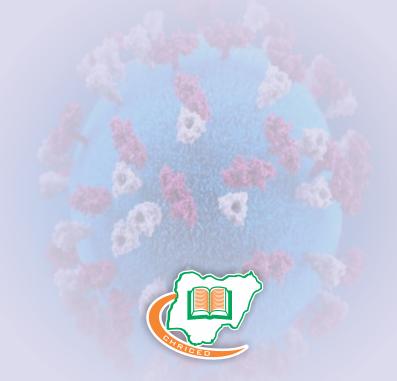
COVID-19: REPATRIATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OF ALMAJIRI CHILDREN IN NORTHERN NIGERIA





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RESOURCE CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS & CIVIC EDUCATION (CHRICED)

ADVOCACY BRIEF

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Introduction

"There can be no keener revelation of a society's soul than the way in which it treats its children. Our children are the rock on which our future will stand" (Nelson Mandela, May 8th, 1995). [1] Reflecting on this philosophical statement forces us to face the rampant human rights and human security challenges entailed in the abuse of almajiri^[2] children's most basic rights in northern states of Nigeria, including Kano, Jigawa, Katsina, Kaduna, among others. Unequivocally, the dehumanization and physical violence suffered daily by almajiri children throughout Northern Nigeria amounts to some of the gravest and harshest violations of the internationally recognized rights of the child. Every day, thousands of hungry, unsheltered and inadequately clothed children wander through the streets of major cities and suburban areas across Nigeria in search of food or money. Exposed to great risks, with no access to education, food, clothing, healthcare and parental love, almajiri children are extremely vulnerable. They live a marginalized and precarious existence without social security and are amongst the most vulnerable social groups in the country. Desperate to survive the destitution forced on them, they become highly amenable to the nefarious activities of exploiters, who in many cases force them into criminal activities and subject them to various forms of servitude.

^[1] https://www.nelsonmandelachildrensfund.com-news-nelson-mandela-quotes-about-children
[2] The almajirai are students of Qur'anic schools run by private Islamic teachers, to whom their parents typically hand them over completely. These teachers (or malams) in the past provided boarding and feeding for their wards but have been increasingly unable (or unwilling) to do this. They have resorted therefore to sending out the children to beg to sustain both the malam and the almajirai themselves. Ostensibly in the keep of their malam, these children spend almost all their day in the streets and in market places and spend their night wherever they find to lay their heads. Thus, these children are effectively abandoned by their parents and exploited by their malams. Furthermore, they are largely condemned to a future life of poverty and hardship; this is because the Islamic education they receive equips them with little or no skills usable in the modern economy.

[3] Numerous newspaper reports have indicated their employment in ethno-religious and communal conflicts, as well as in violence between warring factions of the National Union of Road Transport Workers.

Workers.



COVID-19 and the Abuse of 連 Almajiri Children in Northern States of Nigeria

The COVID-19 pandemic has accentuated the abuse of the rights of thousands of Almajiri children. Numerous state officials, grappling with uncertainty in their attempts to contain the spread of the virus, have quickly reverted to blaming Almajiri children for their own failures to contain the epidemic, depicting them as key vectors of the transmission to be 'cleared' as part of the Covid-19 official response. The onslaught against Almajiri children, notably evidenced by the raids of task forces ordered by local state governors[4], defies the response, protocols and strategies of the federal institutions leading the fight against COVID-19. These raids were merely knee-jerk reactions meant to scapegoat Almajiri children and depict them as disposable high-risk carriers of the virus. It is pertinent to mention that Nigeria, through the Presidential Task Force (PTF) and the Nigeria Centre for Disease Control (NCDC) rolled out a number of guidelines and protocols to prevent the spread of the virus; and to safeguard the lives of citizens while respecting their rights. Among these guidelines are:

- Restriction of movement between and within the affected states and the Federal Capital Territory, except for workers involved in the delivery of authorized essential services, duties, food and goods;
- Confinement of every person to his or her place of residence, unless strictly for the purpose of performing an essential service, obtaining an essential good or service, or seeking medical care;
- Closure of all inter-state state boundaries and international borders
- Suspension of commuter services between cities and states including passenger rail services, bus services, ehailing services, maritime and air passenger transport in

^[4] The Punch Newspaper of May 15, 2020 chronicled the horrific treatment of almajiri children in this time of COVID-19 pandemic

the affected states; etc.



