

Access to Quality Primary Education in Northern Nigeria: Transforming Public Underachieving Schools to High Achieving Schools Using Social Business Theory

Muttaqha Rabe Darma, Dsc.

Pleasant Library and Book Club Inc.

3, Hassan Usman Katsina Road, Katsina, Nigeria

Abstract: *Some developing countries face many challenges, which often lead their citizens to continue to live in deprivation and want. Nigeria is one such country that has received low rankings on several fronts: particularly the state of its education sector. This paper adopts an ethnographic study method in order to investigate one of the poorly funded, over-crowded, and underachieving public primary schools in Northern Nigeria. The paper discusses an alternative approach the country could adopt to improve in its various efforts to enhance the provision of qualitative education to its citizens in public schools. Public schools in Nigeria are populated mostly by children from poor parents—and, as such, these schools have not been performing academically for various reasons. Some of these reasons include: insufficient government funding, a lack of quality teaching staff, poor school attendance by pupils (who often work to supplement their family income), pupil wastages, and others. To address these issues, this paper applies a social business approach to the case school. My findings suggests that public schools could adopt social business ventures to sustain themselves, provide jobs for poor parents, enhance conditions for pupils, improve the quality of the teaching and supporting staff, and meet the main objectives of establishing the schools in the first place: that is, the provision of quality education.*

Keywords: *Poverty, Deprivation, Primary Schools, Social Business, Transformation*

I. Introduction

As a developing nation, Nigeria faces numerous challenges. For example, Nigerian public education is in crisis. A World Bank report indicates that the crisis is more significant in the primary education sector than in the other sectors (Moja 2000). Although recorded national primary school completion rates are above 50%, they have been, for more than two decades, generally less than 60%. The average completion rate at the end of primary education as a percentage of enrolments is reported to be 55%, with a transition rate of 50.3% to secondary schools by the late 1990s. The report also indicates that about 80% of primary schools are located in rural areas and that they lack basic teaching and learning facilities. The available infrastructure and facilities also remain inadequate for coping with a system that is growing at a rapid pace. School environments are generally not conducive to learning, due to the physical conditions of most schools and the lack of teaching and learning resources. The annual population growth rate, estimated at 3.3 percent, contributes to the problem of excessively large numbers of children who have to be accommodated in schools. Furthermore, although the National Policy on Education prescribes that the teacher-pupil ratio should be 1:40, classrooms are often overcrowded, and, in some instances, schools have operated with teacher-pupil ratios of 1:100 (Ward 1994, Moja 2000).

It is important to note that, often, school authorities and governments at different levels blame these children and their circumstances for poor school performance instead of critically examining the school systems in order to locate and—if need be—own the underlying problems in order to tackle them head on. It is also pertinent to acknowledge some of the issues faced by the pupils who are found in these schools. Pupils are often the children of single parents, fend for themselves, provide food for their families, come to school on an empty stomach or have inadequate or totally absent support to do their homework every night. Some are homeless, and some have no support from relatives.

Indeed, public schools in Nigeria are populated with these kind of children. Children whose parents are illiterate and/or poor. This may mean that pupils come to school ill-prepared to learn, with no basic support from homes that offer insufficient circumstances to enable learning (e.g., learning materials and books). How, then, can such schools develop high or outstanding student achievement compared to other schools in the country? More importantly, how can we provide quality education to poor children who face several limitations and disadvantages?

This paper uses social business ideas developed in Yunus (2010) as a recipe for success for serving children from poor backgrounds with learning needs. The paper assumes that all children can learn, regardless of their deprivations, provided that an appropriate environment is in place. To provide quality education, schools as systems can take the initiative to transform the socio-economic status of children and to physically transform the structures of schools, if necessary. Thus, this paper provides an outline for the necessary school leadership and parental support for teaching and learning to support the social business model proposed by Yunus (2010).

The paper is divided into five sections. The next section introduces social business perspectives as variants of capitalism and highlights the principles, or the theoretical framework, upon which this paper will be based. Section three presents the study area. Section four presents the research design and methodology. Section five discusses research findings and make recommendations in line with social business theory. Section six concludes and make suggestions for future research.

