

Impact of road expansion projects on the informal sector in Akure, Ondo State, Nigeria

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Key words: road expansion, development, informal sector, spatial planning

SUMMARY

Communities owe much of their vitality to the ease with which economic and social interactions take place. Ironically, while roads are central to this continuing interaction, the introduction of a new road, or the widening of an existing road, may well cause disruptions to local interactions. Increasing level of traffic congestion is an inescapable result of strong economic activities and life in urban areas and a challenge to the planning authority and government. This study evaluates the Arakale road expansion project in Akure with a view to assessing the impact on the workers in the informal sector in Akure. Methodology included participant observation, oral interview and administration of questionnaires through simple random sampling technique to traders along the Arakale road Akure. Findings revealed that the informal sector especially traders in building materials along Arakale road were adversely affected by the road expansion projects done by the Ondo State Government in 2010-2011 in terms of loss of customers, reduction in profit and unpalatable temporary structures for once booming business premises and poor compensation for displacement among others. Recommendations include provision of accessible and affordable shopping complexes for the traders and speedy completion of the road project to reduce the hindrance of customers in reaching the business area which affects the economy of the informal workers.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Transport infrastructural development remains a major tool for achieving the aspirations of the newly introduced economic principles of the Federal Government of Nigeria, the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS). However, the condition of Nigerian roads has not ceased to amaze discerning observers and in effect, the roads have been ranked among the worst in the world. A significant portion of post independence studies on transport systems have been devoted to examination of successive Nigerian government's budgetary allocations and development in the transport sector in general (Iweze, 2011). Increasing level of traffic congestion is an inescapable result of strong economic activity and life in urban areas. Realistically, large metropolitan regions lack the resources, citizen support, and ultimately the space to provide for uncongested automobile travel. About half of congestion delay occurs in areas where demand has reached or exceeded capacity; the other half is due to incidents including weather, accidents, stalled vehicles and roadside distractions.

Sustainable development requires governments to provide public facilities and infrastructure that ensure safety and security, health and welfare, social and economic enhancement, and protection and restoration of the natural environment. An early step in the process of providing such facilities and infrastructure is the acquisition of appropriate land. In some cases, several locations could be suitable for a facility and the government may be able to purchase land at one of the locations through the land market. In other cases, specific land parcels are required, for example, in order to accommodate the route of a new road, the protection of certain areas from flooding, or the fulfillment of requirements of redistributive land reform legislation. That land may not be on sale at the time it is required. In order to obtain land when and where it is needed, governments have the power of compulsory acquisition of land: they can compel owners to sell their land in order for it to be used for specific purposes. These projects are both necessary and mandatory in a state and they can have both negative and positive impacts on the residents of that state especially the informal sector of the state which is what this paper sets out to consider.

The growth of an urban area due to influx of people in search of employment usually takes its toll on the land and the built environment. This is evident by the growth of squatter settlements, illegal occupation of government land and erection of illegal structures on any open space in the city. As a greater percentage of urban workers are unable to get white collared jobs, the informal sector of the economy grows. The informal economy contributes as much as 40% of Gross Domestic Product and employs up to 60% of the labour force in developing countries.

It is characterized by lack of organized wage structure, paid work on a casual basis, irregular jobs and self-employment without earning pensions and without paying taxes. This sort of employment is common in the urban areas of developing countries and women accounts for sixty-nine percentage of the urban economy ("Informal Employment", 2007; Owei and Jev, 2008). The urbanization of poverty no doubt led to the emergence of the informal sector. The informal sector consists of those activities characterized by ease of entry into the activity concerned, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, small scale of operations, labor intensive and adaptive technology, and skills acquired outside the formal school system and unregulated and competitive markets (ILO, 1972).

The compulsory acquisition of land for development purposes may ultimately bring benefits to society but it is disruptive to people whose land is acquired. It displaces families from their homes, farmers from their fields, and businesses from their neighborhoods'. It may separate families, interfere with livelihoods, deprive communities of important religious or cultural sites, and destroy networks of social relations. If compulsory acquisition is done poorly, it may leave people homeless and landless, with no way of earning a livelihood, without access to necessary resources or community support, and with the feeling that they have suffered a grave injustice. If, on the other hand, governments carry out compulsory acquisition satisfactorily, they leave communities and people in equivalent situations while at the same time providing the intended benefits to society (FAO, 2008). The informal sector is crucial in creating sustainable livelihoods because it is a major means through which economic development filters through to the poorer sections of the population.