Almajiris learning the Quran in a typical Tsangaya school in Northern Nigeria Photo: Getty Images



State Governors and Abuse of Almajiri Rights

In defiance to guidelines put in place by federal authorities, and in utter violation of COVID-19 protocols, state governors have continued to infringe on the human rights of almajiri children as follows:

- The Kano state government in April said it had completed plans to evacuate 251,893 Almajiris from eight local government areas back to their states, following upsurge in confirmed cases of COVID-19. Out of this number, 524 Almajiri children has been evacuated to Jigawa State, 419 to Katsina State, 63 to Yobe, 198 to Kaduna, 101 to Bauchi, and 1 to Zamfara [5]
- Kaduna State displaced about 2000 Almajiri to Kano State^[6]
- The Kaduna State Government announced on May 2, 2020 that 14 Almajiris, who were brought from Kano State, had tested positive for Coronavirus^[7].
- Jigawa's Commissioner for Health, Abba Zakari, announced on Thursday, May 7, 2020 that 16 of the

^[5] https://www.premiumtimesng.com%2Fregional-nwest-coronavirus-kano-evacuates-almajiris-to-states-

^[6] https://www.businessday.ng-when-repatriation-of-almajirai-breeds-rancor-between-kano-and-kaduna

^[7] https://www.com-another-14-almajiri-kids-repatriated-kano-test-positive-covid-19-kaduna

Almajiristransferred from Kano tested positive from 45 samples recently returned from the lab^[8].

On May 3, 2020 the Taraba State Government refused entry to several almajiri children who had allegedly been transferred from Nasarawa State. The children had to sleep outside of the office of the Secretary to the Taraba State Government and were only attended to at 10 a.m. on the next day. They were later driven to the state border to wait for the state officials. When the latter arrived, they formally rejected the children with a letter addressed to the Nasarawa State government asking it to take back these children. An excerpt of the letter dated May 4, 2020 states:"The government of Taraba State wish to return the pupils to you and requests that the pupils should be properly profiled indicating their local government of origin in Taraba State and individual status in respect of the pandemic,"[9] In addition to the utter in appropriateness of the timing of the decision to move the Almajiri children from one state to the other, the governors' actions reveal a lack of concern with regards to the most basic rights of the child. The Almajiris were transported in rickety and ramshackle trucks in which they were packed with no respect for social distancing measures. No masks were provided to help prevent the spread of the virus among the children in their transfer from one state to another. There was also no provision for food, as well as water, sanitation or hygiene services during transit and when the children arrived at their destinations.

These anomalies were rife instates' handling of the situation because in the course of these cross-state movements, there were no clearly defined protocols. Neither the Northern Governors Forum (NGF), nor the political officials of the Nigeria Governors Forum, have

^[8] https://www.pulse-news-coronavirus-16-almajiris-from-kano-test-positive-for-in-jigawa

^[9] ibid

made efforts toward an agreement on a clear set of guidelines for the transportation of Almajiri children. Ironically, governors in the affected states, in their attempt to appear to be taking action to respond to the pandemic, have tactically suggested displacing Almajiri children, as an opportunity to not only counter the virus' spread, but also bring to an end the many other 'problems' relating to their precarious existence. Therefore, it appears that in the eyes of the governors, removal of Almajiri was seen as an end in itself to get rid of what they derisively term a nuisance.

However, the reality on the ground in many states suggests the removals were merely attempts to create the false impression that actions were being taken to stop the spread of COVID-19. In Kano State for instance, the removal of Almajiris who are allegedly from other states, if effective should have meant fewer number of destitute children roaming the streets of the state. However, this is not the case as thousands of Almajiri children are still roaming the streets of Kano. What this shows is that nothing has actually changed in substantial terms, as state governors are unwilling to do the real work, which would involve taking clear responsibility for the task of getting the children off the streets, ensuring they reunite with their families, and creating the framework for them to access basic education which falls within the purview of the states.