II. Capitalism and Its Variants

Capitalism has been defined and interpreted in several ways. Merrill (1995) surveyed these definitions in the literature and attempted to position 'Capitalism' in a single location. However, Kotter (2015) indicated that, regardless of the adopted or used definition, capitalism involves five major players in the market economy: business enterprises, non-profit organisations, financiers, households and government. As capitalism does not have an improved public image because of its pursuit of profits, various variant types have been proposed in order to improve its image. Development and explanations of these variants of capitalism have all aimed to address shortcomings and identify criticisms of the capitalists' economic system.

Some of the proposed variants for improved forms of capitalism include: compassionate capitalism (Ellis 2002/2003, Kavan 2005), inclusive capitalism (MCFALLS 2007, Lagarde 2014), humane capitalism (Epstein 2000), healthy capitalism (Swedberg 2002), authoritarian capitalism (Ma 2009), neo-capitalism, and, recently, social business capitalism (Yunus 2010, Yunus 2011).

2.1 Social Business: A New Kind of Capitalism That Serves Humanity's Most Pressing Needs (Yunus 2011)

Yunus (2010) indicated that the capitalist systems exists at two extremes of businesses: one to maximize shareholder profits and the other to fulfil social objectives (see also Yunus, Moingeon et al. 2010). Social business, on the other hand, lies between the two extremes. Social business represents a new concept of doing business, which is based on a capitalist framework and which is devised to be devoid of social and environmental ills, such as poverty and ecological damage. Social business is based on a capitalist economic framework that portrays humans who engage in businesses as selfless, as well as selfish. Yunus (2010) called this kind of business as a business "... built on the selfless part of human nature ...". This perspective, to Yunus (2010), is what capitalist economic theory has been lacking. It holds wonderful promise, since it is aimed at solving some of the greatest problems of the world. It provides new ways of thinking about economics that are not prone to crises. It is not just an idea, but a reality.

Although, in social business, an investor in an organization does not make a financial gain on his individual or collective investment, the organization is a business because, unlike a full charity, it must be self-sustaining. This kind of business is dedicated to helping others rather than personal gain. In this kind of business, everything done is for the benefit of others—not for the benefit of the investors. This line of thinking regarding business was prompted by the identification of the flaws in the current economic theory, in which actions are taken solely for selfish gains. It is, thus, a selfless business whose purpose is to bring an end to some social problem identified in society. The idea of social business is that a business is dedicated to solving a social cause, and it must be designed in such a manner that it sustains itself and does not rely on charity or philanthropy (as in the cases of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), charity organizations or corporate social responsibility outreach programs enacted by some organizations). At most, an investor may get back what he/she invested over a period of time, and no more.

Financial sources of such businesses are varied. Yunus (2010) indicated that one such source is money dedicated to charity. Here, it is assumed that the charity, such as a not-for-profit organization, can be transformed to social business, in which it is made self-sustaining. Money from profit-making businesses can also be put towards social businesses. For example, businesses now seek to help their environment and the people they serve by dedicating some part of their money to social and environmental causes. This is called the social responsibility of businesses or corporate social responsibility (CSR). Money channelled to CSR could be completely dedicated to establishing social businesses to tackle the social and/or environmental concerns the root organization wishes to solve. The difference, according to Yunus (2010) is that, instead of dedicating a portion of company resources to CSR every year in order to solve issues that may keep growing, social businesses, when established, will dedicate themselves to both solving the social problem and sustaining themselves. Another source of finance for social business is the money given by governments to social

programmes. In Nigeria, for example, various poverty and social programme funds have been established to tackle social ills. Some of these include the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP), the Subsidy Re-Investment Programme (SURE-P), and several other programmes in agriculture, education, health, industrial establishment and other things. These programmes can be enacted at all three tiers of government (federal, state, and local). Such programs, according to Yunus (2010) can be made "... available for social businesses" (p. 16). These are some of the available means of soliciting financing for social businesses.