Livability in cities is enhanced by availability of social amenities including planned open spaces. Urban aesthetics, visual order and cultural characters are reflected in these spaces. The urban open space planning concept evolved out of evolutionary trend of western city development. Planning for beauty is one of the dominant issues in formal city planning and this is rooted in the urban spaces development. Two classical movements that sharpen the concept of urban open spaces planning are the city park movement made popular in 1865 by Fredrick law Olstead design of city of New York Central Park (Mumford,1961) and Ebenezer Howard in 1902 ``Garden City Concept'' in England. (Gallion et al, 1980) Both concepts introduced into urban space planning natural recreational areas, nature oriented human settlement equipped with sufficient number of public parks, private garden and physically defined by green belts that keep man and nature in perfect harmony. These two concepts, city park and garden city movement, globally influence urban renewal programmes and new town development programmes of the twentieth century. Regional/spatial planning gives geographical expression to the economic, social, cultural and ecological policies of society.

There is need for planning the urban land in order to make provision for the informal sector in order to have a sustainable environment. Although opening up of new roads usually lead to increased economic activities and higher land values among others, expanding an existing road always affect the informal sector workers especially traders who have located their business

premise along the route. It always takes the power of eminent domain and a strong political will to dispossess the occupants of the land and buildings along such proposed expansion routes

2. IMPORTANCE OF ROAD TRANSPORTATION AND EFFECTS OF ROAD EXPANSION

Inadequate provision of transport infrastructure and services provide a basis for explaining the incidence of poverty across various Nigerian communities in both urban and rural areas. It is clearly established that inadequate transport facilities and services as well as the constraints imposed on the mobility and accessibility of people to facilities such as markets, hospitals and water sources have grave implications on deepening poverty levels. Thus, there is need for urgent policy measures to address the prevailing travel and transport problems. The importance of transport infrastructure to a nation cannot be overemphasized as efficient transport infrastructure facilities act as catalysts for development. There is therefore cause for concern while considering the transport infrastructure base in Nigeria today which compares unfavorably with those of several African nations both in terms of quality and service coverage. In particular, the rural areas, where the bulk of the population resides, are largely deprived of basic pieces of transport infrastructure (Olomola, 2003).

Permanent occupancy of the open space of a publicly owned right-of-way quite commonly invites encroachment of local community activities onto the roadside, the footpaths, the bus stops, and even the road surface itself. These activities take many forms, including the selling of goods, whether from individual kiosks or more expansive markets; small businesses such as cafes and vehicle repair shops; uncontrolled stops by buses, taxis, and informal public transport; unregulated parking, often associated with business activities; the production of bricks on the road surface; and the growing of crops and the drying of farm produce within the road reserve. Added to this list of activities are social activities associated with the roadside which are far from illegal. In rural areas, in particular, but also in urban areas and at entrances to towns and villages, the roadside provides a social venue. People congregate along the roads to talk, smoke, drink or watch the traffic.

As a matter of fact, the sustainability of an urban area has to do with the ease of commuting within the various axes and this depends on the level of road network within the city. Development projects are intended to modify social and natural environments in order to create or enhance the economic well being and livelihood and other benefits that are valued by society. This goal, however, can be denied through unanticipated or unintended negative social or environmental impacts that reduce desired benefits or, if severe enough, threaten the sustainability of the project. Socio-economic benefits provided by road and highway projects include all-weather reliability, reduced transportation costs, and increased access to markets for local produce and products, access to new employment centers, employment of local workers on the project itself, better access to health care and other social services, and strengthening of local economies.