Almajiri in the Eyes of The Media

Another dimension of the COVID-19's impact on the Almajiri is the often-negative stereotypes and profiling of Almajiri across different channels of the mass media. Headlines and body content about the Almajiri in the media represent them as a threat to the Southern part of Nigeria. Several media accounts described them as invaders who would pose security threats to the South. These geo-ethnic

profiling of marginalized victims of a cruel system makes advocating for their cause quite challenging. There are many examples of how the media portrayed these Almajiris through lenses of marginalization. For illustration, the Punch Newspaper of May 15, 2020 had the headline: "The Almajiri invasion of Southern Nigeria". While the newspaper chronicled the horrific treatment of Almajiri children in this time of COVID-19 pandemic, the North-South divide which loomed large in the article reinforced the eccentricity of the Almajiri. The paper wrote: "Nigerian shave in recent days been inundated by the heartrending spectacles of human cargoes of mainly disheveled lads surreptitiously packed like sardines in articulated vehicles and lorries from the North headed for the southern parts of Nigeria.



Almajiri in Northern Nigeria set for repatriation Photo: Premium Times

Other newspapers, online portals and broadcast media espoused similar headlines: "Ogun intercepts truck carrying 30 almajiris, (Ripples Nigeria)"; "Two truck loads of 120 Almajiris intercepted at Gakem border in Cross River, sent back to North, (DailyPost, May 11)"; "Another 189 night travellers from Katsina arrested in Abuja (the whistler.ng)"; "COVID-19: Residents panic as truck dumps Almajiris from Sokoto in Ondo (May 5, DailyPost); "Enugu

govt intercepts 9 buses relocating almajiris from North (May 8); Police intercept 200 Lagos-bound Almajiris from Katsina (Sahara Reporters, May 10, 2020); "Security operatives intercept truck load of Almajiris to Abia", (Business Day, May 5, 2020) and, "15 men hidden on floor of trailer loaded with cattle intercepted in Enugu, (The Guardian, May 13.)"



Effects of Lock Down Measures on Almajiri

The lockdowns imposed by the federal and governments in the states took a serious toll on Almajiri children. The imposition of lock down measures by the federal and different northern state governments in a bid to curb the spread of the virus, further exposed almajiri children. It is important to note that for Almajiris, who are predominantly aged between 5 and 12 years, the confinement resulting from lockdowns on towns and cities had an unbearable effect on their food security.

Although the federal and state governments did respond to the pandemic with various measures aimed at supporting individuals and companies to cope with the crisis, there was no clearly-defined response plan to protect the over-9.5 million Almajiri children roaming the streets of major towns and cities in Northern Nigeria, despite constituting one of the most vulnerable groups of its social fabric. Despite their squalid living conditions and their mobility, which make them highly susceptible to contracting and spreading the virus among themselves and others, there were no specific Almajiris - targeted awareness, protection and support interventions, as part of the Government's larger response initiatives to COVID-19.

It should be recalled that on 24 March 2020, the Federal House of Representatives had introduced and passed a bill

called Emergency Economic Stimulus Bill 2020. The draft law was passed by the members of the lower legislative chamber in response to the COVID-19 pandemic to provide aid to in country businesses and individuals. The Bill forms part of the Nigerian government's concerted efforts to stimulate the economy and absorb the effects of travel restrictions and business disruptions resulting from the COVID-19crisis.

Amongst others, the objectives of the law are to: provide temporary relief to companies and individuals so as to alleviate the adverse financial consequences of a slowdown in economic and business activities caused by COVID-19; protect the employment status of Nigerians who might otherwise become unemployed as a consequence of management decision to retrench personnel in response to the prevailing economic realities; provide for a moratorium on mortgage obligations for individuals at a time of widespread economic uncertainty; as well as cater for the general financial wellbeing of Nigerians pending the eradication of the pandemic and a return to economic stability. [10]

Curiously, there was no mention of members of vulnerable groups such as the Almajiris in the law. Although the law has not yet led to any real change and it' sun sure whether it will in practice, many Almajiris got infected with COVID-19, prompting the knee-jerk decision of governors of northern states under the aegis of the Northern Governors' Forum (NGF) to ban the practice of Almajiri system of education (Almajiranci) in northern Nigeria, followed immediately by the controversial Almajiri repatriation campaign across the region – instead of offering them psycho-social, medical and feeding support during the emergency.