2.2 Types of Social Businesses

As indicated earlier, social businesses are different from traditional for-profit businesses, as well as from non-profit charitable organizations. They are also different from other frequently used business types, such as social enterprises, social entrepreneurship ventures and socially responsible businesses. Social businesses exist outside the profit-seeking world. Their major goals are to solve social problems by using business methods including but not limited to the creation and sale of products. Yunus (2010) describes two kinds of social businesses. The first kind is a non-loss, non-dividend company devoted to solving a social problem, which it is owned by investors who re-invest all profits to expand and improve the business. The second kind is a profit-making business owned by poor people, either directly or through a trust that is dedicated to a free, pre-determined social cause.

In the first kind, the investors and owners do not earn profits, dividends or any other form of financial benefit. They can, however, take back their initial or original investment over a pre-determined period of time. In this type of social business, any additional money going to investors beyond their original investment is prohibited (i.e., disqualifies the business from being a social business). This approach means that, for the investors, "a dollar is a dollar," regardless of how long the dollar was invested. In other words, there is no inflation or deflation for money invested. This first type of social business (type I) has seven principles, which are listed below (Yunus 2010):

1. The company will solve a social problem, such as poverty, health, education, access to technology, environmental issues, etc., that is identified as a threat to people and society and not as an opportunity for profit maximization.
2. The company will attain financial and economic stability.
3. Investors can only receive back their initial investment.
4. When the total investment is paid back in full, all profits stay with the business for the purposes of expansion and improvement.
5. Once established, the company will respect the environment.
6. The company's workers will receive market wages and better-than-average working conditions
7. All of the workers and owners will do their jobs with joy!

The second type of social business (type II) is owned by people who seek to solve their social problems. It may also be owned or created by a special trust fund that has the intention of solving the social problem. In a type II social business, funds, such as trusts, are dedicated to the social problem that needs to be solved. The trust then invests in a for-profit company, whose profits are used by the trust to achieve its objectives or solve the social problems the trust is designed to address. These objectives are often formulated in a measurable way. In this variation of social business, the effectiveness of the organization is largely dependent on the integrity and talent of the board members who administer the invested funds. Type II social businesses also follow the seven principles listed above. In this paper, type II social businesses will be used to explore the relationship between social business principles and the attainment of quality education in a public primary school in Northern Nigeria.

2.3 Social Business and Governmental Institutions

Yunus (2010) suggests an economic theory to solve identified social and economic problems, even if the problems are assumed to be social welfare issues that rest on the shoulders of the government. According to Yunus (2010), in order to solve such a problem, one may create a business around the identified issue. Yunus (2010) explains that social businesses operate in open economies, in which customers have free choice and all players in the marketplace are free to create their own choices. Governments can, thus, collaborate with interested individuals, civil societies, NGOs, etc., to create social business that provide welfare for citizens. Governments can also create their own social businesses in order to serve certain purposes. When the social business model becomes a vibrant economic force, people no longer have to wait for the government to solve their social issues, since they can find ways to address them through the formation of communal enterprises. These enterprises are formed in a bottom-up manner and, as such, enjoy the communal commitment of their members as owners. This approach can solve important problems in the community.

From the foregoing, social businesses recognize that society and the government can collaborate to solve problems for citizens. In addition, since individuals are involved in the solution of problems that directly affect them, individuals' talents and creativity can also be utilized via the weight of bureaucracy and the political will to resolve such problems. The involvement of the government may mean that no economic burden is imposed on anybody, since the government is traditionally responsible for the solution or provision of services to solve social problems. A typical example is the provision of education. In Nigeria, it is the responsibility of the government to provide free education until the ninth year of schooling (through the Universal Basic Education, or UBE, programme). So, in theory, Nigerian governments at various levels should, on behalf of the people, provide systems that address the social problem of the provision of education to all citizens, at the least in the first nine years of their education. In practice, however, this happens only to a certain degree and with a lack of quality; that is, the provided services do not meet set standards (Dike 2002). Oluede (2006) examined the issues considered significant in the implementation of educational policy in Nigeria and concluded that these policies have not been successful because implementations are clouded in confusion. One may argue that, although these policies are interesting and aimed at quality education following global standards, often, government implementers, managers and regulators become captive to special interests. Such interests might be political, bureaucratic, self-serving, and/or corrupt. Therefore, the concept of social business, as introduced in the previous section, will be a welcome idea in the provision of quality education in Nigeria.