However, roads and highways can produce complex negative impacts. The impacts of improvement, rehabilitation and maintenance projects, although usually more limited, can still be significant, not only on natural resources and systems but also on the social and cultural environment. The transport sector is a significant source of employment. Employment benefits are likely to be both direct (operations and maintenance of infrastructure) and indirect (surplus services and materials), with associated changes in income and livelihoods for those employed. It is anticipated that the skill-base of the local labour pool will be strengthened, thereby enhancing prospects for future employment. Road construction and maintenance activities may also affect socio-economic conditions by creating more difficult trading conditions, thus having a negative effect on livelihoods. Activities such as noise or dusty/odorous equipment or materials stockpiles may discourage trading in immediate vicinity. Some traders may easily relocate nearby, however some may not. Although numbers may be small, effects could be significant by increasing individuals' vulnerability to poverty. Finally local trading may increase at some locations due to the presence of local workforces (Cracknell, 2000).

Economic impacts of road expansion could include loss of businesses and customers, induced need for capital investment, and high opportunity cost losses. While by-pass roads can overcome some problems of conflict between road use and community welfare, they may create other problems. On the positive side, by-pass roads reduce the immediate impacts of traffic on the community, and local commercial activities sometimes flourish as a result. On the negative side, communities may fear a loss of business from the diversion of traffic, and some community activities may "migrate" to the new route, potentially changing existing land use patterns and possibly undermining the objective of greater control of access on the new route.

Traditional modes of transport may be disrupted by changes accompanying a road project. Measures which impede road crossings, control bus stopping points, and restrict parking of informal public transport vehicles near busy markets and intersections may reduce the attractiveness of these modes. The barrier effect of widened or new roads can increase travel time and distances for short local trips, especially affecting access by foot, bicycle, and other non-motorized transport. These potential changes need to be assessed alongside the benefits of improved access and transport services provided by an improved road.

3. CONCEPT OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR

The informal sector (IS) describes economic activity that takes place outside the formal norms of economic transactions established by the state and formal business practices but which is not clearly illegal in itself. The International Labour Organization (2000) refers to it as "the non-structured sector that has emerged in the urban centres as a result of the incapacity of the modern sector to absorb new entrants". It refers to economic activities in all sectors that are operated outside the purview of government regulation. The informal sector is a broad term that refers to that part of an economy that is not taxed, monitored by any form of government, or included in any gross national product (GNP), unlike the formal economy. The original use of the term

‘informal sector’ is attributed to the economic development model used to describe employment or livelihood generation primarily within the developing world. It was used to describe a type of employment that was viewed as falling outside of the modern industrial sector. An alternative definition uses job security as the measure of formality, defining participants in the informal economy as those 'who do not have employment security, work security and social security.’ While both of these definitions imply a lack of choice or agency in involvement with the informal economy, participation may also be driven by a wish to avoid regulation or taxation. This may manifest as unreported employment, hidden from the state for tax, social security or labour law purposes, but legal in all other aspects. Workers in the informal sector typically earn less income, have unstable income, and don’t have access to basic protections and services. Informal businesses also lack the potential for growth, trapping employees in menial jobs indefinitely. On the other hand the informal sector can allow a large proportion of the population to escape extreme poverty and earn an income that is satisfactory for survival.

People of low-income in towns or cities rely on the informal sector for survival because the sector provides ample opportunities to support their livelihood. Employment in the informal sector includes all jobs in informal sector enterprises or all persons who, during a given reference period, were employed in at least one informal sector enterprise, irrespective of their status in employment and whether it was their main or a secondary job. The basis used for distinguishing informal jobs is that they are outside the framework of regulations either because (a) the enterprises, in which the jobs are located, are too small and/or not registered, or (b) labour legislation does not specifically cover or is not applied to atypical jobs (such as casual, part-time, temporary or home-based jobs) or to subcontracting arrangements in production chains (such as industrial outwork), so that the jobs are unprotected by labour legislation. In order for most labour law to be implemented, it is necessary to recognise the existence of an employment relationship between employer and employee. Informal jobs, however, include forms of employment for which there is no clear employer-employee relationship (International Labour Office, 2000).

