and written literature in and beyond Nigeria. Interestingly, while scholars like Kaschula and Finnegan have tried to establish the contemporariness of oral literature in Africa, the preliterate, prehistoric nature of Yoruba oral literature is what is particularly emphasised by these intellectuals, with one of them referring to it as "the heritage of imaginative verbal creations, stories, folk-beliefs and songs of preliterate societies which have evolved and passed on through the spoken word from one generation to another" (Finnegan, 2012, p. 22). Obversely, another scholar, Ifeoluwa Akinsola, perceives Yoruba oral literature as inclusive of, though not limited to, the written text; this is an echo of a trend of thought that every written or unwritten discourse about Yoruba's cultural heritage is its oral literature (Akinsola & Omolola, 2020).

Despite the worldwide attention Yoruba oral literature has garnered, as established earlier, its historical content has always been subject to scrutiny; one of the vehement critics of oral Yoruba sources in this regard is Rev. E.T Johnson, who expressed stark scepticism about the validity of the information provided within its realm (Law, 1976, p. 78-79). Relatively, many view the relevance of oral literature to history in an obverse way. For someone like Abdul-Rasheed Na'Allah (2020), one cannot attain a full understanding of oral literature without first having knowledge about the socio-economic and cultural history of the people involved. However, the role of oral literature in providing understanding about a people's history is somewhat glossed over. One prominent Nigerian scholar that has, however, rooted for the possibility of oral tradition (including its creative, literary aspects) in being used as historical data is Bólánlé Awé. She has strongly criticised the overt dismissal of oral literature as 'quasi-historical' and the failure of scholars to recognise it as the 'third category' of oral tradition useful for historical construction (Awe, 1974). For her, literary narratives transmitted by word-of-mouth encapsulate the experiential socio-cultural trends of a community and can provide a historian with "knowledge of personalities, attitudes and social issues considered critical in times past" (Adeleke Adeeko, 2001, p. 181). On her part, she practically pursued a historical knowledge of Oyo and Ibadan people in Yoruba land relying mainly on literary oratures as her research materials. But, even then, in her research, she restricts the utilisation of oral literary corpora to non-literate societies without the archival advantage that written materials provide, just as Finnegan does. Hence, she does not present it as a default mode of historicisation; instead, she sees it as a conditional form of evidence contingent on the ready availability of written sources.

Another Nigerian scholar who subjectively subscribes to Awé's view about the contribution of Yoruba oral literature to historical knowledge is Adélékê Adéêkó. He, however, finds fault in the hegemonic structure of several forms especially the panegyrics (oríkî) which engages in a privileged telling of prominent parts of the Yoruba kingdom while relegating less important communities to the narrative margin. Adéêkó is even more perplexed by the omission of the Yoruba's experiences of slavery and colonialism from these literary representations. By looking into the 16 different variants of the lineage oriki of Olufe and Onikoyi as told by four individual oral performers recorded by Babalola, Adéêkó examines all the dynamics of the hegemonic historical presentation of two Yoruba principalities (Adéêkó, 2001). While Olufe's oriki celebrates Ife as the peaceful polity from which Yoruba land originates, Onikoyi's praise poem extols the war exploits (which includes dealings with slaves) of Ikoyi, the leader of the warrior clan of the Oyo kingdom (Adéêkó, 2001). To any historian who engages in a comparative study of the two panegyrics, it becomes immediately clear that both kingdoms are steering the wheels of cosmology in their feud for the "control of Yoruba cultural history and politics" (Adéêkó, 2001, p. 184-186).

Paradoxically, within these hegemonic constructs, historians get the chance to validate the agelong tension and rivalry between both charters. Adéêkó is not the only one who has expressed reservation about what acquired oral literary evidence can mean for historical research due to the above concern. In an 1886 annual report published by the Abeokuta Patriotic Association, it was acknowledged that "folklores, legends... valuable as they are, [have] conflicting opinions [with] each man magnifying himself above the other, each tribe or country wishing to be accounted superior" (Law, 1976, p. 78). This, alongside the variegated versions of individual folklores that are fostered by different Yoruba communities, pose real problems. But that literary performances are held to account with regards to providing historical information is a testament to the abiding confidence in the ability of oratures to provide historical information. This is not to talk about how the shared nature of oral literary performances and written historical sources in concretising partisan ideologies reveals their fraternised convergence.

This article chooses to ride on this confidence and focus on the strengths of Yoruba oral literature with regards to historical representations. More so, it is worthy of note, that from Western and Chinese viewpoints, history and oral literary forms like poetry are fundamentally distinct. On the other hand, the African conception of oral literature obviously does not distinguish between its historical and poetic attributes. Hence, arguing for the "historicalness" and "literariness" of African oral literature in Western terms is contradictory as the two aspects, to some extent, exclude each other. Thus, this explains the exigency to analyse Yoruba oral literature, the subject of this study, according to its own poetics which, in fact, is historically-inclined.

Genres of Yoruba Oral Literature

Some scholars have been known to simply substitute oral literature for folklore, storytelling, folktale etc. when in fact, within many communities (the Yoruba people included), oral literature is so much more than that. In fact, folklore is just one of the aspects of the different genres of Yoruba oral literature that there are (Binyou-Bi-Homb, 2009, 1). For Finnegan, the genres of oral literature in Africa include "poetry (panegyric, elegiac, and religious poetries); songs (lyric, topical, political, children's songs and rhymes); prose narratives, proverbs, riddles, oratory, drum language, and drama", all of which are functional forms that are of historical significance to the Yoruba people (Ruth Finnegan, 2012, p. 52-80). Although, as Finnegan stresses, this classification can be problematic and has given rise to other counter-categorisations, it is generally agreed that some oral forms are more prosaic, poetic, lyrical or dramatic than others; so, the categories used in written literature just as well works mostly for Yoruba oral literature. Because the dramatic aspects of Yoruba oral literature are intricately tied with religion, theatrics and a combination of performance and presence, its historical properties cannot be sufficiently delineated in this essay so it will be excluded from the discussion below as well as in other subsections. Also, for the other two genres, emphasis will be placed on aspects and forms that are of more historical significance.

Yoruba Oral Prose Narratives

There are several forms of Yoruba oral prose narratives like the Alo (story songs) which contain elements of riddles and singalong songs and are usually told to children (and adults) mostly at night. Alo usually starts off with a storied invocation - *Alo o* - and a riddle which the audience are supposed to answer before the storyteller continues telling the story. During the course of the story, a call-and-response song is started by the narrator involving the audience who normally clap as they sing along. An Alo can be related by anyone as little professionalism is required and the stories are usually fables spiced with trickster motifs so they are rarely of historical relevance (Kubik, 1968). Although on the lowest rung of narrative importance, the Alo is intricately connected to Yoruba's nomenclature for historicalness called Itan (the literal meaning of Itan is history; its intended meaning is historical narrativity) in a complex thread of narrative evolution as is revealed in a storyteller's explanation of its origins quoted by Deirdre La Pin (1980):

> Throughout the whole of Yorubaland, Ifa gave birth to Itan, itan gave birth to alo, alo gave birth to song. When some part of Ifa leaves its parent, it enters into Itan; when a part within itan leaves, it enters into alo; when a portion of Alo leaves, it then becomes a song (p. 333).

Itan, in its most glorified, popular form, is folklore which comprises biographical narrations, myths and legends that are of religious, literary and historical connotations. The popularity of this form contributes to the over-generalised name-calling of oral literature as mere folklore or folktales (this is also almost the case for the western counterpart whose repertoire of fairytales are classified as folklore). Its prevalence has stemmed from the explorations of anthropologists like James Frazer who found so much ethnographic merit in folklore that they downplay its literary qualities in search for its historical revelations about the "customs, beliefs, and culture of both early man and... contemporary 'primitive' peoples" which supposedly reveal "the surviving remnant of a once barbaric past", what, in Friedrich Schiller's euphemistic term, are the remnants of Western childhood (Ziemann, 2019; Finnegan, 2012, p. 309).

Given the anthropological interest in folklore, scholars like Carcelen-Estrada (2018, p. 133) have generalised the entire corpus of oral literature as an "in between the liminal spaces of anthropological and literary fictions". True enough, oral prose narratives are mostly centred on folkloric conventions; as it is, this supposed distinction between "literature" and "folklore" is largely based on sociological characteristics such as popularity and anonymous transmission rather than on themes and textual quality. Hence, the different types of forms that there are within this space of oral literary representation has been overshadowed by popular conceptions. Apart from the animal folktales that seem to be in a class of its own with the Ijapa (tortoise) as

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the most invoked character within this trope, there is also *Itan* which connotes historical narratives and can pass for the historical repository of the Yoruba people. *Itan*, as emphasised by Finnegan (2012), can be classified into creation stories/myths and legends about conquests, ancestry and contemporary events. It is based on the repertoire of these myths and legends that the histories of certain Yoruba communities are constructed, written and published (As will be seen shortly, Samuel Johnson''s *History of the Yorubas* is clearly an example). Apart from these folkloric forms of vibrant historical traditions, proverbs and riddles can be said to be part of the prosaic genre because they are usually spoken in prose-like ways, even narrativised, depending on the skill of the speaker.

Yoruba Oral Poetry

Isaac Olugboyega Alaba (2002) in his elucidation of the qualities of Yoruba oral poetry dwells on its most historically inclined form - the Odu Ifá (Ifá literary corpus). The Odu Ifa is a set of literary primordial divination stories that serves as the knowledge base from which initiated priests who serve at the behest of the Ifa deity expend "information… about the present, past and future events" to Ifa worshippers (Omogunwa & Onyibor, n.d., p. 41). Believed to be founded by the Grand Priest Orunmila who is said to be the Supreme Oracle and first-hand witness of the creation process, the Ifa priest or priestess (babalawo) spends more than three years of apprenticeship learning and memorising the entire corpus of the Odu Ifa which has sixteen books and about two hundred and fifty six lengthy verses, recitations and stories as it is only by this means that the priest will be able to dispense both historical and epistemic knowledge to people during consultations (Akinsola & Omolola, 2020, p. 320; Finnegan, 2012, p. 93). The Ifa priests and priestesses are also supposed to learn about other things like traditional herbology, animism, spiritual incantations and the healing sciences, the most important that comes with the 'profession'. During these consultations, the poeticness of the words spoken – the sheer use of rhymes, metaphors, personifications and lyrical, trancelike voice – acts as a carriage on which a historical message about a person, animal or thing is often passed across and used to interpret a current predicament.

According to J.D Clarke (1939, p. 235), the historical significance of the Odu Ifa is contained in the fact that "buried in [its] stories and greetings, there is undoubtedly a vast amount of Yoruba philosophy, mythology and history." Although he stresses that most of the historical references are usually lost on the old babalawo who was not a witness to that period and are utterly incomprehensible to the new ones due to their proverbial depth, it is safe to say that they can provide annotated references for histories that are still familiar to the current generation. An example below shows how:

To Eji Ogbe

O da Ifa fun Kukundunkun	He cast Ifa for the Sweet Potato
-ni ojo ti o lo si oko Aloro-odun	on the day he went to the farm of Aloro-odun
Nigbana ni o korin pe "Ogbo di ye o,	Then he sang, "An old hen has plenty of chickens;
-omo yoyo lehin mi ".	there are many children behind me."

To Ogbe-sa

> The Olokun who was king of the sea brought two hundred and one crowns to the Ooni of Ife, who was the paramount chief of all the world at that time, so that he might give them to his friends. The Ooni was their chief and the Olokun became the suzerain of the Ooni. Therefore, the Ooni of Ife sacrifices a goat, a rat, a hen and a fish to Olokun every year. Olokun is the sea orisha (god) (J. D. Clarke, 1939, p. 247).

Given the fact that several divination tools are used in consultations and recitations like the Opele (divination chain), Opon Ifa (divination tray) and Odu of Obi (Kola-nut divination), there is a whole dynamic behind the interpretation of any verse of the Odu Ifa so it is impossible to interpret these lines referenced by the scholar Clarke out of context. What is, however, obvious is that the first couplet refers to an event that did happen in the ancient past but has been shrouded in mysteries due to the use of proverbs and impenetrable anecdotes. However, the second story that runs like a folklore refers to an event that is much more familiar. The Olokun deity is venerated by many Yorubas all over the world till date and the Ooni of Ife is a well-respected, prominent traditional ruler, hence, it is possible for anyone familiar (especially a historian) with antecedent information about this story to infer certain facts from this Ese Ifa (verse of Ifa).

Beyond the Odu Ifa which is historically oriented, there are several forms of Yoruba oral poetry that perform historical functions and provide factual information especially within the context of contemporary historicalness. They range from Iremoje, Esa, Ofo, Ege, Ogede, Arofo, Ewi, Rara, Ekun-Iyawo (tearful song of a bride) to the popular Ijala poetry which is imbued with the history of Yoruba hunters and, in its own ways, can be considered as an example of epic poetry. Oriki (panegyric or praise poetry) is another form of oral poetry that especially offers insight into historical events and personalities. Adéêkó conceives it as a "poetic elaboration of individual names" which, over time, are inflected to include unique information revealing the social and cultural background of the subject etc. (Adeeko, 2001, p. 182). As pointed out by Bolanle Awe (1974), an oriki can be about anything, anybody from animals, to humans and personalities, to places, genealogies or lineages. The panegyrics based on humans are mostly the ones that narrativize the historical origins or cultural details about a community. Awe (1974), in her defence of the historical characteristic of praise poems, classified human-related praise poems based on their subjects of engagement: Oriki Ilu focuses on places like towns and villages; Oriki Orile centres on lineage and Oriki Inagije is dedicated to individual personalities (Awe, 1974, p. 332). The panegyric, at its least historical slant, is the praise poetry meant to flatter a person, group or a deity in the hope for reward. However, when it is rendered to important personalities in privileged positions and lineages, it becomes historically potent. Regardless of what type, the transmission and recitation of praise poems are carried out with emphasis placed on staying true to authentically verifiable facts that have been gathered over time about the person, lineage or town because an incorrect presentation of facts by the performer can attract grave consequences and ridicule from the audience.

A short verse from a translated version of a veneration of Ogun (an oriki of Ogun sung by an Ijala poet) shows how hyperbolic and loosely informative a praise poem can be (Finnegan, 2012). Apart from providing a basic description of Ogun, the poem does not really do much in terms of providing historical information about the Yoruba god of war:

… Ogun, let me not see the red of your eyes,
Ogun sacrifices an elephant to his head
Master of iron, head of warriors,
Ogun, great chief of robbers.
Ogun wears a bloody cap.
Ogun has four hundred wives and one thousand four hundred children (p. 113).

In comparison, Awe (1974) presents the praise poem dedicated to an individual personality named Balogun Ibikunle, a soldier from a Yoruba community called Ogbomoso who migrated to Ibadan and became the commander-in-chief of its forces. There is a deliberate attention to the historical details of Ibikunle's life in the praise poem in so much that it can be help in the reconstruction of the man's biography:

Ibikunle Oloke	Ibikunle, the Lord of his Quarters, (Hill)
Agbangba Ase!	The proverbial magnificent doer,
Balogun a teno bi Aje	The Captain that disgraces men as would the dearth of money
Jagun! a to bi aila	The Warrior! As regular as the Muslim afternoon prayers...
O loko lo'gbere	Owner of farmland at Ogbere
Ibikunle loko lodo-Ona	lbikunle also has a farm at Odo-Ona
A boju oko gberengede	A wide expanse of farmland
To fi dodi Adesegun	Extensive as far as the city (fortification) wall at Adesegun
Alagb'ala jayajayaaba-	Father of Kueje
Kueje	Owner of a deadly fearsome backyard...
O lara Ara lo Ohan	He drove the sojourners of Ara to Ohan,
O le Ohan lu Ikogusi	Drove 0han people against Ikogusi,
Darani ja baba Ogunmola	Admirable at expeditions, father of Ogunmola,
Gbagun loju baba Asipa	Fierce striker at war, father of Asipa;
Lota lete baba Osi Ibadan	A stockist of bullet and gunpowder, father of Osi of Ibadan.
Apewa polori ija nla	Usually commissioned to subdue the head of any rebellion… (p.

340 -346).

As can be seen, although the characteristic hyperbolic speech is used to extol Ibikunle given his important personage, a lot of implicit personal information are given which also crisscross with historical facts about the places he has been to. The degree of authenticity of a particular oriki is thus dependent on who and what it is for. It should be noted that, just like the interconnection proverbs and riddles which are standalone forms have with prose narratives, oral songs also can be intertwined with oral poetry as they exude rhythm, rhyme and other poetic qualities to varying degrees. Several of the other forms already indicated like orin agbe (farmer's song), Ijala (hunter's song), rara (dirges) have degrees of lyricism and they are just as imbued with historical qualities.

Custodians of Yoruba Oral Literature

Just like in most traditional communities, there are custodians of orality amongst Yoruba people; those who are considered experts in specific aspects like oral poetry, folklore or creative, epistemic dissemination of knowledge. It is due to the authoritative reverence accorded to these people that their performances transcend mere literary forms and become of historical essence. Omogunwa and Onyibor identified two major custodians of Yoruba oral literature: the elders of the community and Ifa, the oracle, who is represented by an initiated priest that uses such mediums as the opon ifa (a divination tray), opele (a divination chain) and iroke ifa to speak to the oracle and transmit the messages to lay men (Omogunwa & Onyibor, n.d., p. 39). Likewise, an elderly person who has lived up to certain expectations in the society is revered to the point of being considered a source for verifying historical facts; their testimonies usually elicit believability despite the fact that they might not have been witnesses of the event in question. The assertive authority of the sages is mostly embodied by their cultivated habit of telling stories (especially Alo and folklores) which draw a lot of crowd as well by how they are referred to when proverbs are quoted:"Awon Agba lo n wipe" which means "As the elders say…" (Omogunwa & Onyibor, n.d., p. 39). Apart from these everyday custodians, every oral form has performers who have mastered the art and perform it during ritual and ceremonial functions. Because these oral forms are mostly tied to traditional events, they require the performers to dress in certain ways and adopt specific mannerisms; most of these external embellishments add to the significance of the performances.

As can be deduced, performativity, orality and social situational transmission are the distinctive characteristics of most forms of Yoruba oral literature and the degrees to which each form draws on all these features largely contributes to their distinct characters. However, while it is easy to differentiate one form from another, most of them usually go hand in hand and are interconnected by the performative prowess of the trouper. An elderly woman telling an Alo might bask beneath the benevolence of the moonshine and simply tell her riddle-shrouded story to kids while a sprightly entertainer performing to adults would tell that same story adding other elements like dance, poetry and stunning oratory. Even more, the oriki is better performed to the drum language. Social conditioning is especially important as any oral performance depends on the broader socio-cultural networks and historical codifications of the society in which it is performed. There is the popular saying by Albert Lord, author of The Singer of Tales (1960), that 'an oral poem is not composed for but in performance'. Karin Barber does not, however, agree with the "prevailing emphasis on oral art as defined exclusively by performance", arguing that Yoruba oral verbal art is a form of a more inclusive type of textuality which is culturally configured (Karin Barber, 1999). Awe's emphasis on how the historical information contained in praise poems is lost when it is moved from the space of situational performativity to the space of the written text corroborates Barber's argument about Yoruba oral literature being one of the varied modes of textuality with regards to historical presentation.

RESULTS

A Presentation of the Historical Qualities of Yoruba Oral Literature

The historical character of Yoruba oral literature stems from its ever-evolving verisimilar cultural annotations of the Yoruba people; as Alaba (2002, p. 3) rightly construes it, "literature [should be] conceived as [embodying] social actions by people rather than as a static entity in its own right". Hence, while it is true that literature as part of the arts serves the pleasure of those who indulge in it, its purposeful social and civic trademarks should not be dismissed. For one, Yoruba oral literature has always engendered and formed the historical consciousness upon which pre-colonial realities are reconstructed by its people. Samuel Johnson (2010), in his *The History of the Yorubas,* takes the liberty to present mythological and legendary folklore as historical facts about the origin of the Yoruba. This is mostly evident in the chapter of the influential work titled 'The Founders of the Yoruba Nation' where he rehashes the prevailing ancestral myths about Oduduwa being the "reputed founder and ancestor of the race" (Johnson, 2010, p. 143). Although he admits that Oduduwa is a "mythical personage", he still coherently tells the agelong story which portrays Oduduwa as the 'son of Olodumare' (God) sent down from heaven alongside his wife Olokun (goddess of the ocean), his sons Oranmiyan and Isedale and grandson Ogun to establish Yoruba land in Ile-Ife, thus becoming the ancestral great-grandfathers of the first kings (Johnson, 2010, p. 143). Johnson (2010) also goes on to narrate how Oranmiyan came to be the father of the Oyo people with his symbolic staff translated as a 'concrete evidence' of this historical narrative; then, he talks about the Yoruba king with an unstable rulership Ajaun also known as Ajaka and his brother Sango or Olufiran who went on from being the only king of the Yoruba people who spewed fire from his mouth when angry to being the god of thunder and lightning after he died (or rather hung himself).

Due to Samuel Johnson's unease about the presentation of Yoruba oral prose narratives as historical facts, in the very first chapter of his book, he attempts to give a genealogical, 'scientific' hypothesis of the origin of the Yorubas. He alludes to the national historians of the king of Oyo as his primary sources and then attempts to map the different migratory courses from which the Yoruba nation was supposedly eventually birthed. Johnson (2010) starts from their nativity in Upper Egypt or Nubia to their migration to Mecca where Lamurudu (Nimrod/Namurudu) of Phoenician origin was king, then their misadventures in Arabia. Amidst these back-and-forth explorations, he delves back to Ile-Ife and the Oyo kingdom ruled by Oduduwa and Oranmiyan. All of these hypothetical movements aided by his penmanship created a confusing friction between historical fiction and mythological facts, a confusion which has left many contemporary historians conflicted (Johnson, 2010, pp. 3–14). It should be noted that this procedure of interpreting mythological narratives as derivatives of historical events has been conceptualised and termed "euhemerism" by ancient Greek think tanks who thoroughly perceived mythology as history. Despite his oscillating treatment of the origin of the Yoruba people and appeal to mythological legends and folklores, Samuel Johnson's work is considered a seminal, authoritative historical material which even influences contemporary oral performers who resort to his written text to dig up oral references that have been eroded in the process of slavery, colonialism and western civilisation (Law, 1976, p. 75). This practice opens one up to the realisation that there is, in truth, a historicity underlining the social conventions of oral transmission, especially given the fact that the process has been affected by westernisation and modernisation, generally, the increasing use of writing. The ethnographic impetus is to take it to heart that the oral tales are only dwindling remainders of a vast field of memory, hence, the proclivity to salvage the messages of the narrative traditions that are already dying off.

Talking about the academic traction Johnson's work has gained over the years, Toyin Falola stresses that "it is an article of faith to many of its readers [to believe] that Johnson is always right" (Agai, 2017, p. 427). Although it is not out of place to fault Johnson's historical delineations as ahistorical and scholastically misleading, it cannot be dismissed because it is what the people have always believed about themselves, and what is truth if not what is believed to be true? Indeed, this is a crucial question for the distinctiveness of orature: is there any place for individual dissidence if and when truth is determined by collective consensus (and oral transmission seems to need such a consensus)? Can orally transmitted narratives which have received the people's consensus transmit the thoughts of single individuals, scientists, political thinkers, historians and philosophers who claim to be right against all others? This concerns historiography in particular, since most historians since Greek antiquity write in order to correct what is believed to be true on the basis of objective sources (whether written, oral, visual, material). In fact, with respect to West African oral literature, it has been remarked that the griots who serve the kings have the right to express criticism and even mock narrative accounts consensually presented as historical facts.

Philosophically speaking, anytime scholars strive for knowledge, they mostly have to resort to finding truth by justifying beliefs formed on evidential remnants or "on the basis of the content of a speaker's testimony" (Omogunwa & Onyibor, n.d., p. 35). Also, just like Isidore Okpewho (1992) pointed out, "any community with some pride in itself would naturally see itself as the first and best in creation", hence, if this ontological self-worth is reflected in the constructed historical beliefs and testimonies of a community, thus, is it in the place of historians to disbelieve and prove just how wrong these 'native' people are? True enough, most members of academia would answer affirmatively to this rhetorical question, pointing to the discordance between history and memory, which gives historians the essential task to disbelieve and disprove collectively-held commonplaces. Although this same ethos is upheld in this essay, the canonical narratives of people bound by the same beliefs and cultures consequently abides in the face of historical queries.

Also, while history might be embossed with archival sources about events that have happened since the *beginning* of existence, it lacks the least reference when it comes to cosmology and the *origin* of existence (and sometimes, origin of people) so truths about the origin of people have, over time, been created in different ways within different fields of operation. With Darwinism, the Big Bang theory and several religious narratives in the queue for establishing 'the facts about creation', oral literary narratives might as well join the queue. The point being made is that oral literature might not have the answer to ontological questions like how things came to be, but neither does history nor science. Hence, the tolerance of belief(s) is the best form of historical knowledge that can be aspired to in a situation such as this.

Away from this sensational defence of Johnson's folkloric historical representation of Yoruba's origin, there have been breakthroughs in establishing the veritability of elements that make up these Yoruba cosmological myths. Usman and Falola (2019, p. 52), in this strictly data-based treatment of the prehistory of Yoruba, mentions that archaeological excavations done at Obalara and Woye Asiri regions in Ile-Ife have led to the unearthing of "wrought iron produced during Oduduwa's time [and] led to the recovery of iron nails, iron slag, and tuyeres"; interestingly, the shrine of Ogunladin, the blacksmith of Oduduwa who is now deified, is also located around this area of iron discoveries. Also, reference is made to the marriage between Oduduwa's son Oranmiyan and the daughter of a Benin chief, a union that produced a son called Eweka "who became the first Oba and the true founder of the Benin's dynasty" (Usman & Falola, 2019, p. 58). The story is basically the same for the Benin people, except more details are provided about antecedent events and the reason for the arranged marriage which essentially revolved around an attempt to join alliance with the king of Ile-Ife to bring peace to the troubled Edo-Benin kingdom. This event which is considered a legend in Yoruba oral literature is upheld as the historically validated origin of the Benin empire. This Benin-Oranmiyan story, the extensive political consolidation and latter territoritorial squabbles between the former two neighbouring empires have been historicised by Amaury Talbot and his contemporary J.U Egharevba who based his account on the stories "recited by several old people… knowledgeable about Benin's past" (Akinola, 1976, p. 21). Although historical writings about the Ife-Benin folklore have been questioned by scholars like G.A Akinola and A.F.C Ryder (1965), it goes a long way to show that beneath the heavy cloaks of poeticism and metaphoric aesthetics contained in Yoruba oral literature, they are still a kernel of historical truth.

Furthermore, according to Irele, his earliest encounter with Yoruba history was in the form of a historical textbook called Itan Eko (History of Lagos) which served as an instructional material for Yoruba history classes during his elementary school years (Irele, 1993). He reflects on the unnerving depiction of "the early rulers of Lagos... as proper figures of legend endowed with supernatural powers [who] lived to a very advanced age" (Irele, 1993, p. 157). He also reminisces about the narrative structure of the Yoruba history classes in which the "history teacher [was] fully disposed to enter into the role of the traditional storyteller... using the book merely as a prompt for what was in effect a narrative performance... a storytelling session." Dwelling upon these early memories, he argues, in a paper, that historical and oral literary representations are both modes of expressions that stem from the "same fundamental impulse: to recollect the past as a function of one's existence in the present"; although "they achieve this central aim through different methods", they have individual values which can complement each other well enough (Irele, 1993, p. 160-161).

Moreover, for the Yorubas, collectively asserted information about a community or individual which historians mostly concede to are more or less established or reinforced through their oral literature. As earlier established, apart from entertaining the audience or providing didactic inferences, oral poetic forms like orin agbè or panegyric (oríkí) or Odu Ifa provide information about the lineage and historical origin of the persons or groups. True enough, the lyrics of the poetry are mostly adulating as the panegyrist always hopes for rewards, but they are based on veritable evocations of the historical chronicles of the individual or group being praised. In mapping out the geography and culture of the Ilorin people, Nigerian historian Abdulrasheed Na'Allah (2020) draws from one of their lineage orikis which not only dwells on the cultural idiosyncrasies of the people but also highlights their migratory history:

Ilorin Afonja

Ilo irin, Ilorin
Iron sharpener, for the hunters,
That's what you're called.
You also answer
Ilu Afonja, Afonja's town
From the Oyos.
To Fulanis,
You're Garin Alimi,
Alimi's town?
Oh yes!
The Scholars.
A town that is big (and Yoruba speaking)
But detests masquerades.
Horses, own favourites,
Swords (dazzling) are their own custom.
Saa Maza gudu, Ilorin Afonja (p. 3).

As plainly stated in the lines of the panegyric, it is believed that the Ilorin community was founded by a man called Afonja whose complicated biography has been traced within the different versions of folklores that exist about him. Given the fact that Ilorin stems from an influx of migration of people from Mali, Nupe, Gobir, Hausa and Fulani communities, the Yoruba town is mentioned in several oral literary productions of places other than in the Yoruba land of Western Nigeria. One of the famous references is made in the Hausa song *Karamin Sani.*

Yet another popular Oriki Ilu focuses on the ancient big capital of Oyo called Ibadan; it moves from stating historical information about the urban town and their origin to rehashing strongly believed stereotypes about the people in the community which are rather unflattering. Regardless, it is considered as very emblematic of the behavioural problems of the Ibadan society. Given the fact that Ibadan dwellers answer to this oriki (they accept it as part of their heritage), it can be said that it mirrors their own perception about their origin and way of life. This shows that although oriki is about praise, it is more focused on the dissemination of information, historical or socio-cultural, about its subject:

Oriki Ibadan

Ibadan kure!	Hail Ibadan! Home of warriors
Ibadan bere	Ibadan the town about which you must make investigations
ki o to wo o	before you enter,
Ibadan mesiogo	Ibadan, the child of Esi-the bush pig
N'ile Oluyole,	The home of Oluyole,
Nibi ole 'gbe-	The town where thieves get the better
jare olohun,	of the rightful owners,
lbadan kii gbe-	lbadan which gives more succour
onile bi ajeji,	to the strangers than to the indigenes,
A kii waye	It is impossible for any being in this world
ka ma'larun kan lara	not to have a defect,
Ijagboro	Ibadan's blemish
larun Ibadan	Is its constant civil war (Awe, 1974, pp. 336–337).

More than revealing genealogical information about an individual or a community, Yoruba oral poetry also historicise the present conditions, popular beliefs or prevalent trends in a society. Alaba (2002) gives an example of a Yoruba dirge (which can be called rara sisun in some cases) sung by an oral poet who conceptualised the nature of death while describing a deathly national event:

A bá fun un lówó,	Had Death demanded money,
Inkú inbá gberen,	We would have willingly given him money.
À bá ràgbò fun un	Had Death demanded an animal,
	we would have willingly bought him a ram.
Inkú ò gbowó;	Death did not demand money;
Inkú ò gbobì.	Death did not demand kola nuts.
Inkú pa Múrítàlá omoo Mùeemedù!	Death killed Muritala, son of Mohammed (p. 13).

The allusion to 'Muritala, son of Mohammed' is clearly a historical reference to 1974 military head of state General Muritala Mohammed who had been assassinated in a bloody coup d'etat that saw the installment of General Olusegun as the new head of state in the year 1976. The murdered HOS who died at age 37 had been mourned throughout the country by most who saw him as a revolutionary. Alluding to the painful memory of his demise is a way to show just how merciless Death can be.

Ewi is another form of poetry by which the history of the Yoruba people, both in fragmented parts and a collected whole, is transmitted. This poetic form which is still well practised in contemporary times is held in popular regard as a viable way of historicising communities within the Yoruba nation. However, given its voguish, contemporaneous outlook, it evokes allusions to modern, western ideas and is largely influenced by colonial imports, one of which is Christianisation and its effects. A clear example is an Ewi rendition by David Olayemi (2020) delivered on YouTube on the history of the Yorubas. Amidst reciting the Ewi in the usual singsong manner accompanied by the talking drum, he makes reference to Abrahamic notions upheld by those of Christian belief:

Kokoro lo ru ko ta ba so ni	The name given to a person is a key
Eni to ba so ni loruko	Whoever names a person
ole dari eni sibi kibi to ba fe	can control the person in whichever direction he/she wants
Te ba fe, ke gba be	If you like, accept it (his words) as it is
Pataki ti n be ninu oruko	The importance of a name
Lo mu mi se tan pipe	is what has made me tell the story
lori oro oruko Yoruba	of Yoruba name-bearing
Olorun orun gan to da wa	Even God himself who created us
Wo mo pe a se kan	knows that there is an authority (literal: command)
be ninu oruko ta ba so ni	in the name that is given to a person
Won ni Abramu	He said 'Abram,
maje Abramu mo	do not bear Abram anymore'
Abrahamu ni ko ma je	'You should bear the name Abraham'
O ni ohun ti Oluwa ri	There is something the Lord saw
To fi ni Jakobu	That he said Jacob
ko yi pada si Israeli	should transform (his name) to Israel
La si ko hun	In his (God's) time.

Despite the overt Christian references, Olayemi rightly historicises Abeokuta (literal meaning: under the rock) as a major Yoruba town that was formed following an ancient event in which its people took refuge from war in the Olumo rock (which is currently a tourist site in Abeokuta). In a way, the fact that oral literary performances undergo development as the society in which they are located evolves can be a meritorious quality. An example is Ilorin's Dadakuada, an oral poetic form, that adapted rapidly to the Islamisation of Ilorin, blending thematic representation of past deific worship with historical events happening within the modern Islamic town (Na'Allah, 2020, p. 1). Given its adaptability, Dadakuada artists also known as 'shameless beggars' have been subject to ill reception from Muslims in Ilorin who still consider their brand of poetic songs as un-Islamic hence they have had to expand their performance landscape to places outside Ilorin making it inevitable for them to also integrate their diasporic experiences in their poetic songs (Usman & Falola, 2019, p. 317). This further enriches the knowledge capacity of their productions, making them even more relevant to historical research.

More so, although the Odu Ifa, in its own right, is a repertoire of the primordial histories of Yoruba gods, kings, deities, animals and worshippers, it also reveals insight into past interreligious or interstate relationships Yorubas have had. One of the references that scholars always come across are those made about the penetration of Islam into Yoruba land. In this case, the dealings of ancient babalawos with the Muslim clerics, the activities of the Islamic people whether good or bad or allusions to the different religious practices of the Muslims are mentioned. In a certain verse of a particular Odu dedicated to the Muslims called Odu Otura Meji/Odu Imale, reference is made to a certain Muslim who murdered hundreds of people in a place called Maka. His atrocious acts were duly historicised in this particular verse as can be seen below:

… Alukaadi	“I, Alukadi."
Igba pere ni na o pa	It is only two hundred I will kill
Alukadi	“I, Alukadi."
Bee ni o nse ni ojojumo	He does so everyday
Laipe ilu ndi eyo	Till the town becomes thinly populated
Ni awon ti o ku ni ilu ba mu	The people remaining
eeji kun eeta	take two and three (cowries)
Nwon lo si oko alawo	and go to the diviner (Ifa)
Awon le según Alukadi.bayii?	Can we overcome Alukadi?
Nwon ni gbogbo ara ilu lo ru 'bo	All perform the sacrifices
Alukadi nikan ni ko ru	except Alukadi
Lojo keji Alukadi tun digbe	The following morning, Alukadi sang his usual song
Esu pade re	Esu (a Yoruba god of mischief) encountered him
Ni esu ba gba ori lowo re	and obtained the head from him
Ni ara ilu ba ba'le	The people of the town
Ni iku ko ba le pa won mo	felt relieved
Ilu ti Alukadi, baje naa ni nje Maka	The name of the town is Maka -
Eyi ni Ma-se-ka-won-mo.	Do not count again (Gbadamosi, 1977, p. 81-82)

Gbadebo Gbadamosi (1977), the scholar from whose source this translation was cited, stated that there is no Yoruba town called Maka (he also dismissed the possibility of it being a linguistic distortion of Mecca) so this verse might be referring to a bigger incident done in a global context and Alukadi might be the Yoruba way of saying “Al-Qaeda” (Gbadamosi, 1977, pp. 82–83).

There, however, can be negative effects of modernised adaptability especially when these literary oratures are used in written translational works. For one, Samuel Johnson’s presentation of folklores in the *History of the Yoruba*s was largely influenced by the colonial experiences and Christian beliefs of him and his brother Obadiah in so much that, within the locus of their oral translations, they expressed belief about “the hand of the Christian god punishing moral iniquity” and imposed interpretation based on the “effects of the Atlantic slave” trade (Law, 1976, p. 81). A clear example is when Johnson compared the story about the sacrifice of an only son named Olurogbo by his powerful mother Moremi to "the story of Jephtha and that of the Blessed Virgin and her Son perverted" (Johnson, 2010, p. 148). As an aside, Moremi is a Yoruba woman of great beauty and prominence who sacrificed her only son in order to appease the god at river Esinmirin to grant Ife victory during a fierce war they had with the Igbo people. Before then, she deliberately exposed herself to the Igbo military troops and married one of their powerful men in order to obtain secrets on how to defeat the Igbos. She has, since then, been revered in Yoruba land with a great statue of her erected in Ile-Ife. Johnson even subscribed to the "out of Egypt" myth, claiming that the "ancestors of the Yorubas were Coptic Christians who had lost touch with Christianity following the recodification of the Bible into the Koran and the deceptive propagation of Mohammed Bello who "influenced the Yorubas to begin to think that their ancestors were Muslims" (Agai, 2017, p. 431; Johnson, 2010, pp. 5–6). He further justified this claim with the premise that "the reign of the mythological heroes abound in garbled forms of scriptural stories" (Johnson, 2010, pp. 7, 154). His dilution of Christian and Yoruba mythological beliefs is what has, more than anything else, led to the questioning of the historical authenticity of his work, and, this, just as well, proves that the historical qualities of Yoruba oral literature shine brightest in their untainted form.

To prevent highly misleading digressions or inaccuracies, performers are usually subjected to truth checking with the audience or an accompanist vigilantly watching out for errors in their words. Isidore Okpewho (1992) talks about Charles Simayi, a folklorist from Umuahia, Nigeria, who is has an accompanist called the "answerer" who performs many functions, one of which is often interjected him (sometimes annoyingly) in order to help get facts straight. Even more, Babalola, quoted by Finnegan (2012), elucidates on how an Ijala performer is often listened to by strict critics who interrupt him when he seems to be erring. See an example of this laid out by him:

> I beg to differ; that is not correct.
> You have deviated from the path of accuracy . . .
> Ire was not Ogun's hometown.
> Ogun only called there to drink palm-wine . . . (p. 13).

Although the historical attributions of Yoruba oral literature have been well proven up till this point, one of the problems that one might have perceptively noticed thus far is the inability for these oral literary forms to locate historical events in time. However, history goes beyond chronological configurations, there are asymmetrical ways of presenting histories. Besides, in traditions that do not use a linear year count, the relative location of historical events is fixed by reference to genealogies that run (as in the Bible) from the earliest ancestors to the present time and it is interesting how chronological references in Yoruba oral literature are also made using family lineage as is often the case with orikis. In addressing the issue of chronology in African literature and history, Irele successfully makes a distinction between history as res gestae – the re-organisation of events from the past or present based on available concrete data – and history as a narrativization of a recollected past, the events surrounding it and the facts that embody its cultural or collective memorialisation (Irele, 1993, p. 158). This idea of narrated memory before time might be a concept generally referred to as a myth but the historical underlining of such narrativised constructions called myths should not be so easily disregarded. To recollect the past, concretise it in the mind's eye as a narrative before datafying it and presenting it as fact requires an imaginative effort which historians might not be able to exert without appealing to the repertoire of imaginative enterprises engaged by their subjects of investigation. Yoruba oral literature is a repository of the collective imaginations and memories of the Yorubas since time immemorial and it is because of this that it is invaluable to historical research.

DISCUSSION

Yoruba Oral Literature in Modern Yoruba Historiography

Modern Yoruba historiography is largely filled with academic and scholarly materials from historians aiming at countering colonially established stereotypes and prejudices from the position of homeland-ness. Do they consider Yoruba oral literature to be of any import to their cause in any way? The answer would be in the affirmative. As it is, any historical writing on arising post-colonial issues (the hyphenation of ‘post-colonial’ is to distinguish it from the critical theory and conception of postcolonialism. The post-colonial inferred here is ‘after colonialism’) by Nigerian scholars inevitably leads them to explore its precolonial and colonial heritage, and yes, attempts to map out early Yoruba history always brings academics face-to-face with oral literary forms. Historian Robin Law (1976, p. 69) keenly weighs in “the value of local histories as sources”. He concedes to the great dependence of academic historians who are part of the modern wave of early Yoruba historiography that began in the 1950s on the oral traditional materials provided by 19th and early 20th century local historians. It is worth criticising his description of these predecessors as ‘amateurs’ and mere informants on oral tradition. The fact that they did not employ sophisticated historical theories boasted by post-colonial academics does not relegate them to the status of non-professional buffs who lack specialisation and are only useful as primary sources for experienced ‘intellectuals’.

As Law (1976) himself would point out, these local historians were brilliant in their execution of historical writing using several languages from English, Yoruba, Roman to the Arabic scripts, with the likes of al-Hajj Umar, Ibn Kukûra, al-Hâjj al-Ilûri relying on the help of oral evidence to provide enviable sources on the history of Ilorin after it gained dominance in the Yoruba kingdom and became a notable emirate of the Sokoto Caliphate. More so, as earlier established, the untethered reliance on oral literature by such local historians as Samuel Johnson sparked debates about veracity amongst modern African historians who, in a second-hand fashion, were obliged to depend on the works of their forerunners. In taking a stand, Jan Vansina, a prominent oral historian, does not consider using oral traditions including its literature as sources a problem. However, given how these local historians omitted the contradictory strains of these oratures in order to condition them to their historical visions, he thinks it advisable to altogether go back and appraise the original sources (the oral performances) rather than rely on second-hand information. However, Law points out the impracticality of this opinion owing to the sheer fact that some of the oral forms alluded to by local historians no longer exist. However, given that modern Nigerian historiography is patterned with analytical postcolonial theorisations and decolonisation trends, one would instinctively think this renders precolonial oral literary history irrelevant. However, Terry Eagleton, as mentioned by Alaba (2002, p. 4) stresses that literature is a proclamation of ideologies; it tries to unravel “questions of social power”.

Consequently, modern historical ideologies formulated around Yoruba history by postcolonial scholars have received authentication through both modern literary tropes and oral literature. For one, the “local tradition of historiography” which is built around folklores and other forms of oral literature serves as a baseline on which the ethics of cultural nationalism, an ideological stance popular amongst postcolonial Yoruba indigenous scholars in Nigeria, Brazil and other diasporic countries, have been constructed. Yoruba cultural nationalism, in this sense, has to do with the identification with and adoption of indigenous Yoruba practices by African-western scholars trying to resist being entangled in the process of assimilating to a European identity. Writing and reading the history of Yoruba lands have been considered essential components of preserving the nationalistic heritage of the Yoruba cultural nation part of which are the “folklores, legends, histories, parables, aphorisms, allegories” that must not be lost to “oblivion” (Law, 1976, p. 77). Cultural revivalism was especially sparked between 1920-1960 which led to the “publication of several pamphlets and monographs on Ifa, mainly in Yoruba language” (Olupọna, 1993, p. 246). One of the stauch cultural revivalist groups in existence is the African-American Oyotunji community (Oyotunji literally means ‘Oyo’ awakes again). In expression of their increasing disillusionment with the legacy of slavery, racism, western culture and civilisation, these Oyotunji revivalists that form part of the black cultural nationalist movement in the USA meet to celebrate and re-enact their indigenous Yoruba heritage by “educating themselves about Yoruba history and cultural practices… pursuing ritual apprenticeships, learning the [Ifa] divinatory corpus, attending workshops about Yoruba cultural practices and reading and studying texts about the history of African peoples” like Samuel Johnson’s *The History of the Yorubas* (K. M. Clarke, 2002). They also engaged in the production of indigenous knowledge connected to their African roots, and for Kamari Clarke (1939, p. 275), “the shift from indigenous oral forms to accessible circulating literary writings… led to the privileging of Oyo-Yoruba ancestry as the popular literary icon of African American revivalism”.

Closely related to this group are religious nationalists of scholarly acclaim like Abimbola Wande who, through academic writings, defend their advocacy for a sustained contemparary veneration of Ifa and other Yoruba deities amidst the encroachment occasioned by imported religions like Christianity and Islam. To make their defence, they thoroughly study, record, translate and collate the Ifa literary corpus so that it can be on par with other religious materials like the Bible or Quran. One major aim of this enterprise is to allow for the historicisation of these Yoruba deities. Also, due to the existence of the recorded and compiled Odu Ifa, many religious historians of both western and non-western backgrounds can easily access the Ifa corpus during their research. Even more, without a provision of an accessible, written version of the oral Ifa divination poetry like what Wande accomplished, the push for the incorporation of Nigerian traditional religion and history in the curriculums of Nigerian colleges and universities would have been futile (Olupọna, 1993, p. 246). This poses a pre-emptive perception that only the content of orature can be salvaged, not its form.

Historical attempts at explaining origins are yet another scholarly endeavour that has inspired modern historians to delve into oral literary sources. For instance, Cheikh Anta Diop (1974, p. 45) attempts to validate his claim that Black Africa is the earliest and oldest ancestry of the world, the “initiator of western civilisation” by insisting on a strong argument that the Judaic Christ is an appropriation of Osiris, “the redeemer-god who sacrifices, dies, and is resurrected to save mankind”. He even gives a strong ‘historical’ reference claiming that ‘Osiris is… indeed the lord of revealed religions” as a visit to Thebes in the Valley of the Kings would show that he existed "1700 years before the Koran" (Anta Diop, 1974, p. 45). With regards to the Yoruba case, just like Agai puts it, many scholars have also traced the 'truly, authentic, historical' origin of the Yoruba to "Egypt... or Israel… Mecca or even… Etruscan sources" (Agai, 2017, p. 427). Despite their attempts to stick to written materials, the names of characters from folktales like Oduduwa, Oranmiyan and Orunmila crop up repeatedly even as legends are freely quoted side by side with chronologically historical sources, anthropological reports and archaeological findings. In rethinking Yoruba culture and origins, Agai (2017) freely navigates oral and written sources; citing academic sources, referring to discoveries from the excavation of skeletal remains in Iwo Eleru in 1965 and then going on to mention the legend of Oduduwa. One thing that is generally agreed amongst most scholars interested in mapping out origins is that the "Oduduwa legend [might] not [be] aimed at tracing Yoruba origins but rather to show that, in Yoruba history, a monarch named Oduduwa existed and flourished in Ile-Ife" (Agai, 2017, p. 445).

That, like Diop, these scholars seek to legitimise their Afrocentric or Yoruba-centric quest for an idyllic, romanticised Egyptian origin through 'proper, historical objective research' is ironical given the speculative nature of their research. This scholastically difficult mission emboldens the position that history is "the exercise of an imaginative cultural or racial memory that is quite analogous to, and has the same powers [when] put to the same uses as personal memory fused with the pattern-making creativity of the individual historian" (Shubhangi Vaidya et al., 2018). Literal and literary translation are generally effective means by which the imaginative memory imbued in Yoruba oral literature synthesises with the creative singularities of a historian. As Carcelen-Estrada (2018, p. 131) puts it, "when writers translate into script any piece of oral literature (from poems, songs, ballads or odes to folktales), they carry across the haunting of a people's past". Even more, it is in their trans-migratory forms that the idiosyncratic historical streak of translated oral literary texts is affirmed because they embody a collective cultural, ancestral yet contemporary diasporic memory of a people useful not only for dealing with national trauma and "mobilising the past in the process of imagining the future" but also for revealing "complex migration routes and economic, political conditions" (Carcelen-Estrada, 2018, pp. 131–135). Hence, when in its written form, modern scholars are able to quote and rework these literary oralities into historical information useful for supporting their ideologies. But then, if literature transmitted through orality does not have historical weight except when restyled into written materials, does it not weaken the hold orality has to authenticity?

Extensively, due to the denigration of contemporary novels written by Africans as foreign imports stamped with a borrowed language – English – and western-based thematic preoccupations, it has become requisite for modern *literary* historians to emphasise the stylistic entrenchment of modern novels in an oral narrative framework in so much that the folklores, praise, epic poems, myths of pre-colonial Yoruba world are imbued with symbolic, historical significance and ignited with powerful, narrative surges. This is done by subjecting the English language to an operative reconfiguration in which a Nigerian dialect like Yoruba and the writer's idiolect take syntactic and semantic pre-eminence in what can be called a subversion of the tool of the colonialist. The written oral poems of Niyi Osundare, Wole Soyinka, Tunde Kelani's movies like *Saworoide* and contemporary novels like Tomi Adeyemi's *Children of Blood and Bone*, Ayobami Adebayo's *Stay with Me* and Lola Shoneyin's *The Secret Lives of Baba Segi's Wives* are embodiments of this inventive endeavour. See below an excerpt from

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Niyi Osundare's *Invocations of the Word (*2020) which is to be performed with full musical accompaniment:

In the Beginning was not the Word
    In the Word was the Beginning
Unwind the wind
Give rapid legs to the crouching leaf;
The horse of words has galloped
Through clouds, through thunder, through roaring waters...
Throw open the door of your ears
    Araba *ponmbe ponmbe ponmbe*
    Araba *ponmbe ponmbe ponmbe**
…
I see the Word
    in the dream of a dream
    in the dream of a dream   [no stanza break]
    in the cloud which gathers the rain
    in the rain which unchains the earth
Abuubutan Eja okun   (Inexhaustible, Fish of the sea)
Abuubutan Eja osa   (Inexhaustible, Fish of the lagoon)
Adunnni lenu   (A joy to have in the mouth)
Ma dunni lorun   (Dreadful to have around the neck)
    Araba *ponmbe ponmbe ponmbe…*

However, what has gotten the attention of many, even the western community, is Yoruba *written* literature which pays intense attention to mythological re-representations; D.O Fagunwa's *Ògbóju Qde Ninû Igbó Irunmale* (the English title is *The Forest of a Thousand Demons*; literal meaning is *A Brave Hunter in the Forest of Demons*), Awe Debo's *Apoti Alakara* and Lawuyi Ogunniran's *Eegun Alare* are popular references in this regard. A derivative of this process of literary assertion through evocations of orality is the development of a historical consciousness from the phoenix ashes of the imaginative fictionalisation about the Yoruba's shared past and identity in so much that, within the Yoruba scholarly realm, "history is felt as [being] part of a [precolonial] primordial, organic order of experience" (Irele, 1993, p. 60). This leaves one wondering whether the aura of a particular oral literary corpus can unfold itself outside the life of its community? Amidst the constant grapple and aspiration for seemingly progressive forms of historical representations that are scientific, objective and geared towards postcolonial authenticity, Abiola Irele (1993) issues a reminder that "all history begins as a story": the narrative element is the point of departure for the interpretive endeavour involved in the discipline of history.

CONCLUSION

For the most part, this article has attempted to amplify the historical significance of Yoruba oral literature at the expense of western hegemonic constructions and clear-cut distinctions between literature, modern history, orality and the written text. Regardless of what might be a scholastic opposition between belief systems and historical criticism, it has been established that Yoruba oral literature holds the belief system of its people and, if well-refined around the edges, can yield historical breakthroughs in modern historical endeavours. But these arguments have seemingly been defended with a conscious navigation in and out of the overarching master narratives imposed on Yoruba oral literature. Hence, the fault lines of these oratures have just as well been exposed albeit alongside the contention that written history is also subjected to similar fallibilities. Inadvertently, though, there seem to have developed along the lines of arguments, an unabashed undermining of the engendered age-long dissimilarities between the historical science and art based on analytic, argumentative and factual intricacies. Rather than express apologetic sentiments about the interdisciplinary slippery slope created within this paper, one cannot but be drawn to the consequential validation of the thin line between history and (fictional) literature, an observation which spurs in the mind several questions with regards to the positionality of history in the grand scheme of dialectical scholarship. The most persistent question, in this regard, might be just how far apart literature and history are on the spectrum of knowledge?

Hazel Ngoshi (2015, p. 12), without mincing words, posits that “the demarcation of history and fiction by traditional scholars has to be revised in the wake of the realisation that the historian also makes use of metaphor and point of view in writing what is supposedly an objective ordering of events”. From all that is known, the underlying variance between history and literature has always been about truth and objectivity. Without meaning to weigh in heavily on this polemical issue, the position of Hayden White (1978) about how historical and literary representations have a shared centre of discursive convergence due to the textual fictionalities of history and historical factualities of literature is worth taking into consideration. His point is well seconded by 21st century New Historicist perspectives which locate historical texts within the space of their cultural contexts even perceiving cultural divergences as modes of textualities (Irele, 1993, p. 159). Following these, it is only fitting to acknowledge the blurriness of the gap between mythopoeic lores, epic poems, gyrational songs and written historical accounts legitimised by "archival material, provenance with accurate footnotes (and) similarly acknowledged, published sources” (Ngoshi, 2015, p. 14). It is for a fact that the crux of history lies in its necessary fear of ideological and mythological delusions, so much that it builds rigid ethics around what deserves to be true or not. However, as historical scholars, conceding to intersubjective arbitrations is sometimes necessary for processing historical information out of certain sources and data (such as those provided by oral literature), because just as the fictionally contrived Sherlock Holmes (who many believe to be real and alive and well!) often says, if and when the impossible is ever eliminated, “whatever remains, no matter how improbable, [might] be the truth” (*Sherlock Holmes*, n.d.).

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SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION AND ITS RELEVANCE IN NIGERIA SOCIETY: CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT: *The study centered on sociology of education and its relevance in Nigeria society: Contemporary perspective. The emergence of sociology as a discipline is the direct consequence of the inadequacy of the earlier branches of knowledge before it to explain the debilitating crises of renaissance and enlightenment era. The research was prompted by observation on how sociology of education will assist to reduce social vices and unrest in our society today by transmitting the right values and norms to our children. Sociology took as its primary focus the study of man in group context to underscore the need of group dynamics in understanding the total social system. The greatest uphill task of the society then was how to restore peace and order in the society. It later delves into the influence of social relationships on people's attitudes and behaviours and how societies are established, managed, and changed. As non-professionals perceive it, sociology is the study of man's interaction within the society, but it is far beyond that as it also deals with the organizations (industries) and control of man's behaviours and attitudes to life within the society. In other words, in any setting where there are two or more persons in interaction, a sociological study is bound to take place. In view of the above, we may be force to assert that we have sociology virtually in anything including the sociology of sociology. The paper is situated within the framework of Structural functionalism theory. The researcher utilizes only qualitative and descriptive research methodology predominantly, Time Series research design was adopted and data was collected mainly through Documentary Observational Method as a data gathering technique. In this discourse the researcher deemed it pertinent to start by giving a general overview of the study. Thus, the problems were highlighted and possible remedy outlined. The study recommended among others that: Government, parents/guardians and policy makers should as a matter of urgency put more effort in creating educational policies for the betterment of the child and the society at large.*

KEYWORDS: Sociology, Education, Society, Social Value, Contemporary Perspective, Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION

Man is a product of socialization. It is based on this that Lock argued that man is born a complete "tabula rasa" and every knowledge man exhibit is learnt from his interaction with his immediate environment and the larger society (Lawhead, 2002; Udoidem, 2002; Minimah & Inoka, 1997). However, there are some traces of hormonal compositions that can make man behave in a certain way, which cannot be negated. Nevertheless, whether an individual is innovative and creative, endowed with the need for achievement, good leadership qualities, sociopathic and psychopathic, patriotic or unpatriotic, discipline or undisciplined, corrupt and incorrupt is all result of a socialization process. This implies that good value does not exist or manifest in a vacuum, they are learnt consciously or subconsciously through a socialization process. This makes the discipline called sociology of education very necessary in our educational system today.

Therefore, a society that teachers its citizens sociology of education in an organized educational system have solve half of the problem by putting the citizens into the right track of development. It is the right knowledge of sociology of education that entrenches on the individual the attribute of discipline, respect for norms and values of society, uprightness, trustworthiness, honesty, among others, which every citizen needs to drive a better society and development. One very incontestable fact is that the concept “education” is slippery and elusive to define. It has diverse and sometimes misconstrued interpretation from different scholars or individuals. Arriving at a consensus of what education precisely is, by definitions, has been a difficult task, for sociologists and educators alike.

Be that as it may, this has resulted either in education being too narrowly or too broadly defined. Again, definitions of education are either sociological or humanistic. In other words, education is either applied as an acculturation of the child to do the will of the society or leading the child to develop his in-built potentials, taking into cognizance his age, interest and ability, among others. Each of the two approaches has its interest and ability as well as its methods of transmitting what it considers desirable and worthwhile to the individual. From the point of view of sociologists, the method and content are regarded as satisfactory by the society. Perhaps, such content may not take full cognizance of the learner’s needs and inborn qualities. As argued by humanists, the learner is the focus of education. He is given enough freedom in the pursuit of knowledge as well as in determining what knowledge could benefit him within the context of his society.

A definition of education that may be generally acceptable is possible if the two positions are blended together. This is why most contemporary sociologists agree with the normative concept of education as set down by Peters (1966), supported by Frankena (1978), Akinpelu (1981), and others. In attempt to avoid defining education in too narrow or too broad terms, Peters further set up three cardinal criteria based on which a decision can be taken as to whether a process merits the name education or not. These criteria are stated below:

i. Education implies the transmission of what is worthwhile to those who are committed to it;

ii. Education must involve knowledge and understanding as well as some kind of cognition, which are not inert;

iii. Education, at least, rules out some procedures of transmission on the ground that they lack willingness and witness on the part of the learner.

A critical analysis of the above criteria indicates that education is value-loaded. It as well, transmits such things desired and cherished by both the learner and the society.

Therefore, education develops the holistic man including his cognitive, psychomotive and affective domain that make him/her an educated person, who in turn develop the society. Going by this meaning, education functions as the true light that lightens every society in particular and the entire world in general. To this end therefore, Elekwa and Okanezi (2013, p.18), asserted that education is simply the different experiences that people go through in life which help in the nurturing of their personal growth. Therefore, it is imperative to mention that the destiny of a nation is determined by its level of commitment to quality and sound education. In a changing society therefore, the educational system performs the function of social control as well as social change. Its foster conformism up to a particular limit in individuals and groups but beyond that limit it fosters critical judgment and deviation among them enabling them to accept and adjust to change. Hence, the input a nation or people makes to education leads to the expected output. A careless approach to any nation's education system results in careless production of citizens. The better the education, the better the citizens and then the better the human productivity in the nation's total development.

In addition, Ezewu cited in Elekwa and Okanezi (2013), holds that without education there is no society. In the same vein, Swift (1969) cited in Elekwa and Okanezi (2013), posits that education is all that goes on in society, which involves teaching and learning. To Plato, one of the foremost Greek Philosophers, education is the training which is given by suitable habits, emphasizing on virtues in children/citizens when both pleasure and pain are rightly implanted in rational souls. From the view of Plato, education gears towards moral training, and right conduct. While retaining the moral ingredients of education, highlighted by Plato, Aristotle who understudied Plato, and was a product of Plato upheld that education is the development of a sound mind in a sound body. He emphasized that moral training cannot be achieved without a sound body. Again, Milton gave a more accommodating expression of education as "that which prepares a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously in all offices either at war or in peace" (Ezewu 1993,p.29-30).

To conclude this segment, it is necessary to bring to mind the etymology of the concept, which is two Latin words "educare" and educere" .The former meaning "process of forming" , "molding" or "making from nothing to something" , the latter stands for "nurture", "guide", "uphold" , " to lead out from within ", "build", thus regarding education as a process of bringing to fruition the inbuilt potentials of the individuals for his/her personal development and to a large extent societal development. There is no gainsaying fact that education is a process that produces the true 'educated man'. As a process it involves a lot of tasks: human and material, spiritual and physical, tangible and intangible, immediate and remote. Conclusively, sociology of education is the study of how public institutions and individuals' experiences affect education and its outcomes. It is mostly concerned with the public schooling systems of modern industrial societies, including the expansion of higher, further, adult, and continuing education (Gordon, 1998). Sociologically, therefore, education being a vital part of human existence is an indispensible part of an individual and societal life. People become useful and civilized if they are better educated and socialized.

Statement of the Problem

The present reality in Nigeria education negates "sociology of education" which principally, is the "live in unity, socialization and harmony as an indivisible, indissoluble, democratic and sovereign nation founded on the principle of freedom, equality and justice". Regrettably, one major problem facing our society today is how to get the Nigeria educational system right in the 21st century comparatively with other developing nations in the world. But the crucial questions remain: How better is our society operating today? Does our society have good system for our education to strive? It is obvious that many do not know that public institutions and inter-personal relationships are relevant in our educational system and it affects the outcomes of the children education. Government has deliberately do not pay much attention to the common slogan of "educate the child, educate the society". Parents and guardians are also accused of this in our society recently.

Over the years, experience has shown that Nigeria is engulfed in so many ills, among which are excessive materialism and corruption, which affect our private and public lives. The political system, the religious system, the social system, the education system, among others is bastardized because of obvious sharp shift from right societal values and dignity. Education in most cases is no longer looked at in terms of the knowledge and intrinsic value of change in behavior rather unethical issues has become common in our learning system.

It is widely reported and argued in the literature that lack of enough budgetary allocation to education which affects the infrastructures and other basic necessities to quality education in the nation is a challenge. It is unfortunate to mention that beyond the rhetoric and enticing statements in favour of progressive government investment in education, Nigeria over the years still ranked among the least in funding of education globally and in Africa. Ololube (2013), observed that Nigeria is far from meeting the minimum standard benchmark of 26% of its annual budgetary allocation to education as recommended by UNESCO. Thus, these ugly scenario and assertions gave vent to the researcher to investigate sociology of education and its relevance in Nigeria society: Contemporary perspective. This will bring to the knowledge of the government and parents which share the bulk of the problems the important of education versa-vices sociology. To provide answer to the foregoing questions, this study is laid on the following premises;

- To identify the sociological perspectives of education.
- To find out the historical development of sociology of education.
- To highlight the relevance of sociology of education in Nigeria society.

Research Question

We will proffer solution to the underlisted crucial questions and it is hoped that concise answers to these questions will help us in solving the problem that necessitated this study.

- What is the relationship between sociology and education?
- To ascertain the relationship between education and social value?

METHODOLOGY

This study is purely a qualitative and descriptive research. It utilized the Time Series research design. This type of design is longitudinal in nature. However, it involves a proper observation of a phenomenon over a specific period of time frame while attributing changes in the phenomenon to a causal event (Campbell & Stanly, 1963). This design is deemed appropriate for this study with a phenomenon that is characterized by the presence of a periodic measurement process. Sociology of education is a lifelong field of study, at such subjecting its analysis over period of time leads to a better understanding especially as it interrelates with a variable such as society that is better measured historically.

In terms of how data was collected, this study utilized the Documentary Observation Method, argumentations and personal reflections as a participant observer of the Nigerian educational system and larger society, social value system, and socialization processes. Consequently, data was basically drawn from secondary sources. The study surveyed books, monograph, and academic journals, among others in order to generate fact for adequate exploration of knowledge.

Sociological Perspectives of Education

Starting from the days of the founding fathers of sociology such as Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim in France, or Karl Marx, Max Weber and Georg Simmel in Germany, sociologists have struggle with the question of interpreting social life and social phenomena. We cannot avoid the fact that in the years since Durkheim published his work entitled "The Rules of Sociological Method (1895-1964), commitment to the development of sociological theories of society has become a new scholastic orthodoxy. On the other hand, there are thinkers such as Parsons and Merton, who with Durkheim assert the primacy of society over the individual. They stress the paramount necessity of external constraints for both societal and individual wellbeing hence, the notion of a social system which, though created by people, nonetheless, enjoys an independent and external existence while at the same time acting as a constraining and conditioning influence upon individuals (Dawe, 1970;Meighan,1986).

On the opposite side, and at every level in conflict with the system theorists, thinkers like Max Weber, Mead, Cooley, and Blumer reject the notion of a social system or the view that human action is a response to that system. The key notion of the action theorists is that of "autonomous man" who is able "to realize his full potential and to create a truly human social order only when freed from external constraints" (Dawe, 1970). These latter thinkers have tended to emphasize the ability of individuals to create meanings, constitute social situations and in effect, control the social and natural world (Meighan, 1986).