This paper proposes an outline of how government operations can be translated into social businesses with the goals of serving the needs of society, using primary education as an example. This paper proposes a combination of the creativity and energy devoted to businesses and the social welfare purpose of the government in order to produce quality education that individual actors (e.g., either the government or society) cannot achieve on their own. It must be indicated that, although legislation and regulation may be necessary and essential, the outline provided here does not at all suggest that people should be coerced into taking social business as an economic model. Rather, as indicated above (principle 7), social business should be chosen through the people's free will and should be something they find joy in doing. The ultimate intent is to develop a system that the people want. It must be indicated that, as shown in the various case examples provided in Yunus (2010), there may be lots of "teething issues". These were indicated in all the social business examples provided, and, as such, one expects start-up issues to arise when suggesting social business as an idea in order to resolve social welfare issues, either in collaboration or through individual ownership. Yunus (2010) however, indicates that starting small and growing big may help overcome such initial issues. Thus, this paper concentrates on a single primary school as a case study in order to propose the underlying idea of social businesses in primary education in Nigeria.

In the next section, the case study and so the methodology of the study are introduced. As indicated earlier, legal and financial frameworks for such ventures are important and necessary. Thus, these will be proposed as deemed applicable to the context under study and in line with the extant literature and social business theory (Yunus 2010, Yunus, Moingeon et al. 2010, Yunus 2011).

III. Case Study and Research Methodology

Aluede (2006) raised a number of issues that could bring about the failure of a universal basic education scheme in Nigeria. These include a lack of proper planning for the scheme, an inability to estimate the population of pupils to be admitted into school each school session, a lack of knowledge of and an inability to engage the number of teachers required, and a lack of proper qualifications for the teachers engaged. Other issues include an inability to provide good leadership in schools, an inability to provide the required infrastructure, an inability to provide teaching and learning materials, and an inability to estimate financial requirement each session and estimate eventual long-term financial implications of the entire programme. The author concluded that, "However, the scheme, if properly implemented, particularly with adequate considerations given to the forces that could bring about its failure as identified above, will enhance Nigeria's educational and overall development" (Aluede 2006). Thus, the purpose in this paper is not to provide a blueprint for solving all problems (since some of these problems are attitudinal); rather, it is to advocate, through social business perspectives, a promising alternative to some of the failed initiatives of the government for providing high-quality education to its pupils.

3.1 The Case Study

The Mala community (fictional name) is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious settlement in one of the states in North-west Nigeria. The community is quite dense and is situated at the outskirts of Kanda (fictional name), which is the capital of the Kanda state, the second-most-populous state in the northern part of Nigeria. Mala is a compound community, in Kanda North Local Government Area of Kanda State, comprising five villages, with a total estimated population of 200,000 inhabitants (FGN, 2006).

3.2 Study Setting and Methodology

There is one public primary school in the Mala community, which serves all five villages. At the time of this study, the school had 2234 pupils, with seven blocks of two classrooms each. The school had an administration building housing the head teachers' office and two staff rooms: one for female teachers and the second for male teachers. In all, there were twenty five staff members, including teachers and other supporting staff who worked full time. Of these, 22 were classroom teachers. The school was one of the few schools in the state led by a female head teacher. The teacher-student ratio was 1:90, and there were more than 150 pupils per class.

3.3 Study Methodologies

To study the Mala primary school, this research employed visual ethnography, as introduced and described in detail in Pink (2001). Visual ethnography provides researchers with visuals of their study area, as well as the unique opportunity to review the research interviews in video format and to draw conclusions after reflecting on the videos. Using visual ethnography, I recorded most of my observations, interviews, and interactions in still photos and videos. I recorded videos only during interview sessions and with the consent of the interviewees. Only five of the twenty two participants consented to being recorded on video.

The brief study time spanned seven days, comprising five work days (when the students were in school) and two weekend days (for interviews and follow-up interviews with interesting pupils at home and in other places). Two pupils were identified as interesting pupils, and one weekend day was assigned for each one of them. One of the pupils (Anas; fictional name) was the oldest pupil in the school, at 17. Agnes (fictional name) was the student with the lowest school attendance record for the last six months (only 25% attendance).

