

The Political Dimension of Polio Eradication Programme in Some Selected LGAs of Kano State

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Abstract: *Understanding the political dimension of polio eradication programme in some selected Local Government Areas of Kano State is a critical step toward ending polio virus not only within those selected LGAs, but the entire State. Hence, taking this step will greatly assist in the total elimination of the virus in Nigeria and the world in general, as set out by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1988. Consequently, it was based on this background that an academic research of this nature was undertaken to generally understand the political dimension of polio eradication programme in Kano State and the factors that continue to affect the success of the programme. However, to realize this objective; the study examined the global polio eradication programme and the political dimension of polio eradication programme in Nigeria, the budget on polio in some selected Local Government Areas of State and the challenges posed by this phenomenon toward achieving the set out goals in programme from the State and at the same time suggest ways to tackle them. To achieve this motive, two hypotheses were created as a basis for analysing all the data collected and to test the reliability and validity of the entire research work. The method of data collection used in this study was both primary and secondary sources, while the findings of the research includes; unnecessary interference of politicians into polio budget in some local government Areas had led to constant frictions between the line staff and the politicians who always try to impose their personal interest, which ultimately affect the success of the programme and the effort to realize the target of eradicating the virus as set out by the WHO in 1988. Consequently, from the finding of this research the study recommended that: to meet all the expectation and yearning of the people in various Local Government Areas of the State, a more transparent and all inclusive budget that meet international standard must be introduced in all the local government Areas of State. Also, all elements that can help to improve polio immunization coverage in the State must be introduced such as; effective public sensitization plan using both traditional non-traditional medium (Social media) must be introduced, a social welfare plan informed; conditional cash transfer to parent and or distribution of items such as sugar, rice etc as one of the respondents suggested during the process of data collection would assist in motivating parent to massively bring out their children for immunization.*

Keywords: *Budget, Budget Implementation, Polio Eradication and Political Dimensions*

INTRODUCTION

Polio eradication programme world over has been characterized by many challenges since its introduction by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 1988 with view to wipe out the polio virus in the year 2000, especially among the developing nations like Nigeria (Bahl, Bhatnagar, Sutter, Roesel, & Zaffran, 2018). The reason for the introduction of this programme by World Health Organization was to fast track the process of eradicating the virus among nations through global partnership and shared responsibilities, because available records at that time had indicated

that at least 125 countries were infected with the virus and more than one thousand children got infected with virus daily, (World Health Organization 2019).

However, since the introduction of the polio eradication programme in 1988, there has been serious concern on how to mobilize financial resources through a sound budget implementation to achieve the desired objective of eradicating the virus globally on target, in a more accountable and transparent manner, (Orenstein, Cairns, Hinman, Nkowane, Olivé & Reingold, 2018).

Through the application of various strategies, the programme had assisted many developed countries eliminated the virus from their countries. However, in developing countries like Nigeria numerous challenges such as massive vaccines rejection witnessed in Kano state in 2003 due to inflammatory statements made by some Islamic scholars on the integrity of the vaccines which they claimed to have contain substances capable of causing infertility and HIV virus made it quite difficult for the programme to achieve a meaningful result, (Andrade & Hussain, 2018).

These challenges had a severe consequence also in the budget implementation process on polio eradication programme among various nations, which contributed greatly to more room for leakages and lack of transparency among civil servants, political appointees and non-governmental organisations playing key role in the exercise, (Momoh, Oteri, Mogeke, Onwu, Dieng, Bawa & Shuaib 2021).

The focus of this study, is to understand the politics of polio eradication programme in Kano State and the challenges that created difficulties in promoting financial discipline in the polio eradication programme at both state and local government level that contributed in making it quite difficult for many developing countries like Nigeria realize the objectives set out by WHO of eradicating the polio virus by the year 2000. Since from the year 2003 when Nigeria witnessed the incidence of massive vaccines rejection in Kano State, there has been serious concern among experts, stakeholders and policy makers on the need to mobilize financial resources and create a sound budget implementation plan that would tally with set out goals under polio eradication programme.

In Nigeria since the return of Democratic rule in 1999, there was never a time government at all levels achieve at least sixty percent budget implementation and budget discipline among public officers, (Abiodun, Asaolu & Ndubuisi 2020). Budget has always been an object of intrigues and bickering in the Country right from preparation to assent between the legislature and executive, which ultimately affect the performance of the government and the ability of leaders to deliver on their campaign promises.