These sociological perspectives persist till today; they affect not only the sociological scholar seeking to preserve viewpoints, which radically separate him from his colleagues, but virtually every student of sociology as well. Sociological researches are approached from different theoretical perspectives ranging from structural functionalism, Marxism, interactionism to feminism, each affecting not only the way the researcher seek to explain what constitutes the problem under study, which radically separates him or her from the others, but also the recommendations that he/she makes for redress.

Importantly, the three main sociological perspectives, which are represented by the three groups of theorists enumerated above namely, consensus, action and conflict perspectives would be examined in order to see what it is about these sociological theories that has made them different from each other. To achieve this, we must also look at the meaning and scope of sociological theory. We must clarify what are sociological perspective and the assumptions upon which a given perspective bases its analysis and interpretation of social life. From that point, we must further ask what conclusions about the nature of sociological perspective follow from our earlier definition, and how the different perspectives enumerated above can interest with the study of education.

Brief Historical Development of Sociology of Education

It is on extant literature that Emile Durkheim was the first sociologist to conceive the idea of sociology of education as a subject matter. As a result of the deteriorating social disorder in modern industrial society which was offshoot of wars and industrial revolution, Durkheim was prompted to develop the idea of the subject. One of his recommendations among others was that education should be reorganized or restructured to provide for the improvement of social life and deteriorating social disorder or immoral life of the French society through such activities as the development of community and other projects similar to most communities today. Examples of such projects are Adult Education, Community Health Center, and Education for the citizens, Farm Settlement Co-operative Farms, among others.

Secondly, another notable scholar who contributed immensely to the development of the subject was Dewey-he is an American educational thinker. At the earlier 20th century John Dewey notice that village life has started breaking down gradually, people was moving to the urban areas, social structure is perceived to be changing, both the school and the religious organizations had done little or nothing to make the child conscious of the new society growing up around him forgetting that the child was an essential product or part of society. With this mind set, Dewey was quick to help promote a social spirit of co-operation and mutual aid between school, home, and provide within the school itself, the situations in which such co-operation might be elicited. Furthermore, he felt the school must be in closer relationship with the home and general life of its neighborhood. He saw the school as a place which reflects the true picture of the larger society and sought to upgrade it for the benefit of everybody.

In another development, sociology sharpens education and forms a vital force in the entire framework of education. This is because the whole superstructure of education has real upon social forces, needs and demands. This includes the expectations and aspirations of a changing society which are manifest through the educational system of a nation. Society is dynamic, it grows and change constantly at such must not only be manifest in education but also must affect it. Sociology of education is therefore the consciously controlled process whereby changes in human behavior are produced in the persons and through the person within the group. It focuses upon the social force through which the individual is developed and the social relationship by which the individual gains experience and exposure. Put differently, sociology of education is both the influence and relationship between the education system and other social/ cultural system of the nation-social cultural, political and economic.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper is situated within the framework of Structural functionalism theory. Structural functionalism theory as propounded by renowned scholars (such as Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer) is discussed and adopted for understanding of sociology of education and its relevance in Nigeria society: Contemporary perspective. Ajah and Nweke (2017) noted that structural functionalism is an approach in sociology which has developed at the wake of 19th centuries industrial revolution. The theory was developed as an adequate tool for dealing with the interrelatedness of various traits, institutions, groups, and so forth, within the social system. Structural functionalism is as old as the history of sociology.

This is evidential in the works of founding fathers of the discipline like Auguste Comte (1798-1857) and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903). Coser (1976) as recorded in Ajah and Nweke (2017) attempts a definition of structural functionalism. He saw structure as referring to a set of relatively stable and patterned relationships of social units, while he perceived as referring function to the consequences of social activities, which makes for adaptation or adjustment of a giving structure or its component parts. The functional approach in sociology was borrowed from the analogy of organism in the biological sciences in which it is known that all the body organs, in any living organism, have a kind of interconnectivity which links them together. Perhaps, each of these organs plays a crucial role for the survival of the organism. For any reason whatsoever, any of the organ's malfunctions; it is believed that this malfunctioning might affect the life of the organism. The functionalists, therefore, argued that the society is made up of groups and institutions, which constitute the whole. They further state that each of these institutions that form the society plays a part for the survival of the system (Ajah and Nweke, 2017).

In applicability of the assumptions of this theory to understand sociology of education and its relevance in Nigeria society: Contemporary perspective. The proper adherent to principles of the course sociology of education will immensely lead to tolerant, trust, respect for elders and norms, good value system, honesty, peace and unity which brings about a crime free society and sustainable development in the country. In addition, strict adherence to teachings of sociology of education will provide unifying foundation that will usher love for one another and reduce religious crisis and ethnic rivalry, co-existence will now become possible and achievable in our country today.

The Relevance of Sociology of Education in the Nigerian Society.

Globally, learning is a process that takes place throughout individual life time. It must include the social and personal experiences that alter one's knowledge, behavior and attitudes. But for no reason no society leave such experiences to chance. Education does not operate in a vacuum neither can society exists without education; it is a means by which it reproduces itself. It is worthy of note that organized societies kicked-off at rural level and evolved into nation states far back 19th century. Today, the nation state is being out grown and humanity is moving to the creation of a global society. Education is playing a core role. Durkheim said education, "can be reformed and can reform only if society itself is reformed". He further argued that education is only the image and reflection of society which it imitates and reproduces. It does not create it" (Pezone and Singer, 2013). As a believer of Durkheim, I agree that education does not spring up on its own; a society chooses the education system it deserved.

Blaming education for the ills of society is like blaming a mirror because you do not like your reflection. The first step in improving education is to recognize that the matter plaguing education are rooted in the way society is structured, that is garbage in garbage out mentality. For example, we live in a competitive economy where everyone seeks advantage and higher profits, where people on the bottom rung of the economic ladder are stigmatized as failures and blamed for their conditions. The educational system of any society is related to the total social system of that society. Whether it prepares the new generations for status quo or for change depends upon the needs and goals of the society concerned. In a modernizing society the educational system has two main functions, transmission of the cultural heritage to new generation, and enabling the new generations to develop a degree of adjustability to change in the society (Amaele, 2010).

One of the oldest social institutions is education, the formal direction of learning experiences. It does not require the services of a prophet or a soothsayer or a philosopher to explain that educational institution serves certain basic social purposes; the most familiar of education is socialization or the transmission of cultural knowledge, value and beliefs. Another purpose is social control, whereby schools regulate the way in which people behave. This field of study proffers solution on how to tackle the challenges confronting the society today which include cultism, deviance behavior, disrespect to elders and constituted authorities, sharp practices, among others. In a similar vein, it helps people to choose and learn social roles, the educational institution attempts to ensure an adequate supply of trained people to fill needed occupation in an effort to match peoples talents and abilities with the needs to specialized occupational roles, school channel children into different areas of study and place them at distinct academic levels. However, the socialization function of education goes beyond merely reaching values and norms. Again, schools are also expected to convince their students that it is necessary to behave according to these principles. Indeed, students are graded not only on how well they cooperate, how orderly they are and even how clean they keep themselves.

Simply put, during the early years of schooling these are the only kinds of things on which they are given marks. If children do not behave according to certain norms by the time, they enter the 3rd or 4th grade they will have had time no matter how well they perform in academic subjects. Thus, through the process of socialization schools are directly engaged in social control. This includes instilling loyalty, obedience to authorities. Schools promote social control by teaching the children to idealize nation's leaders; people in place of power are presented in such a way that it is not easy to question their authority. Although, schools serve as custodial institutions for nation by keeping children off streets for many hours of the day. Schools also try to channel youth into socially approved activities and jobs when children show interest in disapproved areas or are identified as having behavior problems, the school may keep close monitor over them for a long time.

CONCLUSION

Let it be re-emphasis that, corruption, leadership deficits and violent conflicts are direct and indirect consequences of poor knowledge of the proper right value of our society. The study has examined the concept of sociology of education and its relevance to Nigerian society. Also, the sociological perceptive of education and historical development of sociology of education was considered in this study. This study has argued that for our society to produce individuals that will respect and keep our values system, norms, and culture sociology of education must be taken seriously. Therefore, education should be seen to be positively related to every human development indicators and Nigeria sadly is carrying a heavy development deficit burden by not taken sociology of education seriously. Sociology is the scientific study of man's behavior in his social group relationship. Just like in other branches of sciences, sociologists of education utilize scientific techniques and studies group behavior. Education on the other hand can be as all that goes on in the society which involves teaching and training. The child is expected to develop individual identity, cognitive skills and self-control, and appropriate behavioural attitude. Socialization is that which occurs beyond childhood, it starts from birth till grave.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Government, parents/guardians and policy makers should see it as a necessity to put more effort in creating educational policies for the betterment of the child and the society at large. The sudden withdrawal of the initial commitment of the Federal Government to education explain why the five main national goals set by the Federal Government as the necessary foundation for the national policy on education, failed to meet its targets.
- There should be awareness to the public, for them to realize the relationship between education and the society, and as such put value on education. To succeed in this venture, the Federal Government should draw up a comprehensive plan on education: comprising the primary, secondary, tertiary, teacher education, and technical/commercial among others.

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CORONAVIRUS AND DEVELOPMENT CRISES IN NIGERIA: ISSUES AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT: *Recent research interest to review post COVID -19 pandemic in Nigeria, Africa's largest economy is informed by existing development crises exacerbated by the pandemic and the policy implications. While development is the desire and pursuit of every responsible and responsive government, Nigeria is still grappling with development crises, which became pervasive following the outbreak of the pandemic, that emanated from Wuhan in China towards the end of 2019 and eventually spread to many other countries across the globe leading to the emergence of what can be termed a 'new normal'. How the pandemic has deepened the development crises of Nigeria has not been given adequate research attention. In the light of existing realities, this study sets to fill this gap by exploring the linkages between post COVID -19 pandemic and the development crises of Nigeria. The study adopts a qualitative methodology that builds on the political economy approach as it relied largely on secondary sources of data. Findings suggest that the pandemic aggravated Nigeria's development crises. Based on our findings, a post-COVID-19 recovery strategy was recommended to re-establish the conditions for a quick return to a path of economic growth as well as overall human development. In particular, to enable the country build a concrete structure and working system that can easily respond to future emergencies in a globalizing world.*

KEYWORDS: Development, Development Crises, Coronavirus, Pandemic, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria's development since the attainment of independence in 1960 shows that, despite abundant human and natural resources, the country is yet to achieve the desired development that will translate in the improvement of the living standard of the generality of the citizens. Lots of development challenges are evident in the country ranging from unemployment, lack of basic infrastructure, poverty, hunger, poor healthcare system, poor education to mention a few. Put differently, Nigeria is yet to fully achieve development which entails the satisfaction of the genuine needs of the citizens of a country by the appropriate and sustainable use of its natural resources to better the lives of the citizens (UNDP,1995). These existing development crises were heightened by the outbreak of the corona virus also known as COVID-19, which broke out in Wuhan in the late 2019 and later spread to most parts of the world. The COVID -19 pandemic has had and still has a substantial impact on all aspects of human life.

The speed and extent at which the virus spread from Wuhan to other parts of the world and still spreading, reflects how the advent of globalization has really reduced the world to a global village. It also shows that in a global world, what affects one, (good or bad), has the tendency to affect others as the virus virtually affects the entire globe and is being suffered in a number of ways.

Consequently, due to the COVID-19 pandemic that plagued most countries of the world, some of these countries including the developed and less developed like Nigeria. In the case of Nigeria, all international and domestic commercial air flights into and within the country was suspended, the healthcare facilities were overstretched as a result of high rate of infections, schools were shut down, markets closed, strict restrictions were placed on social activities, churches and mosques were also closed or forced to operate with limited number of persons and with specific directives for them to comply with the COVID -19 safety policies. Also, most offices shut down and workers were forced to work from home while some others were laid off due to the economic crunch resulting from the negative effects of the pandemic with an increased level of poverty, heightened cases of insecurity, high mortality rate to mention a few.

Nigeria's strive to overcome the development crises inherent in the country has been more of a herculean task as these development challenges have been egregious despite efforts by successive governments since independence to tackle the development challenges. Consequently, given the outbreak of the corona virus with Nigeria recording its first case in February 2020, there was panic, tension and heightened development crises as there was an exposure of the systemic failure of the country. In other words, the pandemic exposed the development deficiency of Nigeria in so many sectors.

Against this background, this study examined the linkages between Nigeria's development crises and COVID-19 pandemic. It specifically examined the health sector and deplorable health infrastructure including absence of suitable medical labs for tests, the education sector and the indefinite closure of schools, economic downturn evidenced in high cost of living, overdependence on crude oil and failure of refineries to successfully refine the crude produced in the country (even with a sharp decline in the global price of crude and lack of patronage due to lockdown), high rate of poverty and poor welfare of citizens, resulting in the inability of government to efficiently and effectively distribute palliatives to the most vulnerable persons in a transparent and credible manner, increased unemployment and loss of jobs and heightened insecurity concerns. The study demonstrates that these development crises point to the need for the government of Nigeria to look inwards and adopt necessary measures that will decisively tackle the prolonged development crises especially in this era of post pandemic and quest for economic recovery-A major gap which previous studies have not examined.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows; research hypotheses, statement of the problem, conceptual clarification/literature review, methodology, Nigeria's development before the COVID -19 era, COVID-19 and Nigeria's development Crises, discussions, conclusions and recommendations.

Research Hypotheses

H_1 There is a relationship between COVID -19 pandemic and the deplorable health sector in Nigeria

H_2 There is a relationship between COVID -19 and the disruption of education in Nigeria

H_3 There is a relationship between pandemic induced lockdown and economic downturn in Nigeria

H_4 There is a relationship between COVID -19 and high rate of poverty and poor welfare of citizens

H_5 There is a relationship between COVID -19 and increased unemployment and loss of jobs

H_6 There is a relationship between COVID -19 and heightened security concerns

Statement of the Problem

In the late 2000s, Nigeria experienced increasing development challenges; the World Bank declared Nigeria the world poverty capital, the Global Terrorism Index of 2019 rated Nigeria the third most terrorized nation of the world.

With globalization and increasing cross border interactions among countries of the world and also increased opportunities as well as exposure to risks as the world is reduced to a global village, the outbreak of the novel coronavirus in late 2019 and its rapid spread across the globe became fast though uneven across developed and developing nations.

Development concerns associated with the spread of the pandemic have not only spelled out the differences in underdevelopment and poverty within different individuals, organizations, groups, sectors of the economy, countries and regions, rather the crises have also brought into open the problems low income countries like Nigeria faces in dealing with the pandemic.

Recently, NCDC reported that the rate of death has increased urging for more effective post pandemic plans (NCDC,2020). Increasing local concerns have heightened as there is evidence of poor rural health infrastructure. These problems have brought out the apprehensions that many groups and individuals have, regarding mitigating the pandemic. They also point out how poor health facilities undermine effective health care system including the impact they have on achieving –sustainable health a global 2030 development agenda. The fact that the development crises associated with the pandemic has expanded around the globe shows that development concerns are real and requires policy and research attention. The solutions to them, however, may vary between countries and cultures. The question remains whether the mitigation of the pandemic can provide a sustainable development agenda both in the developed and developing countries.

The virus has adversely affected the economy of Nigeria which has suffered series of development crises. This includes include loss of lives, poor healthcare, lack of coordinated welfare scheme for citizens, lack of modern educational system. lockdown and economic downturn, high rate of poverty and poor welfare of citizens, increased unemployment and loss of jobs, heightened security concerns and increasing low standard of living etc.

Despite all these problems, it is worrisome that development crises of Nigeria, which comes in various forms, have rarely been transformed, the aggravation of these development crises by COVID-19 pandemic have not been given adequate policy attention. More worrisome is that in Nigeria, unlike some other countries, there is apparently no empirical proof or data-based evidence documented on post pandemic development crises, the neglect of this area of research agenda has complex implications, which are enormous and persistent. This threatens the social realities and very existence of Nigeria and calls for urgent policy attention.

Based on the foregoing discourse, the problem of this study is to review corona virus and development crises in Nigeria in post pandemic contexts, to create some understanding of how the pandemic has worsened development crises of Nigeria and how such problems could be solved.

Conceptual Clarification

Development

Development as a concept has been subjected to definitional pluralism as it lacks a generally acceptable definition. Suffice to state that development is a multi-faceted concept differently conceived by various scholars across the world. It is not static rather a continuous process. Gboyega (2003) captures it as an idea that embodies all attempts to improve the conditions of human existence in all ramifications. This involves the improvement in material well -being of every citizen, in a sustainable manner.

Dudley Seers captured the explanation of what development implies as he submits that, to know what development is, three significant questions are to be asked. In his opinion, basic questions to ask are:

> What is happening to poverty? What is happening to unemployment? What is happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined over the period under consideration, then it has been a period of development for such a country. But if one or two of them have been growing worse, especially if all three, the situation cannot be one of development even if capital income has doubled over the period (Seers, 1969).

The adoption of these three key indices reflects how unemployment, inequality and poverty constitute some of the major development crises that a reasonable, responsible and responsive government needs to address. Consequently, development does not just involve economic growth, but must be seen to encourage equitable distribution of State’s resources, education, provision of health care, good power supply, good roads, housing etc all with a view to improving the people’s quality of living.

Development Crises

Nigeria has embarked on various development policies, programmes and initiatives directed at socio-economic development since attainment of independence but have not been able to successfully eradicate some of the crises the country is ridden with. One major responsibility of government anywhere around the world is to put in place policies and programmes that will improve and better the living conditions of the citizens particularly healthcare. The various development efforts put in place since independence by both military and civilian administration made achievements to some extent but were also faced with significant challenges, especially in implementing the reforms to improve the welfare of the citizens. This accounts for the continuous development crises experienced in Nigeria. According to

Ayokai and Naankie (2016), the policies have unfortunately not yielded their desired results and the development crisis has continued to be aggravated.

It is no longer a debate that despite all the development plans by the Nigerian government overtime; the country's economy is still backward and underdeveloped. Cases of unemployment, poverty, and inequality which were major indices pointed out in Dudley Seers definition of development still bites so hard among so many Nigerians. Ayokai and Naankie (2016), buttressed this point by stating that Nigeria has fallen from being the bastion of hope for the African race into a theatre of despondency, anxiety, poverty, disease, illiteracy, crime, insecurity, instability and conflict. Rather than progressive development, Nigeria suffers a perennial development crisis.

Consequently, different political scholars have given various submissions or reasons for the underdevelopment of countries like Nigeria. For instance, the dependency theorists attribute the poor state of Nigerian development to continuous economic exploitation from the industrialized nations of the West. On the other hand, the modernization theorists submit that for a society to transform into modernity, its traditional structures and values which are obstacles to development must be totally altered and replaced by modern values. According to them, Nigeria and other African nations need to adopt western values and systems that will transform the nation and help them overcome development crises confronting them.

Despite the submissions of various schools of thought concerning Africa's underdevelopment, it is an indisputable fact that Nigeria has continued to experience development crises which was heightened with the outbreak of coronavirus.

Corona Virus

A virus is a causative agent of an infection. According to Lodish, Berk and Zipursky et al (2000), a virus is a small parasite that cannot reproduce by itself but can direct the cell machinery to produce more viruses once it infects a susceptible cell. In other words, when infected, a host cell is forced to rapidly produce thousands of identical copies of the original virus.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO) a novel coronavirus (COVID-19) was identified in 2009 in Wuhan, China. It is an infectious disease and also a respiratory virus that constitutes a global threat to human health (WHO,2020). Before the outbreak of COVID-19, some other corona viruses had been discovered in the past. SARS coronavirus which broke out in 2002 and the Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) are examples of corona viruses that had emerged in the past. The world health organization declared the COVID-19 as a global pandemic in march 2020 (WHO,2020). Given the nature of its spread (which is by droplets of saliva or touching contaminated surfaces), the WHO gave certain guidelines or precautionary measures to be taken in order to minimize the spread of the virus. Some of these measures include regular and thorough hand washing with soap and water or use of an alcohol based hand sanitizer; maintain social distancing to keep off liquid droplets from mouth and nose of infected persons who may sneeze or cough around an individual avoid touching eyes, nose and mouth; use of face shield or nose mask; good respiratory hygiene; stay at home and self -isolation whenever an individual feel s unwell; and also seek medical attention if an individual has cough, sore throat, fever, difficulty in breathing or other symptoms like loss of taste or appetite etc (WHO,2020).

In Nigeria, the Nigeria Centre for Disease Control (NCDC) is in charge of managing and controlling the spread of the disease. The virus has an incubation period of between two (2) to fourteen (14) days according to the NCDC guideline (NCDC,2020) after which it begins to manifest, though some people are said to be asymptomatic and may not show signs of the virus even when it is present in them. Scientists all over the world are still researching the ideal medicine and vaccine to overcome the virus. Fortunately, however, some drugs are being used to treat patients and it seems to be yielding positive results.

In addition to consistently advising everyone to take precautionary measures seriously, the NCDC equally carries out contact tracing to test and ascertain those who may be infected so as to isolate them in the isolation centers across the nation for treatment. People who are 60years+ and those with underlying health conditions such as hypertension, diabetes, high blood pressure, asthma etc are encouraged to take the safety measures very seriously as they are at a higher risk of getting infected with COVID-19 (NCDC,2020). Also, a weak immune system is more or less a catalyst for easy infection of the corona virus whereas boosting one's immune system is necessary to minimize the possibilities of getting infected (NCDC,2020).

The first case which was recorded in Nigeria in February 2020 was said to be an Italian man who flew into Lagos and it was later discovered that he had contracted the virus as reported by the NCDC. Consequently, some other people who flew into the country were confirmed to be positive (NCDC,2020). However, with the ban placed on foreign travel, Nigeria moved from cases traced to travelers to community transmission due to the fact that the country was under testing.

Apart from the fact that the NCDC was under testing which was partly due to inadequate or shortage of testing kits, some people doubted the existence of COVID-19 in Nigeria and held the belief that government officials were politicizing the whole situation and using it as an avenue to enrich themselves. Furthermore, others evaded and avoided the testing even when they had symptoms similar to that of covid-19 for fear of testing positive and being stigmatized and kept away in isolation centers.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This study adopted a qualitative research design. Secondary sources related to the discourse regarding COVID -19 and Nigeria's development crises were reviewed. The aim is to establish a relationship between the pandemic and development crises of Nigeria. Six hypotheses guided the study. Most recent information were sourced from the World Health Organization (WHO) and Nigeria's National Centre for Disease Control (NCDC),relevant data sourced particularly included those discussing the health sector and deplorable health infrastructure including absence of suitable medical labs for tests, the education sector and the indefinite closure of schools, economic downturn evidenced in high cost of living, high rate of poverty and poor welfare of citizens, increased unemployment, loss of jobs and heightened insecurity ,which contributed to the understanding of the ongoing debate regarding the pandemic and Nigeria's development crises .

Theoretical Framework

This study adopted the political economy approach in explaining how the coronavirus pandemic has further exposed and widened the already existing development crises in Nigeria.

The central premise of the political economy approach is that the mode of production in material life determines the general character of other aspects such as the social, political, spiritual processes of life and so on (Ake, 1981). Reduced to the fundamental, the political economy theory as used in this study sheds light on how the nature of the Nigerian economy affected other sectors such as the educational, health, social etc especially with the outbreak of the corona virus which triggered global change in an unprecedented manner. The point being made here is that since the economy is a major determinant of other sectors, the nature of the Nigerian economy (which even before the outbreak of coronavirus emphasizes distribution at the expense of production) contributes to the development crises bedeviling the nation which is further heightened during the coronavirus pandemic ravaging not just Nigeria but the entire globe.

Karl Marx argued that the structure of society and the forces of historical change was predicated on the concept of Base and Superstructure. In other words, political economy entails the understanding of the interactions of the Base and Superstructure of a society as an all-encompassing theory of society (Edara, 2016). The base simply put, refers to how a society produces what they need for survival. According to Cohen (1979), the superstructure is a set of non-economic institutions, notably the legal system and the state. The superstructure consists of legal, political, religious and other non-economic institutions or social realms.

On his part, Jayalakshmi (2012), asserts that the relationship between the Base and Superstructure is quite inseparable. According to him, the base consists of the forces and relations of production while the superstructure is more or less the amalgamation of the ideological institutions such as the state, religion, ethics, laws, politics, family etc.

It is imperative to note that one major responsibility of government anywhere around the world is to put in place policies and programmes that will improve and better the living conditions of the citizens and this primarily has to do with reshaping and reforming the economy of the state which in turn affects the social, political, and structural conditions in the country concerned. It is on this basis that the political economy approach was adopted for this study to create linkages between Nigeria's development challenges and the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic.

Nigeria's Development Before the COVID -19 Era

Nigeria is a highly populated country in Africa with a population of over 180 million people. The Federal Republic of Nigeria also has an area of 923,769 square kilometers (made up of 909,890 square kilometers of land area and 13,879 square kilometers of water area) (NBS, 2016) As mentioned earlier, despite relentless effort by successive governments as seen in the introduction of various development plans and strategies with the aim of moving the nation forward, Nigeria is still grappling with a series of development crises since attainment of independence. The setbacks are often attributed to certain factors which include inadequate capital to implement development plans and policies, corruption and misappropriation of public funds, lack of credible and visionary leadership among others. Some of the development programmes or strategies introduced by various governments since independence but which unfortunately have not really yielded their aims and objectives include the first development plan which was introduced in I962, the second development plan which was put in place after the civil war from 1970-1974, the third development plan established between 1975 to 1980, the fourth development plan introduced between 1981-1985. Other development plans include the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS), Seven Point Agenda (SPN), Transformation Agenda (TA), and Vision 2020, Economic Recovery and Growth Plan (ERGP) etc. These development plans and programmes were designed by both military and civilian administrations to respond to the various development challenges of Nigeria but cannot totally be said to be commendable efforts due to the lingering crises of development in virtually every facet of the country.

A statement contained in the USAID Nigeria document (2015-2020) shows that weak governance capacity and practice (a weakness that is evident in nearly every sector and at all levels of government) as well as poor management of public resources and institutions all manifest in several interrelated ways accounting for the reason why Nigeria constantly lags in so many development measures (USAID,2020). In fact, corruption has been one of Nigeria's banes of development. Mismanagement and misappropriation as well as over bloated or overinflated contract figures with projects either left abandoned or shabbily executed all contribute to the development crisis bedeviling the country.

In addition to corruption, which is a major cankerworm plaguing almost every facet of Nigeria, the high cost of governance has been a major concern as funds meant for capital development is often smaller than funds earmarked for recurrent expenditure.

In the health sector, before the outbreak of coronavirus, Nigeria has often experienced poor healthcare services despite the budgetary allocation to the health sector. According to a BBC news report of 22nd April 2020, the 2020 government budget allocates only about 4.5% of spending for health, which is less than the 15% target the African Union had set for governments in 2001 (BBC, 2020).The National and most of the States teaching/ general hospitals as well as other primary healthcare facilities always had (and still have) challenges in the area of modern health facilities that will aid the conduct of their activities. This challenge of limited or absence of healthcare facilities, poor salaries and allowances coupled with the high risk that health workers are exposed to due to negligence usually force some of the health workers to jettison the opportunity to work in Nigeria and seek for greener pasture in other countries where they are guaranteed better and more attractive conditions of service.

Equally worrisome is the fact that the lack of tangible investment and attention to the health sector prompts the political elites to often take advantage of the opportunity they have to embark on medical tourism to other countries with reckless abandon at the slightest health challenge thereby ignoring the Nigerian health sector. The repercussion of this neglect is being played out especially during the period of the ban on foreign travel.

Looking at the educational sector, Nigeria's education has been more of a vegetative rather than a regenerative education, placing emphasis on certification with little consideration on merit and possession of transformative abilities. This has not really been helpful. One of the greatest challenges however is in the area of poor investment in the educational sector. This has made public or government owned schools to be less attractive due to the continued negligence on the part of government. Those who can afford private schools rather prefer to have their children or wards attend such schools as they believe that qualitative education is better attained in these private owned schools and not in the public schools. There are equally cases of dilapidated structures of some of these government owned schools, overcrowded classes, lack of adequate teaching aids as well as occasional delay in the payment of teachers' salary all of which contribute in discouraging the teachers from giving their best and also denying pupils or students conducive learning environment. School teachers and Lecturers often go on strike because of poor remuneration. When this happens, students and parents are at the receiving end with students sometimes forced to indulge in all sorts of irresponsible and nefarious behaviors.

Suffice to state that education is the bedrock of development in any society. Ambe (2003) opines that "education is the anchor that holds good leadership at bay and lack of which produces poor leadership". The need for a sound and qualitative education cannot be overemphasized as it has the tendency of shaping and reforming the citizens especially when they successfully possess good education both in character and in learning.

Nigeria's adoption of a mono-economy is a practice that has obviously done more harm than good to the nation's economy and drive for development. Before the oil boom in the 1970s, Nigeria depended on agriculture for the nation's revenue. Consequently, with the discovery of oil came a drastic shift of focus from the agricultural sector with the country placing more emphasis on the oil and gas sector. However, when oil was discovered, food production depreciated, hence, the need for food importation which consequently led to huge spending of the country's foreign exchange (Odunze, 2019).

Unfortunately, despite the attention given to the oil sector, Nigeria failed to establish functioning refineries that will refine the crude produced in the country. Nigeria rather exports her crude and imports the refined products for consumption with government's huge commitment of fuel subsidy. This negatively affects the economy of the nation. Furthermore, despite the call for diversification, Nigeria is yet to fully heed to it and make an impressive move to diversify her economy and some of these flaws on the part of government compounds the development challenges being suffered even before coronavirus broke out. Again, Nigeria's over-dependence on other countries for a lot of goods and services has reduced the country to a consuming and not so much of a producing one.

The high rate of insecurity in Nigeria is equally a huge challenge to achieving development. Cases of insecurity ranging from kidnapping, banditry, herdsmen and farmers clash, insurgency, armed robbery etc pose a serious threat to the peace, stability and overall development of the country. These security challenges can be a major clog in the wheel of progress of any society. The attacks and activities of these criminal elements scare local and foreign investors and equally affect productivity as farmers are sometimes scared of going to the farm for fear of being attacked thereby leading to low output in agriculture and other sectors of the economy.

Until recently that the government is making an effort to create an environment that will ensure ease of doing business, there has not been so much of a conducive business environment that will attract local and foreign investors. Suffice to state that, an unfriendly business climate makes private sector-led economic growth difficult in Nigeria and this can hinder a country from fully maximizing its local production capacity. For instance, power supply has always been a challenge as the government has not been able to effectively invigorate power production and distribution in the country despite the huge investment in the power sector by successive governments. The poor power supply escalates costs of production, and significantly diminishes productivity.

Furthermore, high transportation costs, multiple taxation, and even security challenges mentioned above negatively affects productivity, contributes to economic setback and equally hinders development. Again, Nigeria has a high rate of unemployed citizens some of whom are willing and able to work but lack the opportunity to be gainfully employed. McConnell and Brue (1999) opine that when a country fails in employment creation and jobs created are not enough for those who are able and willing to work, potential production of goods and services are irretrievably lost. Unfortunately, the decline in employment opportunity has led to the increase in criminal activities for survival.

RESULTS

COVID-19 and Nigeria's Development Crises

H_1 There is a relationship between COVID -19 pandemic and the deplorable health sector in Nigeria

Nigeria suffered and is still suffering serious development challenges with the outbreak of the corona virus pandemic as earlier mentioned. Some of the consequences being experienced as a result of the outbreak of coronavirus will be discussed at this point.

The outbreak of coronavirus led to the exposure of the health sector as a sector lacking government's attention. It became obvious that the health sector is in shambles as it was poorly funded and lacked adequate equipment. It became imperative that the government needed to give immediate attention to the health sector to be able to combat the virus. The elites had always embarked on medical tourism and enjoyed the luxury of traveling abroad for all manner of health challenges. Nigeria was under testing due to insufficient testing kits. Nearly four months into the discovery of the first case in Nigeria, the country, with a population of over two hundred million citizens was only able to test less than two hundred thousand people with a possibility of rapid community transmission. The health workers accused the government for not providing enough personal protective equipment (PPE), unpaid hazard allowances which led to the resident doctors embarking on a one-week warning strike in June 2020 (Clottey and Dauda,2020)

In fact, the doctors of Kaduna threatened to down tools due to the plan by the governor (El-Rufai) to cut the salaries of the state workers including doctors and other health workers, with the claim to use the cut down salaries to provide palliatives for the people of the state despite the fact that the health workers are at high risk of contracting the virus and needed maximum support and motivation in every aspect (Clottey and Dauda,2020).

Furthermore, because of the lockdown which included the closure of borders to prevent international and local flight, some of the elites including government officials found it impossible to travel out of the country for 'professional' medical attention. The high and low, rich and poor, young and old, male and female had no choice than to stay back in the country to receive medical attention from Nigerian doctors and in Nigerian hospitals. Some people were tested and found to be positive as the virus is not a respecter of anyone irrespective of their status. With the daily testing being carried out by the NCDC, those found to be positive were kept in isolation centers to be treated. While some recovered, others lost their lives (including some notable government officials) with many more still losing their lives. Some key government officials who were alleged to have lost their lives to the virus include Abba Kyari (former chief of staff to the president of Nigeria), Mr Ibanga Bassey Etang (The NDDC acting Director of Finance and Administration), Mr Suleiman Ibrahim Adamu (Nasarawa State house of Assembly member who represented Nasarawa central), Sen. Sikiru Adebayo Osinowo(Lagos East senatorial district representative), Mr Odiari Princewill (Chairman of Asari-Toru LGA of Rivers State), Senator Abiola Ajimobi (former Governor of Oyo Stats) and so many other Nigerians including health workers.

Equally worrisome is the fact that most hospitals at some point refused to treat some patients who were in some cases neglected and allowed to die of other ailments that had similar symptoms with COVID-19 as attention was concentrated on COVID-19 with little or no consideration on other ailments like malaria, typhoid etc. Some of these ill-equipped hospitals lacked basic medical equipment such as personal protective equipment (PPE) to keep them well protected in case a patient with the virus visits their healthcare facility.

H_2 There is a relationship between COVID -19 and the disruption of education in Nigeria

The outbreak of coronavirus has equally caused a great setback in the educational sector thereby affecting the school curriculum. The disruption in the academic calendar is as a result of a delayed date of resumptions to minimize spread of the virus. While some schools especially in advanced countries adopted online studies to ensure continuity despite the lockdown, the educational system in Nigeria could not adopt such style of learning because of so many factors such as lack of personal computers or android phones by students in the city and especially the rural areas, poor supply of electricity to power computers or phones (for those who have), poor or fluctuating internet services by network providers who still end up making the cost of buying data high etc. As a result of these challenges, there is bound to be a decline in the academic performance of students at the primary, secondary and tertiary institutions of learning arising from the long absence from school due to the prolonged closure of schools. There was equally suspension of basic examinations like common entrance for primary school pupils preparing to proceed to secondary school, West African Examination Council (WAEC) and National Examination Council (NECO) for secondary school students preparing to take their final secondary school examinations as well as final year students of tertiary institutions preparing to graduate from universities, polytechnics and colleges of education. One major challenge with school reopening at a time like this is that some schools are so populated that social distancing can hardly be achieved especially some government schools that are usually overcrowded and lack basic infrastructure like supply of water and other basic sanitary provisions for a proper hygiene practice.

Also, some religious leaders who are expected to work in synergy with government in the fight against coronavirus have not played their role of sensitizing their members enough on the dangers of being infected, instead, because of the 'faith' some of them claim to have, they often give their members the impression that even if by chance they get infected at all, they can be healed and this move by some religious institutions which can be seen as a sabotage of government's effort does not encourage compliance of safety or precautionary guidelines thereby exposing them to being infected and equally increasing the risk of community transmission.

H_3 There is a relationship between pandemic induced lockdown and economic downturn in Nigeria

The Nigerian economy has equally been greatly affected by the outbreak of coronavirus arising from grounding of economic activities as businesses and economic activities were suspended. Markets were shut down, events and viewing centers shut down, local and international sporting centers were suspended, airports were closed thereby leading to the suspension of domestic and international flights, economic activities generally came to a halt as almost every part of the country was locked down with only those on essential duties being granted permit to carry on with their work but with directives to strictly adhere to safety guidelines. As a matter of fact, COVID-19 pandemic led to a sharp decline in the price of oil at the global market as the price of crude fell far lower than Nigeria's benchmark of $57 per barrel (Olurounbi,2020). This equally affected the government's ability to fund the 2020 budget hence the need for a downward review of the budget as well as government seeking for external loans to fund the year's budget. Rabiu, Kabiru, Ahmad and Samaila (2020) concurring submits that,

> The oil price shock due to the corona virus came as a great surprise to the Nigerian government and the impact has put significant strain on the budget and the currency and the government may have to adjust its 2020 budget, which was based on a crude price of $57 a barrel according to the finance minister. Already, oil prices which are the mainstay of the country are trading below the Federal Government's benchmark for the 2020 budget

A statement contained in the USAID Nigeria document (2015-2020) submits that, falling oil and gas prices are also putting pressure on Nigeria's fiscal and external accounts (USAID,2020).

With economic activities almost at a standstill, Nigeria's revenue was cut short. Put differently, in addition to the global crash in the price of oil, Nigeria was unable to effectively generate internal revenue due to the lockdown as a result of the grounding of business activities.

Furthermore, it was predicted that the pandemic could lead to economic depression or recession for many countries including Nigeria. Consequently, it became evident that diversification of Nigeria's economy should be a paramount concern and government needs to become more strategic and aggressively invest in other areas so as to minimize the over dependence on the oil sector and consequently explore the viability and productivity of other sectors. It is however necessary to state that President Buhari's ban on the importation of rice long before the outbreak of coronavirus is quite commendable as it largely increased local production of rice (a staple food in Nigeria) which was of great advantage even with the lockdown of most countries.

H4 There is a relationship between COVID -19 and high rate of poverty and poor welfare of citizens

As much as Nigeria has often been rated as one of the poverty-stricken nations of the world, the rate of poverty increased more with the outbreak of coronavirus. The Nigerian government-imposed lockdown without putting adequate measures in place to cushion the devastating effects of the coronavirus. As a matter of fact, some of the measures put in place by the government to check the spread of coronavirus seemed to be more concerned with protecting lives to the detriment of the peoples' livelihood as some people's sources of income were not taken into consideration. Those who were involved in petty trading or carried out some sort of business that generated income for their daily living no longer enjoyed the freedom of freely buying and selling (trading) as there were inter-state lockdown curfews (partial or total lockdown) of the States at one point or the other. Due to the fact that a good number of the low-income earners were incapacitated, standard of living of most families dropped as people struggled to survive. The increase in hunger and lack could be attributed to the fact that most citizens lacked and still lack the economic or purchasing power to get basic needs like food which is necessary for human survival. Unfortunately, also, there was a hike in prices of food commodities in the market as traders took advantage of the panic buying to skyrocket the prices of various foodstuff and other household items. So many people were infected or affected with the negative effect of covid-19 though for some others, it was an opportunity to make more money especially those involved in the sale of foodstuff, supermarket owners, producers of facemasks/shields, hand sanitizers etc.

Some citizens doubted the existence of coronavirus because of the belief that the government was only using the guise of coronavirus to enrich themselves. For such people, compliance was almost not adhered to as they were only interested in the re-opening of the economy so as to have everything return to normalcy.

Furthermore, the government at both the national, State and local levels could not successfully distribute the palliatives both in cash or kind to the most vulnerable citizens. For instance, the federal government had a cash transfer programme which billions of naira was earmarked to be disbursed to the needy. However, the criteria for this disbursement was questioned by many as the government claimed to have reached out to many families which a lot of people disputed or refuted such claims as false. Despite the huge contributions and donations from individuals and other corporate bodies as well as international organizations, there was no transparency and accountability in the way the donations were used. In fact, when the accountant general's (AGF) office got burnt in April 2020, some persons alleged that it was a gimmick to cover up the track for whatever fraudulent processes were involved in the COVID-19 funds (Okwe, Jimoh, Olaniyi and Olumide,2020).

The inability of the Nigerian government to effectively and efficiently distribute the palliatives can be attributed to the lack of a concrete and accurate data base. Ogunlade (2000) argued that among such things which population censuses are used for include the determination of the handicapped for the provision of basic social amenities and also for ascertaining the actual figure of the unemployed so as to make for adequate planning.

Nigeria has always had a problem of not having a comprehensive database to carry out proper planning and this flaw constituted a huge challenge as palliatives were improperly handled with public outcry. Despite the huge contributions by wealthy Nigerans like Aliku Dangote, Chris Uba, Mike Adenuga which ran in billions of naira during the beginning of the pandemic there were allegations that the poorest of the poor were not benefitting from the stimulus packages provided by the government. In fact, despite the fatality rate of covid-19 and its infection rate nationally and globally, so many believed that the scourge of hunger which some called 'hunger virus' has a greater tendency of affecting and possibly killing more people in Africa and especially Nigeria than the COVID-19 itself. The World Bank in a recent report predicted that COVID-19 will make 96 million Nigerians extremely poor by 2022 (Soniyi,2020). This means therefore that after we survive the coronavirus (which we don't know how soon that will be), we will have to do much more as a nation to survive the poverty virus.

H_5 There is a relationship between COVID -19 and increased unemployment and loss of jobs

The lockdown which was imposed by the Federal government in some parts of the country with the various States' governments doing the same at some point led to some sort of lack of productivity. Public and private organizations no longer effectively carried out the normal routine of work as most organizations were either forced to shut down or work from home. In fact, the 'new normal' of having to work from home led to the adoption of the internet to carry on with work, as a way of adjusting to the new realities of our time.

Due to the pandemic, many people especially in the corporate organizations have either been relieved of their jobs or are being threatened to be laid off if the harsh economy persists. For some, salaries were not being paid while others experienced a salary cut. In fact, so many are still uncertain of the security of their jobs due to the economic crunch hitting hard on private and public organizations

Nigeria, which before now has had the challenge of high rate of unemployment now has to battle with an increase in the number of unemployed citizens who are willing and able to work but have lost their jobs due to the ravaging effects of COVID-19. The current reality has however motivated some other persons to embark on skill acquisition programmes though a lot more need to embrace this idea so as to minimize the dependence on employments that sometimes do not guarantee job security.

H_6 There is a relationship between COVID -19 and heightened security concerns

The imposition of lockdown in most parts of the country by both the federal and states government was to control and minimize the spread of the coronavirus. The scarcity and deprivation of essential needs experienced by many as a result of the prolonged lockdown led to insecurity as hoodlums invaded and robbed residents in some areas. For instance, in some parts of Lagos, some residents were forced to organize themselves into vigilante groups to complement the effort of security operatives by staying awake at night to ensure the security of lives and properties within their vicinity. This was because of the increase in crime within and around some of such areas. The crime was not just in the area of theft of properties but there was equally an increase in cases of rape across the country.

Some security operatives and law enforcement agents who were mandated to man the borders and prevent entry and exit of people indiscriminately during the inter-state borders failed in carrying out their assigned responsibility as it was alleged that some of them were saboteurs who were sabotaging government's effort by allowing people to bribe their way in and out of the borders of some of the locked down states thereby increasing the tendency for the spread of the virus. Some of the members of the COVID-19 task force were equally accused of excesses such as unnecessary and excessive use of force to ensure compliance which includes flogging and destruction of goods of some defaulters who flouted government's directives as well as using the power vested on them to extort money in the name of fines without giving an account of such funds.

DISCUSSIONS

Post COVID-19 Plans in Nigeria

Based on the findings from our tested hypotheses and qualitative data, this study has re-established heightened development crises in Nigeria at post COVID -19 pandemic. Going by the development crises, the critical question is how Nigeria will recover from the COVID-19 crisis in a sustainable manner. It is imperative for the Nigerian government to take bold steps to change the narratives by looking inward and increasing the desire and pursuit for development. Government is yet to make impressive post COVID-19 plans although there are promises and gradual moves in that direction. With the common saying that 'whoever fails to plan is only planning to fail', there is therefore an urgent need for the Nigerian government to draw out a post COVID-19 plan or blueprint for Nigeria. To this end, the federal government has started rolling out some plans in terms of introducing interventions in various sectors that will cushion the effects of the pandemic. The Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) recently introduced the Anchor Borrowers mitigation strategy in the agricultural sector earmarking about #432 billion to assist farmers during the planting season (CBN, 2016). Government has promised to give soft loans to farmers to aid them in their farm work. This is however not enough as the government ought to ensure the provision of machines for increased mechanized farming and equally ensure that this plan is not politicized but that the actual farmers who deserve the loans get these loans so as to boost local production and guarantee food security for the nation. As the government further rolls out more post COVID-19 strategies to mitigate the effect of the pandemic, effort must be made towards ensuring improved productivity that will guarantee availability, accessibility and affordability of food in both good quantity and quality not just for local consumption but also to export excess produce to other countries.

There has been a lot of predictions and forecasts that Nigeria, just like many other countries, may likely drift or slide into recession.

> Disruptions could occur to supply chain distributions, value addition and services in the event of restrictions to movement of people. In such an event, the Nigerian economy could fall back into a recession with a negative growth rate of 1.58% for 2020 (UNDP, 2020).

However, as the government continues to unfold more post covid-19 plans, giant strides can still be made in the nations drive towards development despite these pessimistic projections if only Nigerians (both the leaders and the led) see the COVID-19 pandemic as an opportunity in disguise.

CONCLUSION

The outbreak of Coronavirus has introduced a 'new normal' and so far, proven to be a pandemic that exposed the weak system of most countries especially developing nations like Nigeria that had before the emergence of the virus witnessed a series of unending development crises which was felt even more with the outbreak of the virus.

From the findings of this study, Nigeria will further deepen in recession after the pandemic. The health and food crisis will be the worst for it. Many individuals and organizations have faced and are still facing undaunted challenges due to the adverse effects of the COVID-19 pandemic currently ravaging the economy of nations and the entire globe. Consequently, despite the economic shocks caused by the pandemic, many countries are attempting to adapt and cope with the current realities. It can however be seen as a pandemic that has come with lots of challenges and opportunities, depending on the lens used to view it.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The outbreak of corona virus has unveiled the need to look inward and adopt interventionist approaches that reflect the uniqueness and peculiarities of the country. Nigeria has overtime operated an import driven economy where we import even the very things, we have the capacity to produce and no economy can thrive well in such circumstances. As a nation, Nigeria must therefore become more of a producer than just a consumer and the country should equally resolve to produce what they consume and also consume what they produce, thereby minimizing exportation and unnecessary dependence on foreign products.

Considering the fact that the economy is the base upon which lies the superstructure, the government should understand the importance of a well stimulated and sustainable economy that is highly necessary to overcome the development crises Nigeria is ridden with. This, the government needs to do by setting up a credible, competent and qualified economic advisory board that will come up with post COVID-19 plans on how to maximally boost or rejuvenate the economy despite the challenges experienced with the covid-19 pandemic. Recovery will require investment in innovative approaches. The much talked about diversification should go beyond investment in just the agricultural sector to other key areas like solid minerals, science and technology, industrialization to mention a few. Ayokai and Naankie (2016) opines that,

> programmes for the promotion of agriculture, education and training, health and nutrition, community development and the like must be planned and executed in a coordinated fashion, with account being taken of the effect that development programmes in one area are likely to have on other areas.

A new Nigeria can be birthed when the government becomes committed and deliberate enough to take advantage of the coronavirus pandemic and ensure that they introduce a clearer development blueprint that will see to it that formulated development policies, programmes and initiatives are not only transformative, sustainable and people oriented but that they are implemented to the letter. Put differently, there is no better time for Nigerian leaders to become politically willed and adopt pragmatic and proactive steps to addressing the development crises bedeviling the nation than now because if you don't manage crises, crises will manage you. In other words, with the lessons so far learnt from COVID-19 pandemic, it behooves on the drivers and operators of the Nigerian system to re-strategize and evolve realistic and holistic development ideas and to equally galvanize and deploy every available resource for achievement of the development dreams of Nigeria. The quest and drive for tangible development of Nigeria can become a reality and not a mirage when the citizens and especially the leaders take it upon themselves to become patriotic and collectively play the role expected of everyone, placing public interest over private interest. This, if done, will fortify and reposition Nigeria and Nigerians as a whole to easily adjust to consequent changes that may arise in a globalizing world.

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PUBLIC POLICIES: A DRIVING FORCE OF PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT: *The study examined public policies as a driving force of Public Private Partnership (PPP) in Nigeria. It utilized the secondary method of data collection. The study found that lack of government continuity in policy and multiple legislations are some of the challenges bedeviling the PPP policies in Nigeria which has also negatively affected its drive of PPPs in the country. Thus, it recommends that there should be more public awareness, orientation and sensitization on the available PPP policies to properly guide individuals and government agencies in the country. The study also recommended that the various pieces of legislation should properly be synchronised with one another and with the wider legislations, to impact positively on PPP transactions in the country. The study concluded that* the enactment of *PPP policies in the country has encouraged private sector support of government through partnerships and has enhanced the operations of PPP, thus, making Public Policy on PPP a major driving force of PPPs in Nigeria.*

KEYWORDS: Public Policies, Public Private Partnership, Government Continuity, Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION

Globally, public policies are adopted to support and help to achieve governments' programmes, projects or plans. There are policies on different sectors of the economy like education, agriculture, health, Public private partnership etc. Partnership generally refers to a contractual agreement between entities to share resources and responsibilities in order to achieve common goals or mutual benefit (Friend, 2006). The insufficiency of funds and the failure of the public sector to provide the most basic of public services led most governments in African nations turn to go into partnership with the private sector to finance, develop and improve its infrastructure (Public Private Partnership (PPP)).

Public Private Partnerships (PPP) is a form of partnership contract, which, in the broadest form, refers to any relationship between the public and private sectors in delivering goods, services and infrastructure (Friend, 2006). A number of projects in different sectors of the economy have been completed using the partnership between the public and private sector model despite some challenges.

Third world nations, over the years are bedeviled with lack of infrastructures, abandoned or uncompleted government projects, even where these projects are completed, they are mostly substandard. Due to the increase in population size, there have been increasing demands on the part of the citizens for more infrastructural provision and maintenance of existing ones. These demands have not been met due largely to the inadequacy of public funds.

The government alone cannot afford to provide infrastructural requirements needed for the economic development of a country, thus there is the need for the involvement of the private sector. Collaboration between the public and private sector is therefore necessary and an important instrument for providing and maintaining public infrastructures and services for socio-economic growth and sustainable development.

To facilitate the operations of PPP, for maximum benefits and legalization, many African countries have introduced different public policies to strengthen and support PPP operations. Among other variables that support PPP operations, policies on PPP are adopted to support PPPs, it is for this reason that the Nigeria government enacted different laws and legislations to support PPP operations in the country. It is in the light of the above scenario that this study examined Public policies as a driving force of Public Private Partnership in Nigeria.

The other objective is to enable readers understand how public policies enhance the operations of PPP in Nigeria. In achieving the objectives of this study, the following questions were asked;

a. What are the Public policies that drive PPP in Nigeria?

b. How does public policy drive PPP in Nigeria?

The study heavily relied on secondary data (existing literatures) as source of data. Books, journals, articles, newspapers, internet and government publications on the subject matter were consulted. The study will greatly benefit policy makers, private investors in the public sector, public administrators and scholars in the field of public administration.

Conceptual Clarification

Public Private Partnership

Public Private Partnership has been defined in various ways; the variations in definitions can be traced to the political and economic consequences of PPPs, which makes their meaning and their desirability susceptible to different interpretations. Some of these definitions are as follows:

The Canadian Council for Public Private Partnerships (2006) defines PPP as “a cooperative venture between the public and private sectors built on the expertise of each partner that best meets clearly defined public needs through the appropriate allocation of resources, risks and rewards”.

Public-Private Partnerships is a long-term agreement between the government and a private partner whereby the private partner delivers and funds public services using a capital asset and sharing the associated risks (The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2019).

Ughulu and Erah (2020), defined PPPs “as a long-term relationship between public sector and private sector under which the responsibility for designing, financing, construction, management and/or operation of public infrastructure and services that were traditionally undertaken by the public sector are contractually shared and jointly undertaken by both the public and private sectors, usually in proportion to the type and quantity of risks each party can best carry".

From the above discussions, PPPs can thus be conceptualized as a long-term contractual relationship between public and private sector where both parties undertake the provision and/or management of public infrastructures or services that were traditionally undertaken by the public sector.

Public Policy

According to Dye, T. (1975), "public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do". While Eyestone, R. (1971) defines public policy broadly as "the relationship of government unit to its environment". Anderson, (1975) asserts that "public policy is a purposive course of action followed by an actor or a set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of (social) concern". Public policies are the final decisions or plans made by government, after reviewing several available options, towards the achievement of set objectives (Ughulu & Nwokike, 2020). Similarly, Ikelegbe (2006) defined public policy as "An integral programme of actions which an actor (or a group of actors) is accustomed to or intends to undertake in response to given problems or situations with which he is confronted".

Public policies are usually expressed in legislative enactments, laws, executive decrees or orders, executive and official statements or speeches, government budgets, judicial decisions and, sometimes, political party manifestoes (Ikelegbe, 2006).

Public policy refers to a government's plan that is put in place, after considering various alternatives, as a response to the demands of the society in different areas such as the economy, education, health, gender, security, and involves expenditure of public resources and the use of coercion, where necessary, to achieve the set objectives.

Public policy is conceptualized in this study as the final strategy or plan made by government to realize established goals.

From the above conceptualization of public policy, we can say that public policies of PPP are the final strategies or plans made by government to realize established goals of PPP; of which PPP's main goal is to meet the increasing demand for infrastructural provision and maintenance.

Public Policies of PPP in Nigeria

PPP policies describe the reasons and/or goals for the government's adoption of the PPP model of infrastructure and service provision. These policies provide the guidance for the implementation of the model in any given jurisdiction. While the policies may not carry the force of law, they are an indication of the direction of the government (European Investment Bank, 2002).

Nigeria Policy on PPP

The National Policy Document sets out the steps that the Government will take to ensure that private investment is used, where appropriate, to address the infrastructure deficit and improve public services in a sustainable way. In line with the Government's commitment to transparency and accountability, it will ensure that the transfer of responsibility to the private sector follows best international practice and is achieved through open competition. The National Policy on Public Private Partnership was approved by the Federal Executive Council (FEC) in April 2009. It was designed to explain and fill in the gaps in the ICRC Act which has been in existence since 2005.

The National Policy on PPP aims to develop regulatory and monitoring institutions so that the private sector can play a greater role in the provision of infrastructure, whilst ministries and other public authorities will focus on planning and structuring projects. The private sector will be contracted to manage some public services, and to design, build, finance and operate some infrastructure. It is the Government's expectation that private participation in infrastructure development through PPP will enhance efficiency, broaden access, and improve the quality of public services.

The Government has inaugurated the Infrastructure Concession Regulatory Commission (ICRC) with a clear mandate to develop the guidelines, policies, and procurement processes for PPP. The ICRC will collaborate with the States to promote an orderly and harmonised framework for the development of Nigeria's infrastructure and to accelerate the development of a market for PPP projects. The Federal Government assures investors that all contracts completed in compliance with the ICRC Act will be legal and enforceable, and that investors will be able to recover their expected returns subject to compliance with the terms of the PPP contract.

The most common reason adduced for the widespread use of the PPP model in the provision of infrastructure by different countries across the world is the inadequacy of public funds to meet the increased demand for infrastructure. It is for this same reason that Nigeria turned to PPPs to help finance her infrastructure and also to provide much needed public services to its people. In order to facilitate the PPP process, the parliament of Nigeria enacted the Infrastructure Concession Regulatory Commission Act (ICRC Act) (ICRCA) in 2005. This Act established the ICRC to manage PPP transactions at the federal level. Even before the ICRC Act came into force, a number of transactions had been completed using the PPP model in different sectors of the Nigerian economy (ICRC, 2009).

Policy Objectives

The Government's key policy objectives for its infrastructure investment programme and for PPP are:

Economic

- To accelerate investment in new infrastructure and ensure that existing infrastructure is upgraded to a satisfactory standard that meets the needs and aspirations of the public;
- to ensure that all investment projects provide value for money and that the costs to government are affordable;
- to improve the availability, quality, and efficiency of power, water, transport and other public services in order to increase economic growth, productivity, competitiveness, and access to markets;
- to increase the capacity and diversity of the private sector by providing opportunities for Nigerian and international investors and contractors in the provision of public infrastructure, encouraging efficiency, innovation, and flexibility;
- to ensure that infrastructure projects are planned, prioritised, and managed to maximise economic returns and are delivered in a timely, efficient, and cost-effective manner;
- to manage the fiscal risks created under PPP contracts within the Government's overall financial and budgetary framework;
- to utilise federal and state assets efficiently for the benefit of all users of public services.

Social

- to ensure balanced regional development; to increase access to quality public services for all members of society;
- to ensure that user charges for new or improved public services are affordable and provide value for money;
- to respect the employment rights and opportunities of existing employees and to ensure that any redundancy or other social safety net issues are resolved before final project approval;
- to enhance the health, safety, and wellbeing of the public;
- to encourage the direct or indirect participation of small and medium sized enterprises in PPP projects.

Environmental

- to protect and enhance the natural environment;
- to minimise greenhouse gas emissions and other pollutants (ICRC, 2009).

Table 1: Institutional framework for Implementation of Policy Initiatives of PPP in Nigeria.

	Institutional Framework for PPP Implementation	Function
1	*Infrastructure Commission Regulatory Commission (ICRC)*	The ICRC Act was enacted into law in 2005, it provides the primary legal framework for private sector participation in infrastructure development in Nigeria and is the principal legislation for Nigerian PPPs (Nwagwu, G. 2016). The first part of the ICRC Act, vests government ministries, departments and other agencies of government with power to enter into a contract with or grant concessions to the private sector for the financing, construction, operation and maintenance of any viable infrastructure. While the second part of the Act establishes the Infrastructure Concession Regulatory Commission (the ICRC), which is managed by a 12-member board (ICRC Act, 2005).
2	*National Planning Commission Act (1993)*	The National Planning Commission was established by Act No.12 (1992) and later amended by Act No. 71 (1993). The main function of the Act as it relates to infrastructure development is in relation to designing, coordinating and monitoring the implementation of the nation's infrastructure master plan.
3	*Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs)*	Ministries, Departments and Agencies are to prepare long-term plans for infrastructure investment and maintenance which will be incorporated into the government's rolling 15-year National Development Plan by the National Planning Commission whether the investment is to be funded through Public-Private Partnership or from the MDA's budget.
4	*Federal Ministry of Finance*	The PPP Unit of the Federal Ministry of Finance is responsible forassessing the financial viability of PPP projects within the country. It has an important role in public financial management of Public-Private Partnership projects, and in evaluating and managing fiscal risks that may result from the terms of the agreements.
5	*The Debt Management Office (Establishment) Act (2003)*	The Debt Management Office (Establishment) Act (2003), established the Debt Management Office (DMO) to prepare and implement a plan for the efficient management of Nigeria's external and domestic debt obligations, and to set guidelines for managing the country's risk and currency exposure with respect to all loans.

6	*Accountant General of the Federation*	The Office of the Accountant General of the Federation is to ensure that funding for payment obligations incurred through a federal Public-Private Partnership contract is safeguarded to ensure prompt payment, subject to appropriate authorisation.
7	*The Public Procurement Act (2007)*	The Procurement Act applies to procurement of goods and services carried out by the federal government of Nigeria and any public body engaged in procurement and all entities which derive at least 35 % of the funds appropriated or proposed to be appropriated for any type of procurement from the Federation's share of the Consolidated Revenue Fund (the Procurement Act, No. 14 (2007).
8	*The Fiscal Responsibility Act (2007)*	The Fiscal Responsibility Act promotes the prudent management of the country's resources by ensuring greater accountability and transparency in fiscal operations, and also by imposing limits on the country's spending and borrowing. The Act established the Fiscal Responsibility Commission to ensure that the objectives of the Act are met.
9	*The Federal Executive Council (FEC)*	The FEC is the highest executive decision-making arm of government. The ICRC Act specifically provides that the FEC must grant approval before PPP contracts may be entered into. The ICRC has interpreted the provision dealing with approvals before the entering into of contracts to mean that approvals must be obtained from the FEC before the undertaking almost all steps of the PPP process.

Source: Authors' Findings, 2020.

PPP Projects in Nigeria

Apapa Container Terminal Concession

The terminal was given as a concession to ensure increased efficiency of port operations, decrease the cost of port services to port users, boost economic activities, and accelerate development. It is expected that the concession will further bring about improvements to the leased properties, as further described in the development plan handed over to the terminal operators during contract execution. Lease of Terminal 'A' at the Apapa Port Complex, which contains immovable property affixed to the premises and together with the premises. The asset also consists of facilities/areas such as a 46,516m long quay deck with appropriate quay hardware, transit sheds, warehouse, and tugwell house.

Azura Power Plant

The project included the construction, operation and maintenance of a 459 MW gas-fired open-cycle power plant near Benin City, Edo State, Nigeria. Azura Power West Africa Ltd. (the project company) includes as project sponsors a consortium of private investors (97.5 percent) and the government of Edo State (2.5 percent). The consortium is composed of a joint venture between Amaya Capital Ltd. and Actis GP LLP (51 percent), AIIF2 Power Holding Ltd. (29 percent), Aldwych Azura Ltd. (14 percent), and ARM- Harith Infrastructure (six percent). The plant will have a sole off-taker; the state-owned Nigeria Bulk Electricity Trader (NBET) under a 20-year power purchase agreement (PPA) backstopped by a Put Call Option Agreement (PCOA) with the Federal Government of Nigeria. Seplat Petroleum Development Company, a Nigerian upstream production and development company, will supply gas to fuel the plant under a 15-year contract. (World Bank Group, 2017).

The project, first conceived under the Goodluck Jonathan administration, has been endorsed by the Muhammadu Buhari government. Work on the project, initially started in 2014, had stalled due to disagreements between the funders and the Nigerian government. Those concerns were resolved and work resumed in 2015. The Phase 1 power station (461MW) came online in May 2018. (Wikipedia, 2020). Its first turbine was connected to the grid in late 2017. Azura has built and is operating the plant in line with international environmental and social standards. It is also providing employment opportunities and vocational training to local communities. (Ladipo, 2019).

Concession of Grain Storage Facilities (Silos)

The 24 silo complexes to be concessioned are Ado-Ekiti-Ekiti, Akure Ondo, Bauchi-Bauchi, Bulasa-Kebbi, Ezillo-Ebonyi, Gaya-Kano, Gombe-Gombe, Ibadan-Oyo, Igbariam-Anambra, Ikene-Ogun, Ilorin-Kwara, Irrua-Edo, Jahun-Jigawa, Jalingo-Taraba, Jos-Plateau, Kaduna-Kaduna, Kwali-FCT, Lafiagi-Kwara, Makurdi-Benue, Minna-Niger, Ogoja-Cross River, Okigwe-Imo, Sokoto-Sokoto, and Uyo-Akwa-Ibom. The silos will serve to increase storage utilization and the efficiency of grain trading and post-harvest services. As a service provider, the silo operator could allow smallholder and commercial farmers, traders, and processors to use the handling and storage facilities in the silo complex for a fee. This operating model is described as “post-harvest handling and storage services.”

Warehouse in a Box project

To increase federal warehouse capacity for central storage, and to ensure the effective maintenance them in response to the substantial supply gap for federal warehousing for the storage of donated public health commodities; and the need to harness best practice O&M processes through a private sector operator, to address ongoing challenges related to inventory management, human resources and quality assurance. The two warehouses located in Lagos and Abuja are prefabricated and identical, with a combined total 6,530m^2 of floor space and the capacity to hold 7,680 pallet spaces. It is to provide an adequately-sized and effectively-maintained pharmaceutical grade central storage hub for donated public health commodities through an operations and maintenance (O&M) PPP process (ICRC, 2020).

How Public Policies Drive PPP in Nigeria

The national policy documents set out the steps that the Government will take to ensure that private investment is used, where appropriate, to address the infrastructure deficit and improve public services in a sustainable way. In line with the Government's commitment to transparency and accountability, it will ensure that the transfer of responsibility to the private sector follows best international practice and is achieved through open competition for selection of the best.