^[10] https://brooksandknights.com/2020/03/29/nigerian-emergency-economic-stimulus-bill-all-you-need-toknow/



Repatriated Almajiris at the Karaye Quarantine Centre, Kano State Photo: HumAngle



The Illegality and Unconstitutionality of Repatriation of Almajiris

While the 1999 Nigerian constitution (as amended) recognizes concept of indigeneity, it however guarantees the fundamental human right of all Nigerian citizens to move freely and reside in any part of the country as they wish, which renders the NGF's action an in humane violation of the children's fundamental human rights, as enshrined in Chapter IV of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria officially known as Fundamental Rights. Thus, the entire concept of "repatriation "or" deportation" as it relates to the movement of citizens within the Nigerian federation is alien to and unrecognized by the constitution.

However, despite calls and condemnations against the repatriation of Almajiris by the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA)^[12], the Federal House of Representatives, [13] the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), and the Trade Union

^[11] https://publicofficialsfinancialdisclosure.worldbank.org/sites/fdl/files/assets/law-libraryfiles/Nigeria_Constitution_1999_en.pdf

^[12] https://publicofficialsfinancialdisclosure.worldbank.org/sites/fdl/files/assets/law-libraryfiles/Nige[2]https://allafrica.com/stories/202005120018.htm

^[13] https://allafrica.com/stories/202005120018.html

that have been repatriated to their states of origin are subjected to medical screening and quarantined by their home states in designated camps for a period of two weeks – to determine whether or not they had been infected with COVID-19. At the end of the confinement, those who tested negative for the virus are subsequently handed over to their parents, while those who tested positive receive treatment.

Consequently, thousands of Almajiris are currently being kept in isolation centres across the northern states. Whereas the idea of the quarantine camps is to ensure Almajiris who have been infected with the corona virus do not go back home and infect their families with the disease, the very purpose of these camps seems to have been defeated. Indeed, Almajiris, who are supposed to be protected and cared for in accordance with the best medical practices necessary for curtailing the spread of the virus, are instead living in the same squalid and dehumanizing conditions they had left in their various states of residence.

A typical example of the squalor and inhuman conditions of the isolation centres is the Kano State National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) Orientation Camp situated in Karaye Local Government Area of the state, which had recently been converted to a quarantine centre for the Almajiris. Ironically, in this camp, Almajirislive so closely packed together that the very principles of social and physical distancing cannot be observed. According to *HumAngle*^[16], the Almajiris were being kept in an open space so close to each other without the slightest attempt to ensure social distancing adding there was no evidence of medical personnel on ground at the Karaye camp. Moreover, none of the Almajiris or those taking care of them at the camp were wearing face masks and there was inadequate food and drinking water – let alone hand-washing water.

^[16] https://humangle.ng/almajirai-in-kanos-colony-of-affliction/

Congress (TUC), [14] the governors continued with the repatriation exercise. The Human Rights Agenda Network (HRAN) noted that, "the deportation of the Almajiris is illegal and unconstitutional" because every Nigerian, irrespective of his or her status, is entitled to the full enjoyment of the fundamental human rights in the Constitution. "Section 41 of the 1999 Constitution guarantees the right of every Nigerian to reside anywhere in the country. A citizen cannot be deported from his/her own country. It is a gross violation of his/her right as a citizen. It is unlawful for the government of any state to forcefully deport or move any person or group from on estate to another against their will. It is unconscionable that the governments of the concerned states who are supposed to take care of the education and welfare of the Almajiris are maltreating them."

Although the northern states claimed the repatriation exercise was intended to minimize children's exposure to the disease and prevent further community transmission of COVID-19; in reality, the repatriation of Almajiris who had been infected with the virus in their states of residence to their states of origin eventually led to further spread of the coronavirus across northern states, worsening the crisis situation in the region. These could have been avoided if the governors had found it necessary to protect and care for, arguably the most vulnerable cluster of people in their states.