In economic terms, the difference between formal and informal sectors is a thing of regulation. The informal sector refers to parts of the economy that are not taxed, regulated, monitored or included in the gross national product. Often times called “under the table”, jobs in the informal sector are not reported to the government. Due to the fact that these jobs go unreported, they are unable to have taxes taken out. Such jobs are paid in cash and are often times less secure or stable due to the fact that they are not protected by government regulation. The informal sector also includes the “black market”, which involves the unregulated trade of goods and services, which includes contrabands. Though difficult to measure or define, the informal sector is an important element in the functioning of any country. Many developing countries have economies much more heavily based in the informal sector simply due to the fact that regulations, firms, taxes and other such structures have not yet been established. Government tend to strive toward formalizing for the sake of efficient international interaction; however the process is complicated and long-term. In order for a nation to shift from an economy that is heavily based on the

informal sector towards an economy that is based primarily on the formal sector, the government of that nation would need to seek out the parts of the informal sector and shut them down. Due to the difficult nature of this process, poverty stricken nations find it virtually impossible to move towards a more formal sector economy to earn revenue for the nation.

Employment is said to be the most effective instrument to reduce poverty on a sustainable basis, therefore; it is imperative that emphasis is placed on higher productivity and incomes of workers. The informal sector of the economy, consisting of small scale economic activities, accounts for a substantial share of urban employment and serves as the major means of livelihood for a large proportion of the low income earners. The informal sector of the economy is the highest employer of labour force and is generally accepted as being extremely important in developing countries where population and demand for jobs, good services are growing too quickly for the informal sector to cope with. The informal sector serves as a means of livelihood for new entrants into the urban labour force, who through lack of opportunity and of training are unable to seek employment in the real sector of the economy. In fact, it has been discovered that by participating in the informal sector, there is an autonomous and efficient capacity for generating growth in the income of the poor. The informal sector has two distinct sides. It is, on the one hand, a negative manifestation of inadequate employment creation in private companies, parastatals and government services which ‘pushed’ large numbers of jobless in informal activities. On the other hand, it refers to the positive response of the poor (and many not-so-poor) in the face of such a situation, combining their minimal resources, hard work and often a large dose of ingenuity to earn low but important incomes. This dualistic nature continues to be one of the most important characteristics of the informal sector (Hussmanns (2002); Carr and Chen (2001)).

4. THE SETTING AND METHODOLOGY

Akure Township is located in the Akure-South Local Government area of Ondo State, Nigeria. It serves as the administrative capital of both Akure-South LGA and Ondo State. Akure has a population of 253,365 people. The increased rate of population growth in the study area is evidenced by the census figure of 2006 which puts Akure south at 353,211 (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2007). The spatial distribution of the population within the town is related to the level of economic development and government policy. The urban population is skewed towards low-income earning capacity and relative lack of access to economic and social resources. The people of Akure are mostly traders and farmers. A few of the residents are employed in the Public Service. Akure has no major industry. Over 70% of the residents of Akure are participating in the informal economic sector. The Ondo State Government under the administration of Dr. Olusegun Mimiko embarked on urban renewal projects and projects targeted at the welfare of the people in the state. The road widening and beautification projects in the state capital which are ongoing have begun to increase the beauty of Akure and have drastically reduced the traffic congestion at the major Oba Adesida/ Oyemekun roads. However, in the process of road widening and reclamation of setback, a lot of workers in the informal sector who earned their livelihood at the

city centre were displaced and had to find alternative locations in the periphery. This constituted to the high demand for space to erect a temporary structure in the study area.

Target population is the informal sector workers especially owners of business premises along Arakale road, Akure. Participant observation revealed an agglomeration of traders and other workers in the informal sector along the Arakale road. The sampling frame for this research is all the shops along Arakale road which numbers approximately 200 out of which 50% was used as the sample size. Shops were picked using simple random sampling to select the sample size of 100 traders. Research instrument was a set of closed ended questionnaires distributed and retrieved from the respondents. Oral interview was also conducted on selected traders in the study area.

5. DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Respondents were asked about the type of business, type of business premise, number of years in business, number of years in present shop, monthly income (₦), effects of the road expansion and adequacy of compensation by the government. The results are presented in this section.