The National PPP Policy defines a public private partnership as: "A wide range of contract forms—in turn represented by numerous acronyms (BOT, DBFO, BOOT, etc.)—falls within the scope of the term 'public private partnership'. It can be said to include: outsourcing and partnering; performance-based contracting; design, build, finance and operate (or build operate transfer) contracts; and, sometimes, concessions." (ICRC, 2009)

The Nigeria Government has inaugurated the Infrastructure Concession Regulatory Commission (ICRC) with a clear mandate to develop the guidelines, policies, and procurement processes for PPP. The ICRC will collaborate with the States to promote an orderly and harmonised framework for the development of Nigeria's infrastructure and to accelerate the development of a market for PPP projects. The Federal Government assures investors that all contracts completed in compliance with the ICRC Act will be legal and enforceable, and that investors will be able to recover their expected returns subject to compliance with the terms of the PPP contract.

Before the inception of the ICRC Act of 2005 in Nigeria, there were few participations of the private sector in provision of infrastructures, but since the formation of the 1999 PPP policy to fill the gap in the ICRC Acts there has been an unprecedented increase in PPP operations in the country.

The policy also promotes and sustains equity, efficiency, accessibility and quality in infrastructural and service provision through the collaborative relationships between the public and private sectors, this is noticed in the activities of Azura power plant in Nigeria.

The policies clarify the governments' functions, the institutional structure for implementation and the process to follow in all PPP arrangements. The Policies emphasizes that projects follow a robust structuring process (addressing social and environmental issues) and a fair and competitive procurement process. The Policies guides on how the contracts would be managed once signed and how amendments to these contracts could be made, it explains what financial Assistance would be available, it also encourages safe guarding public interest and consumer rights, and it does not permit unsolicited proposals due to risk of abuse all these have added to the improved operations and encouragement of the private sector into PPP in both countries while empowering the citizens and improving standard of living. This has made the Policies to be a major framework of PPP and thus a driving force of PPP in the country.

The main role of public policy in PPP is to provide specific guidance towards implementing strategies to achieve PPP operations. The regulatory aspect of PPP policy in Nigeria provides transparency and accountability in PPP operations, where both parties to the contract are fully aware of what the contract entails and how to carry out their own part of the contract, thus acting as a driving force of PPP in Nigeria (ICRC, 2009).

Challenges of PPP Policies

In Nigeria, the legal framework for PPPs comprises a confusing and conflicting web of regulations and policies. Therefore, a potential investor would need to decipher which of the several legislations, or even institutions, would regulate a particular transaction before initiating a PPP project in Nigeria (Nwagwu, 2016).

It is also worth noting that these laws and policies are also generally inadequate, contain conflicting provisions and, thus, contribute to manifest uncertainty, thereby inordinately increasing transaction costs.

The ICRC has interpreted the provision dealing with approvals before the entering into of contracts to mean that approvals must be obtained from the FEC before the undertaking almost all steps of the PPP process. This interpretation has protracted timelines for completing projects. Therefore, while conceding that the buy-in of the FEC is essential to project delivery, it contributes to the slow pace of project approval.

A number of existing infrastructure sector legislations—for example, the Electric Sector Reform Act - are in conflict with the ICRC Act. This is primarily because these laws create sector regulators with whom the ICRC seems to be competing for regulatory space. This is the same with a number of Bills that are currently before the National Assembly. These Bills seem to have been drafted without reference to the ICRC Act.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that any investor coming into Nigeria will be wary of the considerable number of regulatory risks which it is likely to face in Nigeria due to the multiplicity of laws and institutions. The enabling legislations were all separately conceived and therefore confuse and conflict with one another.

The subsequent attempts to cobble these laws together into a coherent legal regime through the use of a PPP policy document is fraught with structural, legitimacy and operational difficulties, which explains why the country’s PPP programme is not working effectively.

The existence of multiple laws and institutions is doing more harm than good, part from exacerbating confusion in the system, it is also unduly expensive to run multiple agencies, as this entails the duplication of staff and resources. The efficacy and the legality of the use of a policy document to bridge the gap in an enabling legislation is very doubtful and untidy, to say the least.

The failure of PPPs can often be traced back to the initial design of PPP policies, legislation, and guidance. A common pitfall is placing too many restrictions, conditions and expectations of risk transfer on the private sector, which make it impossible to structure a financially feasible deal.

CONCLUSION

This study examined public policies as driving force of PPP in Nigeria, the study examined the different PPP policies in the country; the study found that the enactment of PPP policies in the country has enhanced the operation of PPP thus, being a driving force of PPPs in Nigeria; the study found that lack of government continuity in policy, multiple legislation;

and inadequate legal framework are some of the challenges bedeviling the PPP policies and also negatively affecting PPPs. For public policy to strife as a driving force in the country's PPP models, the following recommendations may be considered:

- The government needs to step up its efforts toward PPP by forming a formidable PPP law. Moreover, there should be more public awareness, orientation and sensitization on the available PPP policies to properly guide individuals and government agencies.
- The various pieces of legislation should properly be synchronised with one another and also with the wider legislations, to impact positively on PPP transactions in both country.
- Nigeria deserves appropriate PPP legislation that will match its ambitions. Proper legislation must therefore be put in place to ensure that private sector entities, both domestic and foreign, have the confidence to invest in the countries.
- Nigeria does not really require a "regulator" for PPPs in the case of ICRC, being a regulator for PPPs, in the true sense of the word. What the country need is a "facilitator" for PPPs. Most sectors of the economy now have economic and technical regulators; any additional regulator overseeing the same sector is bound to create confusion and increase the cost of compliance for the private sector.
- Governments and citizens should strive for a conducive and stable political environment to achieve sustainable development. New administrations should only abolish or amend policies that have failed or not citizen oriented.

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EFFECT OF EMPLOYEES' TRAINING ON PERFORMANCE OF ACADEMIC STAFF OF SOME SELECTED TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS IN NASARAWA STATE (2011-2017)

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ABSTRACT: *This study assessed the effect of employee training on performance of academic staff of some selected tertiary institutions in Nasarawa State namely, Nasarawa State Polytechnic, Lafia (Naspoly), College of Education Akwanga (COEA) and Nasarawa State University Keffi (NSUK) over a period 2011 to 2017. The study adopted a survey method of data collection and a sample of 415 respondents were selected using stratified random sampling technique. The data used in the research was obtained using questionnaire. The reliability of the instrument yielded 0.75 Cronbach Alpha Coefficient from the pilot study. The research hypotheses were analyzed using chi-square statistical tool and SPSS version 17. The result of the analysis revealed some of the major factors that impact negatively on staff training of the institution selected to include; high cost/poor funding of training, negative attitude and behavior of academic staff towards training, improper planning and implementation, technological innovation and creativity, poor budgetary provision and improper consideration for training needs had grossly affected the quality of staff training over the years. The result further revealed that effective methods of staff training used in the institutions were workshops, seminars, conferences and in-service training which were suitable and effective but wrongly implemented. A significant relationship between training and employee's performance was also identified.*

KEYWORDS: Employees Training, Performance, Academic Staff, Tertiary Institutions

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, countries of the world are becoming aware that increasing economic growth is not only due to new technology or combination of factors of production, but also the development of its manpower resources (Inyang, 2002). The human side of the organization is an important component of an organization, where the enterprise can obtain the best of its human capital resources for effective performance (Espeda, 2005). The importance of training in an organization cannot be over emphasized, this is because training provides the basic skills for enabling employees to develop their personal and organizational skills, knowledge and abilities to perform their jobs effectively, take on new responsibilities and adopt to changing conditions (Jones, 2000).Employee's training is therefore crucial for the growth and prosperity of any organization, as an employee is one of the determining factors for the success of the organization. The more capable and qualified the employees, the better the performance of the organization. When they are well trained, they can easily handle situations particularly teaching and research by academic staff in our tertiary institutions of learning.

For every employee to perform well especially academic staff there is the need constant training. The right employee training, development and education provide big payoffs for the employer in increased performance, knowledge, loyalty and contribution to general growth of the organization or institution. The effectiveness and success of an organization therefore rely on the quality of people who were trained and work within the organization. Human beings are the most valuable assets of any organization, with the machines, materials and even the money; nothing gets done without manpower. It is in recognition of the important role of training in an organization, that government tertiary institutions in Nasarawa State, being research-based institutions and training, attached great importance to regular training and retraining of its staff. To underscore this importance, there is always a reasonable budget provision for training of staff with the support of Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND) 70% for academic staff and 30% for non-academic staff.

Based on the above consideration, this study seeks to examine the effect of employees' training on performance of academic staff of tertiary institutions in Nasarawa State in order to ascertain how effective and suitable the training is being carried out.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Several researchers have conducted studies on the impact of employees' training on performance. Ohia (2018) explored the relevance of managing functional tertiary education for sustainable national development through continuous staff professional training and development in Delta State with particular reference to Colleges of Education. The study was carried out using descriptive survey guided by four research questions. A sample of 217 academic staff out of a population of 1,083 in the colleges was selected using the stratified random sampling technique. Scores obtained from a pilot testing of 10 academic staff were collated and evaluated to determine their reliability using the Cronbach Alpha method and a reliability index of 0.70 was measured. Analysis of the data collected was arrived at using mean scores and standard deviation. The result of the study indicated that academic staffs in the various tertiary institutions were engaged in some forms of continuous staff professional training and development.

Ojimba (2012) discussed the challenges faced in training of technical personnel of Vocational and Technical Education in Nigeria. The study employed a methodical review of relevant literature to critically examine the issues, problems and prospects of Vocational and Technical education in Nigeria. Some of the challenges highlighted include brain drain, poor funding, inadequate facilities, poor staff training and defective curricular. The study concluded by stressing the need for reform towards technical and vocational education as well as putting forward deliberate actions to support vocational and technical education.

Adeyoriju and Fajebe (2019) scrutinized training and manpower productivity in Nigeria's public sector. The study laid emphasis on concerns and pathway for effectiveness in public sector organizations. To realize the above stated goal, the study reviewed literature on concepts of training, manpower productivity, emergence and role of government in training and manpower productivity in Nigeria as well as the challenges of training in Nigeria public sector. Human capital and scientific management theory were employed in solid arguments for the dissertation. The conclusion of the study was that productivity in Nigeria public sector is dependent on proper manpower training and development.

Aroge (2012) conducted a research to verify the contributions of Industrial Training Fund (ITF) to training and development in Nigeria's public and private sectors. In carrying out the study, a survey research was employed with respondents drawn from university and polytechnic students, Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). A sample of 360 respondents was used. Questions generated from the literature review on the contributions of ITF to manpower development in Nigeria formed the backbone of a structured questionnaire issued to the respondents. Responses were articulated, tabulated and analyzed using Likert scale. The analyzed result showed that the Industrial Training Fund contributed in no small measure to manpower development in Nigeria through programmes like direct training of employees (both public and private sectors), Student Industrial Work Experience Scheme (SIWES), reimbursement and grant scheme, etc.

According to Obi-Anike and Ekwe (2014), several categories of training adopted by organizations include: Orientation/Induction training, Foundation Training, Job Instruction Training as well as career development and organizational effectiveness in Nigeria's public sector. 55 questionnaires were used in collecting data which were subsequently analyzed using descriptive statistics. The hypotheses in the study were tested using Chi-square, Pearson's correlation as well as linear regression. Results obtained showed that there is an affirmative relationship between training/development and organizational effectiveness. The study recommends that training/development of employees should be carried out regularly with the view that training is not only an activity that enhances skill but produces intellectual capital.

Afrah (2016) examined the role of human capital on organizational performance and investigated the significance of HR practice on organizational performance with Benadir University, Mogadishu, Somalia as a case study. The study was accomplished using a descriptive research design in which the population of the study was made up of Deans, teaching staff as well as non-teaching staff at Benadir University. A sample size of 25 was adopted for the study. Self-administered questionnaires were employed to collect the data from respondents which were afterwards analyzed using descriptive statistics with the help of SPSS. The result of the study showed that Human Capital development via training programs and education enhances the performance of an organization (in this case Benadir University).

Eneh et al (2015) conducted research aimed at evaluating the effect of job training on worker's efficiency and productivity with Pamol Nigeria Limited, Calabar, Cross River State, Nigeria. The hypotheses were formulated for the study while questionnaires were adopted using a survey design methodology. The sample size for the study was made up of 265 respondents. Statistical tool use in the study was the pearson product moment correlation. The result showed that job training was not carried out regularly at the company and that training needs were not clearly identified. Other findings revealed poor remunerations for employee and improper supervision for field staff.

Rao and Kishan (2012) sought to understand the concept of training and development as well as to empirically measure the employee perception of effectiveness on various elements of a training program in Indian public sector undertakings. A structured questionnaire was used to collect data from 78 respondents who are employees of two leading Indian public sector undertakings based in Hyderabad. The study depicted that public sector undertakings administer ample importance to training and development programs. It was the view of the respondents that these programs aided them in the acquisition of technical knowledge and skills, laying emphasis on developing their managerial capability hence developing their human relations skills.

Bedarkar and Pandita (2014) examined the impact of some critical drivers of employee engagement on employee performance. These drivers include communication, work life balance and leadership. Their study was hinged on a systematic review of relevant literature on employee engagement with emphasis drawn on the three drivers of engagement outline earlier and their impact on performance of the employee. A model was formulated that gave rise to the result of the study. The findings supported the premise that there is a positive correlation between leadership scales and employee engagement which according to the study has been associated with other well constructs like 'organizational commitment', 'organizational citizenship behavior', 'job involvement', 'Flow', etc.

Halidu (2015) carried out a research to investigate the impact of Training and Development on worker's productivity through the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFund) Academic Staff Training and Development 2010 Sponsorship of some selected Universities in Nigeria. The study was hinged on the hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between training and workers productivity. A sample of 10 universities in Nigeria was taken by the researcher using a university level data on staff training and development to find out its impact on worker's productivity. Secondary data was collected from (TETFund) academic staff training and development, 2010 sponsorship. The result of the study indicated that training and development programs improve employee's skills and performance at work place as well as improving their technical ability to withstand the challenges of contemporary times, thus serving as an effective tool for sustaining and enhancing workers productivity in academic crisis.

Konings & Vanormelingen, (2009) cited in Bhat (2014), showed that training is a fundamental and effective instrument in successful accomplishment of the firm's goals and objectives, resulting in higher performance and productivity of the organization. Training is a tool to fill the gap and the firms should use it wisely to improve employee productivity. Al-Awawdeh (2011) conducted a study which aimed mainly to analyse the relationship between a strategy of training and staff performance statistically using simple regression analysis. The study aimed to determine the potential effect of key personnel, performance, which were identified in the theoretical part of the study. A sample of 120 employees was chosen out of 651 administrative departments employees at Al al-Bayt University. The results showed statistically significant effects of all independent variables on the performance; the effect was statistically significant on morals. The effect of transaction of the two independent variables of performance was also positive. The study showed that there is a need to have scientific methods to determine the training needs of workers in Al-Bayt University, as well as work on building training programs that focus on obstacles practice and work to resolve them.

Al-Mzary et al. (2015) examined the attitudes of administrative leaders and administrative employees concerning the training courses provided, as well as the impact of training on employee job performance at Yarmouk University in Jordan. Findings indicated that training courses are related to the training needs of the employees to a medium degree, and that there are several conditions which determine selecting eligible employees for training. Results indicated also that there is relationship between effective training and employees' job performance.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

In this study, survey research method was adopted. A survey research according to Osuala (2001) is a study of both large and small populations by selecting and studying samples chosen from the population to discover the relative incidence, distribution and interrelations of sociological and psychological variables.The survey research method was used to study a selected number in order to find out facts and figures concerning the impact of staff training on employees' performance.

Population

According to Nwana (1984) population is a totality of all actual or conceivable objects of a certain class under study or consideration. Therefore, the population of this study include all academic staff working in the three (3) selected tertiary institutions (Nasarawa State Polytechnic,Lafia (Naspoly), College of Education Akwanga (COEA) and Nasarawa State University Keffi (NSUK). The period of this study is between 2011 to 2017

The table below shows the population of the academic staff of 3 selected tertiary institutions in Nasarawa State.

Table 1: Number of academic staff working in 3 selected tertiary institution in Nasarawa State

Institutions	Population
NSUK	506
COEA	277
Naspoly Lafia	263
Total	**1,046**

Source: field survey, 2017

Sample Size and Sampling Technique

A sample is a subset of the population which is being investigated with the aim of generalizing the result. The study samples of 289 were generated from the population using Yamane's sample size determination formula.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where

n = Sample size N = Size of Population e = Precision level

Given the population size of 1,046, with the precision level of 0.05 the sample size is determined as:

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$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{1046}{1 + 1046\,(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{1046}{1 + 1046\,(0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{1046}{1 + 2.615} = \frac{1046}{3.615} = 289$$

Table 2: Break Down of Population and Sample of the Selected Schools

S/no	Institution	Population	Sample	Percentage
1	NSUK	506	$\frac{506}{1046}\,x\,289 = 139$	48%
2	COEA	277	$\frac{277}{1046}\,x\,289 = 77$	27%
3	Naspoly Lafia	263	$\frac{263}{1046}\,x\,289 = 73$	25%s
	Total	**1046**	**289**	**100%**

Source: Field Survey, 2017

Sources of Data

Both the primary and secondary sources of data collection were used to obtain information for the research. The instrument of primary data was self-administered questionnaire combined with interview to the academic staff of the institutions selected. On the other hand, the secondary sources of data were generated from relevant materials such as journals, both international and domestic, publications, textbooks, library, internet, the institutions' training files, bulletins and papers under study.

Method of Data Analysis

The data collected for this study, was analyzed using descriptive statistics (mean and standard deviation). Specifically, percentage and frequency were used for demographic characteristics and inferential statistics of Chi-square was used to test the hypotheses at 0.05 level of significance. The analysis was conducted using SPSS version 17.

Administration of Questionnaire

In designing the questionnaire, questions were drawn on a paper by the researcher for the respondents to fill in their responses to the questionnaire items. The Likert scale rating of administering questionnaire was adopted, with a scale showing respondents agreement or disagreement.

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DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

Hypothesis one

H_0: Staff training does not influence organizational performance

The table 3 below presents the results of the test of hypothesis one in order to ascertain the factors that influence staff training in selected tertiary institutions in Nasarawa State using statistics package for social sciences (SPSS) and the Chi-square.

S/N	Questionnaires Items	SA	A	N	D	SD	Total	Mean	SD	Chi-square	D.F	P. Value	Decision
1.	The institution has provided me with training opportunities that enable me to acquire extant skills, knowledge and abilities	125	120	25	08	11	289	1.91	1.051	297.6	4	0.008	Significant
2.	Staff Training is guided organizational training needs	111	142	16	13	7	289	2.03	1.017	261.4	4	0.001	Significant
3.	Technological innovation creativity has influenced institution training needs	122	83	42	23	19	289	2.15	1.244	155.8	4	0.002	Significant
4.	The training system is based on seniority	89	111	39	10	40	289	2.53	1.402	80.6	4	0.000	Significant
5.	Management team, policy-decision making process influences training	107	113	57	07	05	289	2.16	1.096	157.7	4	0.005	Significant
6.	Budgetary provision influences employee training	132	120	26	07	04	289	2.02	1.077	209.2	4	0.006	Significant
7.	Time/period of appointment influence training	90	141	32	18	08	289	2.24	1.182	164.7	4	0.001	Significant
8.	Prior knowledge does not influence training and development	110	109	39	22	09	289	2.13	1.163	158.6	4	0.002	Significant
9.	Organizational values influence staff training	15	110	15	05	08	289	1.81	0.987	322.8	4	0.001	Significant

Source: SPSS Output 17

Decision

Based on the result of the analysis, the probability values (p-value) for all items were less than $\alpha = 0.05$. This implies that H_0 hypothesis is rejected. Hence, the H_1 is accepted and asserted that Staff training influence organizational performance of the selected tertiary institutions in Nasarawa State.

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Hypothesis Two

H_0: Staff training methods in the institutions are ineffective and have not impacted on workers performance.

Table 4 analysis of how effective is the training methods used and the impact on workers' performance.

The table 4 below presents the results of the test of Hypothesis two in order to measure the effectiveness and the impact of staff training methods used in the selected tertiary institution in Nasarawa State using statistics packages for social sciences (SPSS) and the Chi-square statistics.

S/N	Questionnaire Items	SA	A	N	D	SD	Total	Mean	SD	Chi-square	D.F	P. Value	Decision
10.	Extensive training programmes are provided to the staff of the institutions	101	115	47	16	10	289	2.03	1.166	156.8	4	0.003	Significant
11.	The methods of the institutions training policy are suitable and relevant to the objectives and goals of the organization	103	121	26	13	11	289	2.18	1.127	143.8	4	0.001	Significant
12.	The approaches of training used at the institutions are relevant to the objectives and goals of the organization	72	119	59	28	11	289	2.22	1.226	105.6	4	0.006	Significant
13.	Workshop, seminar, conferences and in-service training are sponsored by the institutions on a continuous and regular basis across all categories of staff members	109	109	42	20	09	289	2.44	1.195	138.4	4	0.001	Significant
14.	Knowledge acquired through workshops, seminars, conferences and in-service training has improved on employee efficiency and performance	128	87	41	26	07	289	2.18	1.154	124.5	4	0.003	Significant
15.	Refresher courses organized either using consultants or in-house by the institutions is suitable and have positive effect on the performance of workers	101	126	30	32	02	289	2.22	1.253	226.9	4	0.006	Significant
16.	Training has a positive impact on performance	142	102	31	12	02	289	2.12	1.084	202.3	4	0.005	Significant

Source: Output of SPSS 17

Decision

Based on the result of the analysis, the probability values (p-value) were less than $\alpha = 0.05$. This implies that the H_0 hypothesis is rejected. Hence, the H_1 is accepted and asserted that training has a positive impact on workers' performance.

Hypothesis Three

H_0: There is no significant relationship between training and performance.

Table 5 analysis of the individual respondent on the Relationship between training and productivity

Table 5 below presents the results of the test of Hypothesis three in order to establish the relationship between training and performance in selected tertiary institutions in Nasarawa State, Lafia using statistic package for social sciences (SPSS) and the Chi-square statistics.

S/N	Questionnaire Items	SA	A	N	D	SD	Total	Mean	SD	Chi-square	D.F	P. Value	Decision
17.	The training provided by the institutions leads to high performance	131	130	14	09	05	289	2.00	1.081	239.6	4	0.004	Significant
18.	Training has contributed positively to my personal output in the institutions	143	112	22	06	06	289	1.92	1.117	264.6	4	0.002	Significant
19.	Continuous training will make me improve on my productivity	186	73	16	10	04	289	1.75	1.056	389.0	4	0.003	Significant
20.	Good training ensures career building and prepares staff for greater challenges	141	126	09	10	03	289	1.91	1.067	285.0	4	0.001	Significant
21.	Training has positive effect on organizational performance	180	90	09	06	04	289	1.70	1.997	401.8	4	0.000	Significant
22.	The institutions provide regular training for its staff	140	101	30	12	04	289	1.98	1.139	225.9	4	0.002	Significant
23.	The training provided by the institutions enables me to publish papers regularly	182	63	13	20	03	289	1.85	1.122	322.9	4	0.001	Significant
24.	Training enables staff to perform their assigned responsibilities in efficient and effective manner	150	62	10	61	06	289	1.69	0.979	410.1	4	0.003	Significant

Source: Output of SPSS 17

Decision

Based on the result of the analysis, the probability values (p-value) were less than $\alpha = 0.05$. This implies that the H_0 hypothesis is rejected. Hence, the H_1 is accepted and asserted that there is a significant relationship between training performances.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The discussion of the major findings of the study are organized according to the research objectives and hypotheses. Out of the three hypotheses postulated and tested, all were rejected. The findings of the study based on the objectives were discussed below:

The first finding of this study sought to find out whether organizational factors impact on staff training at the selected tertiary Institutions. Based on the result of the analysis, the probability values (p-value) for all items were less than $\alpha = 0.05$. The result showed that most respondents agreed with many of the questions in the section, which implies that organizational factors significantly impact on training.

The findings further revealed that the choice of any training to be embarked upon was influenced by the internal factors within the organization. Among the factors that affected training were: organizational training needs, yearly budget provisions, relevancy of the training to the organization growth and development. Others were prior knowledge of the needs for training, cost, attitude, behavior, and the fear that the job would suffer when staff is away for training has greatly affected training.

On the result of the second hypothesis, the data presented in table 4 shows that the respondents rated all the questions items on that section from 10-15. The finding apparently revealed that the methods used for training were suitable, effective and has positively impacted on employee performance. Furthermore, the study found that on-the-job and off-the-job types of training methods which are either conducted in-house or by the use of external consultants (whether in the form of workshops, in-service training, conferences, seminar, lecture presentation or symposium, etc.) have a positive impact on organization performance.

Consequently, the importance of employee training towards efficiency and greater organizational productivity cannot be over emphasized. No organization, be it private or public can achieve its set goals and objectives if there is no conscious, systematic and periodic training and retraining of its employees. Training reduces to the barest minimum organizational frictions, change workers orientation and attitude to work positively; reduce industrial accidents or job accidents in and around workplace. Training also equips the employee with the skill and knowledge required in achieving greater performance for the organization. Employee training is no doubt factor of motivation, which brings improved performance.

The finding of the study is consistent with the empirical data, most of them which have already been covered under literature review and the results submitted shows that training helps to ensure that organizational members possess the knowledge and skills they need to perform their jobs effectively, take on new responsibilities, and adopt to changing conditions that improve who reported that human resources training tend to influence workers' job performance effectiveness and could possibly lead to labour turnover resulting from occupational mobility which has little or no impact on performance.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the results of this study, conclusion is hereby drawn to the fact that training is affected by organizational factors and the factors have a significant impact on the performance of workers. The training methods used at the selected tertiary institutions are effective and have a positive impact on the performance of workers in organization. Also, there is significant relationship between training and performance. Based on the findings of this study, and bearing in mind the dynamism of Nigerian tertiary institutions, the following recommendations are put forward:

i. Staff training should be given adequate priority by the authorities of tertiary Institutions and all establishments in order to facilitate and ensure good organizational performance for all level of workers. Organizational factors such as organizational needs, internal problems such as yearly budget should be address before embarking on training.

ii. The result of the study shows that inadequate funds constitute a serious problem to organizational training; therefore, the management should ensure that a certain percentage of the institution's budget is being devoted to training. The institution could also explore other sources of generating revenue internally in order to finance staff training.

iii. Opportunity for training should be made available to all staff and be sponsored solely by the management of the institution. There should not be gender or cadre discrimination in the selection of workers for participation in training. This will ensure organizational goal achievement vis-à-vis greater workers' performance.

iv. Specifically, it should be noted that in service organizations like the tertiary institutions to be precise, an employee's inclusive factors of motivation such as training is not appreciated such as material means of motivation. Therefore, management should put the means for general welfare of workers as an important factor in training. There should be improved training packages, such as prompt payment of training allowances as at when due and needed, promotion of staff upon the completion and return from studies. There should be a good working environment and all necessary machineries and equipment needed for production should be in place. Because after spending time, energy and money in training workers, and they are not provided with an opportunity to put into practice what they have learned, the morale and zeal will die out.

v. Also, performance evaluation as an instrument for identifying employees training needs should not be abused but be implemented religiously.

vi. It is recommended that the training officer of the organization or those in charge of training should keep abreast of new thinking; new technology and 'best' practice globally to enable them to assist the learning and development process. Because, practitioners can only effectively promote learning when they are learning and performing better themselves.

vii. A workable feedback mechanism should be put in place as a means institutionalizing the process of determining the impact of training to individual employee and the organization as a whole.

viii. The management of tertiary institution should ensure that training facilities are modernized and overhauled from time to time in order to foster competitive advantages on the part of the institution itself. This is to say employee training is worthy of huge investment especially on the side of the employer which cannot be compromised in any way, since the ultimate dividend is to increased productivity, resulting to maximization of profit and therefore enhances sustainability.

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EVALUATION OF THE USE OF THE INTERNET AND SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS IN THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS FOR THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS OF MARCH 2016 IN CABO VERDE

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ABSTRACT: *The main purpose of this study was to evaluate and describe the opinion of a group of Cabo Verdeans on the use of internet and digital social media platforms by political parties / candidates in the legislative elections held in March 2016, focusing on the use of strategy political digital marketing to communicate / interact and persuade voters. To achieve this purpose, a quantitative - descriptive research was used, using the structured electronic questionnaire as a data collection instrument. The sampling typology used was non-probabilistic, for convenience and accessibility, and the sample of 131 elements consisted of the participants' voluntary adherence to the questionnaire that was available during the month of June 2016 on the Google form platform. The results revealed that "Facebook", "online newspaper sites" and "viber", were the digital channels pointed out by the participants as having been more important in bringing candidates closer to voters and at the same time showing satisfaction in the way they were used. In general, only 10.1% of the subjects surveyed stated that they had been influenced by the content conveyed or actions developed on the internet /digital media plataforms, with the items "publications of opinion articles made by policy experts", "Publication with answer / argument from candidates on facebook", "publication with answer / argument on the websites of the parties", were those that had the highest score of influence in the vote.*

KEYWORDS: Cabo Verde, Legislative Election, Internet, Digital Social Media Platforms, Political Digital Marketing.

INTRODUCTION

Cabo Verde is an island country located just over 500 kilometres from the west African coast, consisting of 10 islands, of which nine are inhabited. It has a projected population, according to the National Statistics Institute (INE), of approximately 544 thousand inhabitants. The country that gained independence from the Portuguese Republic on July 5, 1975, held its first multiparty legislative election on January 13, 1991 (Évora, 2004). After this date, the country experienced several elections, between municipal, legislative and presidencies. In 2016, the 9th legislative election was held with the dispute over three political parties: PAICV, which had been in government for the past 15 years, MPD, the largest opposition party in that period, and UCID, the country's third political force. This election that MPD came to win was an election marked by a ferocious electoral campaign in terms of the use of digital political marketing instruments and tools, mainly as a result of the increase in internet penetration and its increasing use by organizations and citizens. Because the progress that the country has been achieving in terms of performance in the economic and social indicators, as well as the global challenges emerging in the so-called digital economy and information economy, made the country to bet a lot on the development of the Information Technology and Communication (ICT). Consequence of this, according to INE, the number of households with access to the Internet went from 22.8% in 2013 to 69.5% in 2017. With this performance and the worldwide widespread use of the internet and more specifically the digital social media platforms (there are currently around 318 thousand Ative Internet Users and approximately 270 thousand Activate Social Media Users), the national political arena, similarly to what has happened elsewhere, has been gradually taking advantage of this giant network. In fact, in the electoral campaigns for the 2011 legislative elections, political parties had already started the process of harnessing the potential of digital social networking tools, focusing mainly on actions triggered on Facebook. However, although a historical and more detailed analysis of the use of internet and digital social media in election campaigns in Cabo Verde may provide more accurate information, it is clear that the election campaigns that preceded the legislative elections of March 20, 2016 were the most visible and had greater dynamics in terms of the presence of parties / candidates in the digital environment, as well as the use and exploitation of the tools of digital political marketing that has been in popular memory until now. The dynamics of political parties were visible on digital social media platforms, mainly on Facebook, where all the main competing parties had official pages for them and candidates for leadership in the country. There was also a great deal of dynamics in advertising electoral proposals and ideas through that platform and the others, as well as the existence of various groups and discussion forums with exchanges of ideas and debates between various members (supporters, supporters, opponents, etc.), promotion of spot videos, digital flyers, discussion groups in instant chats, etc. However, with the great potential that the internet and digital social media present for the purposes of personal political marketing, it seems that it is still underutilized. Thus, the aim of this study was to evaluate the opinion of a group of Cabo Verdeans about the use of the internet and digital social media platforms by political parties / candidates in the legislative elections of 20 March 2016, with focus on communication strategy, as well as on interactivity established to approach and / or persuade the electorate. With this, we will have results that open up hypotheses for more in-depth studies in the future and that effectively allows generalizing the results regarding the effectiveness or not of the use and use of the internet and digital social media in the political field.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since the invention of the internet dating from the early 1960s (Leiner et al., 2009), the world has experienced systematic revolutions at the computational and communications level. If at first its use was limited to solving state military issues, today, according to Leiner et al. (2009, p.2) the influence of the internet "reaches not only the technical fields of computer communications, but throughout society as we move towards the increasing use of online tools to conduct electronic commerce, acquire information and operate community". There have been several phases of use and application of this giant network. However, the emergence of the so-called web 2.0 has revolutionized the internet and its use in an extraordinary way. First used in 2004 during a conference organized by Tim O'Reilly and Media Live International (O'Reilly, 2005), web 2.0 was presented not as a significant technological change, but as a change in the web in which it puts the focus on people and leaving possibilities for debates and interaction (Sampaio, 2007). That is, transforming the

Web into a participatory platform, in which people not only consume content produced and disseminated, but also contribute and produce new content through personal and sharing activities using platforms known as Wikipedia, Flickr YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, blogs, among others (Darwish & Lakhtaria, 2011; Almeida, 2012; Liu & Kim, 2017). Web 2.0 technologies, according to Poynter and Lawrence (2008), cover both social and technical aspects, which is called “Social Web”. Therefore, this new version of the web is based on Social Media on how content is generated by users (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Chattopadhyay (2019) shares the same idea and claims that the main core of this process lies in interactivity, in the creation and sharing of content by the engaging members, as well as in the diversity of responses they give in this environment. Furthermore, says the author, social media have equipped the organization to establish a direct relationship with consumers, giving both the freedom to generate content on web pages, being that the organization has the opportunity to share its information with a large customer base and, on the other hand, end consumers are also free to publish any content, whether positive or negative in relation to the information, which creates interaction through conversations and discussions.

Intenert is the most powerful tool in emerging globalization and the most powerful for companies (Bala & Verma, 2018; Yannopoulos, 2011). In this sense, it is imperative that marketing managers use the digital marketing strategy, under penalty of being at a competitive disadvantage or even of the market's appearance, since this tool is changing not only consumer behavior and the way they interact with companies, but the brand, the price, the distribution and the promotion strategy are changing mainly (Bala & Verma, 2018). This network has been provoking an extraordinary revolution in terms of defining the marketing strategy and in the way, organizations communicate with the market (Mazurek, 2009), since interactivity and information exchange, content sharing between companies / brands and consumers, as well as among users themselves, became key aspects (Erragcha & Romdhane, 2014). As noted by Bala and Verma (2018) *citing* Kiani (1998), the introduction and evolution of new information and communication technologies has created new business opportunities for marketers to manage their websites and achieve their organizational goals. In terms of the organizations' operating strategy, as pointed out by Parsons et al. (1996), the path is in the fusion of online methods with traditional methods to meet the needs of consumers more precisely. These approaches require us to better understand the concept and strategic intricacies of digital marketing actions. According to Chaffey (2013), digital marketing refers to the use of technologies to assist marketing activities in order to improve customer knowledge, meeting their needs. Gibson (2018) states that digital marketing is a strategy that provides the individual or organization with the ability to reach consumers through the establishment of innovative practices, combining technology with traditional marketing strategies. The Author adds that the implementation of digital marketing in corporate business strategy or in the actions of organizations in general is becoming increasingly notorious and more frequent, this being the path that must be followed. For Chattopadhyay (2019) the popularity of digital marketing stems from the fact that it uses mass media devices such as television, radio and the Internet. Tools such as Website, E-mail Marketing, Display Advertising, Search Engine Optimization (SEO), Search Engine Marketing (SEM), Social Media Marketing, among other things, have been the most used by organizations in defining the digital marketing strategy (Gibson, 2018). In particular, Social Media Marketing is considered a powerful marketing tool in the digital environment. Weinberg (2009) defined social media marketing as the process that enables individuals / organizations to promote their websites, products or services through online social channels and to contact a much larger community that may not be available through traditional channels. Gordhamer (2009) in turn does related social media marketing to relationship marketing, in which companies need to change from "trying to sell" to "making connections" with consumers. This latest approach to social media marketing focuses on what Web 2.0 brings again, which has to do with creating relationships and interactivity in the digital environment. Therefore, social media is an innovative tool that organizations use to create a very strong public relationship with consumers on virtual networks (Jan & Khan, 2014). Social media platforms allow marketing between individuals or organizations to be facilitated by posting information and exchanging online messages (Zimmer, 2017), thus creating an interactive environment for exchanging and sharing content, as well as the connection between engaging. Erragcha and Romdhane (2014) states that interactivity in the digital environment can happen by publishing information online (Blogs), sharing content, videos and photos (for example, Youtube, Flickr), discussion in real time or instantly (for example, forums, Viber, Yahoo Messenger, Skype, Google Talk), review and publication (Facebook, Twitter). In this sense, marketing has gained a new guise with the evolution of web 2.0, so “it helped to build new patterns of bidirectional communication in which control is provided by users such as: - one to one (email, instant messaging. ..); - from one to a few (blogs, personal pages of social networks…); - from one to many (consumer reviews published on specialized websites ...); - from many to many (wikis ...) ”(Erragcha & Romdhane, 2014, p.4).

In the political arena, this revolution also had great repercussions. The use of the internet and more specifically of digital social media platforms with a focus on electoral campaigns has gained a lot of strength in recent decades with the so-called digital political marketing strategy that evolved and materialized a lot with web 2.0. In recent times, it has become almost imperative to campaign on social media platforms (through which political candidates create and maintain profiles on social media networks during election campaign periods) in the political arena around the world (Dimitrova & Matthes, 2018). If at the beginning it was just a search for a niche, now all political actors, whether or not belonging to political parties (of various dimensions and ideologies), are using these tools in a comprehensive and intense way to interact with the electorate, promote ideas and proposals, as well as influence votes (Bright et al., 2019). Stepping back a little, Hamurda (2006) states that in 1996, the managers of political campaigns already outlined communication strategies based on the optimization of the power that the Internet presents, especially in the creation of informational sites for the candidates promoted the candidacies. In turn, Gueorguieva (2008) states that e-mails were used as political campaign tools for the first time during the 1998 Jesse Ventura campaign. Hamurda (2006), making an analysis from 1996 to 2000, found that in that period, campaign managers created Internet tools primarily to display information, given that there was a limited amount of interactivity and almost no organizational resources. As of 2004, the author attests, the interactivity of political campaigns increased considerable, and in 2006, in the campaigns for the senate in the USA, there was a considerable advantage of popular social media platform such as YouTube, MySpace and Facebook (Cornfield & Rainie, 2006; see Gueorguieva, 2008). However, this exploitation had greater notoriety and successful results in 2008 with the implementation of the campaign strategy of the then candidate for the presidential elections in the United States of America (USA), Senator Barack Obama (Hamurda, 2006). An important success factor for Obama's victory was how the Obama campaign used digital media and technology as an integral part of its strategy, to raise money and, most importantly, to develop a wave of skilled volunteers who thought they could do the difference (Bimber, 2014). His campaign used Facebook and many other digital media plataform, including Digg, Flikr, LinkedIn and MiGente to interact with constituencies. Obama's strategy was so successful that it helped him become the 44th president of the USA, subsequently influencing various leaders and political parties around the world to follow suit. These are cases such as the 2011 New Zealand general election (Cameron et al., 2016), in 2010 in the Korean elections (Kim, 2011) and in 2010 in the Swedish elections (Larsson & Moe, 2012). Even in an emerging economy like India, the extensive use of the digital social network was noticed in 2014, in the general elections (Diwakar, 2015), among others. However, in relation to the effectiveness of using social media platforms in terms of obtaining votes, Bright et al. (2019) states that of the few existing empirical studies, the results are not unanimous. In other words, some found a positive relationship or correlation and others found little or no relationship between the actions developed in the digital environment and the result of the votes. Of those who found a positive relationship or correlation, Bright et al. (2019) highlight the cases of Kruikemeier (2014) on the use of Twitter in the Dutch national elections of 2010; Bode and Epstein (2015) in relation to the US elections in 2012; LaMarre and Suzuki-Lambrecht (2013) on the use of Twitter in the 2010 US House of Representatives elections; Vergeer, Hermans and Sams (2011) on the effects of microblogging in the 2009 elections to the European Parliament and Bene (2018) in relation to the actions developed on the candidates' Facebook pages in the context of the 2014 elections in Hungary. Regarding the reseach that pointed to little or no relationship, they cite the cases of Vaccari and Nielsen (2013) that showed that online popularity on Twitter does not correlate with the share of votes (although they found a relationship in the case of Facebook) and Baxter and Marcella (2013) on the use of social media in the Scottish parliamentary elections of 2011.

Even with these different results in different countries and times of the elections, Stier et al. (2018) notes that social media have now become ubiquitous channels of communication and interaction during election campaigns conducted worldwide. The authors emphasize that, in particular, platforms such as Facebook and Twitter allow candidates to reach voters directly, mobilize supporters and influence the public agenda. Thus, it is of paramount importance to monitor case by case and at different times the effectiveness or not of using the internet and more specifically the social media platform in the context of the elections. Understanding the perception and obtaining the electorate's assessment of how the political actors have been using the digital environment for electoral purposes is one of the extremely important follow-up routes, since it provides information to prepare the present, define strategy and implement future plans. The result of the study focuses specifically on the case of Cabo Verde, where in the electoral campaigns for the 2016 legislative elections, the use of the internet and more specifically the social media platform, gained a lot of strength and today the widespread presence of political actors in this environment is notorious.

METHODOLOGY

Following the recommended objectives, with this study it was proposed to collect data and describe the opinions of the participants the use of internet and digital social media platforms in the legislative elections that took place in Cape Verde, in March 2016. Thus, a quantitative-descriptive study, by field survey, using the structured electronic questionnaire, materialized through the Google forms tool. The questionnaire was divided into two sections; Section A that reflects the sociodemographic variables and Section B that reflects the questions that seek to answer the main research questions (closed or dichotomous questions introduced, that is, with fixed alternatives). The study population consisted of literate individuals aged 18 or over, living in Cabo Verde who have access to and use the Internet. The composition of the population was based on the fact that in Cabo Verde the minimum age for exercising the right to vote is 18 years old, while people with some level of education, especially those with high school or higher education, are better able and more prepared to follow and understand the actions taking place in the digital environment. Participants were selected on purpose and membership was voluntarily materialized. The electronic form (questionnaire) was available for completion between 1 and 30 June 2016. In all, 131 completed forms, duly validated by the study author, constituted the sample. The sampling typology used is classified as non-probabilistic, for convenience and accessibility (Malhotra & Birks, 2007; Smith & Albaum, 2010). The quantitative data collected from the participants were later exported to the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) version 20 program and the results presented by means of graphs and frequency distribution tables.

FINDINGS

Demographic Characterization of Research Participants

Going by the information obtained from the 131 participants, as shown in Table 1, 54.2% are male and 45.8% are female. Regarding the age group, it appears that more than half, 54.2%, belong to the age group of 25 to 34 years old and more than 80% are between 25 and 44 years old. There is also a predominance of individuals who have or are attending university education, representing 90.8% of the total participants. Therefore, the study participants are mostly young people, with higher education qualifications or academic attendance, with a strong presence on the internet / digital social networking platforms, who seek and monitor information on various subjects that affect their lives, including political and political news, as well as the actions taken by them (see sub-Section 4.2). In this way, they constitute the ideal target audience to evaluate the actions of candidates / parties in the digital environment in Cabo Verde, since the country has a very young population structure and the opinion of this group dictates the trend and gives a clue to the strategy effectively being adopted by politicians to guarantee success in elections, since the empirical literature has in many cases indicated a positive correlation between the actions developed by politicians in the digital environment and the results of the votes achieved.

Table 1: Profile of Research Participants.

Variable	Parameter	Frequency	Percentage
	Male	71	54.2
Gender	Female	60	45.8
	Total	**131**	**100.0**
	18 - 24	20	15.3
	25- 34	71	54.2
Age	35 - 44	37	28.2
	45 - older	3	2.3
	Total	**131**	**100.0**

	High School	12	9.2
Level of Education	University education	119	90.8
	Total	**131**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2016.

Internet Usage and Interest in Politics

Regarding the frequency of internet use, more than 90% of the participants claim that they always or often use this network. In the same sense, it can be seen that this use is made for various subjects, with the highest frequency of response being pointed to the factor “work” (83%), then “contact with friends” (76%), “Leisure and entertainment” (74%), “information on cultural / social issues” (51%), “information on current affairs” (44%) and “information on economic issues” (40%).

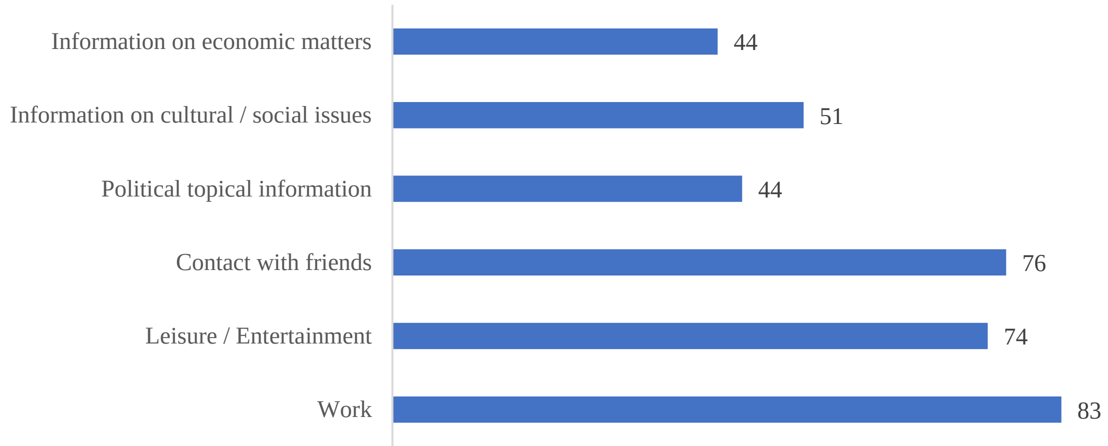

Figure 1: Purposes of Participants Using the Internet (in percentage).

Source: Field survey, 2016.

It is interesting to note that study respondents have a high degree of interest in politics. The result shows that more than 65% of the participants have some or a lot of interest in politics and, when asked about the frequency with which they follow the news about politics in the media (television, radio, internet), 36% say they follow often, 22%, always, 29%, sometimes and the remaining 13%, rarely.

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Table 2: Degree of Interest in Politics

Parameter	Frequency	Percentage
No interest	8	6
Litle interest	20	15
Neutral	17	13
Any interest	55	42
Much interest	31	24
Total	**131**	**100**

Source: Field survey, 2016.

Table 3: Frequency with which participants usually follow news about politics in the media (television, radio, Internet).

Parameter	Frequency	Percentage
Rarely	17	13
Sometimes	38	29
Often	47	36
Always	29	22
Total	**131**	**100**

Source: Field survey, 2016.

Participants also place great importance on the use of the Internet, by visiting newspaper sites, party / candidate sites, blogs and social media, as a way of obtaining information about politics, parties and elections in the current world. The result reveals that more than 75% of them consider that the use of internet for the said purpose, is very or extremely important, with only 5% giving an evaluation of "little or totally unimportant".

Table 4: Evaluation of the use of the Internet as a tool to obtain information on politics, parties and elections, today.

Parameter	Frequency	Percentage
Not at all important	4	3
Low importance	2	2
Neutral	24	18
Very important	58	44
Extremaly important	43	33
Total	**131**	**100**

Source: Field survey, 2016.

Communication and Interactivity on Digital Platforms

Trying to understand the assessment that the respondents make of the marketing strategy, in this case channels / means of communication that they consider more effective in winning voters nowadays, it was found that 46.7% of the participants (the majority) point to digital channels, 41.8% to traditional media, while 11.5% said they understood that the ideal would be to invest in both strategies, both traditional and digital, as shown in Figure 2. Going along the same lines and exploring the importance that they attribute to the interactivity established between candidates and voters, created through digital averages (newspaper sites, party / candidate sites, blogs and social media), by Table 5, it is verified that more than 68% of the participants think that this interactivity is very or extremely importante.

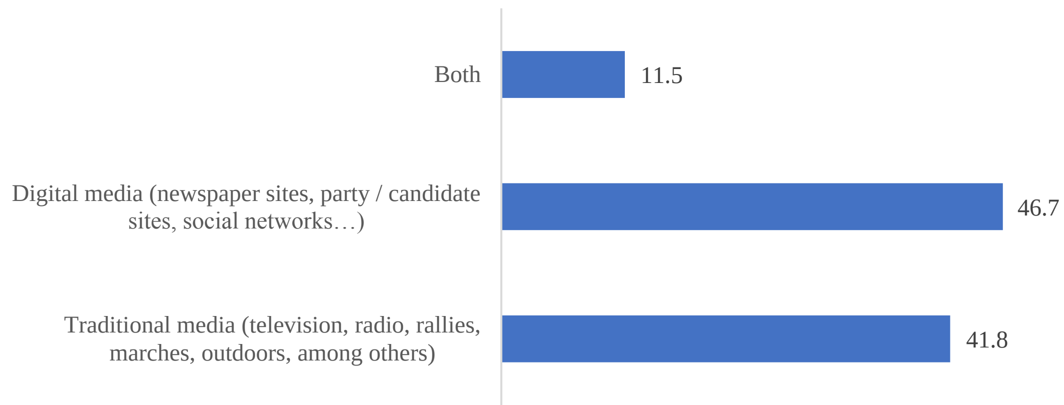

Figure 2: Communication channels that participants consider to be most effective (marketing strategy) to win voters nowadays (in percentage).

Source: Field survey, 2016.

Table 5: Importance attributed to interactivity between candidates and voters, created through digital averages.

Parameter	Frequency	Percentage
Nota at all important	4	3.1
Low importance	2	6.1
Neutral	29	22.1
Very important	75	57.3
Extremaly important	15	11.5
Total	**131**	**100.0**

Source: Field survey, 2016.

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When asked about digital channels that they consider to be the most important to bring candidates and voters together in the legislative election held in Cabo Verde in March 2016, it appears that "Facebook", "online newspaper sites" and "viber" were the most referenced channels, having reached response frequencies of 90.8%, 67.2% and 14.5%, respectively, according to Figure 3. In relation to satisfaction with the use of digital platforms by candidates in terms of digital marketing strategy with regard to the dissemination of electoral programs, communication, advertising / publicity, interactivity and approximation with voters, etc., according to Table 6, it is clear that Viber and Facebook had the highest positive satisfaction score reported by the participants. Well, 69.5% were satisfied or very completely satisfied with the use of viber and 65.6% were satisfied or completely satisfied with the use of Facebook. It should be noted that the two social media platforms are the most used in Cabo Verde.

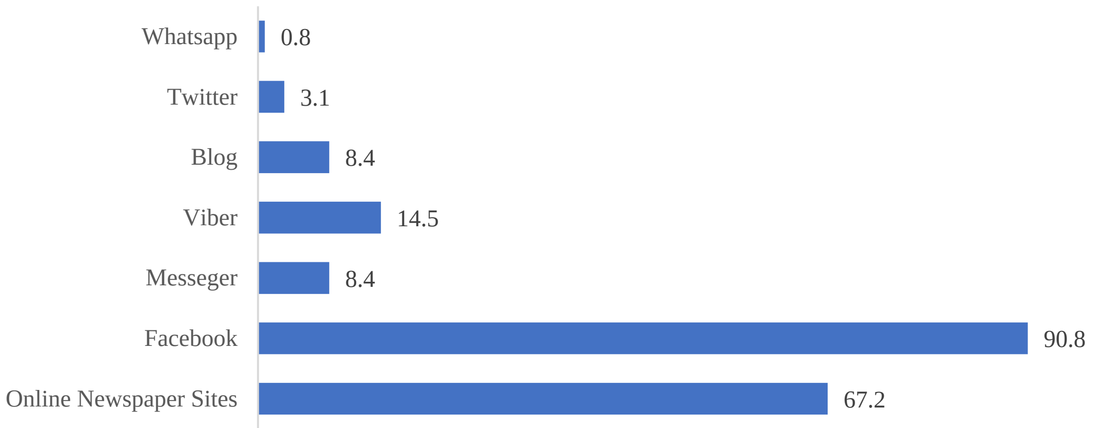

Figure 3: Digital channels that were most important for bringing together candidates and voters, in the 2016 legislative (positive responses in percentage).

Source: Field survey, 2016.

Table 6: Satisfaction regarding candidates' use of digital platforms in the 2016 legislative election (in percentage).

Parameter	Very unsatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	neither satisfied or dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Completely satisfied	Total
Facebook	5.3	3.8	25.2	47.3	18.3	100.0
Viber	4.6	1.5	24.4	50.4	19.1	100.0
Twitter	15.3	11.5	51.1	16.8	5.3	100.0
whatsapp	19.8	14.5	42,0	17.6	6.1	100.0
Snapchat	17.6	11.5	52.7	15.3	3.1	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2016.

As for the successive debates with the presence of candidates that took place during the electoral campaign, broadcast on public television / radio (RTC) and broadcast on the Web, more than 90% of the participants claimed to have followed. However, the form of follow-up most indicated by them was: “by television / radio”, with 91.1% of frequency of responses, followed by “Through the internet” with 26.7% of responses, according to Figure 4. When asked to the participants as they preferred to participate in the debates via internet with / without candidates, the item “comments between friends on social media” appears as the most referenced form, having reached a frequency of indication of 95.7%, followed by “comments in private groups on digital social media”, with 82.9% and “comments in public groups on social media”, with 51.4%, according to Figure 5.

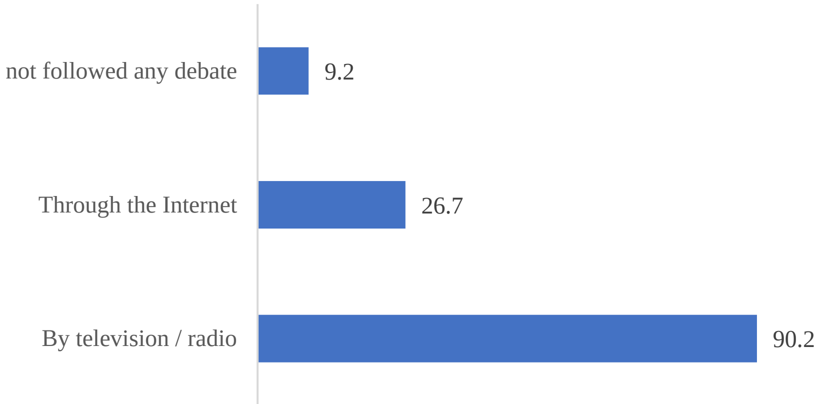

Figure 4: Ways of monitoring debates between candidates in the 2016 legislative elections (in percentage)

Source: Field survey, 2016.

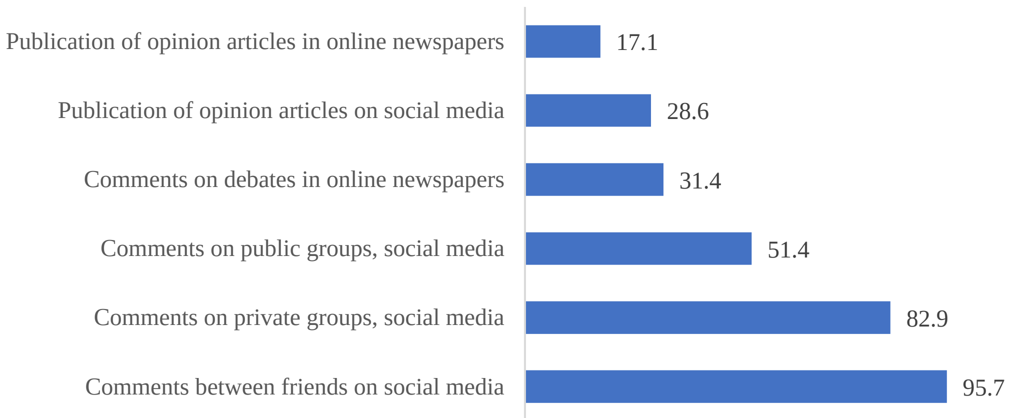

Figure 5: Monitoring / participation in debates via the Internet with or without candidates, promoted by various entities in the 2016 legislative elections (in percentage)

Source: Field survey, 2016.

Influence of the Internet / Digital Social Media Platform on the Voting Decision

Intending to understand the influence of the use of the digital political marketing strategy in the voting decision, the participants were asked about the influence that the contents conveyed or actions developed on the internet / digital social media platforms had on the vote in general, as shown in Figure 6, only 10% of the subjects surveyed assessed having been influenced in the 2016 legislative election by this action, while 27%, expressed an intermediate degree of influence and most of them (63%) reported that they did not feel influenced. However, when a set of items is indicated to assess the degree of influence in the vote, by the result, in all items, more than 50% of the participants say there was no influence or little influence. On the other hand, it appears that the items, “Publication of opinion articles made by policy experts”, “Publication with answer / argument from candidates on Facebook”, “Publication with answer / argument on the websites of the parties”, were the who had the highest influence score, pointed out by 20.6%, 14.5% and 13.8% of the participants, respectively, as having been decisive or with a lot of influence in the vote in the legislative elections of March 20, 2016. See Table 7.

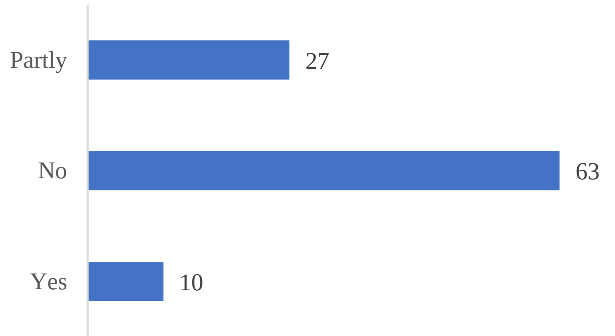

Figure 6: Influence of the contents conveyed or actions developed on the internet / digital social media platforms in the vote (in percentage).

Source: Field survey, 2016.

Table 7: Influence of a set of (pre-indicated) actions developed on the internet / digital social media platforms, in the voting decision (in percentage).

Parameter	No influence	Little influence	Moderate Influence	Lot of Influence	Determinant	Total
Number of likes on the party page and / or candidate page, on facebook	81.7	9.2	5.3	2.3	1.5	100.0
Number of likes in posts made by the party / candidate on facebook	80.9	10.7	3.8	3.1	1.5	100.0
Candidates' responses / arguments on facebook	51.9	11.5	22.1	12.2	2.3	100.0
Publications with answers / arguments on the parties' websites	51.9	14.5	19.8	10.7	3.1	100.0
Photo / Images / Flyer on the page / profile, on social media	67.2	16.0	10.7	4.6	1.5	100.0
Publication of opinion articles made by friends on social media	59.5	18.3	14.5	5.3	2.3	100.0
Publications of opinion articles by policy experts	47.3	12.2	19.8	**15.3**	**5.3**	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2016.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Among other things, this study revealed that study participants very often use the internet and digital social media platform for various purposes, and they attach great importance to the use of this network and platforms to obtain information about the policy, including candidates, parties and elections. It is also noted that the importance of using digital media as a strategy to win voters nowadays is becoming more and more important, and even the result of the study pointed out that the participants considered that the strategy of communication and interaction by means of digital channels it is proving to be more effective than used by traditional media such as radio, TV, rallies, outdoors etc., to contact and persuade voters. This information, even if it is descriptive (the methodology used does not allow estimating for the population), is a clear indication of how it has been and how it will be the future trend in relation to the use of political marketing strategy, as there is an expansion of the widespread use of internet and social media platforms. Specifically, in the 2016 Cabo Verde legislative elections, the results showed that Facebook, Online Newspaper Sites and Viber were the digital channels that most served to establish rapprochement between candidates and voters, with a positive satisfaction score. Even with this positive note, it is concluded by the results pointed out, that the actions developed both on the internet at a general level as well as on the specific digital social media platforms, have residual influence in relation to the decision of votes, despite some items (“publications of opinion articles made by policy experts ”,“ publication with answer / argument from candidates on facebook ”, and“ publication with answer / argument on party websites ”) have presented an influence score that awakens for a more careful analysis, at the same time that they give a clear indication of what the future may look like with regard to electoral campaigns in the digital environment. Thus, taking into account the strong widespread use of the internet and social media by the Cabe Verdean population, it is recommended that all political actors, specifically political parties, adopt the strategic plan of the electoral campaign in the digital environment, similar to the what happens with campaigns using traditional means. It is necessary to define a political digital marketing plan in which the parties clearly delineate the content to be approached, the form of interaction with the electorate and the measurement of every action taken. Further studies and a different approach will be needed to determine the effectiveness of using the internet and digital social media platforms (mainly digital marketing tools) in politics in Cape Verde. Studies focusing essentially on the effectiveness of the use of social media on the results of votes, with the adoption of a research methodology that allows to extrapolate the results and to project the results of the future elections, constitutes the field of research that propitiates to follow in the future. The focus would be mainly on the content developed and which allows defining which the best content should actually be posted or exchanged in the digital environment to attract votes. Finally, political parties / political authors must be increasingly prepared to face the future electoral battle for the digital name, which, by existing studies and data, can become a determining phenomenon to win voters and win elections, as has happened elsewhere.

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IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN COMBATING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: LESSONS AND PROSPECTS

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ABSTRACT: *The COVID19 pandemic has caused negative impacts in both the economy of nations and in the wellbeing of people. As deaths and incidences from the pandemic continue to rise, we note the important role that social media can play in helping to disseminate vital information needed by global citizens to help curb the erratic pandemic. However, there are still grappling challenges in getting absolute compliance from individuals with respect to COVID19 health information and safety instructions from relevant authorities. Using a descriptive survey, we investigate the perception of individuals in adhering to local news media directives on COVID19 control. Our sample consist of 198 foreign nationals who had been working in China around the time that the pandemic started. Results show that participants agree that news from their local media has been authentic and has significantly helped to reduce the impact of the pandemic in their various current places of residence. We recommend that local media agencies should be encouraged to consistently update the masses in their various countries on updates about health guidelines and instructions in controlling the pandemic. Also, authentic sources should be consistently referenced as a doubt about the authenticity of news can greatly cause panic and doubt among people with consequent devastating effects if people believe that such news are no longer authentic.*

KEYWORDS: Covid19, Social Media, Perception, Pandemic, News

INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic has emerged to be one of the most lethal health issues experienced on earth (Ali, 2020). The pandemic has claimed one million, thirty-five thousand, three hundred and forty-one (1 035 341) lives with thirty-five million, one hundred and nine thousand, three hundred and seventeen (35 109 317) confirmed cases globally as at 5th October, 2020 (World Health Organization [WHO], 2020) since its outbreak in mid-December 2019. This global devastating pandemic has ranked only behind the Bubonic plague (a.k.a. the Black death) which claimed about fifty (50) million lives in the 14th century and the Spanish Influenza (H1N1 influenza) which claimed another fifty (50) million lives between 1917 – 1918 (Klokol et al, 2020). Despite measures and counter measures employed by various government agencies, the spread of the Virus saw a tremendous rapid drive spreading from Asia to Europe and America. However, as recently as late April to October 2020 (as at the time of writing), it has been noticed of significant decrease in the number of new recorded cases in China and Wuhan - the first epicenter of the pandemic and the city believed by many to have been where the epidemic started. Also, in other cities in China, number of new or hospitalized cases as a result of the virus had significantly reduced and has kept reducing.

It is suspected that one vital reason for this significant achievement in curtailing spread of the Virus in China had been robust and strategic social media awareness and news feed to individuals on how to take precaution, and stay safe and healthy, and prevent further spread of the virus together with other stringent public health measures. For example, in Nigeria, Oluwayiwa, et al., (2020) reported that about 98.8% of respondents in their study believed that the COVID19 is real and had relied on social media for their information. This may be connected with the low level of confirmed cases and deaths recorded in Nigeria as compared to other countries given the population of Nigeria as the most populous African nation. In this study, we investigate the impact of media awareness in helping governments and local authorities significantly reduce the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic and in efforts to bring the virus spread to an end.