Another vital, yet largely overlooked aspect of the evacuation of the Almajiris by northern states is the poor condition of quarantine camps for the Almajirisin their states of origin. As it had been the practice since the commencement of the deportation exercise, all Almajiris

^[14] https://thenationonlineng.net/nlc-tuc-almajirai-repatriation-worsening-covid-19-spread/

^[15] https://www.vanguardngr.com/2020/04/csos-condemns-forced-movement-of-Almajiris-as-illegalviolation-of-human-rights/ria_Constitution_1999_en.pdf



Pupils of a newly inaugurated Tsangaya model school in Bauchi Photo:Information Nigeria



Free, compulsory education laws and the rights to education of the Almajiris

Nigeria has signed and ratified mostinternational conventions aimed at protecting the dignity and welfare of children, by guarding them against various forms of abuse including neglect, exploitation, trafficking and very importantly, ensuring children have access to basic education. Prominent among such instruments are the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989 and the African Union Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, adopted by the Assembly of Heads of States and Government of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1990.

The Conventions lay down the basic human rights of children from "the right to survival, right to develop to the fullest; to protection from harmful influences, abuse and exploitation; and to participate fully in family, cultural and social life."[17] Accordingly, the Child Rights Act (CRA) was

https://guardian.ng/features/domesticating-enforcing-global-plan-to-protect-nigerianchildren-from-abuse/

promulgated in 2003, by then President Olusegun Obasanjo, based on the UN and OAU/AU conventions. Although the CRA was passed by the National Assembly, the state government insisted that it would only be effective if the respective State Houses of Assemblies domesticate and ratify the law. Seventeen years later, barely two-thirds of the 36 states of the federation have ratified the Act. Sadly, most of the states that are yet to domesticate and ratify the CRA are in the northern region harboring Almajiri children.

Moreover, in 1999, Nigeria launched the Universal Basic Education (UBE) programme aimed at providing greater access to and ensuring quality of basic education throughout the country. However, the programme only took off properly with the signing of the UBE Act in 2004. A key objective of the programme is ensuring an uninterrupted access to 9-year formal education by providing FREE, and COMPULSORY basic education for every child of school-going age under (i) Six years of Primary Education, and (ii) Three years of Junior Secondary Education as well as Providing Early Childhood Care Development and Education (ECCDE). [18]

The above laws made access to free basic education for every Nigerian child obligatory on the federal and respective state governments. Consequently, the Almajiris cannot be an exception. The federal and northern state governments have at various times evolved initiatives aimed at reforming or even totally banning the over a 1000-year-old Almajiri Islamic system of education, which used to be a functional platform for young people to acquire knowledge of Islam, but has in the last century become the subject of abuse and misuse. Nevertheless, none of these efforts proved successful in reverting the Almajiri system to its hitherto respectful status, against its present condition

[18] https://ubeconline.com/about_ubec.php

of being societal nuisance.

Truth be told, of all the governmental reform initiatives on Almajiri, President Goodluck Jonathan's Almajiri Education Programme proves the most ambitious and outstanding. President Jonathan had in 2012 flagged off his N15-billion (Fifteen billion Naira) Almajiri Education Programme in Sokoto state, where he launched the first of 400 integrated model Tsangaya schools, equipped with modern facilities, which include a language laboratory, recitation hall, classrooms, dormitories, clinic, vocational workshop, dining hall and quarters for teachers. The integrated school programme was designed to combine Islamic education with western education. [19] By the time President Goodluck Jonathan left office in May 2015, 89 out of the 400 model Tsangaya schools had been completed across the northern states. Unfortunately, less than a decade later, most of the supposedly model Tsangaya schools are either at varying stages of decay having been abandoned by the state governments or had been converted to conventional public or semi-private schools.[20]



Is COVID-19 an opportunity to reform or abolish the Almajiri phenomenon, for good?