This study began April 13, 2015, and ended April 20, 2015. A total of approximately 30 hours was spent in the field. Of these, 22 hours were spent observing students and teachers in school, at home, doing other activities and (while in school) playing games or accepting punishments. These incidents were recorded with the camera. The remaining eight hours were the total interview hours. Fifteen interviews were conducted, with the shortest interview lasting 15 minutes (one of the female teachers) and the longest interview lasting two hours (with Anas at his place of work). Of particular interest to the study were the teaching and learning methods, the relationships and the school management (leadership).

All interviews were conducted in the local language. Although the communities were multi-cultural and multi-religious, with different cultural rituals, they all used the Hausa (one of the widely spoken languages in Nigeria) language as a means of communication—and, thus, as their local language. I conducted interviews with at least two different people a day, with some interviews (e.g., Agnes at home) being conducted late at night. I also participated in a church service on Sunday, April 20. My participation in the service helped me to understand (though minimally) the mode of religious practice and the ways in which the ministers preached to their members. My attendance also allowed me to appreciate and compare Islamic modes of religious practice with Christian modes. Finally, my attendance also enabled me to appreciate and understand whether churches, through their preaching, helped to foster cooperation and relationship-building amongst various interest groups. For this study, I randomly selected individuals (particularly the teachers) for interviews. Their selection was, however, influenced by the activities of the individual teacher. Some were selected because they were class masters, and others were selected because their records indicated that they were the longest serving teachers in the school. The head teacher was also interviewed. In addition, three parents, one community leader and one religious leader were interviewed. This approach follows what Arnold (1970) called dimensional sampling. The dimensions included age (from 13 (Agnes) to year 60 (religious leader) years old) and position or status within the school/community, among other factors. These dimensions were used to generate the most diverse sample. An informant (research assistant) who was a popular youth in the area guided me to the interviewees and helped with some of the community members who were initially reluctant to participate or who demanded gratification. All interviews began with an explanation of the purpose and objectives of the study. The respondents understood the explanations and, in two cases, sought to know how the outcomes of the study would affect them.

IV. Discussion: Making the Mala Primary School a Social Business Enterprise

Like all social business impulses, the driving force for this study is the desire to make the Mala primary school a better place. We are driven by the belief that it is possible to turn schools into places where underprivileged pupils will experience success in their lives and where students can learn hope for the future. Of course, school buildings can be improved, however, does not reside with school improvements only; it must extend the broader learning and teaching experience and even to the community the school serves. This ideas are interwoven with the social business perspective: schools must take action where they can. That is, schools must take part in solving the problems of their communities—and, in turn, the communities and the government must also take their turns in resolving the issues in the schools. In this section, the seven principles of the social

business perspective will be applied to the Mala primary school with a view to resolve the issues identified during the field study.

4.1 Principle 1: Solve Social Issues

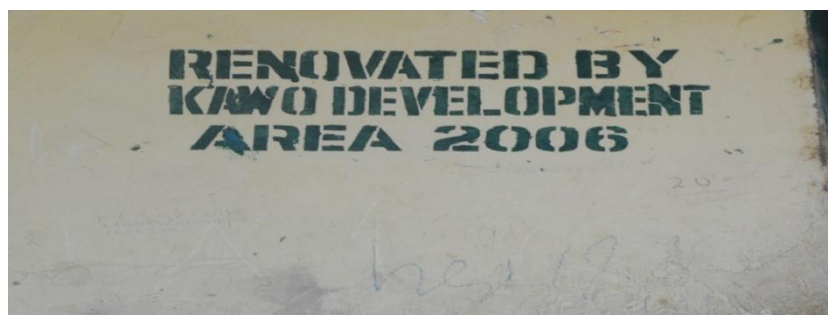
The most important problem of this school is meeting its goals. At this point, it is pertinent to provide a glimpse into the school as our case study site. The school has not benefitted from governments in terms of infrastructural development (see the following pictures), teaching and learning materials, the provision of teaching staff, and the training of teachers. According to one of the teachers, the school has been neglected by Kada Northern Local Government Council, Kada State and the National Universal Basic Education Commission. My guide, Bluetooth, told me that his children did not attend the case school because he did not believe the school could provide his children with the necessary education. Although his and make meagre daily income, his children are in private school where he expanded all his income to pay for the school fees. He made an average of N500 (about USD \$1.83) a day which he shares with the motorcycle owner. Pic. 1 through 6 indicate the condition of the Mala primary school during my visit. The school's head teacher told me that the school was originally meant to be a one-level school (i.e., the primary level only). However, since some pupils come to the school very ill prepared for primary schooling, the school created a nursery section with two classes.