COVID19 Vs SARS-CoV

The severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2) renamed COVID2019 on 11 February 2020 (World Health Organization [WHO], 2020) has caused significant havoc on; economic development, education, growth in productivity and social life of people globally. The highly contagious infection which first broke out in the Wuhan City of Hubei province in China has claimed a significant over one million lives with over thirty-five million confirmed cases ([WHO] COVID19 Situation report- 5 Oct., 2020). This is despite frequent sustained efforts on prevention tips and control measures regularly updated and published by recognized world health agencies. Defying early efforts and intervention from local authorities in Wuhan City to contain the outbreak culminating to total lockdown of Hubei province by the Chinese government on 23rd January 2020, the outbreak rapidly spread to other parts of the world prompting the WHO to declare the outbreak a Public Health Emergency of International Concern (Zheng, Ma, Zhang & Xie, 2020) and consequently a global pandemic on 11 March 2020 (WHO, 2020).

The COVID19 pandemic when compared with the SARS-CoV that caused an outbreak of SARS in 2003 has a stronger transmission capacity which exacerbated its rapid increase in confirmed cases and made its prevention and control extremely difficult (Zheng, Ma, Zhang & Xie, 2020). Comparatively, Both SARS and COVID-19 relatively affect older adults more than they do younger individuals. About half of individuals over 65years who contracted SARS died, compared with just 1% of people under 24years (Tim, 2020). This statistic has proved similar for COVID19 with early reports confirming higher fatality rates for the elderly people and people with heart related diseases (Tim, 2020, 2020). Both SARS-CoV and the virus that causes COVID-19 can transmit via droplets from coughs and sneezes (WHO, 2020). Globally, SARS infected an estimated 8,000 people in 29 countries and had a mortality rate of around 10%. Although this stood at a lower figure when compared to COVID19; 6.86% mortality rate (as at 23rd April 2020 [WHO]), the number of persons affected across the world stood significantly far apart.

With the forgoing on the impact of the pandemic compared to the SARS-CoV, conflicting reports have it that some people believe that the number of casualties would have been significantly higher without the daily update from social media (Zoe, 2020) such as the WHO and other authentic local media outlets. Another school of thought believe that social media had instead exacerbated the impact of the pandemic through either misleading, unconfirmed or scientifically wrong reports. This position becomes more of a concern taken into cognizance, the dangers that misinformation can cause in the society as contained in the report of Helen (2020) when summarizing reports of the Reboots study carried out in the USA; "The Reboot study shows that there remains a lot of misinformation about Covid-19 circulating online, and social media continues to promote coronavirus myths. This is dangerous for individuals and society…". Another group of people yet believe that frequent and alarming updates coming from social media has instead raised the levels of anxiety and fear among people (Logan, 2020).

It's common knowledge that correct information on situations and good precautionary measures from authentic authorities are essential for effective fight of pandemics like the COVID19, however, misleading information can as well do as much harm as good information. For instance, according to Helen (2020), "The Reboot study shows that there remains a lot of misinformation about Covid-19 circulating online, and social media continues to promote coronavirus myths. This is dangerous for individuals and society…". This situation presents much more concern for public safety when taken into consideration the Helen (2020) research team report, after their study on social media posts related to the coronavirus in the month of March in the United states. The report has it that "there were commonly more than 1,000 tweets per minute about the virus on Twitter. Those tweets often contained blatantly inaccurate information and were prevalent in cities where the virus is wreaking havoc: New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, Seattle and Detroit." (Helen, 2020).

These notwithstanding, the WHO (2020) reports have consistently maintained that heeding precautionary measures from authentic sources remains key to effectively reducing the impacts and spread of the pandemic. Achieving this feat depends much on whether individuals believe in authenticity of news available to them and how much they believe that the news contributes in ending the pandemic. This article seeks to investigate via survey, the perception of foreign experts in Shanghai on the impact of social media on COVID19 pandemic. If the opinions of individuals are known on the impact of social media in containing covid19 pandemic, this will provide local and state authorities some insights into people's perception on the COVID19 pandemic and will provide data for brainstorming on possible ways that information from media can be more effectively used to contain spread of the pandemic.

Social Media

Among early reports from studies on the impact of social media influence in the society during a pandemic can be traced to the 2009 H1N1 pandemic, in which some reports of misinformation were reported like; change in terminology ("H1N1" against "swine flu"), authenticity of case incidences vs public concerns and public sentiments and fear (Chew C, Eysenbach G., 2010). Social media can be defined as online mediums and applications that enable users to create and share content or to participate in social networking. According to Dollarhide (2019), social media can be defined as computer-based technology that facilitates the sharing of ideas, thoughts, and information through the building of virtual networks and communities. Social media on the other hand mean all media which an individual frequent and relatively depend on for information about what is happening in his/her immediate society.

For centuries, human society has used communication to live peacefully and relate with one another. Many Communities used different methods to disseminate information in historic and pre historic periods. However, with the Advent of world wide web, human communication and connectivity has sky-rocketed in a geometric progression (Bakshy, Rosenn, Marlow, &

Adamic, 2012). Not only has connectivity and communication increased with the advent of the internet, the speed in spread of information to masses has also seen considerable leap (Bakshy, Rosenn, Marlow, & Adamic, 2012).

Today, the social media industry has seen innovations with many social media handles, used by individuals, groups and various governments and governmental agencies to pass information across to their friends, relatives, members and citizens. Also, there has been an upsurge in the emergence of many news media companies disseminating news and information to the public. Some of the news agencies are owned by governments through which they pass on important information to their citizens. Some are private news media also disseminating information to the public. Examples of prominent social media platforms in operation globally include Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn, Wechat, Weibo, Instagram, Tiktok and Youtube. Some popular news media include CNN, FOX, CCTV, and BBC to mention but a few.

Several news media have published information about COVID-19. But unfortunately, these many different news media have given different instructions and interpretations about ways to prevent the spread of the virus, such as keeping on practicing social distance, using masks, and washing of hands (Hernández-García, & Giménez-Júlvez, 2020). Having noted earlier that divergent information on safety and pre-caution during pandemic can cause significant problems if not checked in the society, we seek to investigate what is the opinions and perception of foreign experts in China on the impact of social media on covid19 pandemic.

METHODOLOGY

Our objective is to find out people's perception on the impact of social media in combating the covid19 pandemic. Using a questionnaire instrument in a simple survey, we collected and analyzed data gotten from respondents.

Participants

Participants in the study comprises of foreigners working and/or residing in China. This sampling frame was chosen for the study because, it is believed that the pandemic started in China and so, news and information about prevention control of the pandemic (as at the time of data collection) will be relatively high. More persons in this sample frame are expected to be more concerned about the pandemic and thus will effectively respond to the survey.

Data Collection

The survey instrument developed with which to generate data was send to various online groups in which the participants are members. Some of the online groups used were WeChat and WhatsApp groups. Survey monkey software was used to develop the survey items into an online form and the link generated was sent to the groups for participants to fill. Participants randomly filled the survey form developed using the link created and 198 participants successfully returned their responses on the survey which was used for further analysis.

Data Analysis

Data collected were analyzed using simple means, frequencies and standard deviations. The survey instrument contains items measured on a 5-point scale from strongly agree (5points), Agree (4 points), Neither Agree nor disagree (3points), Disagree (2points) and Strongly Disagree (1point). To take decisions, a criterion mean score of 3.0 is adopted which is the mean point (average score response) of the respondents in the instrument scale. Therefore, items with scores which are above or equal to 3.0 were considered to have been AGREED to by the respondents while items with scores less than 3.0 were considered DISAGREED to by the respondents. A simple face validity measure was employed in designing the instrument by giving the drafted instrument to a psychologist and psychometrician to comment on the suitability, appropriateness and authenticity of the instrument in measuring the objective of the survey. The inputs of the experts were heeded to in drafting the final instrument which was used to gather data. All negatively skewed items were scored on inverse scale to ensure objective total item score perception of the respondents.

RESULTS

From results gotten from analysis, Sixty percent (60%, n=198) of the respondents were currently resident in China as at the time of responding to the instrument while forty percent (40%; n=198) of the respondents had traveled out of China as at the time of responding to the instrument. 95% (n=198) of the sample respondents are between the ages of 20-50year and all respondents indicated that they have never tested positive to COVID19 as at the time of responding to the survey.

Responses were first analyzed for the overall score perception of respondents on whether they believe that social media has helped to curtail the impact of the pandemic in various countries. Results show that the overall average score responses from respondents is eighty percent (80%; mean = 0.8; SD = 0.15; n=198).

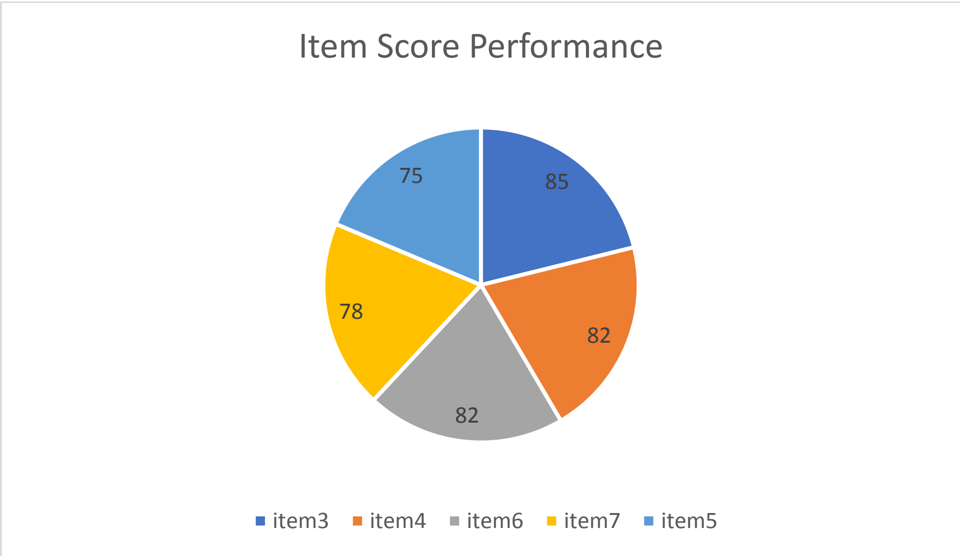

Fig. 1. Graphical Representation of Responses (Aggregate)

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Result from the graph in Fig. 1. above shows that respondents in general agree that news from social media has positively helped in controlling the covid19 pandemic. To buttress further, some of the respondents in the free response section of the survey believe that news from social media has helped them in learning of essential information about the pandemic and how to observe safety measures. For instance, given below, is an excerpt from an anonymous respondent who believed that social media has helped in containing the pandemic:

"The social news has aided in reducing the spread of the pandemic. Many who took this to be a joke got to know the severity of the pandemic by the social news. The news has helped to educate and inform the public of occurrences in other part of the world and constantly reminded the general public of their duty to stay safe"

Other participants specifically pointed out that the social media was essential in helping them learn of vital practices like social distancing, hand washing, avoiding non essential travels and in keeping up to date with what happens in other countries. These they believe was essential in keeping them safe during the pandemic. We also present results from items:

Table 1: Item Ranking

Item	Questions	Mean	SD	Decision
5	Do you agree that local news was authentic in publishing news about COVID-19 during the pandemic?	3.535	0.240	AGREED
7	Do you agree that without the updates from local news, the number of deaths recorded from the pandemic would be higher?	3.898	0.266	AGREED
6	Do you agree that without the Local news updates about the COVID-19, the spread of the pandemic would have been worse?	3.994	0.274	AGREED
4	Do you agree that the local news in your city helped you stay healthy and safe during the pandemic?	4.045	0.279	AGREED
3	Do you agree that social media helped to reduce the spread of COVID-19 pandemic in your city?	4.25	0.299	AGREED

From the results presented in the table above, it is evident that foreigners' resident in China believe that social media played a major role in influencing the impact of covid19 pandemic and how it was controlled. Evident from the table in the results presented above, the sample respondents agreed that on all the items which south to elicit their opinion on whether social media had helped to curtail the covid19 pandemic. The mean scores of all the items falling in between 3.535 - 4.25 shows high agreement into each specific question posed by each item.

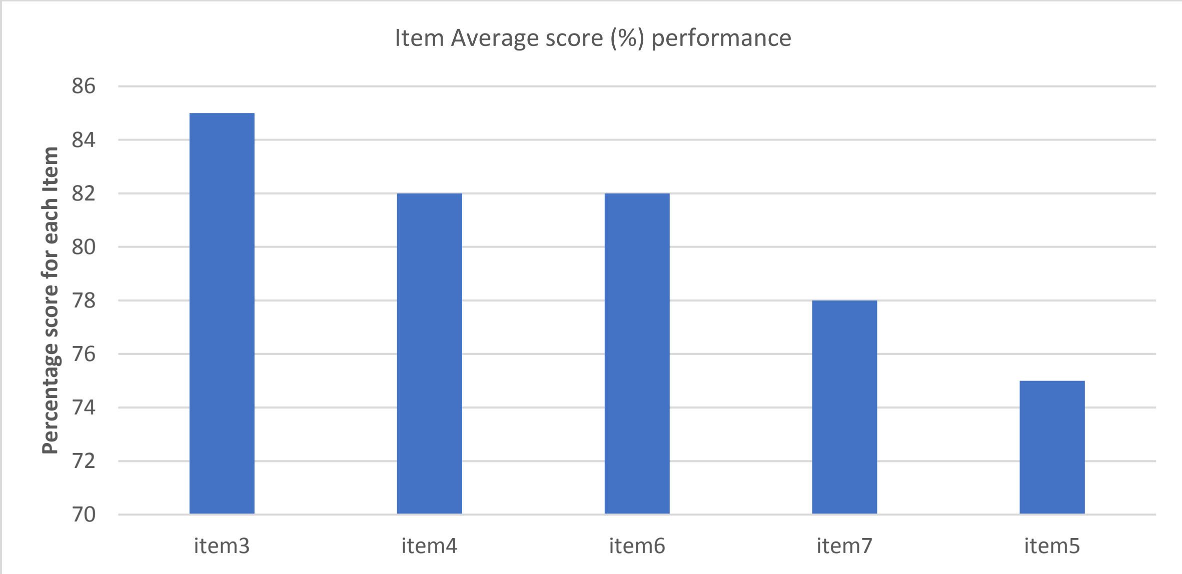

Fig. 2: Average scores for the items on impact of social media on COVID19

Item by Item Analysis

Table 2: (Item 3) Do you agree that social media helped to reduce the spread of COVID-19 pandemic in your city?

Item statistics: N: 198. Criterion Mean: 3.00			Mean	STD	Decision
Scale	Response (%)	f	X	SD	
Strongly Agree	50	99	4.25	0.299	AGREED
Agree	30	59			
Neither Agree nor Disagree	15	30			
Disagree	5	10			
Strongly disagree	0	0			
Total	100	198			

In item three (3) as shown in the table 2 above, participants agree that social media helped to reduce the spread of COVID-19 pandemic in their city. It was noted that some of the participants had travelled out of China as at the time of the survey but the survey responses from such respondents were still useful as they were required to report on their opinion on how news from social impacted efforts to curtail the pandemic in their various countries. Also, we note that the pandemic gradually spread to other parts of the world and so many of the respondents already had cases of confirmed infected patients as at the time of responding to the survey.

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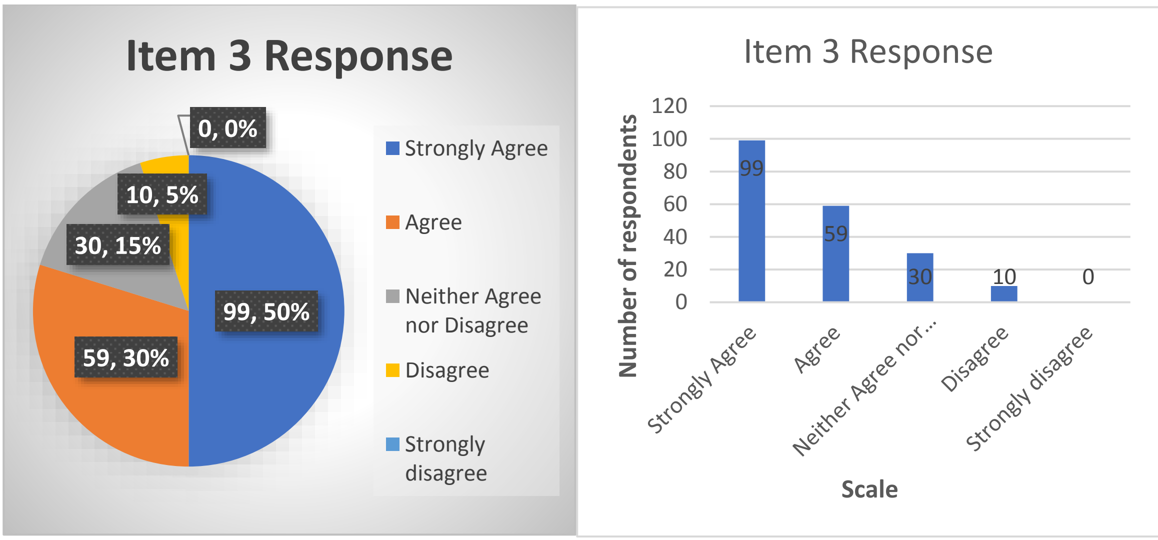

Fig. 3: Graphical Representation of Responses on Item 3

Table 3: (Item 4) Do you agree that the local news in your city helped you stay healthy and safe during the pandemic?

Item Statistics: N:198.	Criterion Mean: 3.00		Mean	STD	Decision
Scale	Response (%)	f	4.045	0.279	AGREED
Strongly Agree	42.424	84			
Agree	32.323	64			
Neither Agree nor Disagree	15.152	30			
Disagree	7.576	15			
Strongly disagree	2.525	5			
Total	100	198			

Results from the respondents on item four (4) shows that the participants agreed that local news in their city helped them to stay healthy and safe during the pandemic. Comparatively to item three, it was observed that a few of the respondents strongly disagree that local news from social media helped them to stay healthy and safe during the pandemic. This observation may be connected to the varying protocol prescribed in various countries especially during the early stages of the first wave of pandemic between February and May 2020. For instance, residents were strictly instructed to avoid going outside their homes except on special needs and that they must put on masks if they are to outside. However, in other countries especially in the United states, such strict measures were not encouraged. The effect of the differences in these measures were neither measured nor known in this study but the divergencies impacted how individuals perceive the relative impact of news from local media in helping them stay healthy during the pandemic.

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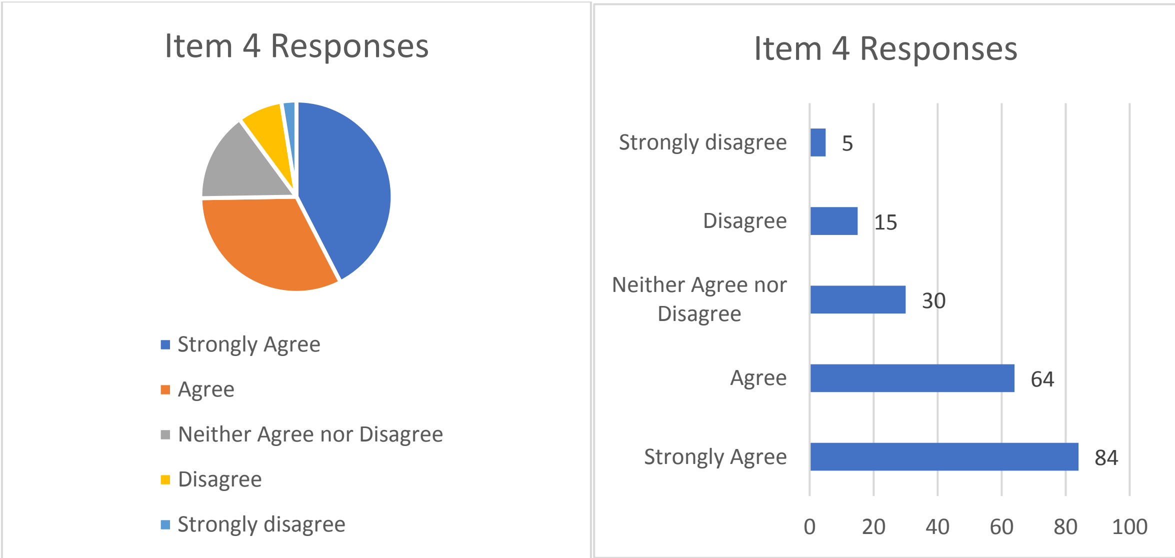

Fig. 4: Graphical Representation of Responses on Item 4

Table 4: (Item 6) Do you agree that without the social news updates about the COVID-19, the spread of the pandemic would have been worse?

Item statistics: N=198; Criterion Mean = 3.00					
Scale	Response (%)	f	Mean	SD	Decision
Strongly Agree	39.899	79	3.994	0.274	AGREED
Agree	32.323	64			
Neither Agree nor Disagree	17.677	35			
Disagree	7.576	15			
Strongly disagree	2.525	5			
Total	100.00	198			

Response from item 6 shows that respondents also agreed that the spread of the pandemic would have been worse if there were no social news updates about COVID-19 in their cities. This response did not resonate with all the respondents as some of the respondents believed otherwise as shown in table four (4) above.

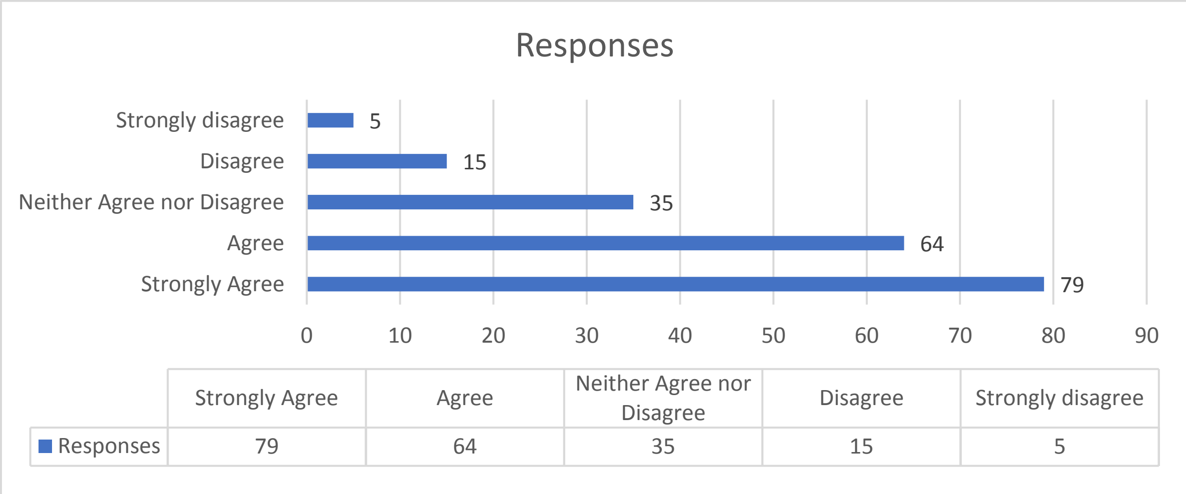

Fig. 5: Graphical Representation of Responses on Item 6

Table 5: (Item 7) Do you agree that without the updates from social news, the number of deaths recorded from the pandemic would be higher?

Item statistics: N=198; Criterion Mean = 3.00					
Scale	Response (%)	f	Mean	SD	Decision
Strongly Agree	37.374	74	3.898	0.266	AGREED
Agree	25.253	50			
Neither Agree nor Disagree	29.798	59			
Disagree	5.050	10			
Strongly disagree	2.525	5			
Total	100	198			

Results from the survey on item seven (7) with a mean score of 3.898 which is above the criterion mean reference shows that participants agreed that without the updates from social news, the number of deaths recorded from the pandemic would be higher. This item consolidates the response from item six (6) which focuses on the spread of the pandemic.

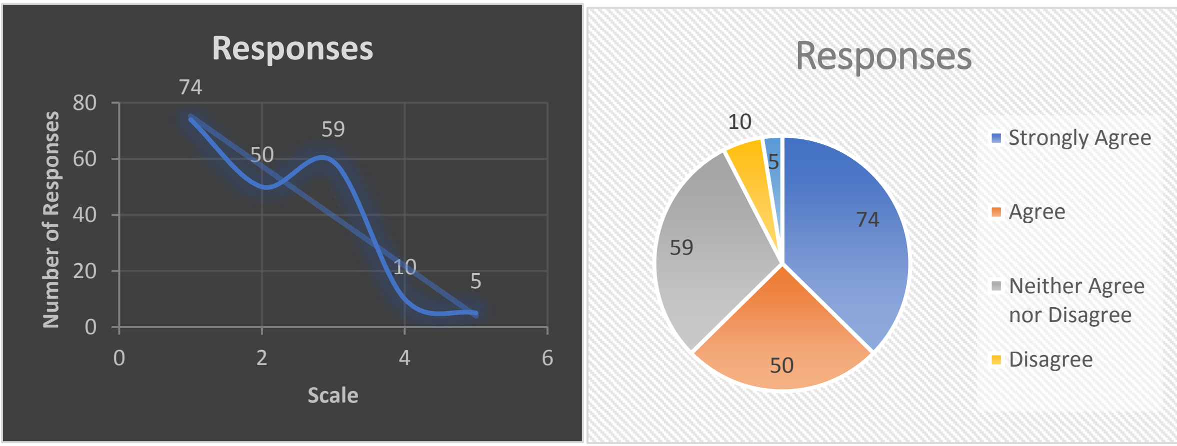

Fig. 6: Graphical Representation of responses from Item 7

Table 6: (Item 5) Do you agree that social news was authentic in publishing news about COVID-19 during the pandemic?

Item statistics: Average score: 0.82; Standard deviation: 0.96; N=198					
Scale option	Response (%)	f	Mean	SD	Decision
Strongly Agree	15.151	30	3.535	0.240	AGREED
Agree	44.949	89			
Neither Agree nor Disagree	25.253	50			
Disagree	7.576	15			
Strongly disagree	7.071	14			
Total	100				

Responses from respondents on item 5 as observed in the study shows relatively marginal agreement on the authenticity of the news about COVID19 during the pandemic. Surprisingly, about fourteen respondents strongly disagree that the news published by local media are authentic about the COVID19.

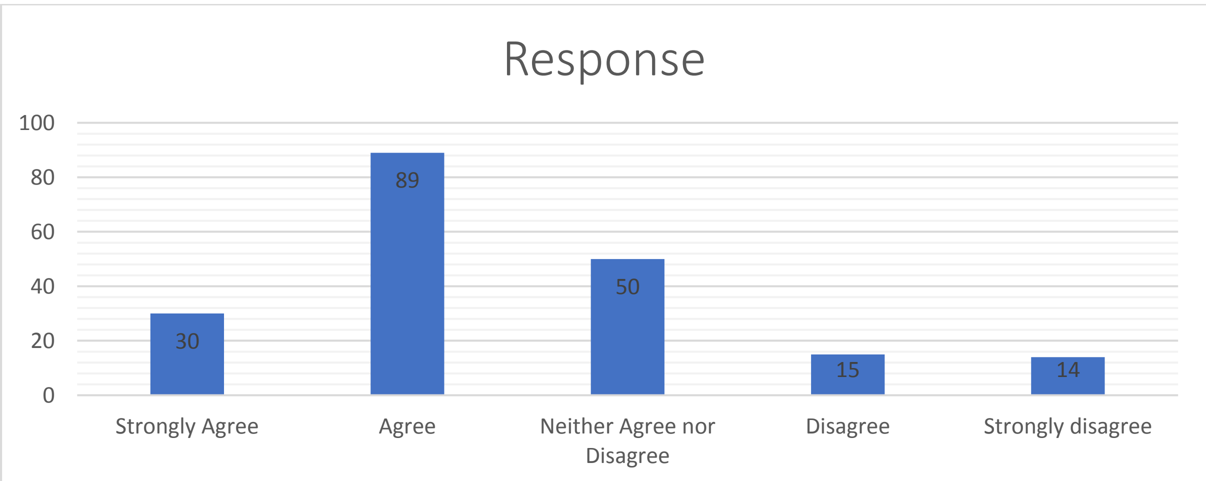

Fig. 7: Graphical Representation of responses from Item 5

Generally, on specific Item responses, we observe that respondents strongly agree that social media helped to reduce the spread of COVID-19 pandemic in their city. This is evidenced in the responses of the item by item analysis presented in Table 1 with Item three scoring highest on the five-point scale. Other items with higher scores on whether social media has helped in fighting the pandemic include Items four, six, seven and five.

It is noteworthy that even though the items have a relatively higher mean score showing greater agreement that social media has helped in fighting the pandemic, some respondents although few felt otherwise. Some of the respondents who felt that social media has not helped in curtailing the pandemic cited mistrust in the quality of content reported by the social media while other say that the social media is being used as a tool to politicize and gain selfish interest by politicians using covid19 as a good excuse.

In Items three, four, six and seven, the participants average response score was quite high with many respondents strongly agreeing to the item that social media has helped in containing the pandemic and helping them to stay safe. However, in Item 5, the respondents' response sharply concentrates on agree with significant number choosing to remain indifferent on whether contents disseminated through the social media had all been authentic. This statistic underscores the veracity of a hypothesis that many people believe that not all the information disseminated about the covid19 is true.

DISCUSSION

From the results, it was observed that many respondents believe that the social media has helped countries and communities in containing the covid19 pandemic by providing vital information for safety and to stay healthy. This result supports the report of (Oluwayiwa, et al., 2020) who found that motorists in Nigeria believe that the COVID19 pandemic is real and had relied on social media for information on the pandemic. This also, provides source of encouragement for important global health agencies like the WHO who had worked tireless in providing up-to-date information on how people can stay safe amid the impact of the covid19. We note that there could be some mistrust issues arising from lack of adequate information especially at the onset of the pandemic with regards to what exactly started the pandemic and the spread as well as with efforts made by various countries, these suspicion in most cases remain yet to be resolved. One fact that the findings of the survey has revealed is a general belief that the efforts of various social media was important in helping individuals to take vital precaution and stay away from activities that could have exacerbated the the aggregate impact of the pandemic. This suggest that individuals should pay more attention to the social media as the pandemic still ravage some parts of the world.

News from social media should be taken more seriously in countries and communities where there is mistrust on the authenticity of the news content broadcast by the social media channels in those communities. This will help to curtail the spread of the pandemic and possibly avert any new wave of the pandemic re-occurring.

IMPLICATIONS

The findings from this study provides managers in local authorities with some encouraging outcomes on how the efforts from local media has been very useful in combating COVID19 pandemic. For example, findings from the study will encourage states to intensify their efforts in disseminating authentic information as that has been found to be instrumental in combating the pandemic. Also, the study will benefit researchers who may wish to expand on the different kinds and sources of the media that makes most significant contribution in giving updates about the COVID19 pandemic and informing residents on health safety tips.

CONCLUSION

The study set out to investigate the impact of social media in fighting the COVID19 pandemic in various countries. Findings from the study has demonstrated that social media has contributed positively in helping various nations to curtail the impact of the pandemic. Also, the study show that individuals believe that the effect of the pandemic would have been worse less the consistent updates that is been published from by some authorized health international organization. As we brace up amidst uncertainty about a possible second wave of spread prone to coming winter season, we recommend that effort should be increased in ensuring consistent and periodic updates on safety tips and information about the pandemic.

Future Research

We recommend future research in investigating for specific kinds and mediums of social media that contributes most in keeping individuals up-to-date and providing safety tips on how to stay safe during the pandemic so that such medium will be encouraged for maximum benefit on use of social media in curtailing impacts of the pandemic on people.

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INFLUENCE OF YOUTH PARTICIPATION ON SUSTAINABILITY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN OGBA/EBGEMA/NDONI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA AND AHOADA EAST LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA IN RIVERS STATE, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT: *This study examined influence of youth participation on sustainability of community development projects in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni and Ahoada East Local Government Areas in Rivers State. Three specific purposes, three research questions and three hypotheses guided the study. Descriptive survey research design with population of 1,476 youth was adopted for the study. Sample size of 311 youth drawn using stratified proportional sampling technique and consisting of 166 youth from Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni local government area and 145 from Ahoada East local government area were used for the study. Self-structured questionnaire titled "Perceived Influence of Youth Participation on Sustainability of Community Development Projects Questionnaires (PIYOPSCDPQ)" was used for the study and subjected to test retest reliability. The relationship between the two tests was done using Pearson Product Moment Correlation (PPMC) to obtain r value of 0.76. Data collected for the study were analysed using mean to answer the research questions and independent t-test to test the hypotheses formulated with the aid of SPSS version 20.0. The results show that youths from ONELGA and Ahoada East opined that to a very high extent their involvement in planning projects enhances sustainability of community development projects. The results also showed that youths from ONELGA and Ahoada East opined that to a low extent their involvement in needs identification and executing projects enhances sustainability of community development projects. The results also show that there is no significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths are involved in community needs identification and planning projects for sustainable community development projects. However, there is significant difference in the mean rating of youth in both groups on the extent to which youths are involved in executing community development projects for sustainability. It was recommended among others that: youth should be given the opportunities to participate in community needs identification and community leaders should give the youth the opportunities to collaborate with adult and experience members of the society especially professionals during their participation in community projects so that they can serve as mentors to them.*

KEYWORDS: Community Development, Sustainability, Project, Youth Participation, Socio-Economic Development, Rivers State, Nigeria

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INTRODUCTION

Every nation is made up of communities that directly or indirectly drive its growth and development. Community has been defined and described using various variables such as: geographical location, common interest, cultural heritage and/or belief system. Supporting this fact, Flo and Smith (2017) noted that community may be defined either through physical location, cultural heritage, language and belief system or through shared interest. Hence, community when defined from its traditional sense describes people living in same geographical area while from its modern sense describes people sharing common interest. It is for this reason, that Charles (2016) described community from both senses as group of people living together or working together on same goal(s) aimed at solving their common problems. It can be deduced from the discourse so far, that every community is made up of a range of stakeholders. Barnett and Brennan (2006) supported this assertion when they stated that, all communities are made up of numerous distinct stakeholders working individually and collectively towards the attainment of predetermined goals. These stakeholders are defined mostly by age, roles, qualifications, gender and status such as: adults, youth, children, male, females, professionals, and so on. Of all these stakeholders, the youth occupies a central place in the development and sustainability of any community.

Youth (male and female) are defined relatively based on the socio-economic development of the environment. This means that there is no universally acceptable definition of those that can be categorized as youth. However, organizations and nations have given their respective definitions to suit their context. For instance, the United Nation Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2019) described those beyond the age of dependency (childhood) and not yet up to the age of independency (adulthood) as youth. In Nigeria, youth are defined in the National Youth Policy (NYP) as citizens that fall within the age barrack of 18 to 35 years (Federal Republic of Nigeria, FRN, 2019). This means that youth are mostly the younger members of any community who grow up to ensure the continuous survival of the community. Little wonder they are referred to as the future leaders and builders of their respective community (Dokubo and Igwe, 2018). The youth forms the large chunk of the population of every community. Hence, have the numerical strength to influence any aspect of their community development through the proper utilization of their energy, skills and knowledge.

Consequently, one can assert that without full participation of youths, community development effort may not be successful and sustainable. Barnett and Brennan (2006) supported this fact when they noted that community development requires that all distinct stakeholders, youth inclusive, make concerted efforts individually and collectively towards predetermined goals. This is due to the fact that community development as a dynamic process requires the participation of all stakeholders in the locality, especially youth who have been said to have the required energy, time and skills for driving positive change (Udensi, Daasi, Emah and Zukbee, 2013) cannot be achieved without utilizing every resource at the disposal of the community. Flo and Smith (2017) in their words noted that community development ranges from small initiative aimed at solving problems within smaller group to larger initiative aimed at solving problems affecting the entire community stakeholders. Community development projects according to Charles (2016) include: developing youth skill and knowledge for better adult roles, participating in reconstruction of community based infrastructures; leading an agenda for the betterment of all; maintaining the peace and security of the community and engaging in collaborative efforts for food sustenance. Frances (2017) opined that community development projects help to solve problems such as: poverty, high crime rates, abandoned building, outdated infrastructure, unemployment and poor economy. Youth concerted efforts to sustainability of these community development projects are paramount because of their numerical strength, the energy, knowledge, skills and experiences they possess. Nseneri and Nsirim (2015) noted that the success or failure of any community development activity depends largely on the participation of the members of the community such as: youth, women, men and elders of same age grades.

The idea of sustainable community development projects is anchored on the idea of sustainable development which is seen as the process of harnessing of community resources in meeting the present and future community development project needs. Supporting this fact, Esene, Olumese and Ovbiagele (2018) opined that sustainable development is a pattern of resources utilization aimed at meeting the present human needs of any established institutions while preserving the environment for generations to come. The concept of sustainable community development therefore centres on the utilization of community resources for the realization of the present and future needs of the people. Consequently paramount to the actualization of sustainability of community development projects are the capabilities of the human resources of the community. This means that if the continuous development needs of communities must be met, relevant stakeholders such as youth and adults with the requisite capacity to harness the available community resources for the good of all must take charge of driving their communities' development agenda. Supporting this, Osang and Napoleon (2014) noted that citizens' participation in community development projects is necessary if the projects are to be meaningful and sustainable.

Youth's participation in the development of their host community is driven by the efforts of youth bodies to pull the youths together for a greater purpose. Their efforts are seen according to Njoku (2015), in mobilization of youth to participate in self-help activities aimed at meeting their needs and the needs of other members of their communities. It is in line with the recognition of the importance of the members of youth bodies as assets of community development projects that Udensi, Daasi, Emah and Zukbee (2013) in their assessment of youth associations' participation in community development focused on indices such as: their mobilization of finance for funding community development projects, collaboration with private sectors to bring development to community, self-help activities towards the development of community, provision of food during physical works aimed at community development and involving government to sponsor community based projects. According to Njoku (2015) youth's participation means to take decisions about how to attained goals and objectives by deciding on what should be done, how and by whom. Hence, in this study, the indices of youth participation are therefore viewed: as their involvement in identifying community needs, planning to address the community needs, and executing their plans to promote sustainability of community development projects.

Youth participation in community needs identification according to Wanja (2014) involves engaging the youth in decisions relating to the kind or nature of community projects to be executed in order to give them ownership and control of project execution. Matsela (2015) noted that youth participation in the development of their communities through the identification of areas where there is need for intervention for the benefit of all members of the community enable them to monitor the actualization of the projects. Youth participation in planning projects is concerned with their involvement in the preparation of what needs to be done and how they are to be done. Akandinda, Kankya, and Peter (2016) opined that the involvement of the younger members of any community in planning stages of developmental projects enable them to take ownership of such projects and ensure their success. Youth participation in execution of projects has to do with their involvement in physical activities aimed at the successful implementation of the community projects' plans. Udensi, Daasi, Emah, and Zukbee (2013) noted that community development can be achieved through active mobilization and engagement of youth in executing meaningful projects that affects their life and that of others.

Many researchers have conducted studies that focused on youth participation in community development projects in Nigeria and in many parts of the world. The results of the earlier studies showed conflicting findings. For instance, Udensi, Daasi, Emah and Zukbee (2013) discovered youth participation in decision making, planning the project, monitoring/evaluating the project, raising funds for the project, and organizing skilled and unskilled labour for the project. Njoku (2015) also assessed youth body's participation in the planning and implementation of community development projects in Abia State and the findings revealed that to a great extent youth bodies participate in identification, implementation of needed community projects, supervision of community development projects, allocating responsibilities for projects execution and others. Mbagwu, Mannir, Ewelum and Ezema (2016) discovered in their study that the youth agreed they are involved in executing farm road construction plans but disagreed that they participate in determining the resources needed for the project. Radhika (2018) noted that many rural youth provide support during the execution of construction and repairs of rural roads. Ezeh, Nwibo, Umeh and Eze (2018) also discovered very high rate of youth involvement in project implementation when their youth organizations are embarking on community development projects. However, contrary to the above findings, in a study conducted by Olujide (2008) on the attitude of youth towards rural development, it was discovered that only few youth participated in the execution of rural community roads plans. Ezeh, Nwibo, Umeh & Eze (2018) also discovered low rate of youth participation in planning stage of community development projects. It is worth noting that all these researches with focus on youth participation or youth body's participation in community development where done outside Rivers State. In addition, each covers different indices of youth's participation. Hence the need for continuous study on outh's participation in influencing sustainability of community development projects cannot be overemphasized. Consequently, it is in order to fill this gap in literature that the present study was conceived.

Statement of the Problem

Rivers State according to the Ministry of Youth Development (2018) has about 4.5 million youths. Majority of these youths are found in communities that make up the local government areas in the State. The population strength of the youth can be an asset to the development of each community in the State when mobilized and harnessed positively through their various youth bodies. To ensure participation of youth in community development, various youth bodies in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni and Ahoada East local government areas have from time to time conceived and embarked on community projects such as: school building and renovation, marketing building and renovation, farm roads marking, construction and renovation, and providing security support. However, to successfully execute their conceived projects which are capital intensive, youth bodies mostly approach donors or financiers such as: local government authority, political representatives, oil companies and other private establishments within their area to assist financially. Unfortunately, many of the conceived projects are executed without the participation of the members of the various youth bodies. This is because the agents of the financiers of the projects take over the plans, mobilize their own contractors and execute the projects without further participation of the youth bodies' members. This undermines the self-reliance of the members of the various youth bodies and makes them look like parasites or aliens to the conceived projects within their own community. Consequently, the executed projects end up not meeting the youths' conceived standards but serving only the interest of few. This situation hinders the youth from taking ownership of the projects and sustaining them as it spurs division among the youth bodies' members especially when there are obvious traces of dependence and grasping of opportunity between the financiers and youth bodies' leadership. The spillover effects are seen in the increasing number of competitions and resentment amongst the youth within Omoku, Egi, Egbema and Ahoada East which promotes rivalry conflicts and obstruct sustainable community development. However, as part of the renaissance of youth movements within these areas, there is need to find out whether youth participation in community projects can ensure sustainable community development. It is in order to fulfill this need that the researcher deems it fit to examine the influence of youth participation on community projects for sustainable community development in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni and Ahoada East local government areas.

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to determine influence of youth participation on sustainability of community development projects in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government Area in Rivers State. Specifically, the study seeks to:

1. Determine the extent to which youths involvement in community needs identification enhance sustainability of community development projects in ONELGA and Ahoada East.
2. Determine the extent to which youths involvement in planning projects enhance sustainability of community development projects in ONELGA and Ahoada East.
3. Determine the extent to which youths involvement in executing projects enhance sustainability of community development projects in the study area.

Research Questions

The following research questions are formulated to guide the study:

1. To what extent do youths involvement in community needs identification enhance sustainability of community development projects in ONELGA and Ahoada East?
2. To what extent do youths involvement in planning projects enhance sustainability of community development projects in ONELGA and Ahoada East?

3. To what extent do youths involvement in executing projects enhance sustainability of community development projects in the study area?

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested at 0.05 level of significance:

Ho_1: There is no significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in community needs identification enhance sustainability of community development projects.

Ho_2 There is no significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in planning projects enhance sustainability of community development projects.

Ho_3: There is no significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in executing projects enhance sustainability of community development projects in the study area.

THEORETICAL REVIEW

Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) Theory by McKnight, J. L. and Kretzmann, J. P. (1993)

Asset based theory of community development states that communities can drive the development they desired themselves through the identification and mobilization of the existing but often unrecognised assets in their midst. These assets they can utilize to respond to challenges confronting them socio-economically. Their ability to use these assets can improve their standard of living and solve many of their socio-economic woes (McKnight and Kretzmann, 1993).

This approach to community development is aimed at identifying assets from individual and matching them with people or groups who have an interest in or need for their strengths in order to improve on their own current situations. The main aim is to use what is readily available in the community for the improvement of the community. According to Bright (1998) the involvement of people in projects which affects them will engenders solidarity and unity. Brohman (1996) in propounding participatory theory which laid down the premises for Asset based theory of community development, noted that most times government at the national and international level conceived and designed developmental projects from the outside without consideration given to the people whom the projects are meant to serve. Hence making the people disassociate themselves to the continuous sustainability of the projects which they see as alien to their needs.

The peoples' asset in community development is derived through the mobilization of individuals, associations and institutions within the community to the advantage of improving the community (McKnight and Kretzmann, 1993). According to Idris (2015), this model to community development is an alternative to needs-based model because rather than focus on the community needs; it focuses on the community assets as strength for the community to achieve its needs. It is for this reason that the propounded of this theory (McKnight and Kretzmann, 1993) hold on to the belief that if community must development, the development must begin by recognizing the various assets that can be uncovered in the community rather than waiting for intervention from outside the community. The theory sees communities as webs with diverse capable gifts and assets. In this view, each community has some unique assets in knowledge, skills and capacities it can utilize to drive its own development. The theory categorized community assets into five groups. These are: individuals, associations, institutions, place based and connections. Any of these assets can individually and collectively be used to contribute successfully towards the development of host communities in a sustainable manner. Supporting this fact, Idris (2015) noted that the ABCD theory places less importance on the utilization of outside professionals, experts and even in some cases natural resources to drive community development.

The above theory is relevant to the present study based on the fact that it recognizes the use of asset such as: youth to drive sustainable community development projects. This means that local youth should be critical asset for driving and sustaining community development through mobilization of their age-grades, local resources within and outside their community and voluntarily participation in meaningful community development projects. If this is the case, it is expected that youth bodies formed in local community should be able to mobilize their members to participate fully in community projects and sustain them which will in turn engenders sustainable community development. It is this claim that the present study intends to investigate.

METHODOLOGY

The descriptive survey research design was adopted for this study. This research design is employed because; the study is designed to solicit respondents' opinion through providing answers to researcher's designed instrument on the variables under investigation. This research design is deemed appropriate because according to Ezekiel, Oguzor, Onyeukwu, Onwuchekwa and China (2017), descriptive survey research is the most appropriate research design when it comes to assessing opinion of respondents on the characteristics of phenomena under investigation.

This study was conducted in two local government areas of Rivers-West Senatorial Zone of Rivers State. The zone as one of the three senatorial districts in Rivers State is a host to eight local government areas namely: Abua-Odual, Ahoada East, Ahoada West, Akuku-Toru, Asari-Toru, Bonny, Degema and Ogaba/Ebgema/Ndoni local government areas. However, this study was only carried out in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni and Ahoada East local government areas.

The population of the study consists of 1,476 youths who are members of respective youth bodies in Ahoada East LGA and Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni LGA. To be precise, this population was drawn from eight youth bodies in the respective local government areas.

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Table 1: The population distribution of the members of the youth bodies:

S/N	L.G.A	Organization	Population
1	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni	Omoku youth Association	224
		Egbema youth forum	210
		Egi Youth Association	142
		Ndoni youth body	216
		Total	**792**
2.	Ahoada East	Upata youth assembly	207
		Ugbobi Ehuda youth council	211
		Igbu Ehuda Youth Organ.	98
		Ogbo youth assembly	168
		Total	**684**

Source: Ministry of Youth Development, Rivers State.

The sample size based on Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) for a population of approximately 1,500 at 0.05 level of significance is 311 which is approximately 21% of the population (See appendix 3). This sample was selected using stratified proportional sampling techniques in order to take care of all the groups in each of the Local Government Areas used. However, based on the local governments' distributions, the sample is made up of 166 youths from Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni and 145 youth from Ahoada East Local Government Areas.

The data for this research was collected using a questionnaire tagged "Perceived Influence of Youth Participation on Community Projects for Sustainable Community Development Questionnaires (PIYOPPSCODQ)". The instrument was made up of 18 items, six to each of the research questions posed. The response options to items were designed based on 4 points rating scales of Very High Extent (VHE - 4 points), High Extent (HE - 3 points), Low Extent (LE - 2 points) and Very Low Extent (VLE - 1 point). The instrument is divided into three clusters.

The designed instrument for data collection was subjected to assessment by three experts in order to determine its validity. Two of the experts were selected from the Department of Adult Education and Community Development (the researcher's supervisor inclusive) and one expert of the Field of Measurement and Evaluation, all from Rivers State University. The experts were requested to assess the clarity of items, simplicity of vocabulary and relevance of items in providing the appropriate data for the study. The reliability of the instrument was ascertained using test-retest method based on data obtained from 20 members of Ahoada west youth forum in Ahoada West local government area, Rivers State. The choice of this area for the reliability testing is based on the similar characteristics it has with that of the areas used for the study. Pearson Product Moment Correlation (PPMC) was used to correlate the two scores obtained from the two tests in order to obtain the r value. The correlation between the two administrations was computed using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) to obtain r – value of Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient (PPMC) of 0.76 which is a high positive correlation, hence the instrument is deemed reliable.

The data obtained for this study were analysed using descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviation to answer the research questions. Independent t-test was used to test the hypotheses at 0.05 significant level computed with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Science version 20.0. For the purpose of decision making, the following were used as guide:

(a) Mean or Grand mean of 3.5 – 4.00 was regarded as Very High Extent (VHE), 2.5 to 3.49 was regarded as High Extent (HE), and 1.5 to 2.49 was regarded as Low Extent (LE) and1 to 1.49 was regarded as Very Low Extent (VLE).

(b) In testing the null hypotheses, the decision rule of computation with SPSS was used to draw conclusion regarding the results obtained. The rule states that where the p value obtained is equal to or less than the p-value provided at 0.05, the null hypothesis be rejected and alternative hypothesis upheld. However, where the p-value obtained from the computation is greater than the p-value provided at 0.05, the null hypothesis be accepted (Kpolovie, 2011).

RESULTS

Research Question 1: To what extent do youths involvement in community needs identification enhance sustainability of community development projects in ONELGA and Ahoada East?

Table 2: Summary of Mean Scores on the Extent of Youth Involvement in Community Needs Identification to Enhance Sustainability of Community Development Projects

		ONELGA			AHOADA EAST		
s/n	**Items**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Decision**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Decision**
1	Involved in conducting survey to identify areas of needs in the community.	2.09	.96	LE	1.70	.82	LE
2	Sourced for relevant information relating to community projects during needs assessment.	1.80	.76	LE	1.67	.69	LE
3	Involved in deciding critical area of need in the community.	1.96	.87	LE	1.90	.85	LE
4	Involved in engaging relevant community stakeholders to assess collective area of needs.	1.98	.88	LE	2.05	.92	LE
5	Engaged with government agencies during the determination of community needs.	1.98	.87	LE	2.08	.74	LE
	Grand Mean & Std Deviation	**1.96**	**0.91**	**LE**	**1.88**	**0.80**	**LE**

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 2 shows that the respondents from both ONELGA and Ahoada East are of the opinion that to a low extent they are involved in conducting survey to identify areas of needs in the community, sourced for relevant information relating to community projects during needs assessment, are involved in deciding critical area of need in the community with mean scores, engaging relevant community stakeholders to assess collective area of needs, and engaged with government agencies during the determination of community needs with mean scores of 2.09, 1.70, 1.80, 1.67, 1.96, 1.90, 1.98, 2.05, 2.08 and standard deviation of 0.96, 0.82, 0.76, 0.69, 0.87, 0.85, 0.88, 0.92, and 0.74 respectively. However, when the grand mean scores of 1.96, 1.88 and standard deviation scores 0.91 and 0.80 are considered, it can be concluded that youth from both ONELGA and Ahoada East are of the opinion that to a low extent they are involved in community needs identification to enhance sustainability of community development projects.

Research Question 2: To what extent do youths involvement in planning projects enhance sustainability of community development projects in ONELGA and Ahoada East?

Table 3: Summary of Mean Scores on the Extent of Youth Involvement in Planning Projects to Enhance Sustainability of Community Development Projects

		ONELGA			AHOADA EAST		
s/n	**Items**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Decision**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Decision**
6	Involved in setting goals/objectives to be achieved with community projects.	3.78	.46	VHE	3.72	.54	VHE
7	Involved decide the specific community projects to be carried out for sustainable community development projects	3.71	.54	VHE	3.66	.59	VHE
8	Involved in deciding how to allocate available resources for the actualization of community projects.	3.35	.54	HE	3.44	.56	HE
9	Involved in formulating strategies for achieving set objectives of community projects.	3.52	0.61	VHE	3.41	.66	HE
10	Involved in determining alternative course of action in achieving set objectives of community projects.	3.63	0.58	VHE	3.57	.60	VHE
	Grand Mean & Std Deviation	**3.60**	**0.55**	**VHE**	**3.56**	**0.59**	**VHE**

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 3 shows that the respondents from both ONELGA and Ahoada East are of the opinion that they are involved to a very high extent in setting goals/objectives to be achieved with community projects, deciding the specific community projects to be carried out for sustainable community development projects, and determining alternative course of action in achieving set objectives of community projects with mean scores of 3.78, 3.72, 3.71, 3.66, 3.63, 3.57 and standard deviation scores of 0.46, 0.54, 0.59, 0.58 and 0.60 respectively. The respondents from ONELGA and Ahoada East are also of the opinion that to a high extent they are involved in deciding how to allocate available resources for the actualization of community projects with mean scores of 3.35, 3.44 and standard deviation scores of0.54 and 0.56 respectively. In addition, while the respondents from ONELGA are of the opinion that to a very high extent they are involved in formulating strategies for achieving set objectives of community projects with mean score of 3.52 and standard deviation of 0.61, their counterparts from Ahoada East are of the opinion that they are involved in to a high extent in same task with mean score of 3.41 and standard deviation of 0.66. Nevertheless, when the grand mean scores of 3.60, 3.56 and standard deviation scores of 0.55 and 0.59 for both youth from ONELGA and Ahoada East are considered, it can be concluded that both groups are of the opinion that they are involved to a very high extent in planning projects to enhance sustainability of community development projects.

Research Question 3: To what extent do youths involvement in executing projects enhance sustainability of community development projects?

Table 4: Summary of Mean Scores on the Extent of Youth Involvement in Executing Projects to Enhance Sustainability of Community Development Projects.

		ONELGA			AHOADA EAST		
s/n	**Items**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Decision**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**	**Decision**
16	Involved in physical construction/innovation of community projects for sustainability.	2.54	1.19	HE	2.45	1.17	LE
17	Involved in efficient utilization of available resources to actualize community projects for sustainability.	2.89	1.20	HE	2.18	0.79	LE
18	Involved in community projects' supervision during execution to ensure compliance with standard.	2.24	0.73	LE	2.22	0.84	LE
19	Involved in monitoring community projects to ensure maintenance for sustainability.	2.39	0.75	LE	2.08	0.92	LE
20	Involved in evaluating implementation of community development plans for sustainability.	2.34	1.27	LE	2.17	0.97	LE
	Grand Mean & Std Deviation	**2.48**	**1.01**	**LE**	**2.22**	**0.94**	**LE**

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 4 shows that the respondents from ONELGA are of the opinion that to a high extent their involvement drive physical construction/innovation of community projects for sustainability and efficient utilization of available resources to actualize community projects for sustainability with mean scores of 2.54, 2.89 and standard deviation scores of 1.19 and 1.20, while their counterparts from Ahoada East are of the opinion that to a low extent their involvement in same tasks drive community project sustainability with mean scores of 2.45, 2.18 and standard deviation scores of 1.17 and 0.79 respectively. The respondents from both ONELGA and Ahoada East are also of the opinion that their involvement to a low extent ensure community projects' supervision during execution to ensure compliance with standard, the monitoring of community projects to ensure maintenance for sustainability, and ensure the evaluating of implementation of community development plans for sustainability with mean scores of 2.24, 2.22, 2.39, 2.08, 2.34, 2.17 and standard deviation scores of 0.73, 0.84, 0.75, 0.92, and 0.97 respectively. However, when the grand mean scores of 2.48, 2.22 and standard deviation scores of 1.01 and 0.94 for both groups are considered, it can be concluded that youth from ONELGA and Ahoada East are of the opinion that to a low extent their involvement in executing projects enhance sustainability of community development projects.

Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in community needs identification enhance sustainability of community development projects.

Table 5: Summary of independent t-test on the difference in the Mean Rating of Youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in community needs identification enhance sustainability of community development projects

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
ONELGA/AHOADA EAST	Equal variances assumed	.58	.45	1.03	309	.30	.20	.19	-.18	.57
	Equal variances not assumed			1.03	292.19	.31	.20	.19	-.18	.57

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 5 shows t = 1.03, df = 309 p > 0.05 at 0.30 with confidence interval difference at -0.18 and 0.57 for lower and upper level respectively. Therefore, since p value calculated at 2-tailed test of 0.30 is greater than the p-value provided at 0.05, the null hypothesis is accepted. Therefore, it means that there is no significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in community needs identification enhance sustainability of community development projects.

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in planning projects enhance sustainability of community development projects.

Table 6: Summary of independent t-test on the difference in the Mean Rating of Youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in planning enhance sustainability community development projects.

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Diff.	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
ONELGA /AHOADA EAST	Equal variances assumed	3.62	.06	1.93	309	.06	.41	.21	-.01	.82
	Equal variances not assumed			1.94	308.94	.05	.41	.21	-.01	.82

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 6 shows t = 1.93, df = 309 p > 0.05 at 0.06 with confidence interval difference at -0.01 and 0.82 for lower and upper level respectively. Therefore, since p value calculated at 2-tailed test of 0.06 is greater than the p-value provided at 0.05, the null hypothesis is accepted. Therefore, it means that there is no significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in planning enhance community development projects.

Hypothesis 3: There is no significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in executing projects enhance sustainability of community development projects in the study area.

Table 7: Summary of independent t-test on the difference in the Mean Rating of Youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in executing projects enhance sustainability of community development projects

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference Lower	Upper
ONELGA/AHOADA EAST	Equal variances assumed	.14	.71	4.99	309	.00	1.30	.26	.79	1.81
	Equal variances not assumed			5.00	304.02	.00	1.30	.26	.79	1.81

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Table 7 shows t = 4.99, df = 309 $p < 0.05$ at 0.001 with confidence interval difference at 0.79 and 1.81 for lower and upper level respectively. Therefore, since p value calculated at 2-tailed test of 0.001 is less than the p-value provided at 0.05, the null hypothesis is rejected. Therefore, it means that there is significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in executing project enhance sustainability of community development projects.

DISCUSSION OF MAJOR FINDINGS

The results of the study related to specific objective one show that youth from ONELGA and Ahoada East are of the opinion that to a low extent their involvement in needs identification enhances sustainability of community development projects. This finding emanated from the fact that the respondents' opinion on most of the items related to community needs identification examined indicated that youths from both local government areas opined that they were to a low extent involved in needs identification. The findings also indicated that there is no significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in community needs identification enhance sustainability of community development projects. These findings are in agreement with the discovery of Matsela (2015) who discovered that youth were able to identified unmet needs and social problems in their communities and made a choice to act and bring about change. The findings are also in line with the discovery of Akandinda, Kankya & Peter (2016) when they discovered that there is limited participation of youth in community development programs at the needs assessment level. The findings are also in line with the discovery of Ezeh, Nwibo, Umeh & Eze (2018) who discovered low rate of youth participation in the conception of projects that their organizations execute in immediate communities. However, the findings are contrary to the findings of Njoku (2015) who discovered that youth bodies to a great extent participate in identification and implementation of needed community projects. The findings are also contrary to the discovery of Mbagwu, Mannir, Ewelum and Ezema (2016) when they discovered in their study that youth were not involved in determining what type of community project should be carried out.

The results of the study related to specific objective two show that youths from ONELGA and Ahoada East are of the opinion that their involvement to a very high extent in planning projects enhances sustainability of community development projects. The results of the test of hypothesis also show that there is no significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in planning enhance sustainability of community development projects. These results are based on the fact that the respondents from both local governments are of the opinion that they are involved to a very high extent in setting goals/objectives to be achieved with community projects, deciding the specific community projects to be carried out for sustainable community development projects, deciding how to allocate available resources for the actualization of community projects, formulating strategies for achieving set objectives of community projects, and determining alternative course of action in achieving set objectives of community projects. The findings are supported by the discovery of Njoku (2015) who discovered that youth through their organizations to a great extent participate in setting out goals and objectives, source information for improving their community development project, and set time frame of the projects, and others. However, the findings are contrary to the findings of Akandinda, Kankya, and Peter (2016) when they discovered youth were not given the opportunity to participate at the planning stages of community development projects especially as it relates to taking independent decision on what project needs to be carried out. The findings were also contrary to the findings of Ezeh, Nwibo, Umeh and Eze (2018) when they discovered low rate of youth participation in planning stage of community development projects.

The results of the study related to specific objective four show that youths from ONELGA and Ahoada East are of the opinion that to a high extent their involvement in executing projects enhance sustainability of community development projects. The result of the test of hypothesis show that there is significant difference in the mean rating of youth in Ogba/Ebgema/Ndoni Local Government Area and Ahoada East Local Government on the extent to which youths involvement in executing project enhance sustainability of community development projects. These findings emanated from the fact that the respondents from both ONELGA and Ahoada East are of the opinion that to a high extent they are involved in physical construction/innovation of community projects for sustainability, involved in efficient utilization of available resources to actualize community projects for sustainability, involved in community projects' supervision during execution to ensure compliance with standard, involved in monitoring community projects to ensure maintenance for sustainability, and involved in evaluating implementation of community development plans for sustainability. However, it is worth noting that despite the sameness of opinion between the youths from Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni and Ahoada east local government area, there was significant difference in their opinion which can be to the difference in variability scores. The findings are supported by the discovery of Njoku (2015) who discovered that youth in their organizations to a great extent participated in executing community development projects.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of this study, it can be concluded that youths involvement in planning projects, and executing projects to a high extent influence sustainability of community development projects. It can also be concluded that youths involvement in community needs identification to a low extent influences sustainability of community development projects. It can be concluded therefore that although youth from the two local governments are involved in planning and executing stages of community projects, they are not mostly involved in identifying community needs that need to be addressed which may affect their ownership of the projects.

It can also be concluded that there is no significant difference between the opinion of youth from Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni and youth from Ahoada on the extent to which they are involved in planning to influence sustainability of community development projects. This means that youth from both local government areas are of the opinion that their involvement in community development projects planning lead to their sustainability. This should be seen as good development since the youth's involvement in this aspect of community projects can promote rapid inclusive development of community development projects as they would take ownership of the projects for sustainability which is so much desired across Nigeria today considering the number of youths in almost all communities. Consequently, it can be concluded that the extent to which the youths are involved in execution of community projects to drive their sustainability for sustainable community development differ in the two local government areas.

Implications of Findings

Mentorship implications: the participation of youth in community projects through youth bodies provides the opportunity of meeting and interacting with peers and other stakeholders within the community especially elders and leaders of different kinds. Hence, this opportunity can be utilized for the purpose of mentoring the youth into productive members and future leaders of the community.

Community policy implications: youth active participation in community projects from the stages of planning projects and execution as discovered in this study has the implication of driving community development policy that recognized youth bodies and set agenda for their participation in critical areas of community projects for the sustainable transformation of the community. This is to avoid a situation where the youth through their youth bodies operate in parallel lines with the entire community's developmental agenda.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this study and the conclusions drawn, the following recommendations are put forward for implementation:

1. Youth should be given the opportunities to participate at the community needs identification stage of community development projects in order to give them ownership of the entire community development project process for sustainability.
2. Community leaders should give the youth the opportunities to collaborate with adult and experience members of the society especially professionals during their participation in community projects so that they can serve as mentors to them.
3. Community development experts and lecturers should organize mentoring programme and seminars from time to time to enlighten youth on how to identify areas they can fit in and contribute meaningfully in community projects for sustainable community development.

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PUBLIC POLICY AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT: *This research is set out to study the relationship between public policy and democratic governance in Nigeria. The methodology adopted is descriptive and content analysis. The research used elitist model to explain the problem under investigation. It is generally accepted that the process through which public policy is conceived, formulated and implemented is one of the most important processes of governance and societal development. Its relevance lies in the fact that it serves as the political, legal, economic and administrative framework within which government operates. Under democratic governance, public policies are potent tools toward the realization of good governance. These days, it is not uncommon for people discussing or believing in public policies of government probably due to the failure of government in the past to improve considerably the living standards of the people. This is due to several challenges on the side of government and the public. These myriads of problems range from policy somersault, lack of political will and poor financing. The paper posits that government has to be accountable and responsive to the people, work hard on public enlightenment in order to gain support for any policy from the people and solve problem of political apathy of citizens and their loss of confidence on the processes of governance.*

KEYWORDS: Public Policy, Democracy, Democratic Governance, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

In any democratic dispensation, there is no government that would rise to power without party manifesto and it is these manifestoes that are probably translated to an agenda or policy of that government in power. The interface between public policy and democratic governance is an organic one. Democracy reinforces public policy and vice-versa.