Tarauni Local Government was regarded among the high risk polio zones in Kano state by the state committee on the eradication of polio in their 2011 report, chaired by the former Deputy Governor Dr. Abdullahi Umar Ganduje, from the number polio cases recorded every year due to massive polio vaccine rejection during each round of immunization exercise. This challenge was due to the size of the population in the Area, resulting from the high rate of migration and poor sanitation in the Area. Also, the Local Government Area shared a boundary with Kumbotso Local Government Area in the South and Municipal Local Government Area in the West, who were all marked as major contributors of polio virus in the State by the same committee.

The inability to eradicate polio virus among the developing nations in the year 2000 as set out by the World Health Organization in 1988 was largely attributed to numerous challenges in the management of the polio eradication programme, which differs from one country to another (Schleiff, Olateju, Decker, Neel, Oke, Peters & Alonge 2020). However, the greatest challenge to polio eradication in Nigeria was as a result of massive vaccine rejection witnessed in Kano state in 2003, which led to the resurgence and re-distribution of the virus to other non-infected countries in Africa like Niger, Chad and Cameroun (Aklasika, (Bulama & Goodman-Brown 2019). This incident of massive polio vaccine rejection in Kano state and the resultant effect of the re-distribution of the virus to other non-polio infected nations led to a serious condemnation of the incidence by the World Health Organization and many other developed nations, who considered the situation as a setback to the struggle for the total elimination of the virus globally by the year 2000.

Also, this incidence exposed the weakness of the integrated strategies on polio eradication introduced by the WHO in 1988, which was adopted by many countries. This incident also led to many countries especially in Africa adopting other community health promotion related strategies as an alternative for the eradication of polio virus from their countries (Losey, Ogden, Bisrat, Solomon, Newberry, and Coates & Perry 2019). Similarly, the incident forced several health managers in many developing countries focused more on communities as a stakeholders being the sources of the polio virus, due to their population size and poor sanitary condition, than urban areas where the programme was earlier given more attention when it was introduced in 1988, (Baylac-Paouly, Hendriks & Blume 2022).

In the light of the above reasons, Tarauni Local Government was chosen as a case study for this study due to its strategic position as one of the polio risk zone in the state, with view to find out the level of political dimension on the budget implementation on polio eradication programme in that Local Government Area. Also, the Area was chosen because of the number of incidences of polio vaccine rejection recorded during each period of the immunization exercise.

Similarly, as result of high level of migrants trooping into the area being an exit and entry into Kano state from Kaduna State in the South and from Maiduguri, Borno State in the East, had played a significant role in both increasing the population size of the area and in making it a more complex political environment, where people hold different opinions and reject any new policy or programme introduce without their contribution, (Di Baldassarre, Sivapalan, Rusca, Cudennec, Garcia, Kreibich & Blöschl, 2019). This paper attempted to highlight some of the political dimensions on polio eradication programme in that Area and Kano State in general.

The study provided answers to the following research questions:

- i. Does budget play any significant role in polio eradication programme of Tarauni local government Area of Kano State?
- ii. What is the politics involved in budget implementation on polio eradication in Tarauni Local Government Area of Kano State?

Theoretical Framework:

Input-Output Approach Theory

For the purpose of this study, input-output approach theory was adopted, which was an approach introduced by David Easton as a tool of political analysis that can be applied in various social science researches. According to David Easton, political system is a complex form of interaction in a given society, through which public policies are made and implemented, (Świąder, Lin, Szewrański, Kazak, Iha, Van Hoof & Altiok 2020).

He noted that, political system exists alongside other systems in the society, but he considers political system as the most vital part of all. According to Gonda (2019), political system is move by the political life, which makes it necessary to react to the environment, believing that a political system can be open or adaptive. However, Easton maintained his analysis on exchange and interaction that take place between the political system and the environment.

He opined that political system consists of five units; the environment, the inputs, conversion process, output and the feedback loop or mechanism and the inputs in the political system always emanates from the environment (Picciotto, 2020). However, Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powel are two other scholars who developed another model of political analysis similar to David Easton approach. But, their concern basically was to study on how political system changes to a modern system and they also developed their analysis on inputs-output approach, but their inputs includes; political socialization, recruitment, interest articulation and political aggregation (Oduro, 2020).