Picture 1: One nursery classroom block in the Mala primary school



Picture 2: A photo view of the nursery section block of the primary school.



Picture 3: The school was last renovated in 2006, nine years before my visit.

The head teacher told me that the last time the school was renovated was in 2006. This renovation was completed by a community development association outside the community where the school was located. She also indicated that the renovation was sponsored by a community (not any within Mala community) and included the provision of furniture and some teaching and learning materials.



Picture 4:In 2010, the school benefitted from another community gesture.

Picture 5:One classroom shared by four class streams.

One of the objectives of the school is to provide quality education. However, according to one of the teachers interviewed (who was a guide in the school), it was difficult to meet the objective of providing quality education to the pupils. Another teacher indicated that one classroom had to accommodate four classes. As pictured above, one classroom accommodated two levels (6c/6d and 5c/5d), including the last primary school class level (Class 6 or Grade 5) and the one before it (Grade 4). It is expected that, after Level 6, a student will sit for a common entrance examination that will allow him/her to move to junior secondary school (which lasts three years). I asked a female teacher in the primary school how they were able to combine four classes into one room. She indicated that they have two sessions in the morning and the afternoon. Two classes share the room during the morning sessions (between 7 am and 1 pm), and the higher-level students share the room during the afternoon sessions (between 2 pm and 6 pm). I asked the teacher how two classes could be taught simultaneously and how many pupils were in each class. It was explained to me that one teacher teaches two classes of approximately 90 pupils simultaneously; that is, each class includes 90 pupils, for a total of 180 pupils. While one class is being taught, the other does physical activities outside. In essence, each lesson is designed to provide in-class teaching and an out-of-class activity (which is often unsupervised) for an equal number of hours in the day.



Picture 6: This school is a Millennium Development Goals (MDG) intervention school.

The head teacher explained that the school was one of the schools that benefited from the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) funds in 2008. My interactions with the locals further indicated that it was common knowledge that the school could not, as it is operated, provide quality education to its pupils. This means that the objectives of the school could not be achieved. Parents interviewed directly blamed and indicated a growing antagonism towards the government—and, particularly, political institutions.

4.2. Principle 1: Attain Quality Education Objectives

As suggested by Yunus (2010), when starting a social business, one should first identify the need and then match this need to the availability of capabilities and talents. He suggested that listing the problems and then asking questions regarding every item on the list. For the Mala primary school, the question to ask is: How can the school overcome the crisis it is being confronted with and meet its objectives of providing good education to its pupils? The first line of action is to understand the crisis, since only then can a solution be developed. We will also identify the factors that are responsible for the crisis. Similarly, it is important, as suggested by Yunus (2010), to identify what is uncommon or unique to the school and the community that requires change or transformation. It is essential at this stage to be in tune with the neighbourhood or community that the school serves. Therefore, the following questions will be addressed using the observations and the interviews conducted.

What is unique about this community that has given the entire community its identity and that has drawn its people together? The unique aspect of the Mala community is its unity in diversity. The Mala community is a blessed community with a diversity of people who, although they differ in religious and tribal inclinations, are hardworking and have acknowledge their level of deprivation. One of the parents interviewed indicated that the community's diversity is also its strength. Moreover, a traditional leader in the community stated that the community is variously constructed, with people from different ethnicities and cultural backgrounds. He indicated that, despite these differences, they involved each other in all of the various functions. A religious leader (here called Pastor Bitrus) corroborated the community's strength in diversity, calling it "power bargain and get and recognition". Segal (1978) studied how societies value ethnicity, indicating that ethnicity provides a means for extending solidarity to others and could actually strengthen societies. This means that, if a community is diverse, that diversity can be employed to the advantages of the community's school.