The way and manner through which public or citizens feel the existence of government is through the instrumentalities of public policies. They are working tools or instruments through which nation state realize her dreams. In fact, dividends of democracy are felt by people through the formulation and implementation of public policies by the government. On this note however, any government that is operating without genuine public policy is like a death or non-existing government. Because it is believed that the intents or actions of that government are utopia.

People nowadays has come to see government as a failure due to colossal problems associated with the ways and manner in which policies are conceived, formulated and implemented because it has not brought desired change in the lives of the people. Government policies are usually greeted with severe public cynicism and disrespect due to big gap between government and the governed. Government has often time left a sour taste in the mouths of Nigerians largely because of policies failure.

Conceptualizing Public Policy and Democracy

Concept of Public Policy

Like any other concept in the field of social sciences, conceptualizing public policy is often problematic. The problem arises from the fact that while some would want to see it as action or inactions of government, others would want to see it as intentions or decisions of government.

We would therefore look at some of the definitions of public policy in order to put the concept into proper perspective.

Ayo (1985), defines public policy as any "action taken by the government in pursuit of certain aims." From this definition public policy refers only to actions, and not the decisions or statements of intent.

Friedrich (1975) sees public policy as "the proposed course of action of the government or one of its divisions." It is further defined by Mlekwa (1976) as "official statements determining the plan of action or what the government wants to do. Ikelegbe (1996) see it as "what government integrated courses and programmes of action that government has set and the framework or guide it has designed to direct actions and practices in certain problem areas." Obikeze and Obi (2004) posits that "public policy is simply, government action and programmes of action toward solving societal problems."

Furthermore, Dunn (1981:46) defined public policy as a long series of more or less related choices including decisions not to act, made by governmental bodies and officials. Also, public policy has been defined as the formal articulation, statement, or publication of a goal that the government intends to pursue in order to address a need or a problem (Waldt, 2001:93). While some scholars, such as Jones (1997) see public policy making as "a process of ongoing stages, such as policy formulation, policy adoption, budgeting, implementation and evaluation." Lindblom (1968) sees it as a series of small step or increments, rather than a highly rational and structured process. Yet, Dahl (1970)) view public policy as a matter of competing publics, which represent the diversity and pluralism of society. In the context of plural, democratic countries as Grindle and Thomas have articulated:

> "Public policy results from the conflict, bargaining and coalition formation among a potentially large number of societal groups, organized to protect or advance particular interests common to their members (1989:218, cited in Jega, 2007:101)."

The cardinal reason or reasons for formulation and execution of public policy is to satisfy the interest of the citizens which is in the same sense the responsibility of government. Public policy is an all-encompassing concept used to cover the whole lots of government mandates. It could be policy on education, economic, social, security, political and agriculture which government desired to achieved for the common good of her citizens.

Jega (2007) summarizes public policy in the context of democracy to mean "the formulation and implementation of public policy is generally seen as the prime responsibility of government. In order to gain popular support and legitimize their stay in power, governments use policy initiatives and outcomes. The extent to which these satisfy popular needs and aspirations is normally associated with the popularity of an elected representative government and its chances of continuing to enjoy legitimacy and electoral support.

On this premise, the distinctive features of public policy as noted by Waldt (2001:90) are as follows:

> "Public policy is authoritative. This means it can be enforced through instrument of state. Public policies involve the participation of government institutions and fragmented structures of semi-independent groups and organizations through a complex system of formal and informal delegation of responsibility and control. At the very least, such policies must be processed, authorized, or satisfied within the framework of government. Thus, in order to be authoritative, a policy must be approved and promulgated by an institution that is authorized by statute or the constitution."

In addition to the above features, it is pertinent to note that other features here are relevant. Thus, public policy must have support and input of citizens in order to be effective, it must be rational and very comprehensive. Public policy cannot be effective if it does not evolve from the people, because, the cardinal objective of every government is to meet the yearnings of her citizens. Where it fails to do this, government would lose her legitimacy and popular supports from the citizens.

Concept of Democracy

Democracy is a concept developed to describe human behaviour. It is seen as a way of life of some people and also appears most obvious to be an acceptable norm by its promoters or advocates. The term democracy means several things to different persons. Abraham Lincoln describes it as government of the people for the people and by the people. The root word for democracy is the Latin word "democratia", meaning rule by the people what way it is conceptualized, it is a government founded on the people's will (Emiri in Maduabuchi, 2003:179). The people determine who gets what, when and how. It implies recognizing the people as the source of all political power and authority. The people's will is usually expressed by way of election.

Schumpeter (1967) defines democracy as "institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individual acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's votes." Sartori (1965) sees democracy as "the power of people and rule or the people". In the views of Appadorai (1975) "It is a system of under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by themselves."

From the foregoing however, the various prescriptions are meant to explain the concept of democracy. Those expressions were attempt at defining the concept in various ways by the scholars mentioned above. The general consensus according to Ujo (2000:5) is that democracy is a political system in which the people of a country rule through any form of government they choose to establish.

For democracy to strive according to Emiri (in Maduabuchi, 2003), all necessary elements for its sustenance must exist. Elements of democratic practice include a general acceptance of electoral and political party arrangements within which diverse groups interest are represented, as well as the formal constitutional guarantee and existence of certain liberties and freedoms. Democracy being the government by the consent of the govern is categorize into “direct and indirect democracy”.

Direct democracy is a type that individuals collectively choose what policy they will jointly pursue or what law they will accept. Direct democracy was the type of political system in Ancient Greece. In the Ancient Greece, all citizens could speak and vote in assemblies (Ujo, 2000:5). Indirect democracy on the other hand could be called representative democracy and been adopted in most modern states. The system introduces an electoral system in which those to represent the interest of the people are elected. Those elected are given the responsibility of making laws and policies for the people.

Theoretical Framework

This research is anchored on Elitist theory of democracy and also implore pluralistic model to explain the topic under investigation.

Modern democracies are essentially representative and responsible democratic.hence, the choice of elitist theory in order to put the work in a proper perspective.

Be that as it may, the elitist theory of democracy is a critique of the classical democratic theory in the sense that it attempts to evaluate and refine its main principles. Elitist theory of democracy is derived from the concept of elitism. The main stand-points of elitism are as posited by Ujo (2000:11);

1) Society is divided into the few who have power and the many that do not. Only a small number of persons allocate values for society; the masses do not decide public policy.

2) The few who govern are not typical of the masses that are governed. Elite are drawn disproportionally from the upper socioeconomic strata of society.

3) The movement of non-elite to elite position must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only non-elite who accepted the basic elite consensus can be admitted to governing circles.

4) Elite share a common consensus on basic values of the social system and the presentation of the system.

5) Public policy does not reflect demands of the masses but rather the perverting values of the elite. Changes in public policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary.

6) Active elite are subject to relatively little direct influence from apathetic masses. Elite influence masses more than masses influence elite.

This theory was developed to explain the working of modern organization. Mosca (1939) asserted that elite and not masses would govern all societies, because elite possess organization and unity of purpose. On his own part, Lasswell (1952) argued that: "Government is always government by the few, whether in the name of the few, the one or the many."

Elitism is classified into two models which are; the single elite and plural elite model. The single elite model holds that there is a monolithic concept of power. It posits that political power is concentrated in the hands of relatively few people, usually drawn from the corporate, financial, military and governmental circles, who make key decisions in all significant areas of life and who are subject to very little influence from the masses (Dye and Zeigler, 1972).

The second model is the pluralist one which the research adoptsas its unit of analysis. According to this model, power is shared among leadership groups representing different segments of society; these separate elites are competitive and are held responsible by the masses through election, party competition and interest groups.

The major arguments of this model are:

The model posits that power is an attribute of individuals in their relationship with other individuals in the process of decision making. Regardless of the social or economic position, an individual has power to the extent that he can induce another individual to do something he would not otherwise do. Power relationship to this model does not necessarily persist overtime. A set of power relationship that is formed for a particular decision may be replaced by a different set of power relations when the next decision is made.

The differences between the elite and masses cannot be clearly separated. Therefore, the movement in and out of the ranks of decision makers is with relative ease, depending on the nature of the decision. This distinction also is defined on the basis of interest both have in a particular decision. Leadership to this model is fluid and mobile. To the model, access to decision making can be achieved through some factors which are skills of leadership, organization, information about issues, knowledge about democratic processes and skill in public relation.

Wealth or economic power is an asset in politics, but it is only one of many kinds of assets. It is pertinent to note that no single group or individual dominates decision making in all issues. The model holds that there are multiple elites within society who exercise power in some kinds of decisions which could not be the same in some. Competition is inevitable among elite but they share basic commitment to the "rules of the game" in democratic society.

It is relevant to note that public policy remains central in democratic governance because it allows for bargaining and compromises among competing interest or groups. Theory also reveals that masses can exercise considerable influence over elite through elections and membership of political party(ies). Indeed, competition among elite can enable the masses to hold elite accountable and exert considerable in the system.

The theory is considered most applicable because it explains the forces and factors responsible for public policy making in a democracy. The theory essentially exposes the opportunities that abound in democratic practice. These opportunities are openness, accountability, representation and responsiveness. Leadership must be accountable in order to gain confidence of the masses.

Furthermore, public policy is not a reserve of a particular interest group in the society rather; it is for all strata of the society. No particular group can monopolize the power to make decision but all groups are equal partners in the process of decision-making.

The theory advances that there are no restrictions in the democratic practice since all groups are fundamentally relevant in policy making. The right of individual group is strictly respected.

Sources of Public Policy Making

Public policy is not a wishful enterprise, but deliberate action designed towards achieving desired objectives by government or her agencies. In this sense, however, public policy making must emanate from reliable sources.

There are so many sources of public policy making according to Obikeze and Obi (2004:87-88), viz:

i) The management: - Management as the controllers of an organization engages in planning. It is in the process of planning that management establish an organization's mission, goals and objectives. They therefore define the organization policy as a means of realizing the already defined objectives.

ii) Subordinate executives: It is said that he who wears the shoes, knows where it pinches. The workers themselves who do the actual job are better placed to appreciate the inefficacies of the job. Therefore, in their own little way, they determine public policy as it relates to the actual job.

iii) Customs and tradition: The history of the people determines the way and manner to which they behave and even related. It is on this note that the customs and traditions of the people plays a major role in shaping their thoughts about the day to day activities of government and in doing this however, government must always put into consideration the way of life of this people before coming up with any action or authoritative public statement which is in a way public policy.

iv) External environment: The external environment determines public policy. External environments are factors such as laws, technology, socio-cultural norms, trends and ecology that may affect government or her agencies directly or indirectly when it comes to policy making. The external environment can be seen as everything outside the government that might in any way or the other affect the operations of the government.

v) The mass media: The mass media are agencies that help in the socialization process. They are agents of mass mobilization and enlightenment. They set agenda for the society and government alike. Mass media help in the process of social integration and direct the attention of government to some happenings in the society that ordinarily government is not aware of. By so doing, it is helping to determine public policy.

vi) The elite also help to formulate public policy by making their views known on some certain public issues or problems. They could render advice or make critique of government action or inactions over those issues or problems of public concern.

vii) The masses are not left out in this aspect of public policy-making because they can influence, shape and change the policies and programmes through peaceful protest or demonstrations.

viii) The legislature is also a viable agent that plays a major role in the process of public policy making through the enactment of laws or resolutions in the national or state assemblies.

ix) The pressure groups are not left out in this engagement. They play a vital role through lobbying, demonstrations, criticism, public debate and violent or peaceful protest to influence the decisions of government over certain public matters.

Historical Overview of Public Policy Making in Nigeria

Historically, the policy environment in the post-colonial Nigeria has been characterized by what Hirschman referred to as “failure-prone policy process” and a tendency for “muddling through” (Clark and Wood, 1978:439). The implication of the above statement is that the public policy process is so erratic, if not irrational, that id muddles things up; it fails to be responsive to public demands and it therefore hardly ever meets set goals. Public policy process in Nigeria is founded on conservative colonial precedents and by this, it lacks inclusiveness. This is as Jega (2007:110) puts, largely on the account of a combination of legacies, impact and consequences of colonial and prolonged military rule.

Under colonial rule (1900-1960) as witness all over then, the policy making process was in the interest of the colonial power. The public policy as was shrouded in the philosophy or ideology of modernization and westernization (capitalism), was relatively closed and restrictive to and hardly meet the fundamental needs and aspirations of the colonized people but to colonial enterprise. It could be recalled that the process was controlled, guided and directed by colonial administrators and their conspirators. As Adebayo (1989:75) revealed that “very often, it had been the administrator who has been both the master and the instrument of policy.” It should be noted that the public policy making process was “one-man gang”.

Although, at the theoretical basis, the colonialists used or employed rational policy making models intended as practiced in their home countries but in reality, the situation was by far at variance with what was happening back in the metropolis. Their policies were not really rational and logical solutions to the needs and demands of the colonized Nigerians; but rather aimed at advancing the interests of the colonial power. To further buttress this fact, Jega (2007:11) opine that on some occasions, there might have been some consultations with the traditional authorities in some parts of the country in agenda-setting phase of colonial policies, or some acceding to workers’ demands. But this was the exception rather than the rule. Initially, until 1922, the process lacked constitutional backing and was sanctioned by colonial orders and gazettes.

Furthermore, as Jega (2007) concludes that in general, therefore, the public policy making process under colonial rule was closed, authoritarian, arbitrary, elitist and pragmatic, while the execution machinery was characterized by disciplined professionalism provided by foreign administrative experts.Closed to independent, in fact in the period of decolonization (1950) when British official role in government was reduced and there was increase of indigenous participation in governance, the colonial public policy making process was by rating characterized by strong administrators and weak policy-makers because the influence of colonialist in the management of administration were still visible not until at independence.

The situation did not change even at independence. This is because the political/administrative elites that took over political power from colonial masters were exhibiting the same character like the colonialists. In addition, the policy making processes were conservatively in the hands of permanent secretaries and ministers were merely either approving or disapproving proposals or recommendation from permanent secretaries.

The old order still continued even at First Republic (1960-1966) especially with regards to policy formulation due to colonial legacies. Though, it was a period of transition from colonial rule to civil democratic rule but the process of public policy making was relied heavily either on expatriate permanent secretaries or on newly appointed and inexperienced indigenous administrators. The generally low educational qualifications of the elected officials were another hindrance to their ability to initiate policy or exercise substantial control over administrators executing policies.

The case of Second Republic (1979-1983) was not very different from the old order; because as Joseph (1987) puts; the public policy making arena remained constrained by inherited legacies which was influenced by the prebendal disposition of politicians and their appointed officials. The elected officials lack the requisite knowledge of the workings of government and counted so much on a scarred bureaucracy inherited from thirteen years of military rule (1966-1979). The new rulers as Jega (2007:112) argued were more interested in democratizing processes of private capital accumulation than in empowering the people in the political and public policy making arena. Ake (1994) termed the actions of political elites as pursing agendas that was anti-people where he said “democratization of disempowerment”. The policy making process was neither rational nor consultative or participatory (Jega, 2007:113).

In the era of military junta (1966-1979; 1983-1999), the policy making process became increasingly militarized. It could be said that the nature and character of public policy was then very closed, restrictive, arbitrary and authoritarian and harder and harsher than under colonial and civilian regimes. The military as we all know, rule by decree and that could be seen in the processes of policy making generally under this era, public policy were personalized and privatized without adequate participation from the people. As put by Jega (2007), indeed, as military rule became prolonged with dictatorship, policy making became imbued with patronizing and patrimonial tendencies, which sought to reward allies and primordial loyalties or penalize opponents and perceived enemies. The undemocratic nature of military regime has added legacies to those of colonialism, in weakening governance structures, institutions and processes, to the extent that the citizens lost confidence in the entire system.

In the present civil rule and democratization (1999-2019) process, the case is not entirely different but complicated because of colonial and prolong military hangover that paused a great threat to public policy making process. As Jega (2007) conclude that "essentially, we are still grappling through and the policy process is as crisis-prone as ever, in spite of spirited attempts at reforming the system. But the situation has to change and for this to happen, the monumental challenges, which pervade the system, have to be effectively confronted.

Public Policy and Democratic Governance in Nigeria: An Interface

The context of modern democratic governance has evolved in relation to, or linked to the notion of representative government. Democracy in this premise is conceptualized as representative form of government, implying that at regular intervals, citizens derived the right to vote in elections, choose public officers to whom they delegate their authority for the management of their common affairs for a fixed period. These elected officials are then in turned assisted by a category of appointed officials, called the administrators, or civil servants, or public officers, as noted by (Waldt, 2001:90). Jega (2005) further re-enforce this point by saying that "the elected public officials exercise their power and delegate authority so long as the people who elected them are satisfied with their conducts and management of common affairs." In this system, control mechanisms are usually employed through regularized periodic elections which the voters could either renew the mandate if satisfied or dissatisfied with their performances or not.

In the practice of democracy, the public policy process is assumed to be the arena for continuous interaction and dialogue between voters and public officials. Here, the process is ideally a slow, rational, deliberative process of interaction, consultations and engagement between the citizens and their elected and appointed officials. Jega (2005) argue that under democractic system, popular participation, empowerment and consultation are important because they help to provide legitimacy for governmental action associated with a public policy and they also help to anticipate unintended consequences.

Thus, the interface between public policy and democracy, as Reich (1994:113) observed is rooted deeply in the idea of public deliberation. To him this is a process by which:

> Citizens are motivated to act by ideas about what is good for society. Such ideas define how public problems are defined and understood. Government depends on such ideas for mobilizing for public action. Consequently, policy makers find themselves espousing such conceptions of public good.

In the public policy process, as Jega (2005) advanced that "because of many reasons: it helps the officials to clarify ambiguities from citizen's notions of the public good; it help the public to discover contradictions in officials action or inactions it offers the public an opportunity to articulate or rearticulate public values in democratic governance; it helps to check the excesses of administrative discretion; and it facilitates responsive governance when pressure compels officials to accede to popular demands." The essence of public policy in a democratic dispensation as Reich (1994:118-124) posited is to accommodate as much as possible, the varying and contending demands made on government by the citizens. It is also to maximize benefits of governance for all. Indeed, public policy is said to be a hybrid of interest group intermediation and net benefits maximization.

In every country of the world, it should be noted that there are public, governmental institutions which provide services and products to satisfy the basic needs of the people. These institutions are truly governed by laws and they rely on appropriated funds for the delivery of their goods and services to the citizens. The totality of these goods, services and products (roads, water, electricity, housing, education, and so) are generally by-products of public policy making process. What types of services are provided by public institutions, how they are provided depends on policy and is shaped by actors and interests in the policy arena. It is in this sense that Elowitz argues that "policies represent the final authoritative allocation of values" in Society (1992). This to some certain degree represents what politics is all about which is a perfect aspect of public policy.

In the opinion of Mkandawire (2002:1), democratically elected institutions are viewed as constituting both the enabling environment for social development and the evaluative framework for judging process of policy-making. In this sense therefore, these institutions are expected to open up and liberalize the policy making process, enhancing popular participation and encouraging wide-ranging consultations. Where these are absence, it could be perceived as a "piori", closing or narrowing the policy making process and making it restrictive.

In a democratic dispensation as captioned by Waldt (2001:91), public policies involve interplay of many individuals and organizations in complex working relationships; the policy process is inherently political and is characterized by negotiation, bargaining, persuasion and compromise. Thus for policies to be effective, the process through which they are made and executed has to be rational, logical, sequential and deliberative.Both public policy and democratic governance are about the people therefore, it should be certain that the stages of public policy making process should reflect the total will of the people. The stages of policy agenda, policy formulation, policy adoption, policy implementation and policy evaluation should be characterized by openness, transparency, popular participation, support and broad consultation, which reflect considerable democratic culture.Democracy allows for inclusiveness, accountability, responsiveness and give and take which primarily re-echo the real essence and value of public policy.

From the foregoing however, the key arguments have been that there is a link between public policy and democracy (particularly the popular democracy).

Challenges of Public Policy Making on Democratic Governance in Nigeria

The subtopic above suggests that there is link between public policy and democratic governance in Nigeria. This is because the success or otherwise of public policy could have associated impact (whether negative or positive) on democracy. Democracy is about majority rule and in the same manner; public policy is but to address the felt needs of majority of people in the society.

To start with however, what are the possibilities of a "success-prone policy process in a country with history of policy failures?" The success of public policy in Nigeria is always short because there are no cogent solutions to policy problems in Nigeria. It may very well be a case of too many easy solutions flying around. Sambo in Anifowose and Ememuo (1999:308) posits that, it is for example logical to blame government for policy failures… and we blame our policy makers for the same reason.

But we may very well be dead wrong. Our focus on government as the root of policy failures may be misplaced. By bringing one government down or supporting a new one, we may not have thereby improved on policy fortunes (Ake, 1996:31). Ake's position is premised on the useful distinction he made between the ruling class and government, suggesting, in effect, that the ruling class is in power (always) while the government is only in office. The significance of Ake's in-depth analysis is that we concentrate too much energy on reforming governments and its institutions believing that therein lies the key to a success-prone policy process and in so doing, we neglect totally inherited dependent economic structure and its corresponding state structure.

Given the nature of the policy environment in Nigeria as stated above, we would not get anywhere in our quest to addressing these challenges of public policy without finding solution to the problems of the political context of policy making.

Sambo in Anifowose and Enemuo (1999:309) offers an elaborate connection between public policy and the ruling class in developing countries and problems therein, when he said: "public policies can be made to reflect the interest of the vast majority of the people in developing countries. A crucial aspect of this process is the accommodation rather than the repression of the political expression of dissent. The capacity of the ruling class in developing nations to mobilize the vast majority of their people around national purposes and policies is contingent on this accommodation. That the ruling class has not been sufficiently sensitive to this necessity is primarily responsible for the continuing failure of policy decision in these countries."

Affirming this position, Jega (2007:110) revealed that "the public policy making process lacks the essential attributes of openness, inconclusiveness, transparency, participation and consultation. On the contrary the process is essentially driven by officialdom in the sense that government officials, both the elected and the unelected, arrogated to themselves the wisdom, prerogative and expertise of controlling and managing the policy making process with little if any reference to, or interaction with, the majority of the citizens. Thus, the process is not people-driven, transparent, consultative, but rather closed, exclusive, insensitive, unresponsive and often irresponsible." It should be noted that the public policy maker are totally uncountable and conserved in their approach which demean the vitality of democratic standard.Democracy engenders effective policy formulation and implementation as could be said of popular mandate of the people given to their representatives and where this is not followed, it can be said to lack democratic adherent.

Another challenge of public policy is the weak institution of government that are supposed to assume their formidable constitutional role in the policy making process. These institutions are too fragile and less powerful than the individual elites of the state. Suffice it to say that the state institutions to which both democracy and public policy rest on are inherited legacies of both colonial and military powers, so they can't function effectively.

CONCLUSION

The political apathy of citizens and their loss of confidence on the processes of governance can be resolved by public enlightenment and civil education; these would be more effective in achieving better results if followed by a change of style and disposition by public officials. The public officials should be shining examples to other citizens.

Furthermore, the conception of public policy making should be people driven and its effectiveness should be targeted on the people. Public policy making process should not be restrictive or rigid but open and accommodating. The point is that, public policy should be democratized and democratic system should be public interest centered.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper recommends the following:

i) The need to improve and increase the competence of policy makers to be in tune with democratic practice when formulating public policies.

ii) Government should expand her scope of participation in the policy making and execution, especially by mobilizing all stakeholders to be actively involved in the process.

iii) The need to create more awareness and enlightenment on the mind of citizens by the government should be encouraged in order to build people's confidence;

iv) Accordingly, the need for more funding to public institutions to enable them deliver on their mandates should also be taken seriously by the government.

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ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE MANAGEMENT OF AFLATOXINS IN MAYUGE DISTRICT, UGANDA

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ABSTRACT: *The study was done to evaluate the role of women in managing aflatoxins using shelling and sorting of groundnuts. A combination of questionnaires focus group discussions, literature, and key informants were used to collect the data. A total of 100 respondents participated in the study. The majority of participants were women and girls, a big proportion of whom were older women (age ≥31 years), making 55.8%. Of these, 48.9% had only primary education. The study showed that 36.3% of the female were married though the number of widows (18.8 %) was also high. The elderly women were more influential in making decisions on the management of aflatoxins and more females than males used and valued this knowledge. Shelling and sorting were done mainly by hands due to financial constraints to acquire mechanical tools.*

KEYWORDS: Aflatoxins, Elderly Women, Uganda

INTRODUCTION

Women are the agricultural backbone of Uganda; however, systems, social and cultural practices have not allowed them to realize their full potential. Only 7% of women who provide 70-80% of agricultural labour in Uganda relying on their muscle power and hand tools have rights to own or control the use of land. Furthermore, only 30% have access to and control over proceeds from the land. This results from the patriarchal system of inheritance and anomalies in intra-household power. When the woman becomes a widow, in-laws tend to strip the late husband's family leaving her without a home, assets or even land (Devereux, Lwanga Ntale, & Sabates-Wheeler, 2002). The few women who own some land lack mechanization technologies (Mrema, Baker, & Kahan, 2008) and resort to using detrimental herbicides for weed control as a way of increasing farm area. These herbicides have been associated with a reduction in overall yield due to destruction of food making (Varshney, Hayat, Alyemeni, & Ahmad, 2012), systems of the crops, injuries on leaves and stems, weed resistance leading to the increased cost of management (Mrema et al., 2008), and destruction of soil micro-organism leading decreased soil water penetration. This kind of practice results from a lack of capital to invest in mechanized agriculture (Zaller, Heigl, Ruess, & Grabmaier, 2014).

Furthermore, the minority, who in most cases acquire loans from banks at high-interest rates using land titles as security, invest without a well-informed background. This in turn leads to low yields and subsequent failure to pay back bank instalments. Also, the high bank charges usually scare away the majority of female farmers leaving them with no option other than subsistence farming which has not supported well family nutrition. Due to poor nutrition, 12% of women are malnourished while 16% of their children under 5 years are underweight (UNAP, 2011). This places Uganda in14th position for countries with large populations of nutritionally challenged children (Ssewanyana & Kasirye, 2012). Similarly, the girls are adversely affected culturally whereby 80% of them are normally forced into marriage by 19 years by their parents in the bid to get hefty bridal price. Once the bridal price is paid, the girl becomes a property of the husband entitling him to her labour, sexual availability and obedience1. Subsequently, all the will power of the girl growing into a woman is taken away.

LITERATURE

The great majority of farmers are uninformed of the challenges brought by Aflatoxin contamination; therefore, multi-level education is paramount. Once awareness has increased, preventative measures can be taken (FAO, 2011). For instance, drought conditions at pre-harvest can cause cracking of the groundnut pod, enabling the fungus to penetrate and invade the seed (Kaleta & Krzysztof, 2013). Proper storage at post-harvest is also important and it is vital that crops are dried to a 'safe' moisture level as soon as possible (Sebunya & Yourtee, 1990).

If African farmers were to help themselves to produce more groundnuts for their families (Kihaga, 2011), at the end of the intervention, the anticipated outputs are that smallholder farmers needed to be sensitized about the health and environmental risks associated with Aflatoxin and improper pesticide use (Baributsa, Baoua, Bakoye, Amadou, & Murdock, 2017). To ensure that farmers adopted technologies that would improve their livelihoods, farmers needed tools to communicate effectively. This implied that men would have access to and control those technologies as they could have and use them, while the women would continue using the traditional tools like pounding using mortars, beating using sticks and more-so their bare hands.

The management of Aflatoxins depends on the way the groundnuts are stored (Benkerroum, 2020); (Ncube & Maphosa, 2020); (Villers, 2014). Aflatoxin can enter the groundnuts at any stage. This comes about when one does not take precautions in handling the groundnuts well especially during storage (Ncube & Maphosa, 2020). It may also come from the preparation of land for sowing the crop, the choice of land, the season when it is planted and goes all the way when harvested and shelled. This shows the Aflatoxins journey to the bodies of the population. Controlling of Aflatoxin in groundnuts has to be done from the field to the plate involving all handlers, that is the farmers, producers/traders and the consumers.

Prevention is better than cure and avoiding/minimising the infections would be more appropriate than trying to combat the challenges of Aflatoxin contamination. Despite that, weather conditions, pre- & post-harvest management and the genetic vulnerability of the plant all play a role in the susceptibility of the harvests to fungus (Raza et al., 2019). An integrated approach is a better solution in such circumstances. The consortium of global, regional and national institutions, which are now collaborating in combating this complex problem, demonstrates the significance of Aflatoxin contamination (Suwarno et al., 2019).

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Women and men play a major role in the management of Aflatoxins of groundnuts. Women, young children (boys and girls) use hands in shelling while the men prefer to use machines which attract the moulds thus causing Aflatoxins in the seeds (Kumar, Mahato, Kamle, Mohanta, & Kang, 2017); (Benkerroum, 2020). Men use a lot of energy while shelling using machines thus crushing the groundnut seeds which encourages the Aflatoxins (Kaaya, Kyamuhangire, & Kyamanywa, 2006).

METHODOLOGY

Study Area

The study was conducted at Basooka Kwavula Farmers' Cooperative Society, Bayitambogwe sub-county, Mayuge District, Uganda, **Figure 1**. This area has a population distribution of approximately 30,000 to 60,000 people.

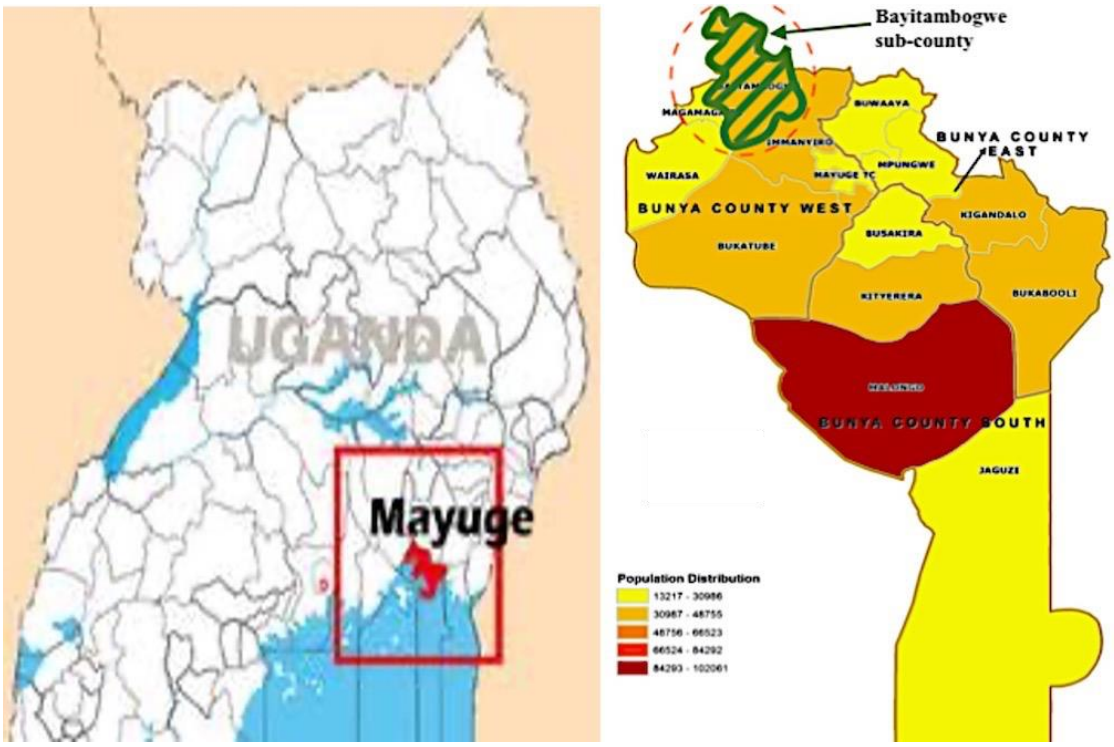

Figure 1: A map showing the study area circled in red dotted lines and shaded green

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Data Collection

Questionnaires were collected as soon as they are filled to avoid loss and misplacement. Assistants were used to administer the questionnaires where in-depth interviews with selected households were conducted and major points of interests were drawn.

There were seven Focus Group Discussions (FGD) to further the understanding of the key concepts like utilization of the lived knowledge. Documents were consulted to make sure the Researcher was on the right track especially of the gender concepts and theories. Two key informants were consulted and interviewed to further the understanding of the subject matter.

Data Processing, Analysis and Presentation

Questionnaires were collected as soon as they are filled to avoid loss and misplacement. In-depth interviews with selected households which included women, men, girls, boys and they were conducted, and major points of interests were drawn.

The data was collected and edited daily in the field to check for completeness, accuracy and refinement. Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were tape-recorded, transcribed and translated from local language to English.

Data were coded, tabulated and analysed using MATLAB, Excel and SPSS software to derive frequencies and cross-tabulations to test for any relationships between the study-variables especially gender, local economic development and access to market information services.

Qualitative data were analysed based on the themes as was presented with the checklist of the interviews, FGD, the questionnaire and observations. Qualitative data collected by the interview guide was analysed using content analysis. Categories were formed to analyse the data more systematically.

RESULTS

The total sample of 100 respondents was composed of 86% females and 14% males.

Age

The majority of participants were women and girls, a big proportion of which were older women (age range ≥31 years), making 55.8% **Figure 2**.

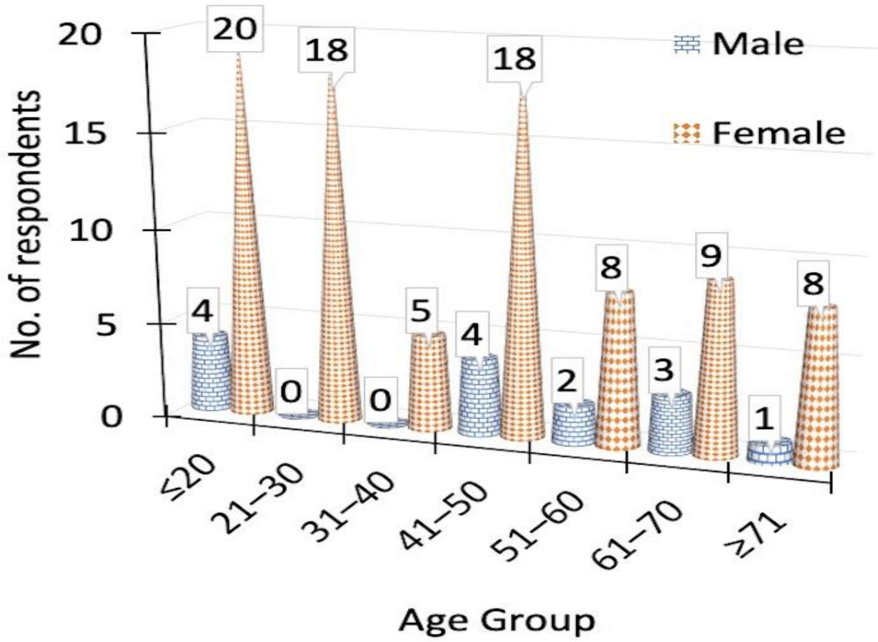

Figure 2: The age group of the respondents

Education

The majority (48.9%) of respondents were women with just primary level education (Jamie Anderson, Colleen, & Scott, 2016), **Figure 3**.

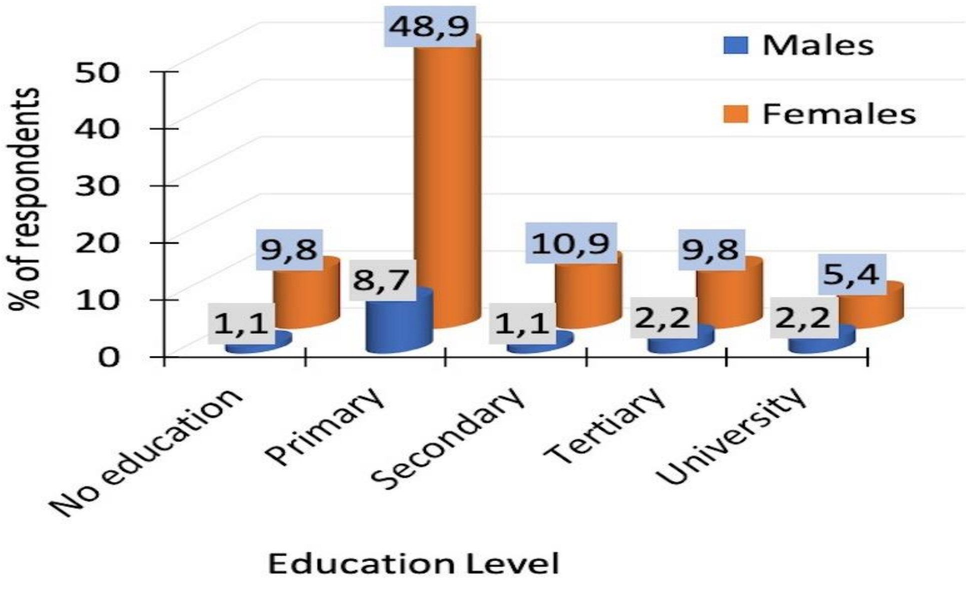

Figure 3: Education level of the respondents

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Marital status

The vast majority of women were married though the number of singles was also high.

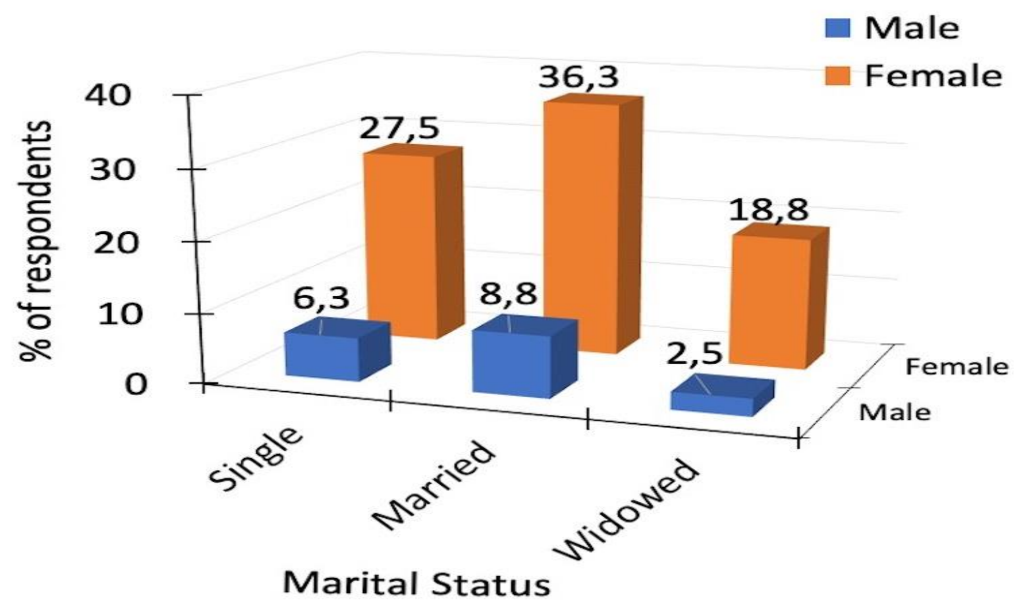

Figure 4: Marital status of the respondents

Knowledge of aflatoxins

Elderly women were very influential in disseminating information about management of aflatoxins as seen in **figure 5.**

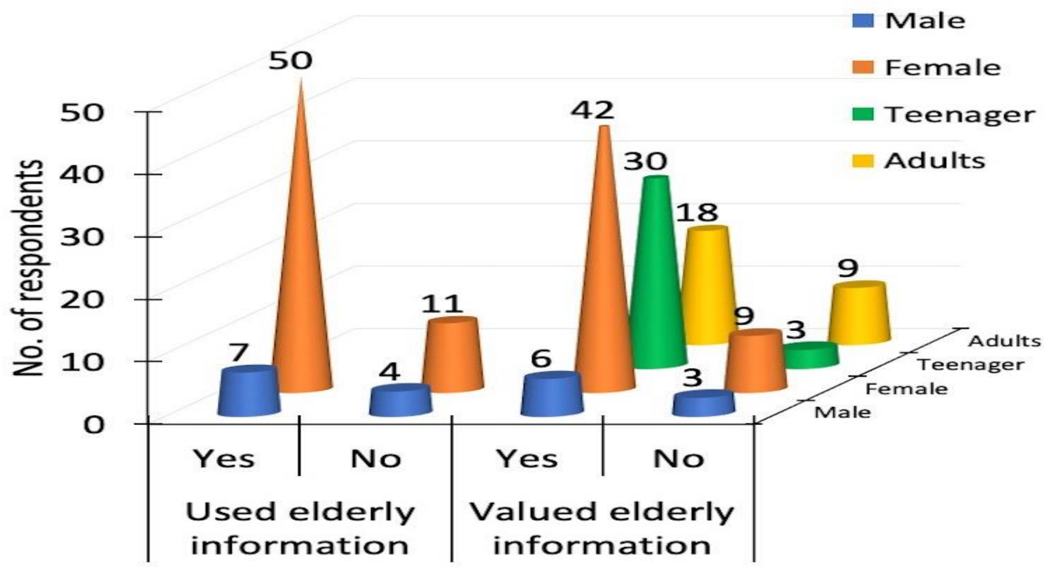

Figure 5: Knowledge of aflatoxins by respondents

Decision making

Decision making was exercised at all levels and age groups; however, elderly women still had a big impact as seen in **figure 6.**

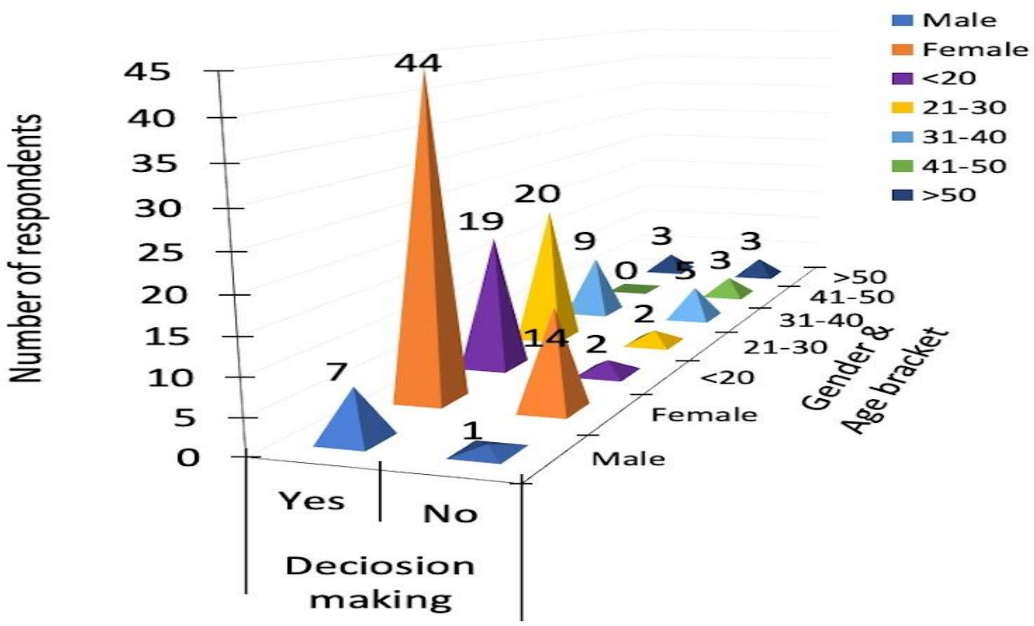

Figure 6: Decision making versus gender for aflatoxin management

Labour

Allocation and distribution of labour in this community followed a set pattern. Those who could hire, sell labour or use machines were all represented in this community (**figure 7**)

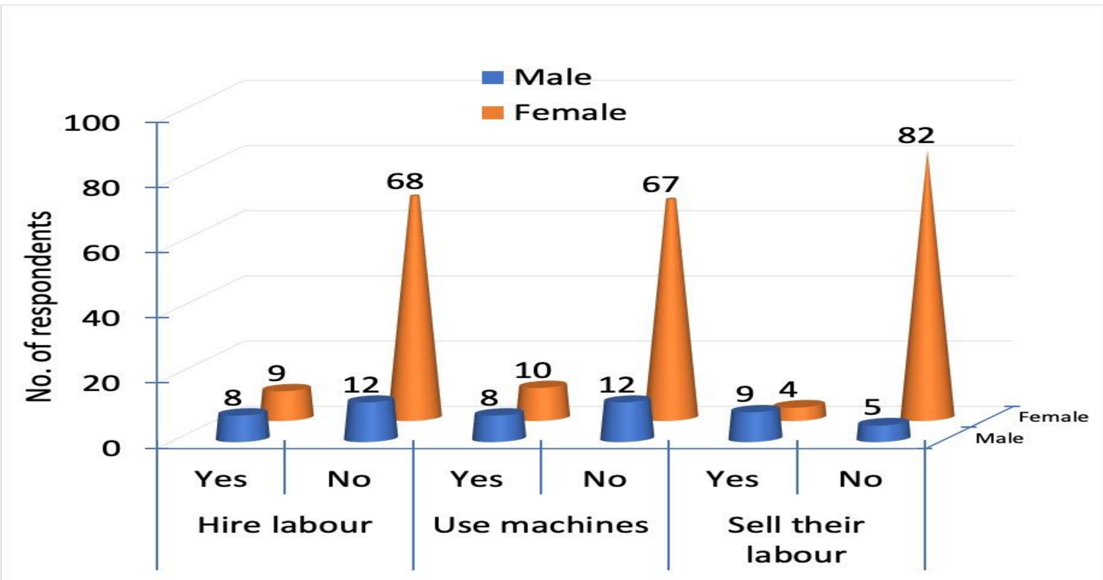

Figure 7: Allocation of labour for sorting and shelling of groundnuts

Other activities

In addition to management of aflatoxins through shelling and sorting of groundnuts, women do a lot of farming to supplement their income (Aberman & Roopnaraine, 2020) **Figure 8**.

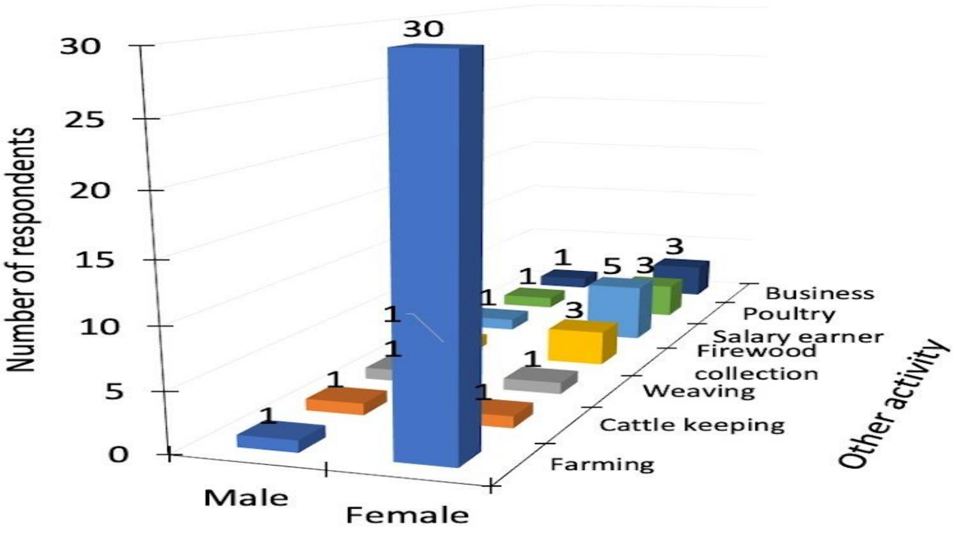

Figure 8: Other activities done other than shelling and sorting of groundnuts

Statistical analysis

The elderly women's lived knowledge was significant in the passing on knowledge to the young ones. The Chi-Square test, **Table 1**, confirmed that the elderly women lived knowledge was significant and sharing with the respondents.

Table 1: Chi-Square test for elderly women lived knowledge in the management of aflatoxins

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.899[a]	1	0.168		
Continuity Correction[b]	0.950	1	0.330		
Likelihood Ratio	1.699	1	0.192		
Fisher's Exact test				0.224	0.163
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.872	1	0.171		
No. of Valid Cases[b]	72				

a. 1 cell (25.0%) had an expected count of less than 5. The minimum expected count was 2.29

b. Computed only for a 2X2 table

DISCUSSIONS

More women dominated the shelling and sorting of groundnuts (Orr, Tsusaka, Kee-Tui, & Msere, 2014) similar to the findings by previous studies in Western African countries, (Kaaya et al., 2006). The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents have revealed that the utilization of the lived knowledge as discussed in this chapter is very important (Atongbiik Achaglinkame, Opoku, & Amagloh, 2017). This has led to the labour allocation (Ilesanmi & Ilesanmi, 2011), of some of the household members and documentation of the elderly women's lived knowledge in the management of aflatoxins in groundnuts influenced by age (Udomkun et al., 2018); (Magembe, Mwatawala, Mamiro, & Chingonikaya, 2016).

Having a big proportion as women (age range ≥31 years, making 55.8%) showed how involved women are in aflatoxin management in this area (Perduri & Gobba, 2009), (de Almeida et al., 2019). However, in terms of family headship, an extensive study (Jamie Anderson et al., 2016) showed that nearly half of the heads of households are under the age of 40 (45%). Just over half (55%) are 40 or older, and one in five is at the far end of the age spectrum (60 years old).

Primary level of education for majority of respondents with few at higher levels makes aflatoxin management a challenge since extensive training and refreshers are required to keep the community well informed about the dangers of aflatoxins (Ayo, Matemu, Laswai, & Kimanya, 2018).

A complete family (mother, father and children) is the foundation of any development in a country. The study showed that a sizeable percentage of respondents were married (Ayo et al., 2018) or cohabiting (Jamie Anderson et al., 2016), (Dorner, 2008). However, the number of widows was also high (Seetha et al., 2017).

The study demonstrated that the use and value of elderly information in the management of aflatoxins were significant for males, females, teenager or adult (Seetha et al., 2017). Since formal education and training about aflatoxin was limited, information sharing through elders was the feasible route.

Again, women showed a high impact in decision making when it came to aflatoxin management (Waithanji & Grace, 2014). The young (<30 years) especially were more involved. This could be attributed to their physical contribution in general agriculture since they are more energetic than elders and most of the work is done manually with little mechanisation.

Since the people in this community were mostly peasants, they prefer not to hire labour. Again because of financial constraints and limited government support, most work is done manually with hands (Aberman & Roopnaraine, 2020). The more energetic especially men, end up selling their labour to get an extra income (Revathi, Penkwan, & Hathairat, 1999). Women on the other hand tend to rely on their income from their farms only (Sugri et al., 2017).

Limitations of the Study

The resources were the main limitation of the study. Some respondents expected to be given money so that they could give the information. This limited the number of respondents to 101. Questionnaires could not be used for the illiterate respondents. School going children answered some questions on behalf of the elderly women or translated for them thus losing some of the meaning. It was even very difficult to explain technical terms to the respondents due to the language barrier. In some cases, men refused to be interviewed saying the study was for only women, especially the old.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, we have seen that socio-demographics, age, education, marital status, knowledge decision making, and labour availability all affected the management of aflatoxins. Much of the work concerning aflatoxin management was done by women and girls. Therefore, strengthening financial, agricultural extension and advisory services to women and girls at a grass-root level will assure the reduction in aflatoxins, enhanced agricultural productivity, nutrition and Uganda’s agricultural export potential.

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IMPORTED SECOND-HAND TYRES: WHY NIGERIANS WILL NOT STOP ITS USE

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ABSTRACT: *The use of imported second-hand tyres is one of the leading causes of high mortalities and disabilities in Nigeria which has implication on socio-economic progress of the nation. Over 10,000 fatalities were recorded on Nigeria roads between 2011-2020. The use of poor tyres accounted for more than 8.42% of this fatality. This study investigated factors that have sustained the use of these tyres over the years despite stakeholders' effort to eradicate and discourage its use. Specifically, the paper examined the relationship between socio-economic factors and the use of imported second hand tyres, attitude of automobile users about these tyres and values assigned to imported second-hand tyres. The study employed a multistage sampling technique and administered 140 questionnaires to automobile users. The study found no statistical association between socio-economic factors and the use of these tyres. The study also found that the use of these tyres was pervasive across all levels of social strata. Furthermore, the study revealed that positive attitude about these tyres still revolved around the mind of most automobile users and a higher proportion attributed positive values to these tyres. The study concluded that factors that have sustained the use of imported second-hand are beyond socio-economic factors as documented in literature. Perceived durability attributed to foreign used goods has been a major factor. Aggressive sensitization of the risk involved in the use of these tyres, revival of redundant tyre industries, patriotism and professionalism of personnel attached to the country's border are recommendations to eradicate the use of these tyres.*

KEYWORDS: Mortality, Used Tyres, Fatalities, Socio-Economic, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

A report published by waste and resources action programme [2, 12] defines second-hand products as items that result from initial use and that are available for re-use as their original intended function. Throughout the last 20 years, rapid growth of second-hand products consumption has got the attention of researchers and raised the question of why do customers purchase second-hand products [5] One answer is that, because of economic reasons customers are now more interested in second-hand products, rather than new products [1,5]. Economically disadvantaged groups who are unable to buy new goods from formal retail outlets are the primary users of second-hand products [1]. Similarly [6] mentioned that poor individuals are second-hand consumers who do not have the economic ability to purchase new products.[5] reacted contrarily to these submissions. To them, economically disadvantaged groups are the primary customers of second-hand products however, this does not rule out economically privileged individuals.

The use of imported second hand tyres has become pervasive in the Nigerian society among automobile owner's despite of its associated risk. These tyres have enjoyed high patronage and use in spite of stakeholders' efforts towards eradicating its use. The local parlance for such tyres in the Nigerian context is commonly referred to as "Tokunbo tyres" [10] averred that the term 'Tokunbo' which denotes "Overseas" has been used to describe imported second-hand goods in Nigeria since 1980s. This term accords goods the status of foreign used. The term 'tokunbo' as an economic phenomenon emerged as the country shifted gradually from production to commerce following the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programme from 1986. [11] The economic downturn that happened in the country from 1990s onward led to a consequent dependent on second-hand goods. As a result, this term was used to describe goods in glowing terms emphasizing the quality of goods compared to sub-standard products from Asia. [10] Second hand products became very popular in Nigeria by 2004. The agreement that was reached between Benin republic and Nigeria in 2004 facilitated more second hands to be transported to Nigeria through their borders [3]. Although most of these products are not transported through legitimate channels but are often smuggled. Examples of second-hand products that are mostly smuggled in to Nigeria includes tyres, cars electronics spare parts etc.

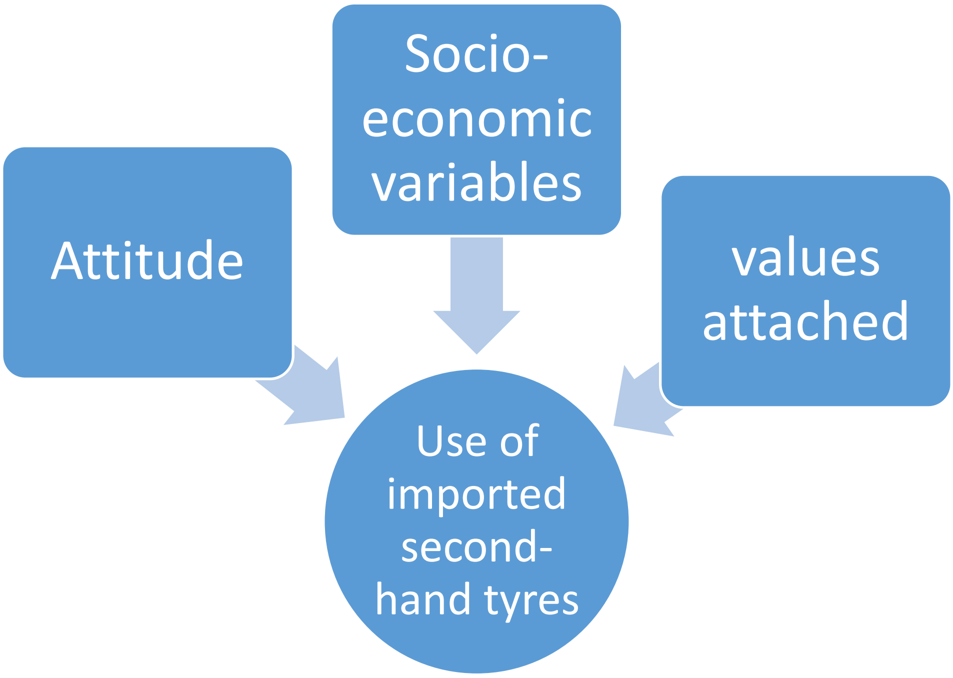
Among all second-hand goods imported to Nigeria, imported second hand tyres constitute the major high-risk commodity. The risk associated with these tyres is as a result of the reduced quality before importation to Nigeria. Therefore, such tyres maybe dangerous for re-use. The Federal Road Safety Commission Spotlighted in the year 2016 that tyre related problem was responsible for over 3,000 road accidents between 2011-2016 [3] of which poor tyres like imported second tyres might have contributed to the disheartening figure. Similarly, in the year 2018, National Bureau of Statistics disclosed that poor tyres accounted for 8.40% of road crashes. Most second-hand tyres imported to Nigeria might have passed their life span of use before they are imported and the quality of such tyres might have reduced for re-use. [9] made known that tyres lose about 20% of their quality within two years of use and lose about 50% of quality within three years of use. [9] disclosed that most second-hand tyres imported to Nigeria were rejected in their country of origin because they have passed through their life-span of use. Therefore, the re-use of such tyres in Nigeria might have may have negative a implication. The use of such tyres may result to accident which may have both social and economic consequences. Accidents that result from these tyres might result to physical deformity which may hinder individuals from performing their social and occupational roles and may even result in death which may become a psychological stressor for families of such victims.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies conducted in Ghana and Namibia found that the use of imported second hand tyres also characterized these societies. The tyres were often imported from Japan, Australia and European countries [3,8] automobile owners who were users reported negative experiences with the use of such tyres but yet heavily subscribed to the use of these tyres due to its low cost while perceived durability among users of such tyres has also sustained its use overtime. Researchers in most developing countries where the use of these tyres are common, such as

Nigeria have directed less attention to study the factors that might have sustained the use of these tyres overtime in spite of stakeholders' effort to discourage its use. Porosity of Nigerian borders and lack of patriotism of security personnel in charge of Nigerian borders may have facilitated how these tyres find their way into the country despite the legislation that exist against its importation. One factor that may have triggered the desperation of smuggling such products into the country maybe high demand of these tyres. however, factors that influence this high demand needs to be critically studied. Thus, this study attempt to examine factors sustaining the use of second-hand tyre in Nigeria. Findings from this study is expected to improve stakeholders' policy response to the situation.

CONCEPTUAL FRAME-WORK



The above diagram represents the variables measured in the study. Each of the variable was measured to ascertain whether any of them influence the use of imported second-hand tyres. The diagram also shows the direction of relationship between the causal variables and the outcome variable.

Methods

A quantitative research method was adopted for this study. The study employed a multi-stage sampling technique. The study was carried out in Oyo town, Oyo state, Nigeria. Oyo town was clustered into 4 local government areas after which one local government was randomly selected. The local government was further clustered into communities and two communities were randomly selected. 140 questionnaires were purposively administered to automobile users with the use of accidental convenient sampling. The questionnaire comprised of 3 sections. The section A comprises of Socio-demographic and socio-economic information of the respondents

Section B comprises of questions on values attached to imported second-hand tyre, while the last section which is section C was liker scale which was designed to examine the attitude of respondents about the use of *imported second hand* tyres. The data collected from the field work through questionnaires were statistically analysed and were computed in univariate and bivariate tables to bring out the overall result in relative proportion showing the position of the respondents on issues. The relationship between variables were examined through the use of Chi-square of statistical package for social sciences to know whether there are statistical relationships between socio-economic variables and the use of imported second-hand tyres.

Informed Consent: The respondents were briefed about the study and its objective. They were also informed about the consequences of participating and their confidentiality was assured. After this, they were reserved the opportunity to decide if they would participate or not. Those who gave their consent, participated in the study.

RESULTS

Table 1: Univariate Analysis of Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Socio-demographic characteristics	Frequency (n=140)	Percentage
Age		
20-29	5	3.8
30-39	36	27.8
40 years+	91	68.4
Sex		
Male	84	60.0
Female	56	40.3
Occupation		
Artisans/self employed	27	19.7
Civil servant	95	69.3
Professionals	15	10.9
Monthly income		
Low	47	35.1
Average	28	20.9
High	59	44.0
Religion		
Christianity	95	67.9
Islam.	45	32.1
Education		
Primary	1	0.8
Secondary	8	6.0
Tertiary	38	28.6
Post graduate	84	63.2
No education	2	1.5

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The modal age of the respondents was 40 while the mean age was 43. The distribution of respondents by socio-demographic and socio-economic status is presented in table 1. The table above shows that majority of the respondents were between the ages of 40+ as they constituted 68.4% of the respondents. Age bracket 30-39 constituted 27.8% while ages 20-29 constituted 3.8% of the respondent. Majority of the respondents were civil servant with a percentage of 69.3%. The table further revealed that 19.7% of the respondents were artisans/self-employed, while very few of the respondents were professionals (10.9%).

Distribution of respondents by monthly income revealed that those who received low income represented (35.1%) of the target population, more than one-third of the respondents received high monthly income while just very few received averagely (20.9%). The dominant religion of the respondents was Christianity as they accounted for (67.9%) of the target population. 32.1% of the target population were also Muslims. Majority of the respondents were highly educated as a sizable number of respondents (63.2%) have advanced their education to post-graduate level. Tertiary education holders also constituted 28.6% of the target population followed by secondary education holders (6.0%). 0.8% of the target population had primary education while just 2 out of the all respondents had no education.

Table 2: Bivariate Analysis to Examine the Relationships Between Socio-Economic Variables and Use of Imported Second-Hand Tyres.

Socio-economic characteristics	**Imported second-hand tyre**			
	Usage %(N)	**Non-usage %(N)**	**Total %(N)**	**χ^2, p-value**
Occupation				
Artisans/self employed	96.2 (26)	3.8 (1)	100 (27)	*2.690, 0.261*
Civil servant	89.4 (85)	10.5(10)	100 (95)	
Professionals	100 (14)	0 (0)	100 (14)	
Education				
No Education	100 (2)	0 (0)	100 (2)	*0.543,0 .969*
Primary	100 (1)	0 (0)	100 (1)	
Secondary	87.5 (7)	12.5(1))	100 (8)	
Tertiary	92.1 (35)	7.8 (3)	100 (38)	
Post-graduate	92.7 (77)	7.2 (6)	100 (83)	
Monthly income				
Low	89.3 (42)	10.6 (5)	100 (47)	*0.547,0 .761*
Average	92.5 (25)	7.4 (2)	100 (27)	
High	93.2 (55)	6.7 (4)	100 (59)	

We can infer from the above table that there is no significant statistical relationship between occupation and the usage of second-hand tyres. (X^2=2.690; df= 2; α=0.261 p>0.05). The table reveals further that 9 out of 10 respondents who were artisans were users of imported second hand tyres. Among automobile owners who were civil servants, 7 out of 10 were also users of these tyres.89. The table further revealed that all respondents whose occupation were professional in nature were all users of this tyre.

It is also evident from the table above that that there is no significant statistical relationship between education and usage of *imported second-hand tyres*. (X^2=0.543; df= 4; α=0.969

p>0.05). Drivers within no education category constitute 100% of users with no single non-user. This also similar to primary education category where just a car owner who fell in to this category is also a user. Car owners with just secondary education qualification constituted 87.5% of users while 12.5% of them are non- users of imported second-hand tyres tyres. Car owners within tertiary education category represented 92.1% of users of *imported second-hand tyres* tyres 7.8% of them were non-users. In the category of car owners with post-graduate education, 92.7% were users of *imported second-hand tyres* tyres, and just 7.6% constitute non-users.

Exploring the relationship between monthly income of and usage of imported second-hand tyres we discovered that there is no significant association between monthly income and the use of *second-hand tyres.* Since (X^2=0.547; df= 2; α=0.761 p>0.05). Among car owners/drivers who were categorized as low-income earners, 89.3% were users of imported second-hand tyres 10.6% were not. 9 out of 10 who were average income earners were users while a higher proportion, 92.5% of those classified as high-income earners were also users of imported second hand tyres.