Table 1: Type of Business

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Trading in building materials	38	38.0
Trading in other goods	36	36.0
Artisan	12	12.0
Service provider	14	14.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2012

Table 1 shows that trading in building materials accounted for 38% of the business activities on Arakale road, trading in other goods accounted for 36%, service providers such as tailors, barbers and hair dressers accounted for 14% while artisans such as welder, shoe maker and vulcanizer were 12% of the respondents. These reveal that the Arakale road is predominantly a commercial road where a lot of workers in the informal sector earn their living.

Table 2: Type of Business Premise

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Lock-up shop	22	22.0
Shop in-built by owners of houses	30	30.0
Steel container	18	18.0
Temporary wooden shop	30	30.0
Total	100	100.0

The type of business premise being used by the informal workers ranged from lock-up shop to temporary wooden shop along the road. The type of business premise is determined by the type of goods being sold and the availability of space and finance. This points to need for government intervention in provision of shopping complexes in locations that will enhance both the livelihood of the informal workers and the spatial planning of the city.

Table 3: Number of Years in Business

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Less than 5years	30	30.0
6-10years	38	38.0
10years and above	32	32.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 3 shows that 32% have been in business for over 10 years, 38% of the respondents have been in business between 6 and 10years while 30% of the respondents have been in business for less than five (5) years. This shows the increasing influx of people into Akure for commercial activities. From oral interview with the respondents, most of them relocated from their hometowns (mostly from the eastern part of Nigeria) to Akure to set up their businesses in greener pasture. As a city grows in population and commercial activities, there is need for spatial planning to accommodate the need for commercial land use in the city.

Table 4: Number of Years in Present Shop

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1-2 years	70	70.0
3-5 years	30	30.0
6-10 years	-	-
Above 10years	-	-
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 4 reveals that 70% of the respondents have been in their present shop for less than two years while the remaining 30% have been there for a period between 3-5 years. This is as a result of the demolition of their permanent shops and structures by the government in the year 2010.

Table 5: Monthly income (₦)¹

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Below 10,000	66	66.0
10,000- 20,000	20	20.0
21,000-50,000	10	10.0
Above 50,000	4	4.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012.

This is another very obvious effect which the expansion of the road had on the informal workers/traders on Arakale road. The table above shows that 66% of the respondents earn a monthly income or profit which is below ₦10000, while only 4% have a monthly income that is above ₦50000.

Table 6: Effects of the road expansion

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Difficulty in access to shop	24	24.0
Loss of customers	32	32.0
Reduction in profit made	38	38.0
Exposure to theft and environmental agents	06	6.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 6 indicates that reduction in profit was the greatest effect of the expansion of the road (38%) followed by loss of customers (32%) and difficulty in gaining access to shops (24%). Other effects were exposure to theft and environmental agents such as sun, rain, and wind. At the time of the survey, construction works are still ongoing on the road which is characterized by road blockages, dusty atmosphere and lack of access to the shops.

Table 7: Compensation/Resettlement by the government

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very adequate	-	-
Adequate	2	2.0

¹ 1₦ equals US158 dollars as at July 2012.

Average	18	18.0
Inadequate	34	34.0
Very inadequate	46	46.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 7 shows the inadequacy of the compensation paid to the traders/shop owners by the government. 46% of the respondents were of the opinion that the compensation paid to them was very inadequate. Data from oral interview with the respondents shows that each trader that had a shop on Arakale road was paid ₦20000 as compensation for his shop that was demolished to be used to cover their rent but which was not even close to the rent paid for the shops.

6. CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATION

This paper has revealed the impact of the expansion of Arakale road, a major commercial area in Akure, Nigeria on the informal sector, mainly traders and artisans. The loss of customers due to the demolition of business premises, accompanied by inaccessible roads to new make-shift shops had resulted into reduction in profit and meager income. Although the state government paid a token as compensation for the displaced trader, it was seen as inadequate by the affected traders compared to the loss and inconveniences incurred. The study recommends the provision of accessible and affordable shopping complexes for the traders and speedy completion of the road project to reduce the hindrance of customers in reaching the business area which affects the economy of the informal workers. There is need to take into cognisance the informal sector and their space requirement while planning the city.

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