My proposal in this paper is subjective and is based on my assessment and understanding of the studied community. There are, however, baseline measures that could be employed as guides to the initiative to be selected. These measures should be taken with full recognition of the context within which the school is located and in line with extant legislation. In keeping with existing literature and social business principles, diversity can be calculated based on the solidarity of togetherness and neighbourliness. In addition, the common signs and symbols made by poverty and deprivation in a community could serve as rallying points for solidarity and cohesion. Thus, a social business could be established using the Mala school as an enterprise, with a board made up of parents, community and religious leaders, and teachers. From the interviews conducted, it was clear that most of the parents belonged to one of two vocations. Thus, the school could establish and own a small business that would be managed and operated by members of the community within the context of their vocations. For example, the school could create a business called Malacycle, with a focus on the operation of motorcycles as taxis. Bluetooth, as a motorcycle operator, who currently shares the day's take with the motorcycle's owner, could be employed in the school's company and potentially be allowed to keep two-thirds of the day's take. The other one-third could be managed by the school board, and all of the revenue could be invested in addressing the immediate needs for quality education, such as teacher training, learning and teaching materials, and other items identified as necessary for quality teaching and learning. Finally, the business' initial or take-off funding could be provided by any or all of the three tiers of government and by NGOs, such as the community development association that renovated the school in 2006.

One of my special interest students in the school was 17-year-old Anas. He worked to earn a living and feed his aging parents. Anas took me to his place of work at a river bank, where he peddled passengers on a canoe to communities on the other side of the river. I observed that, although the land around the communities was very fertile for year-round agricultural activities (see photos), only some of the land was being cultivated for irrigation. My observation revealed that some crops, such as tomatoes, potatoes, and sugarcane, were grown in the area. Similarly, I also observed that there were over 50 young people engaged in fishing activities. According to Anas, the number of fishermen was even higher on a typical workday.



Picture 7: Fertile irrigation land on the bank of the Kada river.



Picture 8 Another photo view of the river bank.



Picture 9: Tilled, irrigated land with planted tomatoes, sugarcane, Irish potatoes, and onions.

Anas told me that he makes as much as N1000.00 (USD \$2.3) a day. I took a ride with Anas in his all-wooden canoe (photos 10 to 11), where I met one of the fishermen, who I found was a parent at the school, with three children (a boy and two girls) in the school. The fisherman made an average of N1500 (USD \$3.65) a day. There were 12 wooden canoes the day I visited. Some of these were used by the fishermen some by ferry operators (like Anas).



Picture 10:On a canoe ride with Anas.



Picture 11:A canoe transporting bundles of sugarcane from farm lands to the market in the city of Kada .



Picture 12:Young labourers (another type of work done by the residents of the Mala community) offloading sugarcane from a canoe at the bank of the Kada River.



Picture 13:One of the irrigated land areas.

All of the described activities are potential social business avenues for the Mala school. Since all of these vocations are types of work done by the residents of the community, the school could establish social businesses like MalaCanoe Services, MalaFarms, MalaFishing, etc. These businesses could be handled by the community members, who would earn more than they do currently. The school's earnings could be channelled towards providing quality education for the children. During my field work, I also observed that the school punished students who were found to be truant or who, in some way, broke the school's regulations. With additional school income, the school may instead be able to ask students to do extra academic activities as punishment and to have additional staff engaged in teaching and sports activities.