Table 3

Values assigned to imported second-hand *tyres*	**Frequency (n)**	**Percentage**
Durability		
High	108	77.1
Not durable	32	22.9
Risk		
High	50	35.7
Low	88	62.9
No risk	2	1.4
Superior Quality		
Highly superior	108	77.1
Not superior	16	10.8

From the table, majority of the respondents assigned positive values to imported second hand tyres. 77.1% of the respondents perceived *imported* second-hand tyres as highly durable. in fact, this same percentage of respondents believed that these tyres are of superior quality. Some respondents also disclosed that such tyres maybe risky for re-use but they considered the risk minimal. Only very few identified that there is a high risk inherent in the re-use of such tyres.

Bivariate Analysis Between Socio-Economic Factors and Attitude Towards the use of Imported Second-Hand Tyres

Socio-economic characteristics	Attitude towards the use of imported second-hand tyres		
	Negative %(N)	Positive %(N)	Total %(N)
Occupation			
Artisans/self employed	22.2 (6)	77.7 (21)	100 (27)
Civil servant	24.2 (23)	69.4 (66)	100 (95)
Professionals	23.0 (3)	76.9(10)	100 (13)
Education			
No Education	0 (0)	100 (2)	100 (2)
Primary	100 (1)	0 (0)	100 (1)
Secondary	12.5 (1)	87.5 (7)	100 (8)
Tertiary	24.2 (8)	75.7 (25)	100 (33)
Post-graduate	27.7 (23)	72.2 (60)	100 (83)
Monthly income			
Low	14.8 (7)	78.7 (37)	100 (47)
Average	26.9 (7)	73.0 (19)	100 (26)
High	30.3 (17)	69.6 (39)	100 (56)

The table above revealed that positive attitude towards the use of imported second-hand tyres is ubiquitous across various levels in the society. The table also shows that positive attitude towards the usage of these tyres did not just revolve among individuals in the lower strata of the society but even upwardly mobile individuals. Nevertheless, some automobile owners had negative attitude towards the use of such tyres but very minute compared to those that had positive attitude. In the category of artisans/self-employed, 77.7% had positive attitude towards the use of *imported second-hand tyres*, the attitude of 22.2% were negative about the use of imported second-hand tyres.

Among the civil servants, 69.4% of them had positive attitude towards the use of *imported second-hand tyres*, 24.2% had negative attitude about the use of imported second-hand tyres in the category of professionals, 76.9% had negative attitude towards the use of imported second-hand tyres 23.0% had negative attitude.

Examining attitude of automobile owners with no education about the use of imported second-hand tyres, 100% of car owners with no education had positive attitude about the use of imported second-hand tyres. in the primary education category, the only automobile that fell in to this category had negative attitude towards the use of imported second-hand tyres. in the category of automobile owners with secondary education, 87.5% of them had positive attitude towards the use of imported second-hand tyre tyres while 12.5% had negative attitude towards the use of imported second-hand tyre. 75.7% of those within tertiary education category also had positive attitude towards the use of *imported second-hand tyres* while 24.2% of them had positive attitude. 72.2% of car owners that has advanced their education to post-graduate level also had positive attitude towards the usage of imported second-hand tyre while 27.7% were negative.

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Examining, the attitude of automobile owners with low income, 78.7% of them had positive attitude towards usage of imported second-hand tyres 14.8% had negative attitude. 73.0% with average monthly income had positive attitude towards the use while 26.9% had negative impression about such tyres. Among those who classified as high-income earners, 69.6% had positive attitude towards the use of imported second-hand tyre. while 30.3% of them had negative attitude.

DISCUSSION

The use of imported second-hand tyres has become ubiquitous among Nigeria automobile users. These tyres have been identified to be responsible for a considerable number of accidents on Nigerian roads. Answers that have been provided to the curiosity of what could been influencing the use of these tyres overtime has revolved around socio-economic factors such as income, occupation and education. This is evident in the report of the study conducted in Namibia as majority of drivers reported low prices of such as tyres as the motivation for purchase of these tyres. [8] While this may be one of the factors, this study found no significant association between socio-economic variables like occupation, income, education and the use of imported second-hand tyres in Oyo town Nigeria. It was however found that factors such as attitude of automobile owners and perceived durability, ignorance of the severity of risk involved have sustained the use of such tyres in Oyo town overtime. To corroborate this, the study found that the use of these tyres was not just rampant among low- and average-income earners but even among privileged individuals in the society. This is contrary to the submission [6] who submitted that second-hand product purchase is associated economically disadvantaged individuals in the society. However, our findings support that of [13] who averred that second-hand goods consumption is an observed phenomenon among privileged and less privileged individuals in the society. In fact, we found that education was not a factor that hinder the use of such tyres. The use is observed across all educational levels from lowest to individuals with highest educational level.

CONCLUSION

According to the result of this study, the motivation to patronize imported second-hand tyres is beyond just socio-economic factors. Attitudes and values attached to these tyres still remain positive among automobile users. This orientation among drivers needs urgent intervention to prevent more risk that these tyres may pose to Nigerians. Radical and aggressive sensitization of people is needed, the local tyre factories need to be revived to reduce cost of importation and security operatives in charge of the borders should discharge their duties with utmost patriotism and professionalism.

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EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS (CDAs) IN IMPLEMENTING DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN SURULERE, LAGOS STATE

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ABSTRACT: *Community development, a generic method of social work has been in practice in Africa, specifically Nigeria for donkey years, though often practiced informally through self-help efforts. Community Development Associations (CDAs) are expected to be at the front burner of implementing these self-help projects. This study therefore sought to examine the effectiveness and challenges of CDAs in implementing development projects in Surulere Local Government Area, Lagos State. A comparative study was conducted using two purposively selected CDAs within close proximity; 12 In-depth Interviews were conducted with both the executive and non-executive members of the CDAs and 2 key informant interviews were conducted with the community development officers in each L.C.D.A. The study found that, factors such as poor funding and community participation; as well as variation in the mode of operation of the two associations were found to be impeding/enhancing the effectiveness of CDAs in implementing development projects. This study recommends that, executives of CDAs should engage in continuous sensitization of residents on the importance of community participation and that, government should consider increasing its financial support to CDAs.*

KEYWORDS: Community Development Associations (CDAs), Self-Help Projects, Development Projects, Community Participation, Community Development.

INTRODUCTION

Community participation, collective action and community involvement are old practices in social work, whose roots are traceable to the activities of settlement movements in the works of one of the Social Work pioneers- Jane Addams (Berstein and Grey, 1996)- whereby individuals in disadvantaged communities were strongly encouraged to participate actively in proffering solutions to their communal needs. These same practices are been adopted by Community Development Associations to better their lot in the society, either as a result of the state's failure to fulfil its part of the social contract to its citizenry, or to help augment governments' efforts in providing basic amenities. This study sought to investigate the effectiveness of CDAs in meeting their own felt needs as well as the challenges that confront them.

Community Development Associations (CDAs) are groups formed by voluntary members of a given geographical territory, with the common interest of improving the living conditions in their society. Okwakpam (2010) defined it "as the coming together of people living within a given locality or community with the sole aim of identifying their felt needs and agreeing on the ways, means and moves towards the realization of such identified needs" (p. 2). These groups have been termed in various ways, and are often interchangeably used as common

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interest groups, self-help groups, community development unions and development associations (Omoje, 2014; Shaibu, 2014; Skiba, 2011; Okwakpam, 2010; Akpomuvie, 2010; Wayne and Jo Anne, 1993).

While it is true that CDAs have been in existence in Nigeria for ages, (Sulaimon and Sagie, 2015) they did not achieve legal status until the year 2008 through the Community Development Associations Law of Lagos State; which arguably, strengthens their ability to deliver their mandates. Through this law, CDAs hold regular meetings with the local and state government authorities, however, this is preceded by a myriad of activities which include holding regular meetings with members to discuss their programmes and projects, identification of felt needs and participation in community development projects- through supply of labour, the contribution of money and materials.

These activities have in some cases yielded positive results, as Akinsorotan and Olujide (2007) documented some of the self-help projects of CDAs to include the provision of health facilities, market stalls, roads, schools, post offices, wells, boreholes, pipe-borne water and electricity. Apparently, self-help projects are not restricted to CDAs alone, as other social groups such as – Community Based Organizations (C.B.O's), youth associations, age grade groups, women associations and professional associations also engage in self-help projects (Okosun, 2017; Omoje, 2014; Shaibu, 2014; Thomas, 2011). This similarity of purpose could make it difficult to differentiate between CDAs and other common interest groups. However, CDAs differ from the latter because of its legal standing. In fact, it is informally regarded as the fourth tier of the government in the country. Their legal recognition confers on them certain rights and privileges, in as much as they act in accordance with the tenets of this law.

Also, the law provides CDAs with an inclusive structure. In that, they are well represented both at the local and state government levels. The executives of each CDA forms the Community Development Committee (C.D.C) whose function it is, to update the L.G.A on the operations of the CDAs. This is also reiterated at the state level where certain executives of the C.D.C represent the associations at the state level, forming the Community Development Advisory Council (C.D.A.C), who advise the state government on matters relating to community development (Community Development Associations Law, 2008). This way the government is able to operate a bottom-up approach to community development, becomes abreast of the activities and performance of every CDA in the state and is able to keep record, appraise and motivate deserving associations- usually shown in the Lagos State Annual Community Development Day.

Though a very few empirical papers have documented certain success stories of CDAs (Okwakpam, 2010); these achievements do not seem to measure up to expectation, given the deeply rooted link CDAs now have with the government. Despite the presence of CDAs in all the twenty Local Government Areas in Lagos State, development problems ranging from health, security, environmental, to infrastructural challenges persist across various communities in the state. The inability of CDAs to surmount their communal problems remains a question of relevance to national development. Are CDAs effective at all? What are the social factors affecting the performance of CDAs? Are there political factors inhibiting the performance of CDAs? These are crucial questions that this study attempts to address.

Methods

The study adopted a cross-sectional survey method. Two closely situated CDAs namely Erekusu and Eguru Aguda CDAs were purposively selected in Itire/Ikate and Coker-Aguda Local Council Development Areas (L.C.D.As) respectively both in Surulere Local Government Area, Lagos State. This selection was based on their performance index as obtained from the community development officers in the selected L.C.D.As. The former (Erekusu CDA) was rated a ‘low performing’ CDA because of its inability to implement development projects for decades and the latter (Eguru Aguda CDA) was regarded a ‘high performing’ CDA due to its implementation of development projects in the last three years. The purpose of selecting two CDAs with contrasting levels of performance is to ensure a good basis for comparison. This study is qualitative in nature, and as such, the primary methods of data collection were in-depth and key informant interviews.

A total of 14 interviews were conducted for the purpose of this study, 12 of which were in-depth interviews and the remaining 2 were key informant interviews (conducted with 1 community development officer in each L.C.D.A). 3 executive members from each of the two CDAs were interviewed as well as 3 non-executive members of each CDA. The rationale for selecting both the executive and non-executive members of the CDAs is to ensure validity by corroborating the responses given by both parties. The purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used in selecting the executive members of the CDAs, that is, the inclusive criteria is for the respondent to be a member, and an executive of the selected CDA; while the purposive and convenience sampling techniques were used in selecting the non-executive members of the CDAs based on their availability and interest as at the time of the study.

The study was granted ethical approval by the Lagos State Ministry of Local Government and Community Affairs (through a letter of introduction written to the selected L.C.D.As). Also, consent of participants was sought verbally before the commencement of the study and through a brief consent note written on the first page of the research instrument which also informed the respondents about the general objective of the study.

Interviews were conducted majorly in English Language; however, few respondents were more comfortable with their native language (Yoruba) which was later translated to English language. Responses from the interviews were recorded on a digital recording device and transcribed verbatim. The transcriptions were subjected to rigorous content analysis, in which major themes and sub-themes were identified.

RESULTS

This section presents data from the interviews conducted with the executive and non-executive members of the selected CDAs and the community development officers of the L.C.D.As of these associations. The respondents were ten males and four females. The interviews were transcribed verbatim, two major themes and several sub-themes were identified in line with the objective of the study, which include ;(1) ‘successful development projects of CDAs; (b) ‘governments’ support to CDAs; (c) ‘the bottom-up approach to community development in Lagos State through CDAs; (2) ‘challenges faced by CDAs in implementing development projects’

Theme 1: Successful development projects of the CDA in the past three years

Implementation of development projects successfully, is a major way of assessing the performance of CDAs, and this can be hindered by so many factors such as the mode of operation adopted by CDAs. CDAs operate in different ways, the low performing CDA reported that it functions as a central body to several ‘street resident associations’ who are to operate individually on the development of their streets and give feedback to the CDA. This was recounted by an executive member of the CDA as follows;

> *Our CDA is made up of Street Resident Associations. Almost all streets (resident associations) hold meetings almost once a month to gather fund and recruit security men, embark on electrification activities and so on, all these are communicated to us at the CDA (IDI Male, 74 years)*

However, there appear to be a lack of synergy between this (low performing) CDA and its resident associations, which impacts negatively on its performance. The resident associations feel somewhat detached from the CDA and fail to attribute their achievements to the CDA. One of the executives of a resident association in the low performing CDA recounted;

> *I cannot point to any project done by the CDA, apart from their involvement when we had issues with NEPA (National Electric Power Authority), I have never seen the work of the CDA (IDI Male, 51 years)*

Also, when asked if he attends the meetings of the CDA, he said;

> *No, it is because of the setup of the CDA that I see, I cannot run into them. It is those baba, baba them (the elderly). If I do, my idea will be different from their own and I don’t want any baba to say I am doing too much or I am proving to know too much. I just leave them with their own. Although they have been calling me to come but my idea will not work with them. That is how I see it, but on this street no person participates apart from baba xyz who is an executive of the CDA (IDI Male, 51 years)*

Evidently, the low performing CDA did not execute any development project in the last three years. However, they have recorded some development projects many years back. An executive member of the CDA narrates;

> *We built the drainage in the 1970’s and we also graded the roads. We have a police post project which we started in 1994 but till date we are yet to complete it and it’s paining me seriously. The project was embarked on because of high rate of robbery at that time, cost of completion is very high, the police is not making it easy, they are giving us demands that are difficult to meet. We are looking at changing the use of the building to a vocational center for the benefit of the community. We do not have any other project because we were strongly advised not to commence another project if a pending project is on ground (IDI Male, 74 years)*

This implies that the CDA has not implemented any development project for over two decades, but the same is not the case with its resident associations as they have recorded a number of successes in the last three years. An executive member of one of the resident associations in the low performing CDA reported;

> *…part of it is that we ensure that we get a brand new transformer, for example, to install the transformer we are to make a construction for the transformer to serve as a platform, so water won't enter our new transformer. Like three years back we were on the Cele transmission supply as our source of electricity supply where we hardly had power. We came together with other residents associations and approached NEPA. We liaised with NEPA to switch us to the source coming from Festac, we had to raise about one million, seven hundred thousand naira (N1,700,000) to get this done with other resident associations to execute it. That is the reason we have constant power supply now. We levy ourselves to raise this money but some people still owe. The level of compliance is still low. We also ensure security is on point and breakage into houses has stopped (IDI Male, 50 years)*

On the other hand, the high performing CDA recorded some level of success on project execution in the last three years which include but not limited to; construction of security gate, purchase and installation of transformers, continuous provision of informal security apparatus and the purchase of land for building a community hall which would serve the needs of the community upon completion. The executive and non-executive members of the CDA recount;

> *We have been able to provide security for the community, before now we use to have cases of robbery because when they wanted to repair this road, they removed the gate; we have to do it by ourselves. We spent over seven hundred thousand naira in installing another gate which the community member raised the fund. We acquired a land, the person claiming the land with us passed away and the hoodlums wanted to sell the land. They have been bringing buyers to see the land but I used my influence to acquire the land for the community. We have started construction through the help of the residents (IDI Male, 63 years)*

Another executive recounts;

> *Definitely we have achieved so much because….as regards electricity we work assiduously to obtain about four transformers, the recent one is the one mounted in Babatope Street (a member street), if not for the general power issue we should have light now. If we have a general course to achieve, we are always united, presently we are building a community hall out of the stipends we are contributing, we ought to have made a lot of progress on the hall but our gate was demolished while constructing Brown road which made us spend a lot of money installing another one (IDI Male, 68 years).*

To validate the above responses, a non-executive member of the high performing CDA recounts;

> *Yes, the CDA was the one who helped us replace our street gate, because, when that brown road (link road) was constructed, the (entrance) gate was removed and as a result of that, we experienced robbery every single day. They (the robbers) don't say because they came yesterday they will not come today; they were not scared of being caught. Even our products and materials we keep here were not safe. So as a result of this, the CDA came up with the idea of fixing a new gate which everyone embraced. They billed us and we all contributed and that was how the gate was fixed. In fact, they*

employed security guards for this community and they asked everyone to pay monthly (IDI Male, 42 years)

The high performing CDA did not only succeed in meeting the pressing infrastructural needs of its community but also succeeded in meeting their social needs by enforcing laws that protect their environment (such as anti-refuse burning), and promoting social order in their community- through cutting short the excesses of restaurants and motorcycle riders which would otherwise be leveraged on by armed robbers to invade communities.

Government's support to CDAs

The government supports the CDAs in executing their development projects, although the support is insufficient, and subject to proof of project commencement with challenges of completion. This gesture is an act of encouraging the activities of the CDAs. A key informant gives an account of such support;

The CDA is entitled to what is called match-in grant, it is a grant that is expected to encourage the CDA to embark on a project, because such a project is self-help project to be completed by the funds they (the community) have raised. The condition for releasing this grant is that if the CDA is unable to complete the project, they forward a request to the local government chairman which will now be approved for the fund to be released at the local government level. The one at the state level is called grant in aids, which is a situation where the local government release fund and such fund is not able to complete the project. It is expected that the state via the CDA with a recommendation of the local government, releases funds to complete the project. Such grant given to the CDA by the state is what we call grant in aids and it is supposed to be enjoyed from federal government but the major support for the CDA is from the local government and the state government (KII Male, 50 years)

Some executive members of the high performing CDA confirmed this gesture by the government;

We obtained grant from the government on the community hall but it could only do little. (IDI Male, 68 years)

Like I said the other time to achieve anything it is funds, you need money for development projects but to the best of my knowledge the senator, Oluremi Tinubu of Lagos central senatorial district gave each CDA money, as a takeoff grant for a project which is one hundred thousand naira (IDI Male, 57 years)

The bottom-up approach to Community Development in Lagos State through CDAs.

CDAs are now regarded as the fourth tier of the government due to their proximity to the grass root. The government liaise with CDAs as regards development projects required in their communities and before formulating policies. An executive member of a CDA who is also a CDC executive recounts;

……. the good thing is we are apolitical that is why the government is particular about our activities. Fifty Seven (57) CDC meet at least twice every month to discuss issues, we are pushing government to do things, and we have the right to accept or reject

> *projects based on its importance to our community…….We contribute in security, health, education etc. that is why we like (Governor) Ambode's Government, he ensures the CDAs and CDC has role to play in his government. He communicates with the CDA before he enacts any law. We respond our desire via feedback (IDI Male, 74 years)*

Both key informants narrate;

> *They are the fourth tier of the government, we have the federal, state, local government then the CDA comes in, so they are the fourth tier of the government. They give the government feedbacks; they tell the government what is on ground, as in what they need like infrastructures, social amenities, so they give the local government the feedback to relay to the state government. Anything that the local government is involved in, they go through the CDAs to the grass root. During immunization exercise the health people do come here (the L.C.D.A) to seek the support of the CDA so they can penetrate more into the grass root, so they go through the CDA, they tell them they are coming for so,so,so, so they can sensitize the community and the community can come out and benefit from such programs (KII Male, 40 years).*

> *About a month ago, every CDC chairman was given a special phone to make calls to the government officials at any time of the day on anything that happens in the area. All the details of the CDA officials are in a central database at the ministry of local government and community affairs under the special adviser on community affairs and communications. It has a very good implication to the CDA. The establishment of the Lagos state neighborhood watch are mandated to work directly with the CDA, to manage security challenges by the Lagos State Safety Corp partnering with the Nigerian police, with this, the crime rate has reduced (KII Male, 50 years).*

Theme 2: Challenges faced by CDAs

Both the high and low performing CDAs are faced with similar challenges. Respondents from the two CDAs identified inadequate funds and unwillingness of most members to support the CDA financially as the major challenges experienced by CDAs. Other challenges include, unwillingness of cooperate bodies to partner with CDAs for cooperate social responsibilities and the government not living up to its responsibilities. However, the challenges are more proclaimed in the low performing CDA because of its mode of operation. An executive member of the low performing CDA narrates;

> *Street resident associations are not paying their dues to the CDA. It is the street associations that ought to pay to the CDA, but they don't pay their dues. So we find it very difficult to raise fund to complete ongoing projects. We wrote letter to the government for support but only one member of the house of assembly gave us fifty thousand naira. We have the challenge of scarcity of fund. Most street members are not paying their dues. CDA pays to CDC, CDC pays to state. CDA also pay to state, formally we pay five thousand naira but now we pay six thousand naira (annually), we pay one thousand naira to advisory committee, we've just paid* (IDI Male, 74 years)

The executive and non-executive members of the resident associations in the low performing CDA reported the following;

> *Basically the challenges are still about the people…….there are times we needed to do projects just like getting transformer, I spent my personal money to see that we get it but I am yet to be reimbursed because some people are yet to pay their levies. We do say all fingers are not equal, but we have equal rights to vote and when it comes to meeting up with our responsibility for the community we fail in it. So the major challenge we always have in the association is that of funding (IDI Male, 50 years)*

> *The major challenge faced by this association is lack of funds; if fund is available the association would be able to achieve so many things including the problem we have with security. Normally each house is to pay one thousand five hundred naira but hardly do we have four houses left paying the monthly due as at the last time I communicated with the financial secretary. If fund is available, surely this association with the leaders on board, would achieve so much (IDI Male, 34 years)*

Similar problems abound in the high performing CDA, an executive recounts;

> *Community members find it very difficult to give out but if they are to give in (i.e. collect) they are comfortable with it. We pay one hundred and twenty five thousand naira to our security men monthly. We have five of them being paid twenty five thousand naira each monthly. We always have difficulty collecting the street due, on Monday we lock the gate which serves as awareness but on Tuesday we commence the collection. Some voluntarily pay the money but majority have to be forced to make payment (IDI Male, 68 years)*

Another problem identified by resident associations is the scrap of the 'compulsory' monthly environmental sanitation in the state, which hinders them from having their regular monthly meeting, hitherto held on environmental sanitation days, due to the restriction of movement during this exercise. Despite the obstacles faced by these associations, certain means have been devised to ensure their survival. These strategies include; getting income from properties owned by the CDAs, receiving donations from committed individuals and enforcing the payment of dues.

DISCUSSIONS

Findings of this study revealed that CDAs are to a great extent effective in executing development projects. The high performing CDA recorded a number of successful development projects in the last three years which include the installation of community gates, employment of security guards, acquisition of a land to build a community hall, acquisition and installation of transformers among others. This aligns with the findings of Akinsoratan and Olujide (2007) that CDAs were involved in a number of development projects for the benefit of their members.

On the contrary, the low performing CDA could not point to any development project in the last three years, though, some of its street resident associations recorded some achievements which include recruiting security guards, installation of transformers and electric cables. The discrepancy in the performance of both CDAs could be attributed to their mode of operation. The high performing CDA operates as a single entity which allows it to have a grip on the participation of residents, while the low performing CDA operates as a central body to all the 'street resident associations' within it. However, the over-dependence of the low performing CDA on the 'street resident associations' inhibits it from having a direct relationship with the inhabitants within its jurisdiction, which has resulted in its low performance in executing development projects.

The findings of this study also revealed a bottom-up approach to community development in Lagos State. It demonstrates an established chain of communication between the government and CDAs being the closest group to the grass root. The CDA is regarded as the fourth tier of the government and it is backed by the enacted Community Development Associations law of Lagos State (2008), which gave CDAs recognition and the right to contribute in government policies and decision making. Government provides some level of financial support to the CDAs, but this is subject to the inability of the CDA to complete an ongoing project, which is known as 'grant in aid'. The high performing CDA reported to have benefited from this gesture, though the grant received could do little in the completion of the project. This situation of inadequate financial support from the government faced by CDAs is corroborated by the findings of Shaibu (2014), which suggests that, governments' contribution towards community development has been very insignificant as little impact has been recorded in terms of financial and technical aids for project execution, material provision for construction and rehabilitation of community facilities.

Finally, both the high and low performing CDAs identified inadequate funds and reluctance of most members to give financial support as the major challenges faced. This aligns with the findings of Okosun (2017) which revealed that the challenges of development associations include; low level of participation, political hindrances and bad governance, economic and political crisis, funding and logistics problems. Though, both CDAs have devised certain means of augmenting revenue generation. These coping strategies include property ownership and donations from generous residents.

CONCLUSION

Community Development Associations are regarded as the forth tier of government, and as such, they facilitate a bottom-up approach to community development in Lagos state. The enactment of the Lagos state Community Development Associations Law has consolidated the activities of the CDAs in carrying out their self-help roles. In line with the above findings, this study concludes that activities of CDAs have indeed complemented governments' efforts in alleviating the hardship faced by citizens; although, not without certain setbacks such as those identified in this study.

We therefore recommend that executives of CDAs should engage in continuous sensitization of residents on the importance of community participation and that, social workers should assume their activism roles on behalf of CDAs to ensure that government increase its financial support to them, the implication of this to social work practice is reduced workload for social workers. More effective CDAs would translate to less strain for social workers in areas of socio-economic empowerment, family instability and domestic violence.

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RECOUNTING OFFSHORE MULTINATIONAL OIL CORPORATIONS' INDUCED CONFLICT COSTS ON THE SURVIVAL OF COASTAL COMMUNITIES IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT: *Multinational Oil Corporations (MNOCs)' induced conflicts and military raids on local oil-bearing communities in the Niger Delta no longer make headline news in Nigeria. Many may be living in that euphoria as if the issues which usually provoke such conflicts are completely resolved in the country's oil-rich region. Suffice to state that the issues which usually induces them and the costs continue to place heavily burden on the survival of oil-bearing communities across the Niger Delta. This paper recounts Offshore Multinational Oil Corporations (OMNOCs)' induced conflict costs on the survival of coastal communities in Nigeria. This conflict-cost-survival analysis was appraised using quantitative technique involving 471 respondents from 6 Local Government Areas, 3 each from Bayelsa and Delta States in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. The findings show that the OMNOCs' induced conflicts exacerbate costs including death and destruction of properties, forced migration, social disorder, breakdown of families, and total dislocation of businesses in the region. It therefore, recommends that the OMNOCs and the Federal Government of Nigeria should endeavour to avoid use of force to quelling oil-related conflicts in the Niger Delta.*

KEYWORDS: Coastal, Communities, Conflict, Multinational Oil Corporations, Offshore, Survival, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

Conflicts linking MNOCs are age-long occurrences in the Nigeria's Niger Delta. Their form and magnitude especially in the last two decades assumed incredible dimensions (Abutu & Ejeh, 2017; Babatunde, Norafidah & Zengeni, 2016). Quite a number of explanations and solutions has been offered by scholars and stakeholders to restrain violent conflicts in the region (Osaghae, 2015; Anochie & Mgbemena, 2015; Maiangwa & Agbiboa, 2013; Eweje, 2006). However, most of the issues leading to such violent conflicts and the scares emanating from them have not been completely expunged. Most importantly, the costs of the conflicts as they relate to the survival of the oil-bearing communities across the Niger Delta remain a mystery to many around the world.

Suffice to state that the violent conflicts are manifestations of the region's woes - environmental damage through sustained oil pollution, lack of development, poverty, among others. In addition, lack of commitment by the Nigerian government and OMNOCs to issues of remediation of the polluted environment, payment of adequate compensation for resources' damage among others, continue to prick the hearts of the people to change the narrative. Couple with these is the issue of the peoples' quest as their right to own and control the petroleum wealth to better their lives. Many of such issues across the region continue to engender grievances against the OMNOCs and the Federal Government of Nigeria. Many may argue that it is logical at that point for the OMNOCs to seek States' protection for safety of their personnel, operational facilities and other investments, as well as, security of the Nigeria's petroleum resources-based economy. However, it has been observed that it is a general attitude of OMNOCs anywhere they operate to seeking State protection. The purpose is for them to securing stable political environment to have more access to the State's resources without any form of hindrance. It is not for the good intension of the State but for their profiting in business and investment deals. The OMNOCs do so in most cases by influencing regulatory authorities to have their way at the detriment of local communities. An attitude which have made scholars to accuse them of complicity - double standards, corporate irresponsibility, environmental harm/risks and violence against the local oil-bearing communities especially in the Niger Delta (Agbonifo, 2016; Okonkwo, Kumar & Taylor, 2015; Yusuf & Omoteso, 2015).

Such attitude of the OMNOCs across the Niger Delta has engendered series of agitations from the oil-bearing communities. The agitations started as peaceful protests by youths of the oil-bearing communities against the sustained oil pollution and environmental damage in the region by the OMNOCs. The peaceful protests later metamorphosed to militancy with its survival strategies such as hostage taking and kidnapping of staff of MNOCs, oil pipelines vandalization, theft, among others. These actions by the Agitators were suppressed with maximum force by the Federal Government of Nigeria in collusion with the oil firm(s). They took the opportunity and unleashed mayhem on the people and communities in the Niger Delta. What this kind of collaboration suggests to the people is that dialogue and other peaceful means are no longer feasible for the struggle towards emancipation of the people from the stern grip of the Nigerian State and the OMNOCs. As a result, the region witnessed quite a number of violent conflicts between the Niger Delta Agitators (NDAs) and the Nigerian security forces. Though, the guns seem silent for quite some time now and many may be living in that euphoria that all is well in the region. Many have also applauded the arms militancy by the NDAs that it actually paid off to the people of the Niger Delta. That the struggle did not only expose the region's lack of development perpetrated by the Nigerian State and the OMNOCs to the rest of the world (Obi 2009a, 2010; Watts 2007; Ikelegbe & Ikelegbe 2006), but also exposed the human rights record of the Nigerian State and its security agencies as well as the OMNOCs in the region at the time. Furthermore, it has been acknowledged as one of the major factors responsible for the OMNOCs to abandon the onshore area operations to favouring the offshore sector (Dan-Woniowei & Okeke-Ogbuafor, 2019).

Currently, the Nigeria's Niger Delta is experiencing relative calm. However, the issues and scares of violence remain a great concern to the coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities in the region. More worrisome is the fact that the conflicts in the last two decades have continued to frustrate the survival of the communities across the region. As a result, this paper chronicles some of the violent conflicts in the region to showcase their cost on the survival of the coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities in the Nigeria's Niger Delta. It conducted a field survey

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involving 471 respondents from 6 coastal oil and gas bearing Local Government Areas, 3 each from Bayelsa and Delta States in the Niger Delta to determine the costs. The theory of environmental externality provides the bedrock of analysis in determining the origin/causal factors of the conflicts and the heavy burden they place on the survival of coastal communities in the Nigeria's Niger Delta. The results show that conflicts induced by OMNOCs exacerbate costs including death and destruction of life and properties, forced migration of the affected population/communities, social disorder, breakdown of families, and total dislocation of businesses in the region. It therefore, recommends that the Federal Government of Nigeria and the OMNOCs operating in the region should endeavour to avoid use of maximum force to resolving oil-related conflicts in the Niger Delta.

Conceptual Clarification and Analysis

A full understanding of the key concepts as used in this paper will be quite desirable. The concepts include offshore multinational oil corporations (OMNOCs) in Nigeria, OMNOCs' induced conflicts in the Niger Delta, survival of coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities, and the theory of environmental externality.

Offshore Multinational Oil Corporations in Nigeria

The OMNOCs in Nigeria are not different from the wider known category of multinational oil corporations (MNOCs). However, in the context of this paper, the OMNOCs are offshore based oil and gas exploiting companies in Nigeria. Their exploitation activities take place along the coastal barrier islands and extending seawards but not exceeding the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of Nigeria. They are major petro-business partners of the Federal Government of Nigeria through its Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). The NNPC is charged with the responsibility of government petro-business in the country. The operations of the OMNOCs are seeing everywhere in the Niger Delta, but their corporate and commercial offices as well as tax revenues goes respectively to Lagos and Abuja. Suffice to state that the hydrocarbon business preferences of the Nigerian government position the OMNOCs to be very powerful, influential and dominant in the country. As argued by Gilpin (2016), and Goldstein & Pevehouse (2013-2014), such preferences can greatly constrain the sovereignty of Nigeria like most other resources endowed States in Africa. The reasons are not farfetched, the OMNOCs have economic power and advancements in technology to propel the petro-business and other commercial interests beyond the national limits of Nigeria (Omorede, 2014). Such great potentials enable them access to vital energy resources and exploit them anywhere and market them accordingly with overwhelming profits anywhere in the world, even sometimes at the detriment of some of national governments.

That notwithstanding, exploitation of oil and gas will continue to increase in all producing countries in the world due to increasing demand and the major advancements in technology. It has been argued that these factors also stimulated the interest of the Federal Government of Nigeria and the major MNOCs such as Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC), Chevron Nigeria Limited (CNL), ExxonMobil, among others (collectively called OMNOCs in this study), to beam their satellite on the coastal/offshore and deepsea areas of the Niger Delta (Dan-Woniowei & Okeke-Ogbuafor, 2019). Though, their emergence in the offshore sector seems to be in sharp contrast with known global perceptions (Dan-Woniowei & Okeke-Ogbuafor, 2019). Their studies revealed that the OMNOCs in Nigeria sell off their interests in marginal onshore and shallow water fields to mostly Nigerian and smaller companies and relocate to high-sea due to instability, drying up onshore wells, theft, and sabotage within the onshore and shallow water operations, among others (Dan-Woniowei & Okeke-Ogbuafor, 2019). In recent years, their (OMNOCs) activities in the offshore sector have continued to increase across the region.

The local oil-bearing/fishing communities were very critical about the relocation agenda of the OMNOCs. They accused them of running away from their responsibilities concerning remediation of polluted lands and water bodies, payment of reparation, among others (Dan-Woniowei & Okeke-Ogbuafor, 2019). There were also fears regarding increasing damage to the environment, particularly, as it concerns depletion of ecological resources that are vital for the survival of the coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities in the Niger Delta (Dan-Woniowei, 2020; Dan-Woniowei & Okeke-Ogbuafor, 2019). In addition, their fears appear genuine going by the fact that the OMNOCs anywhere in the world they are operating, are noted for environmental damage and therefore, will do the worst offshores now that they will be completely out of sight of the communities to monitor their operations. The fears of the coastal communities were further justified by the number of devastating offshore incidents caused by the OMNOCs from 1980 to date in the region (Abowei & Ogamba, 2013).

Nevertheless, Nigeria’s path to growth and development from independence to date could not be divorced from the OMNOCs. It is worthy to mention that their collaboration with the State-owned NNPC provides about 95 percent of export earnings, and over 80 percent of government revenue, as well as, over 40 percent of the country’s GDP (Iwejingi, 2013). In addition, Nigeria benefits from the technology of the OMNOCs in the oil and gas sector, and the employment opportunities for the citizens in the network of subsidiaries (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013-2014; Roach, 2007). Furthermore, the OMNOCs help to provide foreign investment and infrastructure for the country through tax revenues from the natural resources (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013-2014). However, it has been argued that through such avenues, the OMNOCs impact on the living standard of the people in the many countries they exploit resources from, but often in a very complex and imperceptible manner (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013-2014; Roach, 2007). They are also capable of creating friendly relations with foreign governments (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2013-2014). Such practices greatly influence regime change in some resources endowed countries.

Survival of Coastal Oil-bearing/fishing Communities

The concept of survival of coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities links ecological wellbeing and the continuous existence of the communities that have lived for centuries on the coastal barrier islands of the Atlantic Ocean within the Bayelsa and Delta States axis of Nigeria. In addition, the concept is a determinant or a measure of the ecological or ecosystem wellbeing, cultural, political, and economic conditions of the rural household as well as the larger community across the region. Most importantly, it scales these conditions on the plank of negative environmental externalities of offshore petroleum exploitation activities ongoing in the region.

Undoubtedly, the survival mechanisms of the inhabitants of the coastal communities clearly differentiate them from their onshore or inland counterparts (McElduff, 2016). The ecosystem consisting of the Atlantic Ocean and estuarine seas, barrier islands or coastal landmass and beaches as well as the different organisms or species, among others of the region are quite unique to the people of the coastal communities. The ecosystem and the services mean much to the survival of the communities in the region. Undeniably, the environment is *sine qua non* to the survival of human life and other living things all over the world. It consists of all complex systems of interactions including the atmosphere, land, bodies of water, living and non-living things. The environment provides the physical milieu and resources required by man for all facets of development. The point must be made therefore, that this very vital source of livelihood for the Niger Delta communities depletes daily as a result of OMNOCs' activities in the region. It is important that the sustenance of the quality of the environment must be key while exploiting resources from the region for the development of the country (Oyebamiji & Mba, 2014). The quality of the marine environment must remain unique as one with the diverse network of habitats and species, interwoven by complex physical and ecological processes that interact with humans and their activities at many levels (IPIECA-IAOGP (2015). In addition, this complex network of habitats and associated communities, including the open ocean, deep sea, coral reefs, estuaries, saltmarshes, mudflats, beaches among others, which consists the ecosystems, must all be connected and influence the Ocean (IPIECA-IAOGP, 2015). Ivanova (2014) states that the ecosystem and the economies of the local communities are closely intertwined. It implies the ecosystem of the Niger Delta and economies of the communities are closely intertwined. Evidently, the people heavily depend on them as the main source(s) for their subsistence living (Ejiba, Onya & Adams, 2016). The coastal ecosystem provides many services including the provision of fish stock and other seafood for the people to consume, derive recreational or aesthetic and spiritual fulfilment and enjoyment, as well as other benefits such as disease management and climate regulation from these habitats (UNEP-UN Environment, 2017; IPIECA-IAOGP, 2015).

Unfortunately, human activities especially, petroleum exploitation has continued to degrade the ecosystem and the services the communities depend for their wellbeing (UNEPFI, 2011; WBCSD, 2010). The most critical of all known human activity that have much impact on the marine environment is pollution caused by extractive industries such as the OMNOCs (WWF International Report (2015). Pollution from the activities of OMNOCs causes environmental risks. Environmental risks are the direct and indirect or cumulative pollution impacts (negative environmental externalities) of the OMNOCs on the environment, which manifests in the forms of ecosystem depletion, climate change, coastal erosion, among others, borne by the people of the coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities in the Nigeria's Niger Delta. Vinogradov (2013) affirms that the global development of offshore petroleum activities has increased pollution accidents in offshore locations, and have tremendously impacted marine lives to a large scale.

Chronicle of OMOCs' Induced Conflicts in Nigeria

Records show that the very first notable conflict between an OMNOC and a coastal oil-bearing/fishing community was in 1987. It was Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) against Iko community in Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. Essential Action (1999), reported that the community approached SPDC to ask for their rights in a peaceful protest to reverse the deteriorating environmental and socioeconomic conditions the company's operations was impacting on the community. According to the report, two major issues formed the bedrock of their protest, which were;

- ➢ Closure of creek/stoppage of regular fishing activities by SPDC, and
- ➢ Health hazards on the community from gas flaring.

The report also stated that Iko community asked for remediation of the environment and jobs for their youths and women in order to mitigate the prevailing conditions. Instead of responding to these genuine demands positively, the company used the Nigerian military to burn down many houses and tortured the people of Iko community. It was also reported that in 1995 (i.e. eight years after the first protest), the community organized another protest and a team of Mobile Police (code named Kill and Go) invaded the village at night, burnt down many houses and killed a school teacher. This attack is a scare that will ever remain indelible in the heart of Iko community (Essential Action 1999).

Another memorable incident was the one involving Texaco (now Chevron) and youths of Koluama communities between January 20th -27th 1995. The youths of the community occupied Funiwa 5 platform operated by Texaco, and shut down the facility for that period. It was reported in that incident that Texaco lost its daily production of about 55,000bpd, but at the time Texaco blocked every effort of publishing the incident (Dan-Woniowei, 2005). The grievances of the youths were unemployment, non-compensation for environmental damage and the construction of social infrastructure including pipe-borne water and hospital. The protest was mainly because of long time destruction of their environment (pollution of the Ocean, estuaries and adjoining rivers) by Texaco offshore operations. Oil slicks are still a common feature in area.

The youths of Koluama communities organized a second protest and forceful closure of the Texaco's Funiwa 5 platform between March 10th – 20th 1998. This time around, the youths asked for an immediate compensation for a spillage which the company was cunningly avoiding. They argued that the spill hampered their fishing rights and livelihood. The action by Texaco was a slap on the communities. As a result, the youths of the communities occupied the platform and stopped workers from working, and eventually seized two vessels and expatriate crew on board at the time. Lives were not lost in this incident but the protest caused the Pennington terminal of the company an eleven-day stall of export loading schedules.

Another outstanding conflict was the one between Chevron Nigeria Limited (CNL) and Opia and Ikenwa communities of Delta State in Nigeria's Niger Delta. It took place on the 4th of January, 1999. The communities alleged that CNL aided an attack by the Nigerian military on them in response to their public protest for reparation and compensation from the company. Goodman & Scahill (1998) reported that the military injured and killed persons and livestock, destroyed religious shrines, canoes and other fishing equipment, water wells, as well as burnt down homes in both communities in that incident.

Chevron/Texaco and Escravos community also had their share of conflict in the region on the 8th of July 2002. It all started after the company ignored the community's correspondence in June 2002 concerning demands relating to compensation of an oil spill in the area the company was trying to conceal. It was reported that about 600 women of the community occupied the company's export terminal and tank yard to express their grievances concerning the company's attitude on the issue. It was also reported that the ten-day event of the women disrupted the flow of 450,000 barrels a day (b/d) of the terminal. Most importantly, the women were able to make 26 demands from the company's management. The most prominent of all the demands was the establishment of a permanent tripartite conflict resolution body of stakeholders, government officials, representatives of CNL management and the women leadership of the community. Women involvement in the protest could be that they bear most of the burden of the negative environmental externalities from the operations of the OMNOCs in the region. It was also a firm belief of the women that since their husbands and sons were the greatest enemies and victims of the Nigerian security forces, seeing them at the forefront may change the attitude of the company and the security forces to considering the demands of the community. Actually, some commitments were made by the company through negotiations with the women. According to Turner & Brownhill (2004), a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed between the CNL and women at the time. It contains the following issues:

- 15 members of the communities on contract staff to be appointed permanent staff;
- Building of one house each for the elders - Oloja Ore and the Eghare-Aja of the communities;
- Provision of vital infrastructure;
- A monthly allowance of at least N50,000 (U.S.$375; 1 Naira = U.S.$.0075) for the elderly aged 60 years and above;
- Employment of one person from each of the five Ugborodo villages every year; and
- Establishment of income generating schemes.

There was no objection from the company negotiators for those requests however, a key demand from the women that says CNL should cease operations in the area was not accepted by the company negotiators. Nevertheless, the incident was quite remarkable in the sense that it marked another epoch of women protests in Nigeria. It enabled the women to express their predicaments to the world in this manner:

> "We want Chevron to employ our children. If Chevron employ our children,
> we the mothers will survive; we will see food to eat. Our farms are all gone
> due to Chevron's pollution of our waters. We used to farm cassava, okro, pepper
> and crops, now all the places we have been farming are sinking, and we cannot
> farm. We cannot catch fishes and crayfish, that is why Escravos women and
> Chevron are in conflict" (Turner & Brownhill, 2004).

This particular incident encouraged twelve different women occupation of OMNOC facilities in the Nigeria's Niger Delta. It was reported that before the Escravos group concluded negotiations, well over 1,000 women occupied six Chevron/Texaco flow stations at Abiteye, Makaraba, Otuana, and Olera Creeks among others (Wamala, 2002). It was also reported that about one hundred women paddled a massive canoe covering a distance of five miles into the high seas to take over the company's production platform in the Ewan oil field operated by Chevron/Texaco. It led to the evacuation of the company's staff, shut down production and refused to negotiate with the women, claiming that, "the women were not from their host community" (Turner & Brownhill, 2004).

Among all the twelve new women takeovers, the Abiteye incidence was quite remarkable. Turner & Brownhill (2004) reports that when the Environment Rights Action (ERA) investigated it on July 22, 2002, one 67-year-old Felicia Itsero, spokesperson for the women narrated their ordeal thus:

> "We are tired of complaining, even [i.e. and moreover] the Nigerian Government and their Chevron have treated us like slaves. Thirty years till now, what do we have to show by Chevron, apart from this big yard and all sorts of machines making noise, what do we have? They have been threatening us that if we make noise, they will leave our community and stop production and we will suffer, as if we have benefited from them. Before the 1970s, when we were here without Chevron, life was natural and sweet, we were happy. When we go to the rivers for fishing or forest for hunting, we used to catch all sorts of fishes and bush animals. Today, the experience is sad. I am suggesting that they should leave our community completely and never come back again. See, in our community we have girls, small girls from Lagos, Warri, Benin City, Enugu, Imo, Osun and other parts of Nigeria here every day and night running after the white men and staff of Chevron, they are doing prostitution, and spreading all sorts of diseases. The story is too long and too sad. When you go (ERA) tell Chevron that we are no longer slaves, even slaves realize their condition and fight for their freedom" (Turner & Brownhill, 2004).

Accordingly, Turner & Brownhill (2004) reports that the Niger Delta is "exploited, misused, abused, polluted, underdeveloped, and almost completely dead; like a cherry fruit sucked and discarded." Their conclusion was that the "death economy" operated by the government and the OMNOCs was behind the depletion of the environment, high magnitude of unemployment, prostitution, and general absence of social amenities in the host-communities (Turner & Brownhill, 2004).

Undoubtedly, the agitations of the women triggered some commitments from CNL and SPDC in July 2002 to many affected communities across the region (Turner & Brownhill, 2004). However, the communities reported that such commitments made by the SPDC were not implemented. Due to that, over 4,000 women of Warri demonstrated at the regional headquarters of SPDC on the 8th of August 2002. It was in demand for the fulfilment of the promise made by SPDC managements on July 2002. In response, it was reported that police and soldiers attacked the women, which was affirmed as stated:

> "…we were just singing; we didn't destroy anything. We were peaceful. The police and soldiers misbehaved. Look at me, seven armed men pounced on me and reduced me to nothing. I found myself in a Shell clinic a day after the protest" (Turner & Brownhill, 2004).

In addition, Turner & Brownhill (2004) affirm that police killed a woman during the attack. This was denied by SPDC in a local media, stating that there was no such killing during the protest (Turner & Brownhill, 2004). Adebayo (2002) however, reports that the protest was widely published, in which about 4,000 women demonstrators gave an ultimatum to the corporation to pay medical bills of those of them were injured during the protest, without which, they would parade themselves naked and place a curse on SPDC. It was also reported that the women were ready to give up their lives if their demands were not met, and threatened to undress themselves before officials of the company. The act of a woman undressing before a man in protest is believed in most parts Africa as a bad omen to the man concerned. It is believed that when a woman makes naked herself in publicly protest and swears to a man with her private that, “this is where your life come from, I hereby revoke your life”, especially by an elderly woman, can affect the life of the man negatively. The belief is that such a curse has some spiritual powers to inflict madness or even cause death of the foe. It was reported that many men subjected to this “social execution” may eventually die when exposed to serious life-threatening situations. It was also reported that this spiritual strategy was widely used by the Gokana people of Ogoni in the 1980s for compelling Shell to meet their demands (Turner & Brownhill, 2004).

Another conflict yet took place in Warri on March 2003 (Nzeshi, 2003). In addition, the report stated that the communities involved lost over 100 people while struggling to take over oil facilities belonging to CNL because the corporation expelled its contract workers who were members of the communities. Nzeshi (2003) further reported that SPDC and CNL at the time shut down their operations and evacuated expatriate staff from facilities that were producing a total of 817,500 b/d.

The protest story in the area assumed a new dimension on April 16, 2003. This involved the lower workforce of Transocean, a contract firm of CNL and their management. Workers of the firm stopped CNL operations in four offshore platforms after it sacked five union leaders who were allegedly organizing members against the firm’s transport policy, which workers of Nigerian origin were transported to workplace in boats, while their expatriate counterparts were conveyed in helicopters. As a result, the workers on board rig MG Hulme staged a strike in protest of the discriminatory transport policy. The protesters argued, boats conveying local staff takes at least four hours to arrive at offshore production platforms, and this was not healthy for them as they are susceptible to attacks for hostage taken/kidnapping by aggrieved community members. They also argued, this was not the case with the expatriates who took just 45-minute flight to land at the offshore production platforms. In addition, Oyawiri (2003) reports that on April 19, 2003, a general strike was called by the staff union in solidarity with staff of Transocean, and three additional CNL’s deep-sea platforms joined their colleagues in the protest. Furthermore, it was reported, protesting union members stopped work at offshore platforms and held hostage over 200 foreign and Nigerian workers (mostly management cadre) of Halliburton, Schlumberger, TotalFinaElf and SPDC across the region. However, Vidal (2003) reported that the protests were called off on May 2, 2003 about the time British and Nigerian security forces were planning to use force to stop it.

The most significant fact in all the conflicts or civil unrest recorded in the Niger Delta points to one critical fact, which is that the OMNOCs were mostly responsible. The OMNOCs encourages and sponsors civil unrests in the region by engaging in acts inimical to the environment and resources of the coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities. The incidents show that the OMNOCs on occasions collude with the Nigerian state and security agencies by not keeping to safe environmental conditions, using excessive force to quell communities’ peaceful protests, killing and destroying lives and property at will, and dishonouring agreements reached with the communities. This is a clear indication of a superior power (the Nigerian State-MNOCs coalition) imposing itself on the weak and helpless Niger Delta oil-bearing communities. However, the region is currently, experiencing relative calm.

Theory of Environmental Externality

Those who propounded the theory of environmental externality or spillover effects were Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900) and Arthur C. Pigou (1877-1959) (Sandmo, 2015). This theory explains the costs and benefits of human productive activities on the environment. It defines and clarifies what environmental problems are, where they come from and how to solve them. An externality occurs when some of the costs or benefits of the activity are externalized or imposed on a third party without compensation. This could take two forms, namely; negative externality (also called, external cost or external economy) and positive externality (also called, external benefits or "external economy) (Sandmo, 2015).

Negative externality refers to an economic activity that imposes a negative effect on unrelated third party. It could arise either during the production or consumption of a good or service (Goodstein & Polasky, 2005). It can also arise when the welfare of one party adversely affects the action of the other party, and the loss in welfare uncompensated due to lack of liability to the third party(s) who suffered the damages. This explains why pollution from the OMNOCs which the coastal communities suffer in the Niger Delta are inadequately compensated, for the OMNOCs are not liable to the communities as third parties in the petro-business. Pearce (2002) argues that pollution, as far as polluters force others to pay for something from which they get no benefit, is an injustice, having "caused damage to third parties [without being] required paying for that damage". Codato (2001) considers it as a "by-product of a product or consumption process that harms or otherwise, violates the property rights of others". Accordingly, Mitchell (2003) state that:

> "...it is a kind of theft, a theft of well-being for the fact that whether it is committed reciprocally to each other or not, does not stop it from being a theft; though situations of reciprocal externalizations are somewhat distinct from those where the externalization runs one way".

However, in situations of reciprocal pollution, issues such as those relating to environmental protection are strongly dependent on the sociological concern of trust. Fairbrother (2016) and Irvin & Berigan (2013) argue that trust and public support for policies that protect the environment expect others to make efforts to offsetting the damages as well as protecting the environment. This is because they have confidence that public authorities will implement systems for environmental protection as promised, since they have the requisite level of expertise and administrative capacity and without corruption, will be willing to pay for the environmental damage. In this regard, the views of Boyce (2017) and Malesios & Botetzagias (2009) are quite relevant when they separately maintain that the imposition of an externality by one party on others, but not reversed, are based on power imbalance and inequality. The ongoing environmental impacts in the Niger Delta can be inferred that the government and OMNOCs are the winners while the indigenous people of the Niger Delta are the losers. This is because the power to impose costs on the OMNOCs for pollution damages rely with the government who have major stakes in their businesses. This is detrimental to the people as their means of survival is eroded continually. Nonetheless, the problem of distribution of the cost of benefit to an individual or group or society as a whole (including future operations as it affects a company), may therefore imply that some people benefit at the expense of others, and so it might not want externalities internalized for they stand to lose out.

Negative environmental externality can also be possible when producing corporations fail to consider the cost of environmental harm in their business models (Baumol & Oates, 1988; Meade, 1973; and Coase, 1960). Undoubtedly, the process of oil and gas production involves transformation of matter to energy (inputs into products as outputs), which generates wastes and causes pollution that severely impact ecosystems (WWF International Report, 2015;

Kadafa, 2012). Considering the value of ecosystems to life, the OMNOCs' business models are expected to recognize the cost of harm on the environment in the event of pollution caused by them in the Niger Delta. It appears, the current economic and business models of the OMNOCs in Nigeria never considers this fact wherefore, excluded the cost of environmental damage from oil spills and gas flaring in the Niger Delta to be borne by a third party (the oil-bearing communities). Odoemene (2011) and Edino, Nsofor & Bombom (2010), as well as Emoyan, Akpoborie & Akporhonor (2008) highlighted the negative externalities orchestrated by OMNOCs and borne by the oil-bearing communities in the Niger Delta to include loss of fishing grounds, forced migration, persistent health and shelter problems, social tension and other forms of deprivation. These negative externalities have severely impacted on the quality of life of the people in the region.

Positive environmental externalities are benefits derived from an activity by an unrelated third party. Better still, positive externalities could be regarded as benefits or costs generated as unintended outcomes in a given economic activity, which attracts no compensation as they accrue not directly to the parties involved in the transaction. The benefits or costs could come either on the production side or on the consumption side (Varian, 2010). In addition, the unintended outcomes can manifest themselves in the form of changes in the physical or biological environment. Furthermore, positive externality arises when actions of an individual or a group confers to others, benefits or rewards. For example, a technological spill over is a positive externality which occurs when a firm's invention not only benefits the firm but also enters into the society's pool of technical knowledge and benefits the society as a whole. Nigeria has enormously benefited from the technical knowledge of the OMNOCs operating in the country, but not significant in the area of preventing the invading Atlantic Ocean and seas from washing away the barrier islands and host communities.

The theory of environmental externality is expedient in judging the impact of the OMNOCs (negative or positive) on the survival of coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities in the Nigeria's Niger Delta. Suffice to state that the OMNOCs negatively impact the natural environment. Pollution from oil spills and gas flaring provoke negative environmental externalities of global dimension (WWF International Report, 2015). It reduces the ability of ecosystems to absorb wastes and/or pollutants as well as provide the goods and services needed for the survival of the earth's inhabitants. It is quite appalling that the negative externalities of pollution tormenting the communities are not considered either in the State legislations or business models of the OMNOCs. The fines prescribed in the State legislations for remediation of the negative environmental externalities caused by the OMNOCs are even inadequate. To control pollution, the external costs should be internalized as a tax or with other instruments that may require both producers and consumers of the polluting good to account for. The instrument of tax can reduce the effects of pollution. However, it can raise the price of goods and the quantity of it produced. Nigeria cannot boast of any of these measures for either safeguarding the wellbeing of the environment or the coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities in the Niger Delta.

Certainly, the theory of environmental externalities has provided explanation to the link between petroleum exploitation and environmental consequences in the Nigeria's Niger Delta. It justifies the grievances of the communities which result to violent conflicts and impinges costs on the survival of the people in the region.

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METHOD

Data Collection

The data for this study was obtained from a field survey. It involves a sample size of 471 respondents who were selected from the total population of Bayelsa and Delta States (see Table 2.1), using Raosoft online software calculator that was set at a minimum error margin of not more than 5%. The survey instrument was a structured questionnaire. The questions it contains, were rated on a four-point Likert ordinal/rating scale as indicated: Strongly agree = 4 points; Agree = 3 points; Disagree = 2 points; Strongly disagree = 1 point. In addition, stratified and snowballing sampling techniques were used to randomly select the respondents from 23 coastal communities and 12 institutions/agencies in the 6 coastal Local Government Areas (LGAs), 3 each from the States (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.1 Population distribution of the States by LGAs.

Bayelsa State		Delta State	
LGA	Population	LGA	Population
Brass	184,127	Burutu	207,977
Ekeremor	269,588	Warri North	136,560
Southern-Ijaw	321,808	Warri South-West	116,538
Total	775,523		461,075

Source: NPC, 2010 (2006 census projections 2015).

Table 2.2: Sample distribution [study population] per LGA and institutions/agencies

State/ Institutions	LGA	Community	Number of Questionnaire	Sample size using proportional distribution
Bayelsa	Brass	Sangana	20	36
		Fish-town	16	
	Ekeremor	Ajamabiri	10	50
		Ogbointu	10	
		Agge	15	
		Amatu	15	
	Southern-Ijaw	Ekeni	19	110
		Ezetu I	19	
		Ezetu II	19	
		Foropa	21	
		Koluama I	20	
		Koluama II	22	
Delta	Burutu	Beniboye	11	51
		Ogulagha	15	
		Odimodi	14	
		Sokebolor	11	
	Warri North	Ajamogha	13	46
		Abegborodo	18	
		Ayogboro	15	

	Warri South-West	Ogidigben	20	58
		Olusumere	12	
		Ugborado	15	
		Yokriegbe	11	
Institutions/ agencies	Chevron		8	120
	NNPC		20	
	DRP		5	
	NCDMB		5	
	NESREA		5	
	NDU		20	
	DELSU		21	
	ENV/CIVIL RIGHTS		5	
	MIN. OF ENV. BYS		10	
	MIN. OF MIN. RES. BYS		5	
	MIN. OF ENV. DELTA		10	
	MIN. OF OIL & GAS DELTA		6	
Total	6 LGAs, 23 comm. & 12 institutions			n=471

Source: Authors design, 2019.

Research Design

The quantitative (survey research technique) and qualitative designs were concurrently adopted for easy collection, integration and analysis of the data. The mixed design was appropriate for non-experimental studies of this nature that was intended to describe reality (Nigel, Fox & Hunn, 2009). It enables frequent collection of data as well as relating it to the attitudes, behaviour and/or conduct of the targeted audience each time. In addition, it gives opportunity to select the audience and focus groups randomly, sometimes for either ethical or practical reasons. As affirmed by Nigel, Fox & Hunn (2009), the design helped in restricting the representatives of each focus group, for reasons of practicality and cost-effectiveness.

RESULTS

The various degree of responses to each item/ question from the 471 respondents were organized, computed, analyzed and presented with the aid of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Nonparametric statistics of mean and standard deviation were captured in the process to ascertain the degree of closeness of the opinions of the respondents at a test conducted with a benchmark of 2.50 (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2 respectively). The tools and the process used, greatly enhanced not only the correctness of the results, but also the integrity of the outcome of this study.

Table 3.1 Conflict situation of OMNOCs and coastal communities.

Item statement	Mean	Std. dev.	Decision
Your community for any reason that bothers on oil exploitation have being at conflict with a neighbouring community?	3.26	0.66	Accepted
Social conflicts between oil company workers and community members have caused breakdown of families.	3.27	0.68	Accepted
Several deaths recorded and properties destroyed in conflicts.	3.26	0.64	Accepted
Inhabitants ran for safety, which indicates loss of man-hour and dislocation of businesses.	3.29	0.68	Accepted
Military invasion causing unrest and social disorder.	3.23	0.64	Accepted
Dehumanization and torture by security agents giving rise to hatred and unrest in the oil industry.	3.28	0.69	Accepted
Oil operations have caused forced migration through military invasion and conflicts.	3.24	0.63	Accepted
Grand mean/std. dev.	22.83	4.62	

Table 3.2: Case processing summary.

Variable	N	Min.	Max.	Sum	Mean	Std. Dev.	Decision
Conflicts	471	1.71	4.57	1533.76	3.26	0.66	Accepted
Valid N listwise	471						

Table 3.2 reveals that the OMNOCs induces conflicts in the oil-rich Nigeria's Niger Delta. The parties involved in the conflict are the coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities, the OMNOCs and the Nigerian government through its security forces. This was confirmed by the mean response of the respondents 3.2564 and the standard deviation 0.65736, which indicate that the mean was above the benchmark of 2.50. The standard deviation corroborated this fact also by demonstrating the closeness of the responses of the respondents one to another.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The findings reveal that the OMNOCs' induces conflicts in the Nigeria's Niger Delta.

Researches conducted at various times confirms that conflicts between OMNOCs and host-communities are age-long occurrences in the Niger Delta. These studies also state that such conflicts have equally assumed several forms and magnitudes (Abutu & Ejeh, 2017; Babatunde, Norafidah & Zengeni, 2016). The result also confirms the study conducted by Goodman & Scahill (1998), which reported that the military injured and killed persons and livestock, destroyed churches, religious shrines and water wells, burnt down homes as well as destroyed canoes and fishing equipment in the affected communities. Some respondents from Koluama 1 and 2 affirmed that the Clan had in the past, involved in conflict with Chevron/Texaco on a number of occasions. In one particular incident, a respondent claimed, *"youths who were in a peaceful mission to plead with Chevron at Funiwa 5 platform to negotiate with the Clan on a spillage matter in 2000 were tagged as sea pirates and killed on the high sea by Nigerian Armed Forces employed by the company. Because they know that when an oil spill occurs, the communities will come for them. The bodies of the youths were not seen for burial up till today"* (Authors' Field Survey, 2019).

From the foregoing, it is clear that the OMNOCs induces conflicts in the Nigeria's oil-rich region. It is also clear that such conflicts undermine the survival of the communities as a result of the costs including death and destruction of their properties/villages, forced migration of the surviving population to other communities that are sometimes hostile to them, social disorders, breakdown of family ties and kinship structures, and total dislocation of their subsistence businesses. These conditions further bring about a pathological hatred towards the oil companies and the Federal Government of Nigeria across the region.

Undoubtedly, the people of the coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities have over the years, living in great pain. The family bread winners of the communities are indiscriminately killed or got injured during slight provocations. However, the OMNOCs and government have come to terms with the fact that the use of force cannot bring peace in the region for free flow of the petro-business after much encounters with the Agitators. As a result, the Federal Government have made some commitments to peace and development of the region, which are the establishment of the Amnesty Programme, Niger Delta Ministry and the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC). The OMNOCs have equally made some commitments such as the establishment of Global Memorandum of Understanding (GMoUs) with clusters of host communities to engender peace and development in the host communities. Undoubtedly, these commitments are the reasons for the relative peace in the region, but in aspect of development, the region and communities still have their gory looks.

CONCLUSION

It has been revealed that the OMNOCs operating in the Niger Delta induces conflicts that exacerbates costs on the survival of coastal oil-bearing/fishing communities in Nigeria. The OMNOCs are described as offshore oil and gas exploiting firms, and are major business partners of the Federal Government of Nigeria. A chronicle of' violent conflicts involving the OMNOCs in the region were examined to demonstrate the fact that such conflicts impinge heavy burden on the survival of the coastal communities in Nigeria's Niger Delta. It relied on primary data from 6 oil and gas bearing Local Government Areas, 3 each from Bayelsa and Delta States in the Niger Delta to evaluate the costs. It shows that the costs exacerbated by the OMNOCs' induced conflicts are death and destruction of properties, forced migration, social disorder, breakdown of families, and total dislocation of businesses in the region. It recommends that the Federal Government of Nigeria and the OMNOCs should more committed to avoid use of force to quelling oil-related conflicts in the Niger Delta. It is also imperative that their commitments must cover urgent measures to conserve the fast degrading ecological resources of the region to ensure the continuous survival of the people of the region.