The COVID-19 pandemic has reignited discussions in mainstream and social media about the future of the Almajiri system of education in Nigeria. The vulnerability of the Almajiris to get infected with the virus spreading it to others due to their lack of access to sanitation and hygiene installations; along with the subsequent decision of the governors of northern states to repatriate the Almajiris residing across their states to their states of origin, sparked

^[19] file:///C:/Users/Adam%20Alqali/AppData/Local/Temp/Temp1_chricedpolicybriefsonalmajiri. zip/almajiri%20policy%20brief%202.pdf

^[20] https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/n15-billion-almajiri-schools-in-ruins.html

condemnations by trade unions, human rights organizations, CSOs, professional bodies, and even the federal legislature. The controversy aroused by the so-called repatriation exercise raises concerns around not only the illegality and unconstitutionality of the governors' policies, but also the dangers their collective action poses on Nigeria's effort to curb the spread of the highly contagious coronavirus, against the backdrop of many of the already repatriated Almajiris testing positive for the coronavirus. Despite several outcries from different quarters including the Presidential Task Force on COVID-19 (PTF COVID-19), the governors went ahead with the exercise, therefore endangering the health and lives of not only the Almajiris themselves but also people of the states where they had been repatriated to.

This, including governors' decision to totally ban the practice of Almajiranci^[21] has led to another debate as to whether or not the COVID-19 pandemic is an opportunity to reform or end the practice for good. Whereas the idea of banning the practice of Almajiranci may sound good, the question is what happen to the over 9 million children that are currently in the system if it is abolished? Another question is what measures have been put in place to ensure the Tsangaya schools will not reemerge as they have always done in the past?



A group of Almajiris with their begging bowls wandering in search of alms Photo: Financial Trust

[21] Almajiri system of education



Conclusion and Recommendation

In that sense, what might be the best response to the current dysfunctional Almajiri system is a comprehensive and actionable reform programme, based on similar systems of Islamic education obtainable in Muslim countries such as Egypt, Malaysia and Indonesia. In doing so, Nigeria must avoid the traditional ready-made approach to adopting foreign systems and policies and adopt and adapt, instead, the lessons to be derived from these developments to suit its local context. Moreover, northern states must be fully committed to operationalizing the reformed Almajiri system in their respective states, involving all relevant stakeholders in the process.

The Resource Centre for Human Rights and Civic Education (CHRICED) project on "The nature and effectiveness of state and non-state interventions on Forced Child Begging (Almajiri) in Nigeria," supported by Anti-Slavery International (ASI, United Kingdom), the made far-reaching recommendations through policy briefs, advocacy messages and press releases on reforming the Almajiri system. Against the backdrop of a lack of awareness and perceived ineffectiveness by target beneficiaries of state and non-state interventions on Forced Child (Almajiri) Begging in Nigeria, CHRICED believes:

- Government at all levels must ensure the enforcement of existing laws relating to forced child labour and street begging. To this end, the government should ensure that Almajiri school teachers who exploit children in anyway are prosecuted and subject to sentences that are proportional to the crimes committed.
- The curriculum of the Almajiri schools needs to be transformed to reflect present day realities and future aspirations of the society in which the Almajiri children live. In this regard, the new curriculum should be a blend

of Islamic education, Western education and life support skills such as ICT that can help the children cope effectively with the realities of modern world, and to fit properly into the future they aspire for. To achieve this, the capacities of Malams (Qur'anic teachers) and operators of these Almajiri schools to run modern schools must be developed.

- There is also the need for the proper regulation and documentation of Almajiri schools. This means a special unit should be opened in every state to collate data on the actual number of Almajiri schools and the children enrolled in those schools. Also, Malams willing to establish and operate Almajiri schools must register with the appropriate authorities to ensure proper supervision and periodic inspection. Furthermore, the Malams operating these Almajiri schools should be made to keep a comprehensive register of all the students in their school, and to be held accountable for those children whenever the need arises
- Similarly, some measure of parental responsibility has to be enforced. In this regard, local communities, religious institutions, governments, civil society groups and other critical stakeholders need to find ways of sensitizing and mobilizing the parents of these Almajiri children to be more responsible. This becomes necessary in view of the fact that, no level of intervention by other stakeholders (government, NGOs, Civil Society, religious institutions, etc.), can totally substitute the role and place of parenting in a child's upbringing.

About CHRICED

Resource Center for Human Rights & Civic Education (CHRICED) is a Nigerian not-for-profit, and a knowledge-driven platform of active citizens working for the promotion of human rights, rule of law, democracy and accountability. CHRICED is registered in October 2006 with the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC) under Companies and Allied Maters Act No. 10f 1990, Part C.

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