Also, the inputs of Almond and Powel are performed outside the environment of a giving society by other sub-systems and they are the sole responsibilities of the government. According their analysis political system is open and permanently received inputs from the sub-system in the environment, which were converted directly to outputs. The outputs from the inputs according them include; rule making, rule application and rule adjudication, which may be extractive, regulatory or responsive, (Ma, Podkopaev, Campbell-Cousins & Nicholas, 2020).

Literature Review:

Polio Politics in Nigeria

Polio eradication in Nigeria took different dimension between 2003, when some States in the northern States boycotted the immunisation exercise introduced in 1988 by WHO on the grounds that the vaccines were contaminated with substances likely to cause HIV/AIDS, while others argued on the sincerity of the programme itself, as according to them Nigerian government has never introduced a free healthcare policy to them in the past, until the arrival of polio eradication programme, Ma, M., Podkopaev, D., Campbell-Cousins, A., & Nicholas, A. (2020).

However, available records around that period have also indicated that even among the most enlightened people in that part of the country had a mix-feelings on polio eradication programme, on the ground that government had refused to give similar attention to other healthcare challenges

regarded as infant killers as it gave to polio eradication, such as; malaria, typhoid etc., (Gobo & Sena 2022).

This incident of polio vaccine boycott and other questions regarding the safety of the vaccines forced government to test the potency of the vaccines used in the country in 2005 at the presence of religious leaders, community leaders and other international donor agencies to the programme and the result indicated that the vaccines was totally safe, (Gobo & Sena 2022). But, the ugly incident had already crippled the distribution process of the vaccines and the wider immunisation coverage in some of the States in the northern parts of the country. However, this vaccine efficacy test conducted further led to the eventual success in the eradication of poliomyelitis in major part of the country and recorded improved vaccine coverage generally in the country, (Chukwuocha, Emerole, Iwuoha, Dozie, Njoku, Akanaz & Hemingway, 2022).

However, (Chukwuocha, Emerole, Iwuoha, Dozie, Njoku, Akanaz & Hemingway, 2022), had refused to consider the possibility of having a case of vaccine derived poliovirus (VDPV), which was widely agreed among experts to be circulating in the country at that time and contributed immensely to the reasons why the polio virus could not be eradicated on target. Also, government had failed to convince people that the vaccine is safe; while at the same time it's insisted that the virus was epidemic. However, with the introduction of supplementary immunisation exercise the programme succeeded greatly in Nigeria, because its brought a strategy known as house to house service delivery, which assisted in the introduction of new healthcare strategies such as; emergence of a right framework at the centre, states and Local level, effective training of healthcare workers at all levels of governance on all aspects of immunisation exercise, reduction of geographical inaccessibility for immunisation workers and re-establishment of new healthcare centres for vaccine distributions (Alonge, Neel, Kalbarczyk, Peters, Mahendradhata, Sarker & Gupta, 2020).

However, the revision of national policies on immunisation including policy on safety of injection, improved personnel motivation through official recognition by merit awards, training, and other self-actualisation opportunities, are some of the critical approaches adopted by government in improving the healthcare performance of all workers. The new eradication campaign strategy also greatly assisted in reducing the gender and wealth based inequalities among people, because some of the interventions were basically free among people (Vilhelmsson & Östergren 2018).

However, these interventions had failed to reduce the tribal and religiously based inequities in the country, which are some of the reasons why the virus has not been eradicated on target in the country. But, the Financial Resource Requirements Committee (FRRC) had always provided an overview of the external funding gap for the programme under the global polio eradication initiative (GPEI) within a given period of time, in order to eradicate the remaining global polio cases, both wild and vaccine-related in keeping with the terms of the new "Polio Eradication and End-game Strategic Plan 2013-2018".

Similarly, the global polio eradication initiative budget estimates within a year consist of amount to be spent on supplementary immunization exercise such as; emergency response and certification, which clearly indicated a funding gap of about US\$ 217 million in 2013 budget, (Losey, Ogden, Bisrat, Solomon, Newberry, Coates & Perry 2019).