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INDUSTRIAL POLICY AND FIRMS' ADAPTATIONS TO IMPERFECT POCKETS OF EFFICIENCY: THE CASE OF DANGOTE GROUP

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ABSTRACT: *Among other factors, successful industrial policy requires pockets of bureaucratic efficiency to be present. However, there are cases whereby pockets of efficiency are imperfect under competitive clientelist political settlements. As such, adequate resources and organizational capabilities of capitalists could compensate for the deficits in industrial policy tools while being supported by other, "lighter", policy tools. The case of Dangote Group in the Nigerian cement and downstream oil industries is presented to demonstrate this. While the Nigerian state was unable to implement heavier industrial policy tools, it could provide tariffs and fiscal incentives (tax exemptions and holidays). Yet, for most of the Fourth Republic period, only in the cement industry was there such a firm to take advantage of these industrial supports.*

KEYWORDS: Industrial Policy, Political Settlements, Pockets of Effectiveness, Diversified Business Groups, Nigeria, Dangote

INTRODUCTION

It is a common trope that inefficient, corrupt and ineffective state bureaucracies are pervasive in the developing world (van de Walle, 2001). However, this is mostly and fundamentally because such countries lack the structural and economic foundations for Weberian bureaucratization (Khan, 2012). Yet, some have pointed to the existence of "pockets of efficiency" (Hickey, 2019) whereby a state agency is able to operate relatively effectively within a broader inefficient bureaucratic ecology, albeit under constant struggle for survival.

Pockets of bureaucratic efficiency are needed to design and implement industrial policies, which are in turn required for the facilitation of structural transformation of developing economies (Whitfield et al., 2015). Industrial policy requires the use of many policy instruments, with some easier to implement than others within a particular country, industry and time, due to structural factors, partially adequate political settlements, and/or partial or irregular political influence of capitalists. When partial pockets of efficiency exist, some policy tools might be better able to be implemented than others, and hence the private actors would need to muster resources and organizational capabilities to compensate and ensure at least some success in industrial policy outcomes. This capacity to adapt to imperfect pockets of efficiency may be called firms' policy-adaptive capability.

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This article adopts a case study approach and uses evidence from Nigeria to compare the adaptive capabilities demonstrated by Dangote Group in overcoming state capacity deficits the cement and downstream oil sectors. What is observed in the Nigerian cement and downstream oil industries is that the state was able to administer certain industrial policy instruments (fiscal incentives, credit guarantee, and import licensing) but unable to administer others (infrastructure provision and public enterprise ownership) for the cement industry. However, the involvement of a domestic diversified business group which had built large private organizational capacity over time was able to overcome infrastructural bottlenecks which the "heavier" industrial policies were supposed to solve, but this in turn was complemented by the "lighter" industrial policy tools. In contrast, the downstream oil industry dominated by public enterprises relies more completely on the state's inadequate heavy industrial policy capacity and was unable to overcome critical coordination problems until entry by the Dangote Group.

The article is structured as follows: Section 2 presents a review of the literature on industrial policy implementation and the politics of pockets of efficiency. It ends with a lay out of the key argument to be empirically assessed. Section 3 describes industrial policy in the Nigerian cement industry and oil-refining industry particularly from the onset of the Fourth Republic (from 1999).

Industrial Policy and Pockets of Efficiency

Industrial policy is not only ubiquitous among past and present developing countries, but it is a necessity for industrialization (Cimoli, Dosi & Stiglitz, 2009). Although a variety of explanations have been given for differences in industrial policy outcomes (Lin & Chang, 2009), one major line of thought has been the nature of the state. The Washington Consensus strongly blamed "government failure" for the gross limitations of industrial policy across Africa and Latin America (Krueger, 1990). Yet others pointed to the examples of the East Asian Tigers being "developmental states" which facilitated structural transformation through industrial policy (Amsden, 1989).

Evans (1995) identifies a difference between predatory and developmental states (and intermediate forms ranging across the middle). The latter comes closer to the Weberian ideal of bureaucracy by possessing "embedded autonomy" – whereby the state, while embedded in societal networks, maintains some autonomy and internal coherence to implement policy rationally. Khan (2018) goes further by arguing that a major reason why rent-seeking in many developing countries was growth-reducing or at least less growth-enhancing than in East Asia was that the distributions of political and organizational power – the "political settlement" – disallowed the enforcement of performance requirements after industrial policy rents are disbursed by the state (Khan, 2012).

Khan (2010) classifies political settlements in terms of the relative "holding power" across organisations and across different levels of organisations. The horizontal distribution of power refers to the power of excluded groups relative to the ruling coalition, whereas the relative power of groups within the ruling coalition describes the vertical distribution of power (Khan, 2010, pp. 8-9). The more powerful horizontally excluded factions are, the more vulnerable the ruling coalition is, and they may have to make use of more violence, repression or indiscriminate (growth-reducing) rent disbursements to retain power.

On the other hand, “the stronger the lower-level factions, the lower the capacity of the ruling coalition to enforce institutional rules that lower-level factions may contest” (Khan, 2010, p. 9).

HORIZONTAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER: EXCLUDED FACTIONS

VERTICAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER: LOWER LEVEL FACTIONS

	WEAK (Interests of Ruling Coalition Strongly Aligned with Growth)	STRONG (Interests of Ruling Coalition Weakly Aligned with Growth)
WEAK (Ruling Coalition has Strong Implementation Capabilities)	POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENTAL COALITION/STRONG DOMINANT PARTY Low opposition from excluded factions ensures ruling coalition stability and long time horizon. Limited power of lower level factional supporters ensures high enforcement capability. Construction of developmental state possible. E.g. South Korea 1960s.	(VULNERABLE) AUTHORITARIAN COALITION Initial enforcement capabilities likely to be strong but strong excluded factions mean force or legal restrictions have to be used making coalition vulnerable to violent overthrow. E.g. military governance in Pakistan 1960s, Bangladesh 1980s and 1990s.
STRONG (Ruling Coalition has weak Implementation Capabilities)	(WEAK) DOMINANT PARTY Enforcement capabilities become weaker as lower-level factions get stronger or more fragmented. Excluded factions also become stronger if dissatisfied supporters start leaving. India under Congress 1950s and 1960s, Thailand under Thaksin 2000s, Tanzania under CCM 1992-, West Bengal under CPM 19770.	COMPETITIVE CLIENTELISM This is characterized by competition between multiple strong factions. Stability can be achieved only with credible mechanisms for cycling of factions in power. Features low enforcement capabilities in most cases and short time horizons. India and Bangladesh after the 1980s, Thailand in the 1980s and 1990s.

Figure 1: Patron-Client Factions and the Structure of the Ruling Coalition (Khan, 2010, p. 65)

Whitfield et al. (2015) build upon the political settlements framework by proposing an “elaborated political settlements” theory. Successful industrial policy requires three ingredients: mutual interests between ruling elites and capitalists; pockets of bureaucratic efficiency within the state to design and implement industrial policy; and learning for productivity by firms that receive industrial policy rents.

<u>Structural dimensions of the political settlement</u>	<u>Independent variables</u>	<u>Dependent variable</u>
1. Distribution of power within and outside the ruling coalition.	Degree of vulnerability Degree of contestation	Conditions for successful industrial policy: 1. Mutual interests 2. Pocket of efficiency 3. Learning for productivity
2. Relative power of domestic capitalists and their technological capabilities.	Degree of political influence Degree of technological capabilities	

Figure 2: Model of the Elaborated Political Settlements Theory (Whitfield et al., 2015, p. 24)

The elaborated political settlements framework (Whitfield et al., 2015, p. 20) typically interprets the bureaucratic pocket of efficiency as emerging and being maintained due to political support by the ruling elites (which provide relative autonomy to bureaucrats, shielding them from overly distortive redistributive demands made by other elites and the low-level followers) and competence of the bureaucrats. This political support derives from mutual interests between ruling elites and capitalists. Hence, the difficulty in creating a pocket of efficiency would mostly be the result of weak mutual interests between ruling elites and capitalists or a high degree of contestation within the ruling coalition which prevents political insulation and adequate resource allocation for the bureaucracy. However, comepetitive clientelist countris can experience higher levels of contestation within the ruling coalition, thereby making it difficult to implement industrial policy without performance-reducing political interference. Thus, even with mutual interests present, it could be possible to establish a partial pocket of efficiency. In such a case, the capitalist's capabilities in adapting activity and operations to this bureaucratic shortfall/deficit are important. Hence, for the same degree of mutual interests and state resources, different policy tools may be more viable than others due to different required bureaucratic structures. This affects industrial policy implementation. If the binding constraint requires a certain policy instrument (or mix of such instruments and actions) to address, but the "pocket of efficiency" only permits a limited range or depth policy instruments or their usage, then the industrial policy process becomes bottlenecked.

For example, some industrial policy tools may require coordination among more state agencies than others. Many governments assemble such policy-based coordination within an "economic strategy team". Agencies may have opposing interests (see, e.g., Ayinde et al., 2016, p. 20; Farole & Moberg, 2017, pp. 242-244), or projects may be "especially difficult to superintend across multiple, widely dispersed sites of action" Bain et al. (2015, p. 9).

In contexts where mutual interests have emerged, but pockets of efficiency are partial, the capitalists' capabilities may play a role in compensating for the inability of bureaucrats to address all binding constraints through certain policy tools and actions. The major problem, as Whitfield et al. (2015) concede, is that the technological capabilities of capitalists among developing countries, and especially in Africa, are generally poor. Nonetheless, just as scholars have peered further into the notion of political will and government failure, there is a need to peer further into forms of corporate and inter-firm organization and their connections with pockets of efficiency for industrial policy. For instance, Leff (1978) has argued that diversified business groups (DBGs) may arise in developing countries as internal markets for imperfect capital, labour and product markets in the face of imperfect (domestic) external markets, enabling enable the exploitation of economies of scope for related diversification, and risk-reduction for unrelated diversification (Schneider, 2009).

The argument is buttressed using a comparative case study approach, comparing the Nigerian cement industry with the country's oil-refining industry. The comparison with the downstream oil industry is because both sectors are comparative advantage sectors – there is an abundance of limestone for cement production, and an abundance of crude oil for oil refining. They both produce products which have strong domestic and Pan-African demand – cement for infrastructural development and fuels for energy consumption. They are also both capital intensive and therefore require high levels technological and organizational capabilities for large investments to be made. Therefore, the demand and fundamental supply conditions may be held more or less roughly equal for the purposes of extracting sources of divergent performance.

Nigeria, since 2015, has been the largest economy in Africa by GDP, although it remains a lower middle-income country (World Bank, 2019) with a small manufacturing share of the economy (Chete et al., 2016, p. 117), high unemployment and poverty rates. Being an ethnically and religiously diverse country fraught with multiple rivalries, "Nigeria is vulnerable to numerous instabilities…arising from horizontal elite competition, vertical societal redistribution demands and external oil shocks." (Usman, 2016, p. 17). The prevalence intra-elite power struggles give ruling elites a short-term view of power and rent-extraction.

Roy (2017, p. 20), using political settlements analysis, therefore unsurprisingly argues that Nigeria has alternated between vulnerable authoritarianism throughout the period of military rule, and largely competitive clientelism throughout civilian rule. It then becomes difficult to secure pockets of efficiency and ensure implementation of developmental policies due to weak control over elites and lower-level factions (Roy, 2017, p. 19).

This makes it more difficult for it to implement various industrial policy tools such as infrastructure provision (Marwah, 2011) and power supply are limited (Iarossi, et al., 2009, p. 24). There is also a general difficulty in enforcing trade policy such as tariff provisions and import bans (Raballand & Mjekiqi, 2010, pp. 207-210).

The Nigerian political economy makes pockets of efficiency for any industrial policy difficult to uphold across all relevant policy instruments. Yet, as will be demonstrated below, there are instances where firms' capabilities are able to compensate and adapt to partial pockets of efficiency.

Comparative Case Studies

The Cement Industry

State-owned integrated cement plants supplied about 50% of the total market supply of cement between 1960 and 1978 (Akinyoade & Uche 2018). Yet like many other public enterprises in Nigeria, they performed poorly and inefficiently and were heavily subsidized by the state. Although domestic production grew under the public enterprises, it did not keep up with cement demand (Marwah, 2011, p. 78).

The country experienced severe economic turbulence in the 1980s resulting due to the second global oil shock, domestic debt and balance of payments crisis, and economic recession between 1980 and 2000. There was no new cement plant built in the country between 1980 and 2000 (Mojekwu et al., 2013, p. 362), and the state-owned cement companies could no longer be subsidized. From a peak of 3.5 million tonnes in 1986, local cement production crashed to 2.28 million tonnes by 2000; whereas in the same period imports grew massively (Mojekwu et al., 2013, p. 362).

The country transitioned to civilian rule in 1999 to form its Fourth Republic. In 2002, the federal government initiated the Backward Integration Policy (BIP) – an import-substitution policy aimed at improving domestic production of cement. The government required that all recipients of cement import licenses show proof of building factories for local cement manufacturing in Nigeria (Ohimain, 2014, p. 71). All state-owned cement companies were privatized. The government established the Nigerian Investment Promotion Council (NIPC) and effectuated a wide range of tax incentives (Fakile & Adegbile 2011). The government also supports the industry through public procurement, with the government being "the largest consumer of cement in the country with an estimated 50% of total consumption" (Ojo & Oguntimehin, 2017, p. 75).

As a result of these industrial policies (along with greater macroeconomic and political stability), cement investments and domestic production improved immensely and exceeded imports by 2008 (as figure 5 depicts). In 2013 the country became a net exporter of cement for the first time (Oxford Business Group, 2016a, p. 175). By 2017, 95% of the material for the industry's cement production was sourced domestically (McCulloch et al. 2017).

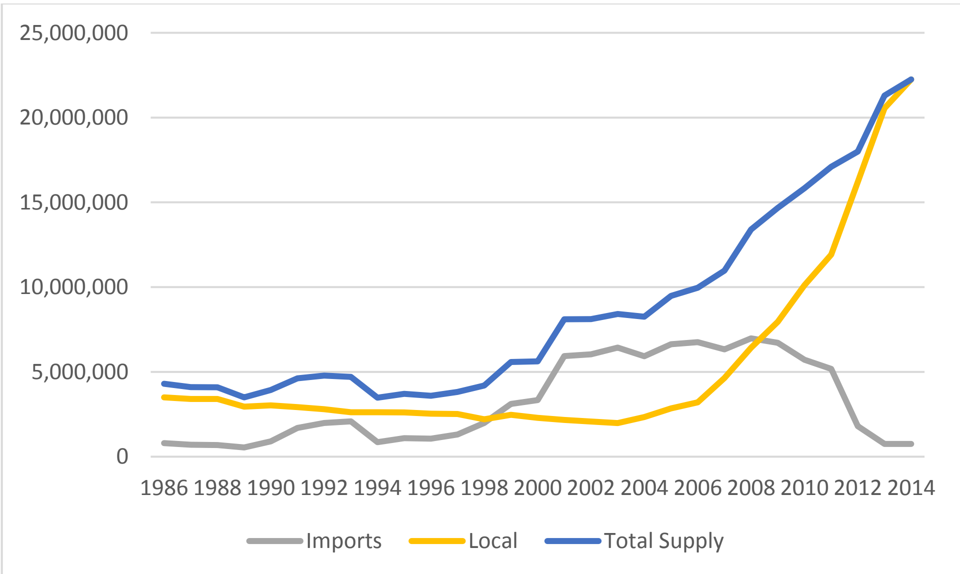

Figure 3: Nigerian annual cement supply 1986-2014 (tonnes) (Mojekwu et al., 2013, p. 371; Akinyoade & Uche, 2018, p. 835)

Therefore, imported cement as percentage of total supply has declined from a peak of 76.5% in 2003 to 3.3% in 2014 (Akinyoade & Uche, 2018, p. 835; Mojekwu et al., 2013, p. 371).

Since the BIP, "over $20 billion has been directly and indirectly injected into the Nigerian cement industry with Dangote Cement Plc accounting for 60% of that spend" (Osagie, 2014). The company accounted for 80% of the Dangote Group's revenues by 2014 (CNBC, 2014). The company, accounting for about 90% of Aliko Dangote's personal wealth has become the largest company quoted on the Nigerian Stock Exchange (Akinyoade & Chibuike, 2016). Dangote Cement and Lafarge Africa together account for over 90% of sales (Oxford Business Group, 2016a, p. 75).

Akinola (2019) attributes the success of the cement industry to the mutual interest formed between then President Obasanjo, and the cement importer and business magnate Aliko Dangote. This occurred within an atmosphere of economic, fiscal and political pressures for the president to undertake industrial policy and economic reform (Usman, 2016). Dangote influenced a willing federal government to enact the Backward Integration Policy (BIP) which assembled a range of industrial policy tools. However, Fawehinmi (2017) has accused Dangote of extracting unproductive monopolistic rents and not paying its fair share of taxes. Indeed, Dangote Cement realized net profit margins of 50 to 80% consistently between 2010 and 2016, yet with an effective tax rate of just 2% in 2016 due to the company taking advantage of the government's fiscal incentives (Itaman & Wolf, 2019, p. 14).

Aliko Dangote implicitly justifies this by arguing that sometimes the company pays more in corporate, education and VAT taxes to the government than it pays to its shareholders in dividends (Channels Television, 2019). Another argument is that aside from corporate taxes which critics focus on, it pays a lot to the government as duty levies and VAT payments in the course of its economic activity (Kintum, 2002, p. 5). Moreoever, despite receiving industrial policy rents and tax advantages, subsequent growth of the Dangote Group seems to be organic, with the company realizing economies of scale and scope. (Behuria, 2019, p. 16; Itaman and Wolf, 2019, p. 14-16).

During the importation era, Dangote built capabilities from importing various products, and accounted for 46% of the bulk cement market in the country (Mobbs, 2004, p. 2). The president enabled Dangote to invest in cement production by favouring Dangote Industries Limited (DIL) in the privatization of the Benue Cement Company (BCC) which Dangote purchased and revamped, gaining entry into the cement manufacturing market in this manner.

Hence, in 2001 DIL received a license for local manufacturing capacity as it acquired 35% shareholding during the BCC privatisation exercise; it then acquired the federal government's majority 65% equity in the Benue Cement Company (BCC) in 2004 (Chijindu et al., 2016, p. 33). The BCC's capacity utilisation was largely below 50%, and the plant's obsolescence brought about frequent maintenance challenges (Chijindu et al., 2016, p. 33). As a result, Dangote Cement substantially rehabilitated the plant and boosted its capacity from 900,000 tonnes to two 1.4 million tonnes lines. The Dangote Group also built the Obajana cement plant in Kogi State (Mobbs 2004, p. 3).

Although the state was able to provide import bans and tariffs (which are less difficult to enforce for cement, due to its high weight-to-value ratio), it was unable to implement heavier industrial policy tools. Therefore, Dangote's foray into the cement industry has not been a smooth process. The construction of the Obajana plant "was almost the end of him" (Bishop, 2017, p. 25). Dangote had to overcome several significant coordination problems which the state was unable to solve. As Wallis (2008) notes, "even for the best-connected tycoon, the state can be an unreliable partner." Back in 1978, the state had promised to build a gas pipeline to power the area but this never occurred (Bishop, 2017, p. 26). Dangote therefore had to finance a 180km gas pipeline, an independent power plant and build a dam (Wallis, 2008).

Yet this is not without compensating industrial policy support. The construction of the Obajana factory ran into cost overruns, and Dangote was in dire need of more funds (Bishop, 2017, p. 6). As a former minister and a member of Obasanjo's economic team makes known, "[Dangote] would not have been able to setup the Obajana cement company if the federal government hadn't given him a loan guarantee of $1.5 billion." (Usman, 2016, p. 44).

In addition to this, the former group Managing Director of Dangote Cement Plc, Devakumar Edwin, noted that whereas businesspeople complain about a lack of infrastructure in Nigeria, "the law provides pioneer status tax concession and capital allowance" (Osagie, 2015). For the Obajana Cement Plant, which is the largest cement plant in Africa, he notes the necessity to build a gas pipeline, a dam, housing infrastructure, telecommunication facility, a three-kilometre by-pass road, and a gas turbine-based power plant (Osagie, 2015). He further emphasizes that:

> *Yes, we had to massively invest in infrastructure but the law permits to capitalise these investments and claim capital allowance. Hence, instead of…complaining that the government is not providing infrastructure, the investors should avail the tax benefits and concessions provided under the law and invest in the required infrastructure* (Osagie, 2015).

Nonetheless, the assumption is that the investments will be highly profitable to compensate for the risk. This last assumption is manifest in the statement that:

> *If you need superb infrastructure readily available, you should go and invest in Europe or US but, you would get 3% to 5% returns whereas, here you will get better returns. As such, you have the option either to invest in countries where everything is available but gives you minimum returns or invest here where you have to make a provision in your project cost for infrastructure but get better tax benefits and better returns* (Osagie, 2015).

This combination of private infrastructure-building and seeking industrial policy support is not coincidental, but a deliberate strategy. As Dangote claims:

> *We knew that everyone who had tried industrialization in Nigeria pre-1995 had gone out of business. So, we took a deep look at the impediments, and we realized that there were two major problems that were making manufacturers fail. First, there was no reliable electric power. Second, there were major inconsistencies in government policies* (Leke et al., 2018, p. 134).

To address these risks the Dangote Group underscored the necessity of building both infrastructure and close relationships with the state (Leke et al., 2018, p. 134).

With regard to organizational capabilities, vertical integration from raw material sourcing to production and distribution ensures the resilience of its supply chain (White & Rees, 2018, p. 7). Stakeholder engagement further allows the firm to create the right partnerships and agreements (Camarate et al., 2015, p. 14). Diversification has therefore been deliberate, as Dangote claims that "There's no sector that's permanently healthy…If today cement is excellent in Nigeria, it might not be in the next five years. So, we're fully diversified across different products, as well as downstream, midstream, and upstream" (Leke et al., 2018, p. 139).

This tendency has always been the company's strategy from the beginning. As Dangote narrates, "We spent almost two years from 1978 to 1979 importing cement to Nigeria and when the cement climate went bad, we focused on sugar and didn't revisit cement till 2000." (Ekwueme, 2016, p. 6). In other words, within the volatile business environment, diversification is done both for survival and to exploit opportunities, as is found to be the case with several African diversified business groups (Behuria, 2019, p. 17; Leke et al., 2018, p. 140).

Since transportation expenses are important in the cement business, vertical integration also occurs in the distribution aspect of the business; hence the Dangote Group operates the largest fleet of trucks in Africa with over 10,000 trucks deployed for logistical activities, distributing a variety of products across the continent. (Adewole, 2019, p. 29). The company manages this diversification by operating a fully integrated supply chain model, entailing the management of the supply chain as a single entity and ensuring the flow of information across the entire system (Ivanov, 2019, p. 20) – a feat which is possible with information technology (McKinsey & Company, 2015) and which makes it resilient to shocks in its supply chain (Leke et al., 2018, p. 144).

Additionally, Dangote Cement exports to other African countries, although by 2017 Nigeria accounted for 68.6% of total sales (MarketScreener, 2019). Dangote suggests that his planned expansion across Africa – and beyond – is motivated partly by a need to spread exposure – "The risk of having too many assets in one market is certainly a driver." (Wallis, 2018). Part of this is possibly driven by the inability of Dangote to completely control the flow of rents, which arises due to the competitive clientelism characterizing the country. This is evinced by the 2008 policy inconsistencies of banning and unbanning cement/clinker importation at different times, and attempting controls on cement prices. Other inconsistencies have been companies found to have been granted importation licenses without evidence of building manufacturing plants, the imposition of additional levies on bulk cement, unstable energy provision, and Dangote Cement facing import competition by the leading importer, Ibeto Cement (Ohimain, 2014, p. 75). In fact, the former Managing Director of Dangote Cement explicitly notes that

> *Essentially, our business models never depend on any government protection … This focus on risk analysis and a business model independent of government protection proved to be good since, when Yar'adua government came, it totally opened up the importation of cement … It happened just as we had commissioned the Obajana Cement Plant. If our business model had been based on the assurance of government*

> *protection in the form of import restriction or anti-dumping duty, we would have been wiped out and, probably, we would have been out of the cement business!* (Osagie, 2015).

These challenges faced by Dangote Cement are reflected in the high costs of domestic cement production, and the volatility of cement prices (Ohimain, 2014, pp. 75-76).

Dangote says expansion is being financed by profits so that, when it's completed, "we'll not owe any bank money." (Cocks, 2012). This is unsurprising given the difficulties in accessing long-term credit at affordable rates of interest in Nigeria, and the inability of the Central Bank of Nigeria and development finance institutions to sustainably address this. This has put a focus on equity financing, with Dangote Cement's debt ratio being very low (Obilomo & Ojo, 2013, p. 2) despite its undertaking of the largest investments in the industry. According to the former Managing Director of Dangote Cement,

> *One of the reasons why we make a rigorous risk analysis before we make any investment is because most of the funds come out of the President's pocket ... Obviously, he would not like his investments to be wiped out because of a mistake we make in investment planning. As such, we do not invest in a business unless we are really sure of the survival of the business irrespective of all the potential problems which we are likely to face* (Osagie, 2015).

In the long-run, further progress requires more comprehensive industrial policies. For instance, the stubbornness of the price of cement to fall even as domestic production capacity expands is the result not purely of an oligopolistic market structure, but of structural supply-side factors which require the state to address, such as transportation infrastructure, energy and power supply (Fiakpa, 2008).

The Downstream Oil Sector

During the oil boom of the 1970s, the government made huge investments in the industrial sector, including the establishment of four state-owned oil refineries. Although the country produces a maximum of 2.5 million barrels of crude oil per day (bpd), its four oil refineries only have an installed refining capacity of 445,000 bpd – less than 20% refining capacity of overall crude oil produced (Ogbuigwe, 2018, pp. 181-182).

In 1977 the state-owned company, the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), was created and was tasked managing the oil refineries. The figure below shows that while domestic production of refined petroleum products rose during the 1980s, it entered into decline at the end of the 1990s.

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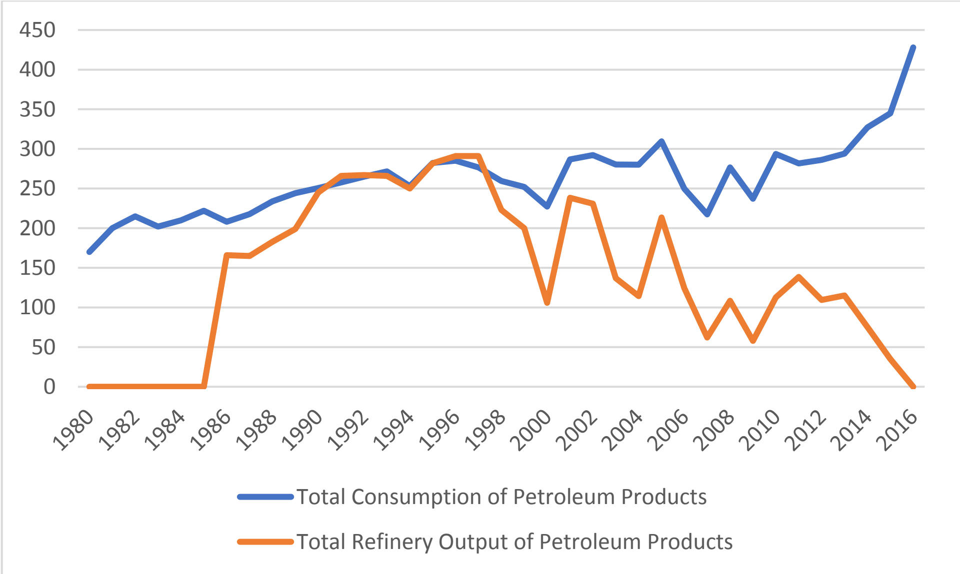

Figure 4: Nigerian production and consumption of refined petroleum products (Energy Information Administration, 2019)

The state-owned refineries are beset with several problems. No major Turnaround Maintenance (TAM) has been undertaken in any of the refineries since 2000 (Ogbuigwe, 2018, p. 183). One key problem besetting the refineries relates to the supply chain. There is frequent vandalism of pipelines transmitting refined products from refineries and those supplying crude to refineries (Ogbuigwe, 2018, p. 183). About 53% of unplanned shut downs is estimated to be due to supply chain problems in 2009, while equipment failure made up 47% (Ogbuigwe, 2018, p. 188). As Roy (2017, p. 33) and Usman (2016, pp. 34-39) note, oil bunkering and sabotage sustain vertical redistributive demands and powerful elites in the producing areas, in addition to the oil companies. The use of ships to transport crude to the refineries in order to address the challenge has been attempted, but it is about 249% more expensive (Sayne et al., 2015, p. 33; Wapner, 2017, p. 8).

The government has tried to repress oil saboteurs and militants through forceful means, but with little luck especially given the unfavourable terrain of the Niger Delta. Its attempts at co-opting the by offering side-payments in the form of developmental projects through the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) in 2000 and the Amnesty programme in 2009 have not had sustainable outcomes due to corruption and mismanagement (Omotola, 2007; Ushie, 2013), reflecting a lack of control over higher- and lower-level elites.

The inefficiency of the refineries is manifest in the persistently low (less than 10%) and decreasing capacity utilization over time (Wapner, 2017, p. 9) and financial losses (BudgIT, 2019, pp. 4-6). While billions of naira have been put into improving the operations of these refineries, the results have been disappointing (Udo, 2019).

In 2002 the government issued 18 licenses for private refineries (NNPC, 2019). However, in 2005, the NNPC launched its Greenfield Refinery Initiative (GRI) “as a strategic response to a lack of visible progress” on the 18 licenses (NNPC, 2019). By 2011, there were government plans for building three new refineries in Lagos, Bayelsa and Kogi states to raise refining capacity to 400,000 bpd (NNPC, 2019); but these were later abandoned (BudgIT, 2019, p. 11). The National Refineries Special Task Force launched in 2012 discovered that out of 35 investors given licenses to establish refineries by that time, 28 lacked the capacity to do so (Punch, 2018).

In 2001, Amakpe International Refineries Ltd had planned to be the country's "first privately held and privately financed oil refinery" by building a 12,000-bpd refinery in Akwa Ibom State (Oil & Gas Journal, 2001). It failed to take off, had its license expired in 2007 (although it renewed multiple times thereafter). It was then taken over by the Assets Management Corporation of Nigeria (AMCON) in 2016 over defaults on bank loans (Akpan, 2019), although it is still working to build a 6000-bpd modular refinery under AMCON administration (Awosiyan, 2018). Of the 23 modular refinery licenses issued, only the Niger Delta Petroleum Company (NDPC) was commissioned in 2011. This plant, the 1,000 bpd Ogbele Diesel Plant, expanded over time to a 10,000-bpd capacity plant, but has not really transformed the industry (BudgIT, 2019, p. 9). The lack of usage of refining licenses has been attributed to bureaucratic delays (indicating inadequate political influence among players), lack of funding for the private initiatives, technical incompetence and difficulties in securing competent technical partners (indicating lack of adequate organizational capabilities and resources) (Baffour, 2013; Okere, 2016; Onyekwelu, 2019) as well as limited energy infrastructure and a regulated petroleum products market (Nkaginieme, 2005).

At the close of President Obasanjo's administration, the Bluestar Oil Service Limited Consortium (in which Dangote Industries Limited held a 55% stake) paid for a 51% stake in the state-owned Port Harcourt and Kaduna refineries in 2007 (Osae-Brown, 2017). The consortium planned to build a 300,000-bpd refinery in Lagos, and President Obasanjo even expedited approval to build the $250 million refinery in Lekki Free Zone of Lagos (Galadima, 2006). In response to the attempted privatization, organized labour protested. In a nationally-strategic sector which faces high vertical redistributive demands (Otokunefor, 2017; Usman, 2016), organized labour argued questioned the transparency of the sale, alleged that the refineries were under-priced (Biniyat, 2007), and argued that job losses would be experienced. The consortium eventually backed out. Ultimately, the privatization process was reversed under the succeeding administration of President Umaru Yar'adua in response to public pressure. Nonetheless, the Dangote Group, since the 2007 refinery sale debacle, continued to plan on building its own refinery (Lacqua, 2017). Eventually, profits from its cement and other operations provided it with ample cash flow to undertake the refinery project, which was announced in 2013 initially for a 400,000-bpd refinery, and eventually "jumped to" 650,000 bpd refinery, and begun in earnest in 2015 (Lacqua, 2017).

Therefore, both attempts to eliminate fuel subsidies and to privatize the refineries have been consistently met with public backlash – reflecting contestation from strong vertical elites and clients within the industry (Usman, 2016). Yet, the difficulty in maintaining a pocket of efficiency within NNPC precludes the success of revamping the refineries, as the many attempts since 1999 have shown. Private investors have furthermore had inadequate capacity to build refineries especially given the constraint of regulated fuel pump prices. Only Dangote Industries Ltd. has been able to build the capacity to undertake the ambitious project of building a $15 billion 650,000 bpd refinery in Lagos State, scheduled for mechanical completion by the end of 2022.

Dangote reveals that the inadequacies of the road networks for the transportation of needed equipment necessitated the incurrence of the cost of developing certain roads (Edozien, 2018). Likewise, a special port and jetty had to be constructed due to the inadequacy of all the Lagos Apapa port (Pilling, 2018); the same for the construction of quarries (Munshi, 2018).

Two 550-kilometer underwater pipelines to transport oil from Delta to the Lagos refinery also needed to be constructed (Edozien, 2018). This would enable the firm to evade oil bunkering politics which the state has been unable to pacify (Edozien, 2018) in the Delta area and avoid the high costs of the alternative of using ships. The company also has to build its own industrial gas plant and power plant, as well as produce its own trucks (through a joint venture with a Chinese company) (Pilling, 2018). In other words, as the Group Executive Director, Strategy, Portfolio Development and Capital Projects, Dangote Industries Limited, Devakumar Edwin noted, “I would say that the cost of money spent to put infrastructure in place that would support this project is between 20 to 25% of the total cost of the investment. But there is also another issue. If we do not invest in infrastructure, the challenge of developing the project would be bigger.” (Sunday, 2019).

Not only does the refinery construction benefit from the Dangote Group’s financial and administrative capacity, it benefits from its diversified nature, with the refinery construction being a big customer of Dangote Cement, using Dangote trucks as well (Metclaf & Pendleton, 2019).

However, Dangote has also benefited from some industrial policies in building the refinery. The refinery is being built in the Lekki Free Trade Zone (LFTZ), authorized by the Nigeria Export Processing Zones Authority (NEPZA) (World Bank, 2012). Dangote Oil will benefit from simplified and expedited services on bureaucratic matter such as visas and customs services, and concentrated transportation infrastructure provision around the surrounding area (Oxford Business Group, 2019). Yet as at 2015 the IFC (2015) noted that “For the most part though, the LFTZ is presently undeveloped, aside from a few small industrial facilities and an internal road network”. Incentives also include rent-free land at construction stage and pro-business labour policy (Oxford Business Group, 2016b).

The Free Trade Zones (FTZs) were created in recognition of the low state capacity for broader infrastructure provision. As the Managing Director of NEPZA says, “Power, water and even a functioning road network are not guaranteed nationwide. The decision has been made to empower free zones to create oases of great infrastructure” (Oxford Business Group, 2019).

Yet despite Dangote’s investment in infrastructure, port and road congestions have led to delays in completion of the refinery project (Whitehouse, 2019). Nonetheless, faced with the challenge of oil subsidies backed by powerful vested interests, many analysts acknowledge that “Past efforts to build refineries have often been delayed or cancel[l]ed, but analysts have said Dangote should be able to build a profitable Nigerian refinery, owing to his past successes in industry and his strong government connections.” (Cocks, 2013).

CONCLUSION

Among many scholars of industrial policy there has been a tendency to generalize “state capacity” and hence argue that “government failure” requires either ‘minimal’ state involvement. The pockets of efficiency literature provide a useful counter-framework, and when nested within the elaborated political settlements theory which highlights a nexus between pockets of bureaucratic efficiency and capitalists’ technological capabilities, more nuanced and complex analyses of industrial policy may be undertaken. The interface between pockets of efficiency and firms’ policy-adaptive capacity becomes more important when the former exists only partially. This has been demonstrated through a comparative case study of Nigeria’s 21st century cement and oil refining industries.

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IMPACT OF COVID-19 CRISIS ON DRINKING WATER UTILITIES IN NZOIA RIVER BASIN, KENYA

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ABSTRACT: *This study was conducted on drinking water utilities in Nzoia River Basin to gauge the impacts of COVID-19; the challenges utilities are facing and the responses they are undertataking to address the COVID-19 pandemic. The results are a snapshot of the time we went to the survey between July and August, 2020. The most common utility challenges reported were: social distancing practices at utility offices or facilities; revenue generation; supply of personal protective equipment (PPE); supply of water treatment chemicals, sustaining water supply operations due to absenteeism of staff, the strain caused by COVID-19 on field operations and water treatment plant operations; and irregular supply of other materials for water supply operations besides water treatment chemicals. The survey revealed that utilities have taken a number of mesures to protect their operations and staff against the COVID-19 pandemic. These included: developing actions to manage risk and plan for contingencies (eg. restrictions on visitors/customers entering offices or other facilities); delaying anticipated capital construction, reducing anticipated maintenance and repair schedules and suspending capital construction that was in progress so as to avail money for emergency COVID-19 programmes; introducing spending adjustments in response to COVID-19 (eg. travel for training/conferences); assisting customers affected by the economic fallout (eg. suspending customer water shut-offs); taking on board a number of workforce and human resources efforts due to Covid-19 (eg. illness reporting); collaborating with other agencies to assist in COVID-19 response (eg. coordinating with local health department); preparation of COVID-19 pandemic plans; setting the primary factors to be considered before re-opening (eg. ability to supply masks, hand sanitizer, etc); taking steps to protect employees from possible COVID-19 infection (eg. enhanced disinfecting and sanitizing procedures of workspaces; reduce size of inperson meetings to maintain social distance, etc). The current COVID-19 crisis clearly demonstrates the dangers of unequal access to water services. Clean water and soap are essential to preventing most infections, COVID-19 included. Water utilities should assist customers affected by the COVID-19 economic fallout by suspending shut-offs so* that everyone gets access to a minimum level of water supply. *If water services get affected, it will mean spikes in coronavirus outbreaks, particularly in high-density communities where social distancing is not possible.* Utilities *should prioritize access to vulnerable communities and informal settlements. Given the importance of clean portable water supply, and the current pressure placed on our utilities by the COVID-19 crisis, the national and county governments in Nzoia River Basin should subsidise the utilities to keep water running. This paper provides useful insights for water sector policy makers in their fight against the COVID-19 pandemic.*

KEYWORDS: Nzoia River Basin, Water Utilities, COVID-19 Pandemic, COVID-19 Water Utility Challenges, COVID-19 Water Utility Responses.

INTRODUCTION

Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) is defined as illness caused by a novel coronavirus now called severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2; formerly called 2019-nCoV), which was first identified amid an outbreak of respiratory illness cases in Wuhan City, Hubei Province, China (CDC, 2019). It was initially reported to the WHO on December 31, 2019. On January 30, 2020, the WHO declared the COVID-19 outbreak a global health emergency (Gallegos, 2020). On March 11, 2020, the WHO declared COVID-19 a global pandemic, its first such designation since declaring H1N1 influenza a pandemic in 2009 (The New York Times, March 11, 2020). Illness caused by SARS-CoV-2 was termed COVID-19 by the WHO, the acronym derived from "coronavirus disease 2019." The name was chosen to avoid stigmatizing the virus's origins in terms of populations, geography, or animal associations (The New York Times, February 11, 2020).

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) had postulated that this situation could result in large numbers of patients requiring medical care concurrently, resulting in overloaded public health and healthcare systems and, potentially, elevated rates of hospitalizations and deaths. The CDC advised that nonpharmaceutical interventions will serve as the most important response strategy in attempting to delay viral spread and to reduce disease impact (CDC, February 29, 2020). The feasibility and implications of strategies for suppression and mitigation have been rigorously analyzed and are being encouraged or enforced by many governments around the world in order to slow or halt viral transmission. Population-wide social distancing of the entire population plus other interventions (eg, home self-isolation, school and business closures) was strongly advised. These policies may be required for long periods to avoid rebound viral transmission (Ferguson, et.al 2020). According to the CDC, individuals at high risk of infection include persons in areas with ongoing local transmission, healthcare workers caring for patients with COVID-19, close contacts of infected persons, and travelers returning from locations where local spread has been reported (CDC, March 8, 2020). The CDC has also provided recommendations for individuals who are at high risk of COVID-19–related complications, including older adults and persons who have serious underlying health conditions (eg, heart disease, diabetes, lung disease). Such individuals should consider precautions as stocking up on supplies, avoiding close contact with sick people, washing hands often, staying home as much as possible in locations where COVID-19 is spreading and developing a plan in case of illness (CDC, March 8, 2020).

Signs and symptoms for COVID-19 have ranged from asymptomatic/mild symptoms to severe illness and mortality. Symptoms may develop 2 days to 2 weeks following exposure to the virus (CDC, January 26, 2020). COVID-19 may present the following symptoms: fever or chills, cough, shortness of breath or difficulty breathing, fatigue, muscle or body aches, headache, new loss of taste or smell, sore throat, congestion or runny nose, nausea or vomiting and diarrhea. Other reported symptoms have included: sputum production, malaise, respiratory distress and neurologic (eg, headache, altered mentality). The most common serious manifestation of COVID-19 appears to be pneumonia (CDC, May 13, 2020). As at October 22, 2020, remdesivir, an antiviral agent, is the only drug approved for treatment of COVID-19 disease in hospitalized adults and children aged 12 years and older who weigh at least 40 kg (FDA, October, 22, 2020). No vaccine is approved yet, although several vaccine candidates have moved into phase 3 testing. Avoidance is the principal method of deterrence.

The water and sanitation sector comprises (1) water supply—the abstraction, treatment, and distribution process for the product (drinking water) to the customers, and (2) sanitation—the collection and treatment of wastewater so that it can be safely discharged to the environment or reused. Public utilities, both local government and state-owned, typically operate water supply systems serving the consumers. In a few countries (such as Chile and Vietnam), private companies own and operate water systems. In several countries, the private sector operates time-limited concessions and other public-private partnerships to deliver water services to consumers. Nearly one-third of people globally lack access to safely managed drinking water services. Over half lack access to safely managed sanitation facilities (WHO/UNICEF, 2015).

Prior to COVID-19, the global water sector was impacted by five major trends: (1) global warming, which has led to an increase in extreme floods and droughts, challenging the resilience of water and sanitation systems, (2) increasing number of people living in areas facing water stress (currently 2 billion), which increases supply vulnerabilities, (3) rapid urbanization, which strains existing water resources and ecosystems, (4) the emergence of megacities, which adds the challenge of extending water and sanitation services to about 1 billion people living in informal settlements not served by water grids, (5) aging infrastructure, which has increased pressure to accelerate investments in more advanced markets, following decades of underinvestment. Water is a labor-intensive industry with high energy utilization and consistent demand for chemical supplies and other consumables. These account for the bulk of operating expenses for water utilities. Capital expenses comprise mostly networks and treatment facilities. Water utilities' operations are typically funded by customer receipts (comprising water tariffs and one-off connection charges), grants, and taxes. Tariffs are often set to achieve socio-political objectives at levels that are insufficient to recover operating costs. Therefore, the water utilities require support from other sources, usually the government budget. Additional revenue pressures come from inefficient operations such as high non-revenue water (leakages, water theft, uncollected revenues), which exceeds 40 percent in several emerging market economies. Capital expenditures are mostly funded through borrowing and public financing, with private capital covering a small share of capital expenditure.

With a few exceptions, the outbreak of COVID-19 is projected to slow down investments in the water sector worldwide. It has also increased the importance of operational reliability due to the cost of disruption. These operational needs derive from shifts in demand patterns, supply disruptions, and the various emergency measures employed by governments to cope with the pandemic. The world's poorest received the COVID-19 shock on top of existing major urban water and sanitation services deficits, all pointing towards a potentially overwhelming burden to contain the virus. Low access, reliability, and the quality of water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) present risks in Africa. Large cities also face risks stemming from population density and informal settlements. Many large users of water have downscaled or reduced activities resulting in declining industrial demand. A decline in demand from large industrial and commercial users due to lockdowns and travel restrictions will significantly reduce revenues to water utilities. Deeper revenue loss is projected across the whole water supply chain, including operators, technology companies, contractors, chemical suppliers, and consultants.

Several countries have announced crisis emergency measures that will affect revenues. The partial suspension of water billing for low-income users and moratoriums on water service cut-offs have been the most common responses to the crisis. Specific measures adopted include (1) deferments on or exemptions from utility bill payments for vulnerable groups, (2) moratoriums on cutting off the water supply (justified by the importance of hygiene in reducing the spread of the virus), and (3) suspensions of meter reading and invoicing. In the medium term, well-governed markets are likely to compensate for revenue losses through installment payments of deferred amounts, government transfers, and possibly tariff adjustments. These measures might also impact utility governance and user payment culture, especially if prolonged for extended periods. Capital expenditures will decline in the short to medium term. New capital projects are likely to be delayed as municipalities prioritize operations and emergency response.

Operations could be affected by the increased risk of contagion among utility staff, including both routine operations and construction works. Operational continuity and flexibility are key to keep essential water and sanitation services running, while also pushing forward ongoing construction. Many governments identified people working in the water and sewerage industry as essential workers, enabling utilities to maintain continuity of service. However, social distancing protocols mean that utilities can only retain operationally critical staff on site. Supply chain and logistics disruptions have also been reported. Water utilities are also undertaking communication campaigns to raise awareness of the importance of good hygiene practices to prevent the spread of COVID-19. Utilities can spread educational messages on water, sanitation, hygiene, and disease prevention to change behaviors. Communications and community engagements should focus on the role of women, who carry a disproportionate burden—besides being primary caregivers, they make up 70 percent of healthcare and social workers. With automation, water utilities with good systems to remotely control and operate networks and treatment plants will perform better during this crisis as automation protocols for responding to occurrences (such as pipe bursts) allow for efficient response, with a lower degree of physical interaction among staff.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Study Area

Nzoia River Basin is located between latitudes $1^0\,30'$ N and $0^0\,05'$ S and longitudes 34^0 E and $35^0 45'$ E in Western Kenya and covers an area of 12,959 km^2 with a river length of 334 km up to its outfall into Lake Victoria (Figure. 1). The area has a population of approximately 3.5 million people that is rising rapidly with the majority of the people living in rural areas. The basin covers the nine counties of Elgeyo/Marakwet, West Pokot, Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu and Nandi (in former Rift Valley province); Kakamega,

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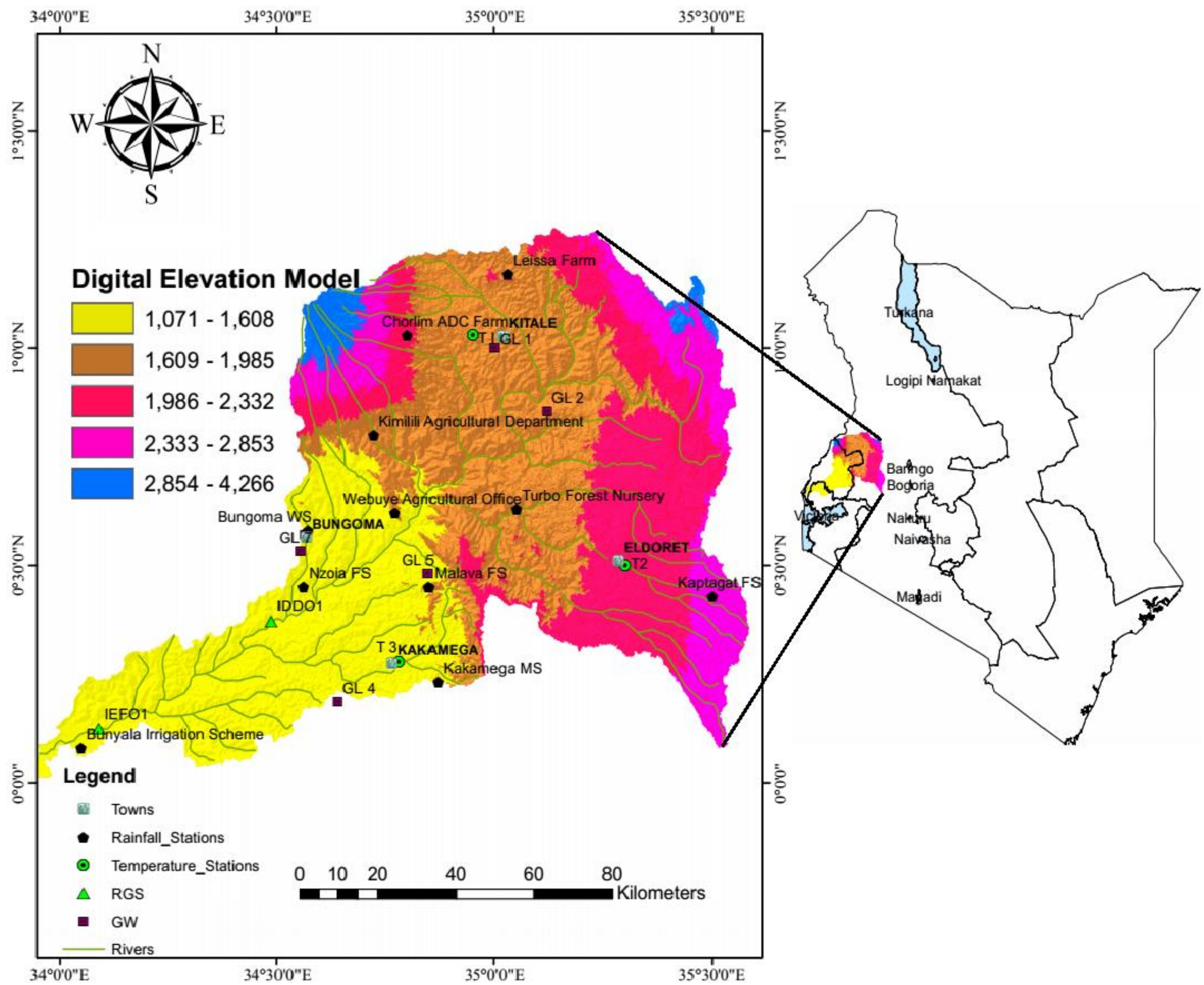

Figure. 1: Map of Nzoia River Basin, Kenya

(Source: Researcher, 2017)

Bungoma and Busia (in former Western province) and Siaya (in former Nyanza province). The basin is characterised by three physiographic regions namely; the highlands (characterised by Mt. Elgon and Cherangani hills); the upper plateau (which includes Eldoret and Kitale); and the lowlands (which includes Busia that experiences the majority of flooding in the basin). The dominant topography consists of rolling hills and lowlands in the Eldoret and Kitale plains. Nzoia river is one of the largest rivers in Western Kenya which drains into Lake Victoria contributing to the waters that form the source of River Nile (Odwori, et.al 2018).

The Climate of Nzoia River Basin is predominantly tropical humid, but it varies from county to county due to varying landscape and elevations in the basin. The region experiences four seasons due to the inter-tropical convergence zone (ITCZ), however, the local relief and influences of Lake Victoria modify the regular weather patterns. There are two rainy seasons and two dry seasons, namely, short rains (October to December) and the long rains (March to May). The dry seasons occur in the months of January to February and June to September. The mean monthly rainfall in the basin for the period 1970 to 2001 varies from about 16.26 mm in January and December (Chorlim ADC. Farm) to about 300.79 mm in April (Kaimos Tea Estate). The basin experiences lowest monthly maximum tempratures occuring in July at 16.1 ^{0} C (Eldoret), minimum tempratures in January, July and September at 10.0 ^{0} C (Eldoret) and mean tempratures in July at 16.1 ^{0} C (Eldoret) whereas the highest monthly tempratures in the basin for the maximum occurs in February and March at 29.5 ^{0} C (Kakamega), minimum in April at 15.1 ^{0} C (Kakamega) and mean in March at 22.0 ^{0} C (Kakamega). Temperature trends in the basin are linked to altitude since the lowest temperatures are found at highest altitudes and highest temperatures at lowest altitudes.

Agriculture is the dominant land use in the region and the agricultural activities of the basin mainly depend on rainfall as most of the crops are under rain-fed agriculture with very limited irrigation being practiced. The main food crops grown are maize, sorghum, millet, bananas, groundnuts, beans, potatoes, and cassava while the cash crops include coffee, sugar cane, tea, wheat, rice, sunflower and horticultural crops. The inhabitants of the basin also practice dairy farming together with traditional livestock keeping. Nzoia river and its many tributaries provide water for domestic use, agriculture, industrial and commercial sectors. Nzoia River Basin has the soil type textures forming: clay (77%), loamy (9%) and sandy (14%). In the basin, the Ferralsol form well drained soils found mostly on level to undulating land. The Acrisols in the basin form clay-rich soils associated with humid tropical climates and supports forestry; whereas Nitisols compose deep well drained red tropical soils found mostly in the highlands occupying more than 75% of the catchment.

Methodology

The data used in this study was obtained through a number of ways. Questionnaires were sent out to water utilities in Nzoia River Basin to gauge the impacts of COVID-19; the challenges utilities were facing and the actions they are undertaking to address the COVID-19 pandemic. Each question provided an option of “unable to answer” in order to ensure results are as accurate as possible. All “unable to answer” responses have been removed from analysis. In-depth expert-interviews were conducted with selected stakeholders who included key policymakers, academia, scientists and practioners on water utilities and COVID-19 pandemic impacts. Field observations were carried out in the study area. Field observation involved watching stakeholder activities and processes, and documenting processes and results. The Field observations had the added benefit of enabling the Researcher to identify processes or activities that may have been missed during surveys or interviews.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study was conducted on water utilities in Nzoia River Basin to gauge the impacts of COVID-19; the challenges utilities were facing and the responses they are undertaking to address the COVID-19 pandemic. The results are a snapshot of the time we went to the survey between July and August, 2020.

Results

Utility challenges caused by Covid-19

The most common utility challenges reported were: social distancing practices at utility offices or facilities; revenue generation; supply of personal protective equipment (PPE) (N95 masks and/or Elastomeric respirators, Alternative mask options (e.g. surgical, cloth, etc.), Face shields and/or Protective eye wear, Nitrile and/or latex gloves, Tyvek suites and/or disposable coveralls, and Sanitizing wipes, sprays for cleaning workspaces and gels for hand sanitizing); supply of water treatment chemicals, sustaining water supply operations due to absenteeism of staff resulting from Covid-19 crisis, the strain caused by COVID-19 on field operations (meter reading, repairs, etc.) and water treatment plant operations; and irregular supply of other materials for water supply operations besides water treatment chemicals.

Social distancing practices at utility offices or facilities was a major problem for the large water utilities where it was reported at 100%. The smaller utilities reported it at 31%. This may be attributed to the large number of workforce engaged by the large water utilities as opposed to the smaller community and private institutions operated shemes. Revenue generation was reported as a problem affecting the large utilities at 100% and the smaller utilities at 85%. The smaller utilities have limited operations and can still operate with limited revenue flows unlike the larger utilities which may require external subsidies. Supply of personal protective equipment (PPE) (N95 masks and/or Elastomeric respirators, Alternative mask options (e.g. surgical, cloth, etc.), Face shields and/or Protective eye wear, Nitrile and/or latex gloves, Tyvek suites and/or disposable coveralls, and Sanitizing wipes, sprays for cleaning workspaces and gels for hand sanitizing) was equally spread across both utilities, but the worst hit were the large utilites reporting 67% and the smaller community and private institutions operated utilities 23%. Large water utilities have large workforces operating in a small space with complex operations and urgently require uninterrupted supply of personal protection equipment to discharge their duties. Supply of water treatment chemicals was further complicated by the problem of low revenue flows at the large utilities. These utilities consume a lot of chemicals and with low revenue flows may require bail out from the national and county governments.The large utilities reported the problem of inadequate and irregular water treatment chemicals supply at 100% compared to the smaller utilities which showed 46%. Sustaining water supply operations due to absenteeism of staff resulting from COVID-19 crisis was not a serious problem for both the large and small utilities as the management was able to contain the challenge using available staff. The large utilities reported none as compared to the smaller utilities which showed 15%. The strain caused by COVID-19 on field operations (meter reading, repairs, etc.) and water treatment plant operations was equally not a serious problem for both the large and small utilities as the management was able to contain the challenge using the available staff. The large utilities reported none as compared to the smaller utilities which showed 30%. Irregular supply of other materials for water supply operations besides water treatment chemicals was a major problem at the large utilities which recorded 67% as compared to the small utilities with 31%. This is because large utilities have complex operations that require additional supplies apart from the water treatment chemicals to accomplish their operations. Both the large utilities (county water and sanitation companies) and the small utilities (community/private institution utilities) were asked to indicate which of the above challenges they thought would persist in the following months; the results from both utilities indicate that all challenges are anticipated to persist in the following months.

Utility responses to Covid-19 crisis

This study established that the utilities are undertaking a number of measures to keep the supplies operational in their areas. The survey established that most of the utilitis have developed actions to manage risks and plan for contingencies in this era of COVID-19. The measures in place to manage risks associated with COVID-19 and plan for contingencies include: restrictions on visitors/customers entering offices or other facilities; plans to continue essential operations for field and/or plant employees and others who can't work from home; employee health provisions and assessments; shift change or other policies revised to incorporate social distancing; contractor health provisions and assessments; travel restrictions; work from home/telework policy for non-field employees; and plans for operators/essential plant workers to live on-site if needed.

As a measure towards managing the impact of COVID-19 on water services, the utilities are now delaying anticipated capital construction; reducing anticipated maintenance and repair schedules; and suspending capital construction that was in progress so as to avail money for operations and emergency programmes.

Most of the utilities have also made spending adjustments in response to COVID-19. The affected areas in the spending adjustments include: travel for training/conferences; capital improvements; travel for other business reasons; workforce - hiring freeze; training or continuing education budget; repairs; workforce - pay cuts/wage freeze; workforce - furloughs or layoffs; and marketing/public outreach. Others responses made towards spending adjustments are: not buying anything we do not need at this time in office supplies, etc.; hazardous pay for field personnel; reduced or delayed contracts; and putting off unnecessary purchases until later in the year.

The survey has also established that the utilities have taken a number of actions to assist customers affected by the COVID-19 economic fallout. These include: suspending customer water shut-offs; flexible payment plans; deferring payments; returning suspended accounts to service; waiving Service Fees; rate reductions/billing assistance rate; and issues handled on a case by case basis.

The utilities have also taken on board workforce and human resource issues relating to COVID-19. The workforce and human resource issues included are: illness reporting; modifying medical leave policy to encourage early illness reporting; hazardous duty pay; testing for COVID19; measures for coping and dealing with increased absenteeism; special compensation (e.g. residing at work or sheltering in place); grief counselling; special measures to earn contact hours; benefits assistance, such as medical guidance or hotline; close contact assessments; freezing of vacant positions; and pandemic-specific training.

It was established that utilities are collaboration with other agencies as a responce to the COVID-19 pandemic. They collaborated with other sister utilities, public health departments, Regulatory agency- Water serverces regulatory board, etc. The Public Health Department had barred utilities from holding Public Board Meetings which presents serious challenges to Regulatory compliance, however, most of the large utilities have now streamed them online.

Some utilities have COVID-19 pandemic plans. Utilities were urged to examine what best describes its pandemic plan prior to COVID-19, what best describes its actions now regarding adjustments in the pandemic plan - and if the utility is documenting lessons learned and planning to develop an after-action report. The study also established that for the utilities to keep operations running (or reopen facilities that had been closed), their were standard procedures to be adhered to such as: ability to supply masks, hand sanitizer, etc; guidance from national/county governments; being able to effectively social distance in physical office space; staff feeling it is safe to return to/work in office; guidance from health offices/medical personnel; being able to conduct staff temperature checks; being able to offer flexible schedules and/or work from home; being able to stagger arrival and departure times, and availability of poly screens for counter staff.

The water utilities surveyed in Nzoia River Basin were found to be taking steps to protect their employees from possible COVID-19 infections while at work. The steps taken to protect employees from possible COVID-19 infection are: enhanced disinfecting and sanitizing procedures of workspaces; reduce size of inperson meetings to maintain social distance; requiring face coverings or masks; reduced office capacity (e.g. alternating inoffice schedules to maintain a reduce workforce in office); flexible policies to allow work from home for employees if they desire; reorganize desks to maintain social distance; take employees' temperature prior to shift or entering building; alternating inoffice schedules to maintain a reduce workforce in office; closing high touch common areas like break rooms or kitchens; and building upgrades such as touchless faucets, etc. Other responses include: office closed to public; conduct virtual meetings; only have a few employees in building; lobby continues to be closed; propping doors open to avoid touching; installing plexiglass between customers and staff, social distancing stickers on floors, posters with reminders on COVID-19 protocols, drive thru option for payments, limited public access, working to increase vendor payments using contactless customer payments, virtual meetings; added signage to remind employees of safe work habits; installation of Plexiglass dividers; doors modified so they can be opened by foot, signage- wear masks wash hands; installed protective barriers for customer service staff, and no in-person meetings.

Discussion

The impact of COVID-19 on water utilities is as significant as any other sector. The immediate response has been to ensure the safety of our workforce and maintaining a supply of clean, safe, and affordable drinking water. The long-term impact on our utilities is becoming clearer and will be far-reaching. We are beginning to understand the financial stress utilities will experience in the coming months, driven by economic disruption and historic unemployment. Many utilities are now in discussion over layoffs, budget reductions and historic rate increases as a possible way out of the current problem. Some relief may come from the national and county government stimulus to invest in infrastructure or offset declines in utility income. But utilities will need to focus on capturing every shilling of revenue available to minimize the impact of COVID-19 on employees, ratepayers, and suppliers.

Most utility income sources will decline as a result of COVID-19. Our utilities fund themselves through a variety of revenue streams. The primary revenue source for most utilities comes from charges to customers for water and wastewater services. Water is delivered to utilities through extensive networks of distribution piping, and the volume of water delivered to a customer is measured, in most cases, by water meters. In many instances, bills for wastewater service are generated from the reading of these water meters based on the concept of "water in, water out." COVID-19 is directly affecting the demand for water. For example, residential and multifamily housing units are consuming more water as people increasingly work from home. In comparison, commercial businesses like restaurants use less water due to closures or restrictions on the number of customers they can serve. Overall, the consumption of water is expected to decline significantly due to declining economic output driven by COVID-19. Other revenue streams include sales taxes, income taxes, capital-gains taxes and property taxes. Most, if not all, these sources will decline due to COVID-19. For example: (1) Sales tax declines driven by the closure of businesses due to quarantine-like measures, (2) Significant reductions in income tax on the heels of scaling unemployment and reduced wages going forward, (3) Lower capital-gains tax revenues from equity transactions after significant stock market declines, and (4) Property taxes are likely to decline following an economic reset, thereby undercutting municipal revenues over time. Large portions of the Kenyan economy have been shut down for weeks/months, and the loss of jobs and business is already staggering.

Utilities will face new constraints in the post-COVID-19 period. Most people view water as an essential need. Turning off water service due to non-payment has always been a last resort for most utilities. COVID-19 has increased this perceived need because water is essential for handwashing and hygiene, which, in turn, is critical to reducing the spread of COVID-19. Most utilities have now said they will not turn off water to customers who are late paying their bills during the COVID-19 emergency. The Governors within Nzoia River Basin have ordered public water utilities to suspend water shutoffs during this emergency. Some are allowing customers to defer payments during the pandemic. Not all water utilities in the basin have the same vulnerabilities as analysts say, however, all will be affected in some way by changes in water use patterns and prohibitions on turning off water services. They will have customers who are suddenly jobless and cannot pay their bills on time. Late payments could increase. With businesses closing, commercial and industrial water sales, which fund a significant portion of most utility budgets, will decline. This is especially true for utilities that rely on a few large industries and institutions (universities, colleges, etc.) for the bulk of their revenue. Most utilities finance capital-improvement projects using a variety of debt instruments. Debt-service payments are a fixed expense placing additional stress on utility income statements. Debt payments will have to be made, further constraining available cash desperately needed to sustain operations. In general, our water utilities have a significant portion of their budget allocated to fixed expenses, which are difficult to reduce over the short term. Even a small reduction in revenue has a substantial impact on operations and workforce because there aren't many expenses that can be cut in the short term.