However, in an effort to close this gap, the initiative in 2014 set out a strategy to source over US\$ 217 million through donations from various companies and individuals. The interruption of wild polio virus and vaccine-derived polio virus requires an integrated policy plan that would boost the population's immunity in three remaining polio endemic countries; Afghanistan, Pakistan and Nigeria. But, this effort could also be achieved through intensified supplementary immunization activities (SIAs), supply of qualitative vaccines, as well as the up-scaling of technical assistance and effective surveillance, (Pathak, Pal & Mohapatra 2020).

But, the budget needed to facilitate these activities is supposed to be jointly prepared by the World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Children Education Fund (UNICEF) and the National governments of participating countries. Unfortunately majority of the external funding for these activities primarily come from World Health Organization and United Nations children education funds, (Losey, Ogden, Bisrat, Solomon, Newberry, Coates & Perry 2019). The financial resource requirement committee provides the details of the budget for the current year and an overview of the subsequent years with an updated plan for three or four year period activities. However, three independent studies conducted strongly casted doubt on this theory. (Nalipay, King & Cai, 2020), noted that despite all the rumours and distrust in the vaccines, some prominent Islamic leaders and Emirs fully supported the vaccine. Similarly, an emissary sent by the Emir of Gwandu, Alhaji Mailatu Bunu Gwandu who attested the safety of the vaccines, plus the support of Emir of Kazaure and that of supreme council for Islamic Affairs further promoted the acceptance of the vaccines among the public, (Eyang Ebebe & Ebim, 2021).

But, another important factor that helped in the acceptance of the vaccines was the subsequent media campaign at home and abroad embarked upon by a prominent Kano-based medical doctor and president of supreme council of Islamic affairs in Nigeria, Dr. Datti Ahmed a renowned pediatrician, who was an arrow-head in the anti-vaccination movement before. Earlier Ahmed noted that the vaccine was a United States led conspiracy to depopulate the developing world (Nalipay, King & Cai, 2020) and he told *The Guardian newspapers* that his opposition was based on several e-mails he received confirming the contamination of the vaccines with anti-fertility agents, HIV/AIDS and cancer substances, (Abuh, The Guardian, 10/01/2004).

Polio and Budget Implementation in Nigeria

Many scholars have different opinion on what really budget is all about, perhaps that makes it quite difficult to have a common meaning or operation. According to Beredugo, Azubikec and Okon (2019), budget simply means a plan in monetary terms, prepared and approved prior to a defined period of time, which usually contain both income to be generated or expenditure to be incurred during that period and the capital to be employed in attaining such given objectives. In the same vein, budget was also regarded as a financial statement prepared and approved prior to a specific period of time of the policy to be pursued in a giving period for the purpose of attaining certain stated objectives, which also means a pre-determined financial plan of action for a specific period of time, (Beredugo, Azubikec & Okon, 2019).

However, Rose (2019), described budget as both a fiscal policy of government and the financial plans corresponding to them, because of their inter-connections in which all decisions and policies must form part of the overall stated objectives. According to her, the whole approach must be quite

systematic to avoid chaos and wastages. Therefore, budget enables the authorities to decide on each individual item of a revenue and expenditure in the overall context of its policies or programme, (Liwanag & Wyss, 2018). But, Kravchuk (2020), has describe budget as a comprehensive picture of government's total revenue, expenditure and receipts, as well as its policy thrust for a given of period. In other words, according to him budget is the blood life of any government and one of the principle tools of financial administration in addition to being most powerful instrument of legislative control and effective management, (Riinawati, 2021).

But, Muttitt and Kartha (2020), described budget as an attempt to allocate financial resources through political process to satisfy different human needs in the society. But, in another view budget was regarded much more than a mere statement of revenue and expenditure of government, since it reflects and manifest the whole programs of government for the in-coming year. However, implementation is an important stage in the budget process, because it contains all the necessary rules required to give effect to policies and programmes designed. Implementation is a process of translating all policy mandated into actions and goals stated into reality, (Ganon-Shilon & Schechter 2019).