Utilities have few options to offset declining revenues. Their limited options to offset declining revenues due to COVID-19 include: (1) Workforce reduction, (2) Cut operational and maintenance expenses, (3) Stop or reduce short-term capital improvement projects, (4) Increase rates, and (5) Accurately measure and bill for water delivered. Unfortunately, utilities must contemplate a resolution to the revenue gap caused by COVID-19 and attempt to predict when or if consumption patterns will return to normal. In the short-term, utilities are focused on cutting costs and potential budget reductions. With personnel costs being a large portion of the operating budget, utility leaders face cutting vacant positions, possible furloughs, and a reduction in force. Water utilities in the basin are also challenged by aging infrastructure. Reduction of capital-improvement projects, in many cases, may provide short-term cash flow relief. In the long term, outdated infrastructure will continue to increase the burden on already stretched maintenance staff and utility budgets. Many utilities are contemplating rate increases, however, rate increases will have a disproportionate impact on the neediest of our society especially in severe economic stress. At this time of COVID-19, digitization of water provides a host of opportunities to improve employee safety, employee effectiveness, operational efficiency, capital expenditure efficiency and revenue. Employee safety is essential and critical to proper utility operations. Revenue is the second-most important factor to drive exceptional utility operations.

CONCLUSION

The COVID-19 virus has not been detected in drinking-water supplies and based on current evidence, the risk to water supplies is low. Conventional water treatment methods, which include disinfection with oxidants like chlorine, are effective for inactivating COVID-19. Water utilities in Nzoia River Basin are facing serious challenges as they strive to keep water flowing during these trying moments of COVID-19 pandemic. The COVID-19 crisis poses three main challenges for the water utilities. The first is the loss of revenue. Most utilities surveyed have taken a number of measures to assist customers affected by the economic fallout such as suspending customer water shut-offs, deferring payments and returning suspended accounts to service, etc. Already, some utilities are reporting significant revenue reductions. The second challenge is the reduced availability of critical elements for operations, such as chemicals for water treatment, fuel for water pumps, or spare parts. Water utilities are also facing challenges of social distancing practices at utility offices or facilities, covering labor costs and providing adequate personal protective equipment (PPE) to their staff at a time when income is drying up. They are also adding costs as they rush water services to vulnerable communities by increasing access to water points, tanker services, and other enhanced delivery mechanisms.The third challenge stems from the deferment of critical investments to meet the more urgent necessity of funding emergency responses. This is affecting areas such as the expansion of services, asset rehabilitation, and other capital expenditures. Over the past few decades, Kenya, and in particular, Nzoia River Basin had made significant improvements in water and sanitation sector governance and utility performance. This had resulted in increases in the number of people reached by sustainable services; yet the current crisis risks backsliding and losing these hard-won gains. The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the importance of effective governance in the water and sanitation sector. The national and county governments in Nzoia River Basin should put a concerted effort in helping utilities at this crucial moment to ensure that they fulfill their vital function, so that they can provide safe water and sanitation services in the present COVID-19 crisis and build resilience against major risks in future.

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TRANSITION OF FEMALE MIGRANT PORTERS (*KAYAYEI*) INTO SEX WORK IN ACCRA, GHANA

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ABSTRACT: *The purpose of this study was to explore the drivers of the transition of female migrant head porters into sex work. The research was cross-sectional in nature with both quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection. Relationship between the concept of female migrant sex work and emerging predictors were structured using Connell's theory of gender and power with respect to labour, behavior and cathexis. One hundred and sixty (160) randomly selected female migrants in the streets of Accra were interviewed with the aid of semi-structured questionnaire. Also, 12 female sex workers were identified through snowball sampling and were engaged in focus group discussions and in-depth interviews on the subject. The findings revealed that 56.2% of female migrant head porters doubled as sex workers. The majority of female migrants were aged between 25 – 29 year olds (41%) and single (60%) with at most primary level of education (55.2%). Also, age and religion were found to be significant predictors of female migrants' involvement in sex work. Female migrants who were less than 20 years were less likely to participate in sex work compared to those with ages above 20 years. The drivers of female migrants towards sex work were categorized into immediate factors, underlying factors and basic factors. The immediate factor was found to be inability to cater for daily necessities in the midst of a strange community where familial and community support are distant. Underlying this problem were social pressure to join sex work, poor returns from Kayayei and transient unemployment. The study concludes that female migrants" is a vulnerable group in Accra. They are susceptible on diverse fronts to entry into prostitution, human trafficking and other dimensions of modern day slavery. National, Civil Society and philanthropic interventions must target the amelioration of the basic necessities of existing migrants and empower through multi-sectorial approaches, environments.*

KEYWORDS: Transition, Migrant, Female Head Porters, Sex Work.

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

Sex work rate in Ghana has elevated over the years and the influx of female migrants into the Metropolitan Cities is a contributory factor. The occupation of sex work is fast becoming the dominant income-generating venture among migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (ICRSE, 2016). Migrant sex workers are estimated to be 65% of sex workers in Western Europe as well as 16 to 17 % in Central Europe (ICRSE, 2016). However, the prevalence of sex work and migrant sex work for that matter is unknown in Ghana. The subject of sex and sex for profit is essentially akin to taboo in Ghana and the West African Sub-region. It is believed that this fact affected the little to no measurement of the prevalence of prostitution.

According to Amnesty International, (2016), migration entails movement either voluntarily or involuntarily across international or domestic borders. There are 258 million migrants annually according to recent statistics and 40 million of these migrants are coerced into atypical forms of employment including modern day slavery consisting of sex, drugs and human trafficking (David, Bryant and Larsen, 2019). According to (Weine et al, 2013), female migrants in Moscow Russia were found to be involved in sex work with high HIV-related risk behaviours (minimal protection and risk prevention). The contributory factors for this trend were reported to be inability to earn enough to cater for daily needs, fear of male clients when choosing safe sex options, lack of access to optimal health care.

The sustainable development goals (SDGs) are the world’s global agenda for positive changes by 2030. SDG 10 indicator seven outlines the world’s motive to facilitate orderly, safe and responsible migration and mobility of people. Fruitful execution of these long-term goals would require interpectoral plans and well-managed migration policy frameworks (Achilli, 2018).

Approximately 66.7% of global populations will reside in urban centers by 2050 (UNDESA, 2014). This and other projections for growing cities informed sustainable development Goal 11 (SDG 11) which aims at creating sustainable cities and communities. Rural-urban migrants are an integral part of urban populations. Their activities affect social service provision, healthcare allocations and infrastructural planning. Therefore, structuring urban communities require an understanding of the nexuses of migrant lives with emphasis on female migrants. Female migration is very pronounced in Ghana giving credence to the talk of feminization of migration (Poulin and Beegle, 2013). According to data from Ghana the statistical service (2013), migrants are predominantly female and younger.

Accra is a major destination for labour migration in Ghana. The city is the 11th largest Metropolitan city in Africa and rural-urban migration feeds into the size as well as the diversity of the population in Ghana’s capital (Mittelmark and Wilson, 2013). Therefore, the city is rife with young, active and reproductively fertile girls of diverse origins within the nation straining social services. Hitherto, the reasons for moving to Accra-Ghana were the need to accumulate wealth, avoidance of bad socio-cultural practices such as female genital mutilation and avoidance of forced/arranged marriages among female migrants (Anarfi and Agyei as cited by Lattof et al, 2018). Unfortunately, and contrary to popular belief, employment opportunities of Africa’s Mega cities like Accra seldom measures up to the demand. Women and migrant girls are forced to improvise in the face of minimal offers and often end up in high risk, informal, and undercover economic activities such as sex work.

Sex work for the purpose of this study refers to the trade of sexual services for material or financial gain. This includes direct physical contact between the sex worker (the seller) and their male clients (the buyer) in acts of direct or indirect sexual stimulation. This term is different from sex trafficking, which has an element of coercion and non-consensual sexual relations (Valadier, 2018). A female migrant sex worker is any girl who has left their native community to another place and engages in sex work for cash or in-kind remuneration. This definition was derived from the international migrant workers' convention's definition of a migrant worker which states "a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national" (UN General Assembly, 1990). This definition encircles female migrant sex workers as migrant workers.

The predominant push factor in rural urban migration is the need to seek gainful employment and work to earn substantive income streams that will enhance standard of living. Weine et al (2013) in their work on female migrant sex workers in Russia reported increased adoption of prostitution with high HIV risk behaviours owing to economic hardships. Thus, the pursuit of economic emancipation and better living standards may be a driver for both migration and debut of sex work among female migrants.

By examining the factors that influence women's migration for work and the conditions that perpetuate their entrance into the sex industry, there is need to take into account the limited choices in today's global economy that compel women to engage in sex work. It is also questionable to criminalize the act of migrant sex work as is the case in most developing countries, but it is essential to focus on protection through creation of human rights awareness (Robinson, 2006). In most instances, when female migrants experience economic hardships in towns that they have little to no subsidiary social support networks, then sex work becomes a last resort to make ends meet (Mezentseva, 2011; Weine, 2013). According to Mezentseva (2011), other push factors for female migrants' transition into sex work include tightening of legal restrictions on migrants limiting their ability to be gainfully employed. This entails the use of work permits for immigrants in Developed countries. Migrants without work permits, student passes and valid Visas are considered illegal immigrants and are susceptible to police raids, arrests and brutalities.

Conceptual Issues

According to David, Bryant and Larsen, (2019), migrants are considered vulnerable to sex work under "where" and "when" conditions. Migrants are predisposed to engage in sex work under circumstances where; (a) state authority is unable to protect them (b) the state or institutions lack the capacity to help or lack the supportive policy frameworks and (c) migrants are simply neglected. Also, migrants are vulnerable to entrance into the sex industry when; (a) migrants are fleeing conflict zones or worse circumstances (b) migrants are separated from community or family support networks (c) Migrants are working through irregular channels, the black market or under shady bosses.

In developed countries, undocumented migrants are the most at risk of entering into sex work. Female migrants without the right "papers" are discriminated against, stigmatized and put through inhuman forms of social exclusion as a result of the legality of their migrant status.

According to Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants -PICUM (2019), migrants without visas, work permits and various clearances to live successfully in their new surroundings are stifled into the sex industry that operates outside such organizational paraphernalia.

Researches on female migrant sex workers in different settings have documented the following statistics. In Ghana, 90% of all migrants (GSS, 2013) and 37.4% of female migrants are internal migrants or non-international (Lattof, Leone, Coast and Nyarko, 2018). According to Lattof and his compatriots, working-age migration is the norm among female migrants and economic emancipation is the prime driver. In addition, unmarried female migrants are more pronounced than married female migrants.

The push factors for migration of young girls are as follows; lack of social and economic opportunities in origin communities, the drive to improve individual and household economic situations, the need to escape oppressive family arrangements (early marriage, betrothals), patriarchal relations and homophobia (ICRSE, 2016). Anarfi and Agyei (2009) studied the concept of migration in Ghana and reports that the push factors for female migrants are the need to accumulate resources for marriage, to avoid harmful sociocultural practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM) as well as arranged marriages.

There are three major drivers of migrant sex workers, this include escape of punitive measures, escape from stigma and discrimination and to pursue higher incomes and better living standards (NSWP, 2017). As a consequence of religious and sociopolitical opposition, migrant sex workers constantly migrate in search of safer working conditions. For instance, crackdown on sex workers in China, Bangladesh and Nepal force migrant sex workers to flee to India. Also, sex work is still criminalized in Sub-Saharan Africa (Robinson, 2006). Community bye-laws against sex trade compromises enabling environment for migrant to participate in sex work. In Ukraine, rising HIV/AIDS prevalence is fuelling State protest against migrant sex work (CONECTA project, 2013).

Transition of migrants into sex work is an issue of vulnerability of the migrants in the said setting. According to the International Organization on migration (IOM), vulnerability is susceptibility to harm among migrants relative to the general population as a consequence of selective exposure to a certain type of risk (in this case, sex work allures and pressures). The exposure factor here is a new opportunity to earn relatively better income through sex work.

The question is can sex work be viewed as just any form of occupation? Sex work has been criminalized in most African countries using sociocultural lens of deduction (Robinson, 2006). The practice of sex for money is frowned upon and has been checked with taboos and community-based bye-laws for eons. Van der Geugten et al (2013), opined that negative cultural attitudes towards sex work in Ghanaian communities have the tendency to ostracize migrant girls who venture into the industry to make a living. Tenni, Carpenter and Thomson (2015) carefully studied the dynamics of Ghanaian prostitution laws and concluded that sex work is deemed criminal. Manoek (2012) observed that in Africa where sex work is deemed illegal, law enforcement agencies capitalize on punitive clauses of the constitution to organize assaults on sex workers.

In the European setting, (X:talk project, 2010) noted that declaring the practice of migrant sex work illegal fueled police raids and frequent immigration task force rescue operations that resulted in the cloaking of migrant sex work. According to the author, the cloaking of sex work or its clandestine nature is the prerequisite for migrant entrapment in human trafficking, unfair workplace practices and abuses of inhuman degrees.

International Organization on Migration (IOM) in the year 2018 pinpoints that the four (4) dynamics of migrants' susceptibility to entrance into the sex industry are individual factors, family/household factors, community related factors as well as structural/legal factors. The latter encompasses legal instruments foreshadowing the practice of sex work. These dynamics are the various dimensions of push and pull factors that underlie commencement of prostitution among female migrants. According to (ICRSE, 2016), refugees, undocumented female migrants and asylum seekers might be coerced into selling sex as a consequence of poverty, repressive migration laws and lack of employment opportunities.

The work of Kanchana (2017) is an analysis of G20 countries on labour laws and migrants' vulnerability to domestic servitude. According to the author, labour laws in the G20 countries do not cover the activities of domestic migrant workers; increasing their vulnerability to high-risk activities and occupations. Also, Bressan and Abalo (2015) discovered increased vulnerability of migrants under circumstances where accommodation is linked to employment terms giving landlords, employers and other third parties undue control over the lives of migrants. In the same vein, factories and mine works with limited government jurisdiction exposes migrants in such locations to exploitations as observed by (Kharbhih, 2013)

According to (NSWP, 2017), limited social, civic, cultural, labour and legal rights for migrants engineer their marginalization and risk of exploitation including recruitment into sex trade and drug trafficking. In worst case scenarios, migrants might be trafficked across international borders where the state will have little to no control of their wellbeing.

There is little concern for the plight of female migrants and female migrant sex workers in Ghana. The European Union established a charter of rights and privileges for migrant sex workers. Little can be said for the selfsame cohort of persons in African countries. State negligence of at risk groups such as migrants and sex workers compromises well-laid social development plans for urban centers. Scientists and advocates have called for multilevel intervention strategies in dealing with the gender and power factors that increases risk of migrants entering into sex trade and its associated health implications (Weine et al, 2013).

This study aims to assess in detail; a) the prevalence of female migrant sex work in Ghana using the Accra Metropolis as a proxy for all Urban towns, b) the factors that debilitate their entrance into the sex work occupation, c) the organization of migrant sex work.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study design adopted for this study was cross sectional usin mixed method approach analysis. The study spanned the period 01/01/2020 to 01/06/2020. Quantitative and qualitative survey methods were used concurrently to elicit data on female migrants' biodata, experiences as migrants' female porters and as migrant sex workers. One-on-one interviews and in-depth key informant interviews were used to gather data with the aid of structured questionnaire, interview guide and key informant interview guide respectively. In this study, one hundred and sixty (160) female migrants were randomly recruited from Tema Lorry station of the Accra

Metropolis. The eligibility criteria for inclusion include being a female migrant within fertile age (Women in fertile age). It was also ensured that eligible participants could speak English, Twi, Dagbani, Ga or any of the major Ghanaian languages commonly used as L1. This set of respondents participated in a general survey involving the use of questionnaire.

Also, twelve (12) female migrants with history of participation in sex work were purposely recruited for in-depth interviews. This encompassed all female migrants who have ever traded sex or sexual intimacy for monetary or in-kind favors. Taking into consideration a pre-studied organization of the sex work modus operandi, potential study participants were identified by research assistants posing as clients soliciting for sex. This allowed trained interviewers to easily identify with the sex work system and gain access to a first set of respondents without toppling the apple cart by causing fear and panic. Sex work is frowned upon and migrant sex workers are envisaged to be in constant lookout for government authority figures or the police.

The first set of migrant sex workers were recruited and employed as liaison to recruit other female migrant sex workers through the snowball effect. Selection and recruitment was done in a fairly controlled manner to avoid bias. All participants were purposefully selected as result of their capacity to provide valid responses on the research instruments. The recruited participants were asked to select a place for the interview that suit their convenience and provides them privacy. Potential participants for both the survey and the in-depth interviews were furnished with information sheets containing the purpose, rational and potential significance of the research. Those who could not read were verbally informed on the content of the said information sheets to be abreast with what the research entails. Afterwards, signed informed consent forms indicated acquiescence to participate in the interviews. These consent forms were obtained from the ethics review board of the University for Development Studies, Tamale. Respondents were assured of the anonymity of their responses through the use of codes instead of actual names.

Forty female migrant sex workers were approached and 32 consented to the interviews. This number was deemed theoretically reliable and sufficient to answer research objectives.

Interviews

All interviews were conducted in English, Twi or any other local language that is considered L1 to respondents. Each interview session was audio-taped with participants' permission and later transcribed in English. The research interview guides focused on the following: socio-demographic characteristics of migrant female porters, experience as migrants, factors that triggered entry into sex work, reproductive health risks as sex workers and finally access to health care services and voluntary counselling and testing services. The data was refined through pilot testing and iterative process of mock data collection and reincorporation of emerging components.

Techniques of Data Analysis

Quantitative survey data was analysed using SPSS v.18 and the findings presented as frequencies, charts, cross tabulation and inferential statistics. A predictor variable was adjudged significant when the p-value of the test of association was less than 0.05. Risk ratio (RR) was adopted as a measure of strength of association between dependent and independent variables. This statistic is the ratio of the cumulative incidence in exposed group by the cumulative incidence in the unexposed group:

$$RR = \frac{CIe}{CIu}$$

Where CI_e is the cumulative incidence in the 'exposed' group and CI_u is the cumulative incidence in the 'unexposed' group. If the risk ratio is 1 (or close to 1), it suggests no difference or little difference in risk (incidence in each group is the same). A risk ratio > 1 suggests an increased risk of that outcome in the exposed group. A risk ratio < 1 suggests a reduced risk in the exposed group.

Qualitative data were transcribed, coded and emerging themes surmised using Atlas TI software. The dominant themes on female migrant sex work and notable quotes were used to triangulate quantitative data and provide succinct answers to research questions.

RESULTS

Socio Demographics Characteristics of Respondents

Female migrants interviewed were 160 with no non-response proportions since the interviews were face-to-face to ensure consent before questionnaire administration starts. Out of that number, 12.9% (21) of respondents were aged 15 to 19 years. Also, 20 to 24 year olds were 25.7% (41) and the majority were 25 to 29 year olds constituting 41.0% (66). Female migrants above 30 years of age were 20.0% (32) of respondents.

Further, using the chi-square test of significance showed that the occurrence of sex work disaggregated by age group was statistically significant ($\chi^2(1, n = 160) = 21.52, p = .000082$). This portray that there was a marked difference in the occurrence of sex work practice between various age categories. A binary analysis of this phenomenon revealed that the teen and adolescent group were less at risk relative to female migrants who are 20 years and above (RR=0.79, 95% CI: 0.31 – 1.13, p= .1120). However, this test was not significant.

Majority of female migrants (i.e 60.0%, 96) presenting at the capital city were single. Close to a fifth of them (19.4%, 31) were cohabiting and 15.6% (n = 25) were married. In addition, five percent (8) of respondents were through a divorce. Marital status was not significantly related to female migrant sex work practice given that the p-value for chi-square test of significance was less than 0.05 as shown ($\chi^2(1, n = 160) = 4.57, p = 0\ .206$).

On educational level attained, Majority of respondents 55.2% (n = 88) schooled up to primary school level. This was followed by those who had no formal education at all constituting 25.7% (n= 41) of respondents. Respondents who schooled up to JHS level were 17.6% (28) and approximately 3% (n= 5) had Senior High School Education.

Educational level was compared with practice of sex work and no statistical significance was attributed to the test ($\chi^2(1, n = 160) = 0.14, p = 0\ .99$). A binary assessment of those that have ever been to school vis-à-vis those that have no formal education revealed that the relative risk is unity (RR=1.02, 95% CI: 0.19 – 2.52, p=.23). This indicates that any association between education and involvement in sex work might purely be as a result of chance occurrence.

Christians made up 28.1% (45) of respondents while Muslims were 71.9% (115). Further comparison between religion and sex work practice showed a significant relationship between the two variables ($\chi^2(1, n = 160) = 9.48, p = .0021$). This means that there is a significant difference in the level of sex work practice based on the religion of the respondent.

Table 1: Sociodemographic Characteristics of Respondents

Socio-demographic variable (n=160)	Count	Percentage [%]
Age categories		
15 to 19	21	12.9
20 to 24	41	25.7
25 to 29	66	41.0
30 & above	32	20.0
Marital status		
Single	96	60.0
Married	25	15.6
Cohabiting	31	19.4
Divorced	8	5.0
Education		
No formal education	41	25.7
Prim	88	55.2
JHS	28	17.6
SHS/Vocational	5	2.9
Ethnicity (n=160)		
Dagomba	58	36.2
Mamprusi	68	42.4
Tamplinsi	36	22.4
Others	3	1.9
Religion		
Christian	45	28.1
Muslim	115	71.9

Field Work, 2019.

Table 2: Occurrence of Sex Work by Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Socio-demographic factor	**Have you ever engaged in sexual intercourse for money?**			**Inferential statistics**
	Yes	No	Total	
10 to 14	3 (11.8)	18 (9.19)	21	($\chi^2(1, n = 160) = 21.52, p = .000082$)
15 to 19	27 (23.06)	14 (17.9)	41	
20 to 24	45 (37.12)	21 (28.88)	66	
25 & above	15 (18.00)	17 (14.00)	32	
Marital status (n=160)				

Single	54 (53.3)	42 (42.7)	96	$(\chi^2(1, n = 160) = 4.57, p = .206)$.
Married	10 (14.4)	15 (11.6)	25	
Cohabiting	21 (17.8)	10 (14.2)	31	
Divorced	5 (4.4)	3 (3.6)	8	
Education (n=160)				
No formal education	23 (22.5)	17 (17.5)	41	$(\chi^2(1, n = 160) = 0.14, p = .99)$
Prim	49 (48.9)	38 (38.1)	88	
JHS	15 (15.8)	13 (12.2)	28	
SHS/Vocational	3 (2.8)	2 (2.2)	5	
Religion				
Christian	34 (25.3)	11 (19.7)	45	$(\chi^2(1, n = 160) = 9.48, p = .0021)$
Muslim	56 (64.7)	59 (50.3)	115	

Field Work, 2019

Female Migrant experiences and Wellbeing

A myriad of reasons underlies the presence of female migrants in the city. The study results showed that 65.2% of respondents migrated to the city because of economic reasons; of that proportion, 12.8% reported that they could not stand the poverty in their families and thus moved to seek greener pastures. Almost 5% of female migrants said they came to Accra because what their friends told them about the city and the trophies their friends brought back.

Family circumstances and threat of arranged marriages also forced 25% of female migrants to come to the city. The remaining 9.8% of female migrants stated that they moved to the city as a result of inadequacy of employment opportunities in their rural environs coupled with disturbance by boys.

The predictors of female migration disaggregated by age category revealed that; the majority of respondents that moved to seek greener pastures were under 20 years of age. This entails, movement to work and earn income for their individual benefit and those of poor families back home**.** Among this generation of female migrants, some come to the city as a result of the perceived glitter and glamour of city life. Those over 20 years of age migrate for the money and other more mature reasons. One of them include fleeing family pressure to marry, bad sociocultural practices and prospecting for sustainable employment like learning hair dressing, tailoring and cosmetic production among others.

The female migrant's life and experiences in the city consists of involvement in various occupations. The predominant occupation is head porting of goods (*Kayayei*) for people in the hustle and bustle of city life. This include people who are doing shopping, trading and travelling with heavy luggage. Other occupations include street hawking for retail and wholesale storekeepers, learning trades and handwork among much more structured migrants and being store assistants. The female migrants spend the whole day standing in the markets, close to supermarkets, at lorry parks/bus stops and at street corners of busy streets for luggage to haul on their heads. This is their major work that female migrants are known for.

The feeding, healthcare, accommodation, cost of using places of convenience and daily protection fee to senior porters all comes from their proceeds from *Kayayei*. The proceeds from their daily haulage of goods is seldom enough to cater for all expenses. In a city where some of them have little social support networks as well as family, the burden could be overwhelming.

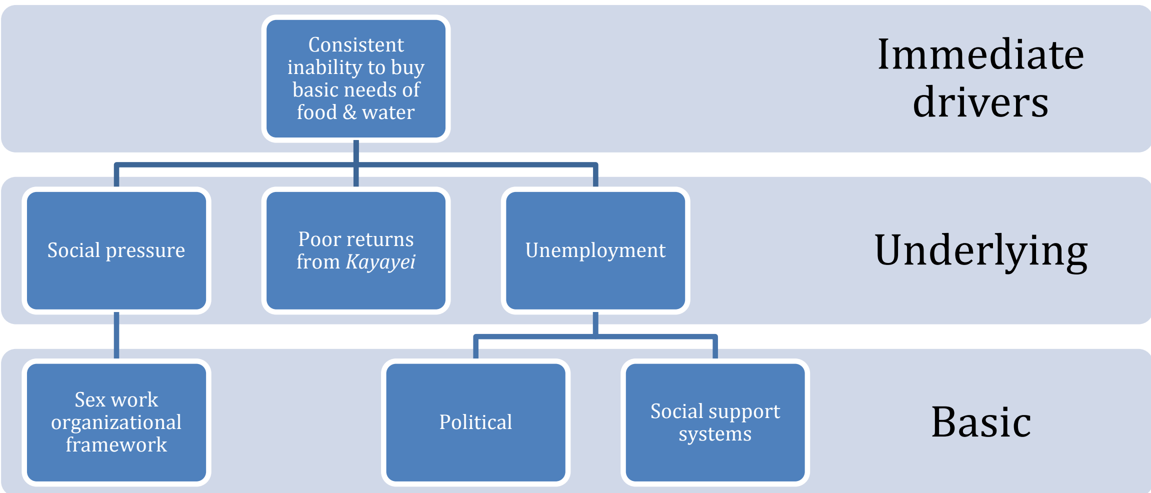
Prevalence of Sex Work Practice among Respondents

The practice of sex work was measured by asking the question; "Did you or do you have sexual intercourse with people for money sometimes?" It was not a question most respondents easily answered. Others did amidst emotion and on one or more occasion the interview came to an abrupt halt at that point in data administration. The findings gleamed showed that 56.2% (90) of respondents were into the sex trade as against 43.8% (70) of female migrants that were into the mainstream head porting of goods (*Kayayei*). This portrayed that more than half of all female immigrants into the city are roped into sex work.

Meta-analysis of respondents' involvement in sex work in relation to their background characteristics such as age, educational level attained, marital status, and religion showed that; any respondent's involvement in sex work was significantly associated to their age and religion. On disparities with respect to age, it was found out that female migrant workers less than 20 years of age were less at risk of joining the sex trade compared to those beyond 20 years of age.

Factors That Mediate Female Migrant Porters Entry into Sex Trade

The factors that show varied nexuses with prevalence of migrant sex work could be classified as immediate, underlying and basic risks. The immediate risks have a tendency to agree with Maslow's theory of hierarchical needs. This theorem stipulates that basic needs such as food, water, shelter and safety among others must of necessity be met before people persevere to actualize themselves. The study findings showed that the lot of female migrants hardly makes ends meet per day of business activities. Therefore, basic needs such as food, water and places to sleep are a problem.



Money concerns is crosscutting as a the most significant predictor for both migrations to the city and entry into sex work. In most instances, it is the need for it to defray debts, pay utilities, afford daily necessities and save some for remittance purposes. However, for more ambitious female migrants, it is the zeal to acquire money for properties that will guarantee a permanently comfortable lifestyle of less work and pleasure.

The underlying factors uncovered through key informant interviews were social pressure to join the sex business, consistently poor returns from *Kayayei* and unemployment in the form of transient unavailability of work for the head porters.

From the study findings, female migrants were constantly under pressure from peers and seniors in the practice of sex work to join the business. In addition, that, subtle coercion and influence was reported to be coming from an already organized system behind the sex industry. This consisted of pressure from *mbeli (*senior & resident female migrants*)*, neighborhood thugs (acting as pimps), male migrants of the same tribal descent as the female migrants and bosses in the actual sex trade.

Furthermore, transient unemployment was found to be bothersome for the female migrants who thrive on their daily earnings. Respondents stipulated that the residents of the city have grown accustomed to carrying their own weights (in the literal sense). Women who come to the market to buy provisions in bulk come with their own cars and in some cases, they prefer the services of male migrants who use wheel barrows. Added to this was the fear of theft owing to rising crime rates in the city.

Another source of unemployment was the incidence of the Corona Virus disease (COVID-19) pandemic. The prescribed prevention protocols which included locked down of the Accra Metropolis, social distancing, and stay home campaigns brought business as head porters to an abrupt halt.

> "*The last day of active work was on the 18th to the 22nd of March, 2020 when everyone was cautioned to stockpile food stuff and provisions for the lockdown. And now, two months after the lockdown restriction were eased, business is still slow"*

On basic factors, various social, legal, economic and political variables were shown to be at play in female migrants' lives that act as drivers into the sex work industry. Some of these factors deduced from extracts of key informant interviews were as follows; open disrespect and derision for female migrants, difficulty accessing health services, lack of state support and protection under both gender realms and migrant work occupational rights, poverty and urban restrictions.

> *The coronavirus pandemic has push some of us into sex work. We used to sleep in groups in front of shops but with the outbreak of the virus we are forced to look for accommodation. Some of us exchange sex for accommodation and other work as sex workers to gain two things that is nightly charge of twenty Ghana cedis and a place to pass the night*

One factor of social occlusion and stigmatization that female migrants are constantly battling is derision of these migrants on racial and occupational grounds. Although there have been no physical assaults, the verbal and gestural contempt exists affecting female migrants emotionally and psychologically. The vast majority of them were from the northern parts of

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the nation, Ghana. This study finding portray that the name calling used on migrants of Northern descent have far graver consequences than is let on. According to one of the respondents;

> *"There are sometimes, I just want to get up, pack what I have and go back home. However, I have been working for over a year now as a head porter and I still don't have what I came to work for. So I cannot just go yet. The will have to call me 'Teniii' until they tire themselves out."*

This factor served as an impetus for female migrants to strive to better themselves economically but any means necessary. One of the readily available means is to indulge in sex work.

More so, inadequate economic access to essential social services such as health care informed the entrance of many female migrants into sex work. Optimum health is necessary for wellbeing and livelihood. Female migrants have difficulty accessing health services owing their lack of health insurance, inadequacy of funds to pay for services, language barrier with health professionals and plain fear of hospitals. Thus, these female migrants do what they can to obtain enough money to pay for hospital bills and access basic primary health care services.

There is little state support for female migrants. According to them, several Non-Governmental Organizations in one way or the other tried to take female migrants off the streets with self-help initiatives like dress making, hair dressing, bakery and pastry making among others. However, such programmes lacked the needed sustainability to pass out their trainees and recruit new ones. The ministry of Gender, Women and Social Protection hardly rolls out any projects to the benefit of migrant girls. Apparently, the agencies interested in their matters are shady recruitment agencies for foreign countries and individual agents popularly referred to as "*connection man*". However, these migrant girls have heard too many stories and ordeals of human trafficked victims to be deceived.

The consequence of poor state intervention is Metropolitan cities over run with migrant girls seeking life and livelihoods in foreign territories. These predispose the girls to organizers of sex work, human traffickers, drug peddlers and foreign companies that exact a great deal of human labour for little pay. The industries like the sex trade that ply on innocent migrant girls are not under the auspice of National labour laws leaving their workers at every whim and caprice of their employers.

Organization of Sex Work in Ghana

The findings of this study also shed light on the systemic organization of the practice of sex work including the modus operandi of migrant workers. It was uncovered that sex workers in general were in categories, the lone rangers who were not attached to any networks and those recruited into a network or organized body of sex workers. The latter group is usually headed by a "Boss man or woman" who works with local thugs akin to pimps. The lone rangers are constantly pressured to join the organized bodies.

Female migrant sex workers reported that in most instances when they run out of money for basic necessities, their prelude to sex trade occurs under circumstances where they ask for help from migrant boys of like tribes as they are. It begins with the "boys" asking for sexual exchanges in place of whatever cash or in-kind favours they provide the migrant girls.

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However, given that the *Kayayei* and these boys are from the same tribe and probably from same villages, the affairs are kept secret.

Female migrant sex workers who got emboldened to join the full scale street hawking of their bodies at night did so under consistent financial strain and inability to fend for themselves. They start off as lone rangers and are later recruited into sex work gangs through the influence of pimps, friends who are already practicing and seniors in the migrant work *(Kayayei*).

In an interview with one of the kayayei who doubled us a sex worker reported as follows:

> *"Hmm I came here to work as a kayayei but one of my friends who is a sex worker and makes a lot of money introduce me to sex trade. She told me that it is the only and easy way of making money. I joined the sex trade and now I do not carry the load anymore and the money I make in a month is three times more than what I use to make as a kayeyei"*

DISCUSSIONS

The socio-demographic distribution of female migrants illustrates that female migrants were mostly in the age ranges of 25-29 years (41%), unmarried (60%) and had up to primary school level education. The lot of them were also Muslims relative to other religious sects. Persons less than 20 years constituted 12.9% of the total number of female migrants. Also, age and religion were found to be significant predictors of female migrants' involvement in sex work. Female migrants who were less than 20 years were less likely to participate in sex work compared to those with ages above 20 years. The immediate driver of female migrants towards sex work was inability to cater for daily necessities in the midst of a strange community where familial and community support are distant. The age range 25 to 29 years can be classified as adulthood. However, past researches observed that migrants in the city are predominantly young and female. This present study's findings associated adult female migrants with moving as a result of financial concerns, marital pressure from family and learning sustainable trades. Some of the trades they indulge in includes learning hand-work and crafts, decorations and event planning, hair dressing, tailoring and petty trading among others. Also, female migrants were mostly unmarried according to this present study's findings. Age category and religion were found to be significantly correlated with indulging in sex work.

This study is in consonants with that of Cwikel J. (200) that a number of studies have assessed the predictors for entry into sex trade. Some of which are cultural, financial motivation and childhood sexual and physical abuse. The study also supported that of Cusick, L 2002) that revealed that loss of self-worth and disrupted family life, homeless and the experience of on the street are the main push factors that pushes these young girls into sex trade.

CONCLUSION

Female migrant head porters transit to sex work as a result of economic hardships and inadequacy of job opportunities in the city. Gender as well economic inequality discrimination between the people of the origin and the migrant female porters and the residential status are said to be the driving forces that make the migrants female head porters to transit to sex work in the city of Accra. A holistic approach which addresses unemployment and poverty as well as discrimination between the migrants and the people of the source city is needed to address the issue of migrant sex workers in Accra and beyond. The study revealed that some of the migrant female porters are forced into sex work because of luck of accommodation at their destination. Regardless the factors responsible for migrant to start sex work at their destination, migrants have agency and choices in rendering sexual services as an essential livelihood strategy for many migrants both local and international. It is important for migrants to access decent accommodation at their destination. Underlying this problem were social pressure to join sex work, poor returns from *Kayayei* and transient unemployment. Poor state support for migrants (bordering on negligence), limited economic empowerment programmmes for female migrants, inadequate access to healthcare and sex work organizational modus operandi were the basic determinants of female migrants' entry into sex work. There is a high rate of migrant turn-over to sex work and this is mediated by an overlay factors. Primary among them is the nuances associated with immediate gratification of basic needs. *Kayayei* earn very little and this fact was aggravated by the emergence of COVID – 19 with its itinerant restrictive measures for all including female migrants. Social pressure from older migrants with sex trade experience as well as the sex business networks is another predicting factor that explained the draft in to sex work. Underlying all this is the problem of limited state support and provisions for keeping female migrant girls off the streets. *Kayayei* are vulnerable on two fronts; the unprofitability and unsustainable nature of head porting employment as well as the pull to join sex work in the city of Accra.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the conclusions drawn from the study, the authors made the following conclusions toward migrant wellbeing and policy interventions:

Kayayei should create self-help groups, pool resources and information to serve as first line of protection against female migrant vulnerability to entrance into sex work.

The Government of Ghana in tandem with the Accra Metropolitan Assembly should endeavor to separate *kayayei* occupation from the influences of the sex trade in the city.

The state should take control of the migrant situation: The Ministry of Women, Gender and Social Protection should set up state monitored homeless shelters for female migrants in Accra with occasional free meals and spending stipends. In addition, counseling, skills training and job recruitment services must be provided to female migrants to better integrate them into meaningful living within the city.

Policy provisions and state interventions should be initiated to permanently salvage *kayayei* off the streets. The police and security services must be initiate interface meetings with female migrants to reduce fear-factor towards them and create grounds for firmer protection of female migrants especially those of young ages.

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Competing interests

The authors declared no potential conflict of interest with respect to the research, authorship and publication of this study.

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THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL INFECTIOUS DISEASES ON NIGERIA'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT: *Global infectious diseases such as COVID-19, SARS, and Ebola have caused huge negative impacts on Nigeria's population health and socio-economic development. This research discusses the socioeconomic impact of these global infectious diseases on Nigeria to provide a better understanding to government and practitioners of why improving the management of infectious disease outbreaks response is so important for a nation's economy, its society, and its place in the global community. The research aims to provide the results of an analysis of the impacts of COVID-19, Ebola, and SARS based on feedback from literature reviews, document analysis, and events during the COVID-19, Ebola, and SARS outbreaks. All outbreaks of COVID-19, Ebola, and SARS have had socioeconomic impacts on Nigeria, causing significant negative impacts on health, the economy, and even national and international security. Findings indicate that global infectious diseases have presented a global epidemic threat, but their social and economic impacts Ebola and SARS in Nigeria were not as serious as in the case of COVID-19 because, though the response to COVID-19 was swifter, the coronavirus has lingered the longest and management has not been as effective. Findings show that beyond the public health impacts of regional or global emerging and endemic infectious diseases, events lay wider socio-economic consequences that are often not considered in risk or impact assessments. With rapid and extensive international travel and trade, such events can elicit economic shock waves far beyond the realm of traditional health sectors and the original geographical range of a pathogen. While private sector organizations are impacted indirectly by these disease events, they are under-recognized yet effective stakeholders that can provide critical information, resources, and key partnerships to public and private health systems to help them respond to and prepare for potential infectious disease events and their socio-economic consequences.*

KEYWORDS: Global Infectious Diseases, Socio-Economic, Development, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria has experienced numerous public health crises caused by disease outbreaks including Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19), Ebola in West Africa, and Severe Acute Respiratory Syndromes (SARS). These epidemics have caused huge negative impacts on Nigeria's population health and the economy as well as threatening international security.

COVID-19, in particular, highlighted global connectedness and the great threat that pandemic and potential pandemic present to nations. Since the COVID-19 outbreak in 2019, Nigeria has established and strengthened its national and local surveillance systems to prevent and control the disease and has also expanded its laboratory capacity. Nigeria's experiences in emergency management for epidemics have varied. Although the control efforts for COVID-19 were problematic and the disease spread globally, the Ebola response was highly praised and the disease did not spread widely.

Undoubtedly, health is core to a productive society, whereas illnesses and an ineffective economic system can stifle production, consumption, recreation, and overall well-being. However, with comprehensive economic assessments, Nigeria can provide a multi-sector understanding of the costs of global infectious disease beyond conventional approaches that only consider disease cases, direct medical spending, and public health interventions. The potential socio-economic impact that countries like Nigeria face from disease events warrants multi-sectoral solutions to minimize and manage disease risks. The COVID-19 epidemic, unlike other global infectious diseases, has taken a serious and unanticipated economic toll on Nigeria. These impacts cut across many sectors and have long-term implications for business owners, employees, and the unemployed. Yet engagement beyond the health sector remains limited in overall economic planning and intervention.

In this study, we present reviews of various works of literature illustrating the impacts of recent epidemics to demonstrate that a holistic approach is needed to address infectious disease risk and the consequent socio-economic disruptions caused by global infectious diseases in Nigeria.

METHODS

We adopted the methods of Qiu W. et al., 2017. This research used a qualitative case study approach including literature reviews and document analyses. The main electronic databases involved were PubMed, ResearchGate, Web of Science, and Google Scholar. The review also drew on a wide range of data sources, including books, journal articles, government documents, policy reports, conference papers, and reports from some of the affected countries. Journal article searches were made in the Library Catalog and reference lists of retrieved articles and textbooks, and electronic literature databases, such as WHO, ScienceDirect, PubMed, and Web of Science. Government documents and policy reports came from the National Center for Disease Control and Prevention (NCDC), government departments, and published research literature.

The keywords used were COVID-19, Ebola, Ebola hemorrhagic fever, SARS-CoV-2, epidemics, challenges, diagnosis, case management, disease control, NCDC, socioeconomic development, Africa, Nigeria. The inclusion criteria were all articles published in English, scholarly written articles, articles with abstract, full articles, and related published articles on global infectious diseases in Sub-Saharan Africa and Nigeria.

The public was not involved in the design, conduct, reporting, or dissemination plans of this research.

GLOBAL INFECTIOUS DISEASES AND THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY

Global Trends in Emerging Infectious Diseases

Infectious diseases have continued being a dogged public health problem all over the world. Although recent successes have been recorded in the eradication of a few, findings by Butler (2012); Fonkwo (2008); and Jones et al. (2008) indicate that persistence, re-emergence, and the emergence of novel infectious diseases continue to pose a problem for global health security.

Emerging infectious diseases can be described as “infectious agents that have newly appeared in the population, or have existed but are rapidly increasing in incidence or geographic range” (Morse, 1995). Petersen et al. (2018) show us that recent examples of emerging infections include the unprecedented COVID-19, Zika Virus, Ebola Virus, Middle East respiratory syndrome coronavirus, and Nipah virus. These emerging infections play a substantial role in the strength of global economies, and public health security, even as a once diverse and global world continues shrinking (Jones et al., 2008).

The impact of infectious diseases is much more than the disease burden, with their economic and developmental impact often more than not, way significant than the direct medical expenses, typified by the current situation of the Nigerian economy.

According to the World Bank, the Nigerian economy would likely contract by 3.2% in 2020. This projection assumes that the spread of COVID-19 in Nigeria is contained by the third quarter of 2020, and in the event of the spread of the virus becoming more severe, the economy could contract further. Before COVID-19, the Nigerian economy was expected to grow by 2.1% in 2020, which means that the pandemic has led to a reduction in growth by more than five percentage points (Nigeria’s Economy Faces Worst Recession in Four Decades, Says New World Bank Report, n.d.). This simply highlights the impact one Infectious disease event could have on the economy of a nation.

WHO Recommendations

The WHO has recommended a framework for stimulating economic investments to prevent emerging infectious diseases and their impact involves firstly, investing in active, preventive measures to prevent infectious disease epidemics/pandemics, and even when they occur obviate the worst of their consequences. It is estimated that an average annual investment of \$2.6 billion to strengthen animal and human health systems will yield a global health benefit of \$30 billion because it would avoid the economic damages associated with pandemics (The World Bank Group, 2012).

Secondly, according to Machalaba et al. (2017), fortification of evidence that makes clear conditions under which investing in proactive mitigation measures will be fiscally prudent.

Thirdly, scaling of economically viable, and validated innovations with the promotion of a set of structures that incentivize risk mitigation investments (WHO | A Framework for Stimulating Economic Investments to Prevent Emerging Diseases, n.d.).

Financing platforms, in the view of Schäferhoff et al. (2015), should re-balance funding towards health systems strengthening, guided by economic principles making preventive and

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proactive approaches built on evidence-based investment cases, delivering benefits ranging from an end to poverty and hunger, to advancing economic growth.

Socio-Economic Problems in Nigeria

According to the Macmillan English dictionary for advanced learning, socioeconomics involves a combination of social and economic matters. So, social-economic problems are factors that have a negative influence on an individual's social and economic activities which include over-population, unemployment, illiteracy, corruption, poverty, inflation, etc. These factors affect the opportunities and privileges accorded to people within a society. Each individual in a society has a socioeconomic status or ranking which can be used to predict a vast array of outcomes in his or her life span including physical and psychological health, etc.

Poverty: According to the World Bank, poverty remains significant at 20.1% in Nigeria, Africa's biggest economy. In 2018, a report by the World Bank has it that half of Nigeria's population lives below the international poverty line ($2 per day) which is alarming for a country with numerous natural resources and a large population of educated youths. Despite efforts and policies by the previous and current government to alleviate poverty, nothing has significantly changed in the standard of living of the people, as poverty is still growing at an alarming rate (Igbokwe et al., 2012). Poverty has led to a lack of basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter, health facilities, and a lack of education for Nigerians. This, in turn, has led to the slow socio-economic growth of the country.

Unemployment: Unemployment is a significant problem and remains one of the key causes of Nigeria's high poverty rate and slow socio-economic growth. According to the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Nigeria's unemployment and underemployment rate as of the second quarter of 2020 was 27.1% and 28.6% respectively. This means that about 21.7 million Nigerians were unemployed with Nigeria's unemployment and underemployment rate at a combined 55.7%. Young people in Nigeria remain the hardest hit by unemployment with more than 13.9 million people aged between 15 and 34 years unemployed. Graduates and postgraduates combined made up about 2.9 million total unemployed Nigerians. This played out when four (4) Ph.D. holders and two hundred (200) Master's degree holders applied for a set of three-month unskilled contract jobs advertised by the Nigerian government where employees would be paid a monthly stipend of 20,000 naira ($52.57). According to Cramer (2011), several studies have also established a link between crime and unemployment.

Illiteracy: Todaro and Smith (2007) reported that education, especially at the higher level, contributes directly to economic growth by making individual employees more productive and contribute to knowledge growth, ideas, and technological innovation. Education is fundamental to development and is often viewed as an instrument through which society can be transformed. As a salient factor in any transition program, education equips human resources with the needed knowledge, skills, and competencies to be functional and able to contribute to the all-round development of the nation. Education, according to Odeleye (2012), is recognized globally as a veritable and strategic venture pivotal to the economic transformation of any nation. The illiteracy rate of Nigeria can be eradicated if the Nigerian government pays more attention to the education sector by building quality study facilities, research laboratories, and employing qualified teachers. This approach will not create jobs for

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the citizens and attract international/ foreign students to the country's institutions; it will increase the nation's GDP and catalyze socio-economic development.

Corruption: Recently, public debates in Nigeria have centered on the increasing rate of corruption resulting from the government's inappropriate public finance planning and implementation. Idomeh (2006) believes that this is the reason for the low rate of economic growth in the country. Political and social corruption is not a recent phenomenon that pervades the Nigerian state because according to Nwankwo (2014), this social problem has always been of particular interest to many scholars. Corruption has reduced development in all sectors of the economy (EFCC, 2005) and ICPC (2006) considers it the primary reason behind the country's difficulties in developing fast. For instance, a statement publicly made by the former British Prime Minister David Cameron was that "Nigeria is a fantastically-corrupt country." The presumption was that the statement, which was made at an anti-corruption summit in London by such an international figure, would signal the need for change in Nigeria. Unfortunately, in the opinion of Rehana et al. (2017), it fuelled criticisms from the Nigerian government, leaving Nigeria with the tag of one of the world's most corrupt countries for several years. The African Economic Outlook (2006) reports that as part of fighting corruption and strengthening the economy, the Nigerian government has, over the years, embarked on series of economic growth reform through privatization, banking sector reform, anti-corruption campaigns, and the establishment of transparent fiscal standards such as the Independent Corrupt Practices And Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and the financial crimes investigation agency, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC).

Overpopulation: Nigeria's population is growing faster than development can cater for, faster than resources to maintain it, and faster than the best attempt at any type of population control. It is a concern because the magnitude of overpopulation has become a problem for national security agencies due to violent crimes, kidnappings (Chidi, 2014). Population growth on the continent of Africa is also at an unprecedented level as families have become larger due to the procreation of many children (Bish, 2017). The rate of procreation is sustained without a reflection on the short- and long-term consequences of untimely deaths of breadwinners. There is often no introspection if parents can afford basic needs such as decent housing, balanced nutrition, education costs, the difficulty of succeeding in competitive job markets, or the prospects of ever gaining employment to combat poverty. The reality is that Nigeria has a significant problem with the geometric rate of population growth. Despite warnings from international organizations, past administrations are yet to take concrete action to curb population growth. At an economic conference in October 2018, the minister of Finance, Hajiya Ahmad acknowledged that Nigeria's economic growth was less than I.0% GDP while population growth was at 3%. She identified great challenges in the economic recovery and growth plan of the federal government and advised mothers to consider having a maximum of two children because the population growth of Nigeria cannot be sustained (Ejukwa, 2019).

Nigeria's Social and Economic Policy

Policy-makers, according to Nzuki et al. (2013), are the persons bestowed with the power, either by the society as a whole or by a group of people in society, to make such critical decisions.

Nigeria's Social Policy: Social policy is described as actions that affect the well-being of members of a society through shaping the distribution of and access to goods and resources in that society (Christine et al., 2005). In many African countries, economic growth has been too slow to keep pace with the rapid growth of the population and the explosive demand for social services. This has led to the mounting burden of external debt and high debt service ratios. As a result, debt-afflicted countries are required to drastically compromise their national spending by introducing radical cuts and sweeping policy reforms. Inevitably, this squeeze has also had its toll on education and human resources development, and other social sectors (Abraham, 1995). Hagen- Zanker and Tavakoli, (2011) observed that the Nigerian government spends a relatively low proportion of its budget on the social sector, compared to other sectors and other countries with education and health accounting as low as 12% and 7% of expenditure respectively.

According to Okechukwu (2013), despite the great number of policies to address issues in education, poverty, housing, unemployment, health, social security, insurance, and other aspects of social policy, there has been no significant improvement. Social policies in Nigeria have not taken care of the disadvantaged people for which they were made.

Listed below are some of Nigeria's social policies:

- National policy and strategic plan of action on prevention and control of non-communicable diseases (NCDs)
- National Agriculture policy
- National implementation framework for food security
- National school health policy
- National strategic health development plan (NSHDP)
- National plan of action on food and nutrition in Nigeria

Nigeria's Economic Policy: Economic policy is described as a government's actions that are intended to influence the economy by directly impacting markets (Buckley et al., 2018). Nigeria has faced several economic challenges such as slow growth in gross domestic product (GDP), excess liquidity, inconsistent exchange rate, yearly budget deficit, high inflation rate, and untapped revenue sources aside revenue from crude oil and as Musasa (2012) observes, this has led to the different systems of monetary and fiscal policies to evolve. In fact, according to Baker et al. (2016), monetary policies are used in combination with trade and fiscal policies to achieve an economic goal.

Okpara (2010), however, defines monetary policies as actions by monetary authorities to influence the national economic objectives by controlling the quantity and direction of money supply, credit, and cost of credit to achieve major economic goals of optimal price stability, economic growth, and development, full employment, etc. Fiscal policy, according to Speer (2018), is a means by which government adjusts its spending levels and tax rates to regulate, monitor, and influence its nation's economy. Essentially, trade policies are made to boost the nation's international trade such as import and export tax and tariffs (Cadot et al., 2016).

Listed below are some of Nigeria's economic policies since its independence:

- Structural adjustment program (SAP)
- National economic empowerment and development strategy (NEEDS)
- Vision 20:2020

The Socioeconomic Burdens of Covid-19 Outbreak in Nigeria

The global impact of the 2019 coronavirus (COVID-19) is devastating and the outbreak was deemed a pandemic by the World health organization (WHO) on 11th March 2020 (WHO, 2020). The COVID- 19 pandemic has posed unprecedented risks and caused governments of different countries to take measures such as travel restrictions, lockdown, and restrictions on social gatherings (Devos, 2020). In Nigeria, the first confirmed case of COVID- 19 was in Lagos state on the 27th of February, 2020.

The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic includes:

Job Losses: The pandemic has led to the disruption of the trade and financial opportunities of both the formal and informal job markets. During the pandemic, a nationwide lockdown was imposed on both the private and public sectors of the economy. Private firms need to be in business to pay workers and maintain their staff strength but since they were not in business during the period of the lockdown, they had to lay off some staff and the few employees who remained had their salaries slashed. This increased the number of unemployed and underemployed persons in the country which was already at an all-time high of 55.7%.

Poor Education: This is another burden of the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in Nigeria. During this long time of the imposed lockdown, academic activities were at a halt. While other developed countries were having classes online, education was temporarily stopped in Nigeria, and sadly, students and lectures will be rushed to meet up with schools' curriculum. Inevitably, this will increase the number of poorly educated students, also known as 'educated illiterates'.

Devaluation of the Naira: The impact is already being felt in the exchange rate which has depreciated by 1.0% since mid-February 2020. The informal market, however, indicates an expectation of a larger depreciation of the Naira. Amidst this pressure, on March 20th, the Central Bank of Nigeria adjusted the currency to ₦380 per dollar. A week before the announcement, informal sources indicated that the Naira was trading at ₦380 per dollar in the parallel/black market. The impact of the outbreak in the advanced economies on jobs and financial transactions could have a further negative impact on remittances, which represents 80 percent of the federal budget. This already affects the livelihood and spending patterns of Nigerians, which in turn could hurt the economy and wellbeing of the Nigerian people (Social Economic Analysis, 2020).

Reduced Social Interaction: Enforced restrictive social policies such as isolation, quarantine, social distancing, and total lockdown led to an increase in social anxiety. Social connection is a major key to bringing about the needed resilience for societies to persevere during these difficult pandemic times. In an investigation by Holt- Lunstad et al. (2010), findings show the extent/ rate to which social relationships influence mortality risk. They found out that there is a 50 percent increased likelihood of survival for individuals with stronger social relationships.

Slow National Economic Growth: The Nigerian economy depends on 90% of the export of its crude oil. The Nigerian government prepared the 2020 national budget using the crude oil benchmark of $57 per barrel and production at 2.18million barrels per day. However, the COVID-19 pandemic reduced crude oil price to $27 per barrel which is a more than a 50 percent decrease in the crude oil price with a $30 decline in price. So this decrease in the benchmark price of crude oil has impacted negatively on the Nigerian economy (Olatokewa, 2020).

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Demographic Profile of Global Infectious Diseases in Nigeria

According to FMH (2018), malaria remains the most killer disease in Nigeria with an estimated 300,000 children dying of the disease every year. It accounts for over 25% of infant mortality rate, 30% of childhood mortality, and 11% of maternal mortality. At least 50% of the population has at least one episode of malaria every year while children aged less than 5 years have 2 to 4 attacks annually (NDHS, 2009). 2018 WHO country profile shows non-communicable diseases accounted for an estimated 29% of all deaths in Nigeria, with cardiovascular diseases as the primary cause of non-communicable disease-related death (11%) followed by cancers (4%), chronic respiratory disease (2%), and diabetes (1%). However, in 2017, Nigeria saw an increase in the rate of infectious diseases like Lassa fever, yellow fever, monkeypox, cholera, and new strains/serotypes of existing pathogens (Ahmad 2018).

Nigeria and several Africa countries have been dealing with public health challenges for many years. The diseases with a rising burden in Nigeria include cardiovascular diseases, cancer, diabetes, malaria, chronic respiratory diseases, sickle cell diseases, hypertension, obesity, stroke, coronary heart disease, mental disorder, and the deadly 2019 coronavirus (COVID-19). Before the Ebola virus disease in Nigeria, Nigeria had established the Nigeria Center for Disease Control (NCDC) which played a major role in the control of the Ebola virus disease outbreak in Nigeria. The NCDC has improved Nigeria's capacity to respond to the increasing threat of outbreaks and other public health emergencies like the current pandemic which has claimed thousands of lives across the globe. The NCDC achieved this by building collaborations and taking the lead in prevention, surveillance, and proper coordination of the public health laboratory.

Current State of Nigeria's Socio-Economic Development

Socio-economic development is the process of social and economic development in a society that is calculated using measures such as gross domestic product (GDP), life expectancy, literacy, and employment levels. Nigeria has made different attempts before the return to civil rule in 1999 (Okonta, 2007). The military truncated all of them. Expectations were high that the civil rule will bring Nigeria into the path of prosperity and sustainable development. However, nearly two decades later, these expectations become unachievable which is evidenced by the low socio-economic development based on indicators such as life expectancy, levels of literacy, unemployment, etc. No less than 80% of the total population of 190 million Nigerians is living below poverty levels, according to the Africa Development Bank Outlook. Nigeria ranked 152 of 188 countries in the Human Development Index with a score of 0.527. Studies indicate that the higher the population of Nigerians, the greater the rate of unemployment in the country.

Various factors are said to be responsible for the current state of Nigeria's socio-economic development ranging from political instability, nature of the national economy, poor policy implementation, nepotism, and lack of commitment to focus on development strategy (Patrick and Aworawo, 2014). However, the deadly COVID-19 pandemic has continued to worsen the state of Nigeria’s socio-economic status. The reduction in oil prices by 55% between the end of 2019 to March 2020 is one of the most serious economic shocks that Nigeria has faced in its memory, especially as the oil sector contributes a larger percentage to the (Gross domestic product) GDP (UNCTAD, 2019). As of 18 March 2020, the price of crude oil dipped to US$29.62 per barrel. Given that the Federal budget estimates for 2020 have pegged oil prices at US$57 per barrel and production at 2.18 million barrels per day which is greatly affecting the 2020 annual budget. Socio-economic development in the context of man and his environment remains the responsibility of the government, which is to provide and protect the fundamental expectations of the people in the area of social and economic development.

Previous Practices to Reduce the Impact of Global Infectious Diseases on the Socio-Economic Development of Nigeria

The World Bank has reported higher costs of diseases that occur within the human and animal environment interface and necessitate a One Health approach, with higher global return value for investing in prevention through strengthening veterinary and human health capacity (Word Bank, 2012). Multi-sectoral approaches to reduce disease risk and management can bring about possible economic outcomes that will affect Nigeria’s socio-economic development. For this study, the following practices that have been in existence to handle the effect of global infectious diseases were examined.

Government Policies

The enabling legal and policy frameworks for revitalization include the National Health Act ((NHAct) 2014, National Health Policy 2016, and Health Financing Policy and Strategy 2017. The 2nd National Strategic Health Development Plan (NSHDPII) 2017-2021 will put into operation the NHAct2014 and the NHP2016. The Federal Government established the Basic Healthcare Provision Fund (BHCPF) to manage and finance the implementation of Public health care revitalization as a means to achieve better living conditions and mitigate the negative effect of global infectious diseases on the Nation socio-economic development. The Act calls for the allocation of at least 1% of the Consolidated Revenue Fund in the national budget to capitalize on the Basic Healthcare Provision Fund to finance and manage the Public Health Care revitalization agenda. The Public Health Care revitalization targets to make 10,000 public health centers and at least 1 center per electoral ward. The socio-economic development of Nigeria will speed up quickly if this policy agenda can be fulfilled. Public health services remain the responsibility of the three tiers of government. The Primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of healthcare are the responsibility of both local governments, state governments, and federal government respectively. The private sector also provides close to 60% of health service delivery, despite owning an estimated 30% of health facilities.

Disease Management

The National Emergency Response and Preparedness Team and Nigeria Center for Disease Control (NCDC) were established by the Federal Ministry of Health in recognition of the importance of disease control and prevention. However, having the department of public health which is responsible for emergency preparedness, public health, and response as well as disease prevention and recommendation for disease control under the Federal Ministry of Health has not helped matters. It has not achieved its mission of public health as defined by the Institute of Medicine (IOM), which is "fulfilling society's interest in providing a situation in where people can be healthy". Every year, Nigeria continues to record numerous outbreaks of different diseases that kill Nigerians in their thousands (Muhammed, 2018).

Despite the occurrence of outbreaks every year, there has not been an effective and proper emergency response and disease prevention system in Nigeria. That is why the department of public health, under the Federal Ministry of Health, needs to be upgraded into an agency that will focus on emergency planning and preparedness, disease prevention and control with proper recommendation and promotion of the health and well-being of Nigerian people. The Federal Ministry of Health as a public health agency and service arm of government is expected to perform at optimal levels but its response system is slow and negatively impacts the socio-economic development of the Nation. The role of the public health department in disease prevention and control under the federal ministry of health has not been positively felt over the years. Different epidemic disease such as Cerebral Spinal Meningitis, Cholera, Measles, Lassa Fever, Yellow Fever as well as other diseases of public health like diarrhea, malaria, plague, tuberculosis, pertussis, onchocerciasis, pneumonia, HIV/AIDS, STI, hepatitis B, and so on, require a specialized and competent agency to eliminate or reduce to the minimal level their effect on the socio-economic growth.

Current Practices to Reduce the Impact of Global Infectious Diseases on the Socio-economic Development of Nigeria

The COVID-19 outbreak which started in China had spillover problems in Nigeria. The outbreak was severe in Nigeria has caused suffering to citizens due to the country's weak institutions, particularly regarding emergency response and effective social welfare programs. The fear of economic and financial collapse led to panic buying, hoarding of foreign currency by businesses for speculative reasons, households stocking up on essential food and commodity items, and businesses asking workers to work from home to reduce operating costs and to avoid the spread of the virus within the workplace. Sequel to this, various efforts have been put in place by both the government and a range of stakeholders in society to curb the effect of COVID-19 on the socio-economic condition of Nigeria.

In response to the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak, the Central Bank of Nigeria announced its support to affected households, regulated financial institutions, businesses, and other stakeholders to mitigate the negative effect of the virus on Nigeria's socio-economic condition. It granted an extension of loan moratorium on principal repayments and offered interest rate reduction on all intervention loan facilities from 9% to 5%. It also provided credit support to the healthcare industry to meet the increasing demand for healthcare services during the epidemic outbreak and strengthened the loan to deposit ratio policy which allowed banks to extend more credit to the economy.

Additionally, findings on COVID-19 in Nigeria by Olapegba et al (2020) reveal that some Nigerians have misconceptions about the virus. For instance, some respondents believe that the virus is a biological weapon of the Chinese government. These ideas prevented them from taking maximum preventive measures against the virus.

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

The outbreaks of COVID-19, Ebola, and SARS represented serious public health emergency crisis events in Nigeria, and all had significant impacts on the country's health infrastructure and economy. COVID-19, Ebola, and SARS are all infectious diseases that can lead to severe disease, symptomized by severe respiratory symptoms, high fever, and death, and there are still no definite antiviral drugs or vaccines for them. Worldwide, people of all ages have had little protective immunity against these diseases, and all viruses present a global epidemic threat.

Nigeria's emergency management of the three epidemics varied. After Ebola, Nigeria's public health emergency management system developed very fast, and as a consequence emergency management, greatly improved. Despite the successes of Ebola management, mortality rates of COVID-19 were much higher than Ebola and SARS because control efforts for COVID-19 were thought to be slow to be mobilized and were heavily criticized for being suboptimal, as the poor handling of COVID-19 exposed serious information communication problems in the emergency management system processes. Consequently, the social and economic impacts of COVD-19 were more serious than in the case of Ebola and SARS. This points to the evolution of the emergency response system, showing how a transparent and rapid response can reduce the impacts of infectious disease outbreaks.

An effective and reliable emergency response can minimize avoidable mortality and morbidity, and limit the economic, social, and security impacts of all public health emergencies including disease outbreaks. Understanding risk communication practice is an important factor in understanding the various management responses to COVID-19, Ebola, and SARS and subsequent outcomes. The effectiveness of emergency preparedness and responses is highly dependent on the quality of data, communication, and coordination among partners available at any given time. Information exchange and communication are considered key strategies for the prevention and management of infectious diseases.

The findings of this research advocate the need to develop a strategy to minimize socioeconomic disruptions caused by global infectious diseases, as part of the solution to Nigeria's economic woes. Research and development need to be accelerated for new diagnostic instruments, drugs, and safe and efficacious vaccines. Overall, a country's socio-economic development during pandemics requires a balance between bioscience and economics, including the role of epidemiology, health systems, economics, and political science, all brought together to facilitate early detection and economic response to disease outbreaks. Moreover, documenting how diseases affect economic growth is the first step towards understanding economic pathways and unpacking the different socioeconomic impact attached to infectious diseases. This should include the sources of such knowledge, and the past and current economic influences of these infectious diseases on the country. Urgently needed is a multipronged approach with the support of effective economic measures, a disease follow-up tracking system, and timely communication with establishing trust and confidence in Nigeria's health and economic system.

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