Polese, Botti, Grimaldi, Monda and Vesce (2018), stated that implementation refers to the process of converting inputs, financial information, materials, technical, human, demands support etc into output in form of goods and services, symbolic values like titles and awards, which generally lead to behaviour changes among the beneficiary. But, Rose (2019), again opined that implementation are some of the activities carried out in the line with established policies and programs, which makes it an important stage in the budgetary process during formulation, which is basically adjusted to suit complementary actions or decisions to achieve given objective.

Budget provides the aggregate impact of policies and programmes of government through the expenditures of the various ministries, Department and agencies. Historically speaking, the word budget was derived from the old English word named bouquet, which means a sack or pouch from which the Chancellor of the Exchequer draws out his papers and lays them before the parliament as his financial plan for the incoming year, (Wall, 2020). Budgeting as a system began to develop by the end of sixteen century, but the term was earlier used as verb in 1880, which was later referred to as a planning for one's expenditure. At early age the system was characterized by the presence of absolute regimes in England and was solely regarded as a business of the King or the secrets of the State, because revenue was directly derived from the King's domain, until the revolution of 1688 when the principle of 'no taxation' without representation was introduced in Britain, (Godin, 2019).

However, Strully, Harrison, Pardo, and Carleo-Evangelist (2021), opines that early history of budget by national governments was viewed as part of growth by the representative governments and the efforts made to establish popular control over minority. Britain was the first country to blazed the trail about budget during Magna Carter issue of 1271, in which the charter was extracted from King John of Runnymede in 1215 by the barons, who insisted that the King must not impose levy except by the common counsel of the realm.

Pfeffer (2020), also noted that this concept called budget was first found in Magna Carter related taxes, such as the supply of funds and the control of expenditure in which the parliament does not

seem to be in position to restrict the amount levied by the King, while at the same time allow the King to spend money as it pleases him. It was not until after the controversies of the 17th century, which culminated into 1688 Revolution and the emergence of bill of rights, in which the parliament extended its question on the expenditure control by the government and later extended it to even the revenues and overall expenditures under the Crown.

This led to the following hypothesis:

HO₁: Budget does not play any significant role in polio eradication programme in Tarauni local government Area.

HO₂: There are no politics involved in budget implementation on polio eradication programme in Tarauni Local Government Area.

Methodology

This study adopted a quantitative research design using a survey approach and the survey method was used in order to elicit responses from the respondents. The research population used in this study involved people leaving in Tarauni Local Government Area of Kano State. The population of the study consists of people residing in Tarauni Local Government Area of Kano State. However, the study was limited to total number of a population of 221, 844 people (2006 census), consisted both of people residing in Tarauni Local Government Area and the staff of the Local Government Area council. The sample size was obtained using Krejcie and Morgan approach (1970) that determined the sample size of the population. For the purpose of this study, a sample size of three hundred and eighty four (384) was applied. The sampling procedure used in this study was purposive sampling technique, which focused on programme owners and operators. However, descriptive statistics and Spearman's rank correlation were used for data analysis and test of the hypotheses with the aid of SPSS Package, 23 versions.

Data Analysis and Presentation of Findings

Bivariate Analysis

The test of hypothesis covered hypotheses Ho₁ and Ho₂, which were bivariate and all were stated in the null form. We have relied on the Spearman Rank (*rho*) statistic to undertake the analysis. The 0.05 significance level was adopted as criterion for the probability of either accepting the null hypotheses at ($p > 0.05$) or rejecting the null hypotheses at ($p < 0.05$) criterion.

Table 1: Correlation Matrix showing the political dimension of polio eradication programme

			Polio Eradication	Budget	Budget Implementation
Spearman's rho	Polio Eradication	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.271**	.196**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000	.000
		N	293	293	293
	Budget	Correlation Coefficient	.271**	1.000	.676**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.	.000
		N	293	293	293
	Budget Implementation	Correlation Coefficient	.196**	.676**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.
		N	293	293	293

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: Research Data, 2022 (SPSS output, version 23.0)

The table above illustrates the test for the two previously postulated bivariate hypothetical statements.

HO₁: Budget does not play any significant role in polio eradication programme in Tarauni Local government Area.

The correlation coefficient of 0.271 indicated that budget plays a weak role on polio eradication programme. While the p value $0.000 < 0.05$ indicates that the role played was significantly weak. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected and the alternate was upheld and this indicated that budget plays a weak role, despite its significance on polio eradication programme in Tarauni local government Area.

HO₂: There are no politics involved in budget implementation on polio eradication in Tarauni Local Government Area.

The correlation coefficient of 0.196 shows that budget implementation plays a weak role on polio eradication programme.

The p value $0.000 < 0.05$ indicated that the role played by budget implementation was significantly weak, hence the null hypothesis was rejected and the alternate was upheld. Thus, budget implementation plays weak role, despite its significance on polio eradication programme in Tarauni local government Area.

Presentation of Findings

The findings revealed that political dimension (budget and budget implementation) plays a weak significant role on polio eradication programme in Kano State, using the Spearman's rank order correlation tool at a 95% confidence interval. Therefore, the findings of this study further confirmed that political dimension plays a weak role on polio eradication programme. This finding also indicated that Tarauni local government does not have internal polio budget, but always originates from Ministry for local Government in Kano State. The study also discovered that Tarauni Local Government only implement a budget submitted by Kano State Ministry for Local Government, with funds supported by local and internal donor agencies.

The research also found out that Tarauni Local Government Implement polio budget base on guidelines and procedures set out in the budget by the Kano State Ministry for Local Government.

The research equally discovered that as a result of lack of originality of polio budget from Tarauni Local government, there was no local expenditure in the budget, which gave room for more sharp practices. The study also discovered that due to lack of originality of the polio budget in Tarauni Local Government, it lacks ownership and trust from both the staff and politicians who were directly involved in running the polio eradication programme.

Also as a result of lack of originality of polio budget in Tarauni local Government, it made the whole programme not truly acceptable by the Tarauni Local government people. The study also discovered that politicians in Tarauni local government do interfere in the polio budget implementation process from Ministry Local government with their vested interests under the guise of community representation.

In addition, the study discovered that as a result of lack of stipulated polio budget from the local government council, the entire programme encountered a lot of duplications of activities in the line-items between the one prepared and implemented by the Ministry for local government in conjunction with donor agencies and the quasi-polio budget made by the local government council to support the programme, which they usually referred to as immunization pluses.

Equally, the study discovered that as a result of un-due interference into the polio budget by the international donor agencies like World health organization (WHO), United Nations children fund (UNICEF), Melinda gate foundation, Dangote foundation etc, the people of Tarauni local government were sceptical about the whole programme and they mostly regarded it as a western agenda.

Similarly, the study discovered that due to the apparent lack of polio budget originating from the local government council, majority of the officials who manage programme used it as a conduit pipes for self-enrichment. Also, the research had discovered that as a result of financial benefit attached to the programme, the crises of indigenes and non-indigenes in the recruitment of polio immunization workers continued to dominate the entire exercise and made it quite difficult to realize its objectives of eliminating the virus as targeted by the year 2000.

Also, the study discovered that as result of monetary gain inherent in the polio budget originated from the Ministry for local Government, it breeds incessant frictions between the line staff and the politicians on who takes control of the programme right from the Ministry for local government to Tarauni local government Area. The study also discovered that as a result of the fact that polio budget in Tarauni Local Government was prepared by the Ministry for Local government; no body determines the nature of fund releases at Tarauni local Government level.

Similarly, as a result of the perceived monetary gain in polio budget, there was high level of power play among politicians at the community representative committee level itself who pretend to be seating for the entire communities in Tarauni local government, with each other trying to push his or her selfish interest during each round of the polio immunization exercise.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The study concluded that political dimensions (budget and budget implementation) played a weak significant role in polio eradication at Tarauni Local Government Area of Kano State; as such the study recommends that:

- i. Creation of an internal budget that can meet all the expectations of Tarauni local people must be introduce with a more transparent and all inclusive budget implementation process to quickly address the apparent crises-ridden budget implementation system in the polio eradication programme at Tarauni local government Area. A proper check and balances mechanism as enshrined in the internationally budget implementation procedures should be established at Tarauni local government level to ensure transparency and accountability during the implementation process on polio eradication programme.
- ii. All elements that can improve polio immunization coverage, such as; the introduction of public address system and other public sensitization should be properly captured in the budget and budget implementation process, as suggested by some of the respondents to adequately inform the people in the area the significance of the polio immunization exercise and clear all doubts on the sincerity of the programme.

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