1. What support is available, and how can such support be solicited? To address this issue from the social business perspective, stakeholder commitment is essential. The readiness of the school to benefit from the change refers to how committed the stakeholders are to change, as well as how capable and efficacious they believe themselves to be. Three factors determine readiness: willingness, ability, and effort. Individual teachers' willingness is essential. The first step is for the teachers to accept the fact that there will be "teething issues", such as those that will arise from sourcing funds. In Nigeria, there are a number of sources of social business funding. The most immediate approach is to source funds from the three tiers of government responsible for education. To do this, the stakeholders need to prepare a convincing proposal emphasizing the gains and how the government is likely to benefit from the enterprise. The second approach is to seek funds that are set aside for poverty alleviation, such as those offered by the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP), and to convince such programmes to provide the necessary funds for social business. Similarly, the Bank of Industry (BoI), the Small- and Medium-Scale Enterprise Development (SMEDAN) programme, the Subsidy Re-investment Programme (SURE-P) fund, and the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) could all be approached to provide take-off funds for the social business, in line with the social business perspective. However, the school and its stakeholders, who will eventually own the business and run it on behalf of the school, must be willing to endure the pains of starting the business venture. They must also have the ability to run such a venture. These stakeholders, thus, could be subjected to ability-building exercises through training and research. Teachers, parents, and other stakeholders must be trained to believe in the possibility of enacting change in the way that the school is run by taking responsibility off the shoulders of governments. Moreover, they must believe in their own potentiality to lead such change. Stakeholders should then be made to believe that their colleagues in other communities, such as those in market places, are also capable of collaborating with them to bring the desired change.

In order to enact successful change, stakeholders should also be willing and able to change their attitudes towards the school as a system. "Hawking" (i.e., selling petty wares and begging on the street of Kanda) and other such menial jobs performed by pupils at home should be addressed so that children in the school can concentrate on learning. In turn, established enterprises may provide means of attaining financial fulfilment to the parents, as well as additional resources for the school. Once the community and the stakeholders believe in their school and in the school's role in enabling change, the school can become a model capable of garnering the necessary respect and achievement desired by the community.

What is the social segregation of the community, and how have social relationships affected the school? My study of the Mala community has indicated that the community is a close-knit one. Community members are multi-religious and speak different dialects; however, they are close. They see one another as brothers; thus, they should be able to come together to establish businesses and run them.

2. Where do most of the families come from? Most of the families who send their children to the school are poor families who may not yet understand what quality education entails. However, establishing school-based businesses in which they are employed will go a long way in focusing parents' attention on what their children do in school. This will support the achievement of quality education, while also reducing poverty among families.

3. What is the economic structure of the community? Although the community is primarily populated by poor families, some families near the community are well better off. The following photos indicate how poor families live in close proximity to the well-to-do.

Picture 14: A photo view of some of the residential houses of the rich in Mala community

Picture 15: Another view of the well to do houses

4. What are the hopes and dreams of the school families regarding their children's future? These dreams may vary with the parents. Some of the parents interviewed could not say exactly what dreams they had for their children. A number of them could only say that they wished them to have jobs after their schooling. I visited Agnes and her mother (a poor family) at night, when the mother returned from work. I had first visited their house in the afternoon, but I was told to return at night to meet the mother. Agnes had no father, and the mother was always away at the local quarry, where she worked with several other women using hammers to break stones with their bare hands. Agnes and her sisters prepared food for their mother and took it to her at her place of work. The following photo shows Agnes' mother's home. The house reveals the agony of poverty and provides a glimpse into why Agnes was the student with lowest attendance in the school. The mother told me that she earned less than N300 (USD \$1.25) a day. With regard to her dreams or hopes for Agnes' future, she told me that she wished to see Agnes become a nurse. I reminded her that she had the lowest school attendance and that, at this rate, she would not have enough education to be a nurse. The mother agreed and stated that she would make amends. I also asked her if she would like to be employed by any of the enterprises the school might establish. The mother welcomed the idea and was happy to know that she may be removed from the quarry work.



Picture 16: A photo view of some of the poor residential places

5. What does the entire community believe to be the purpose of the school? My interaction with the traditional and religious leaders in the community revealed that the community leadership appreciated the role and purpose of the school in their community. The leaders also understood the need for change in order to provide quality education for children. This is critical, since it translates to a willingness to change.

4.2 Principle 2: Attain financial economic stability

Once established, all of the companies will have to be developed in such a manner that they are financially viable, while, at the same time, meeting the objectives of their establishment. For example, the MalaCycle company, when established, could set a target for its operators and managers. An operator may be asked to return a sum of N200 (USD \$0.90) every day. This sum will become available to the school for activities. At the same time, more money will go to the operators. Bluetooth noted that he could make as much as N500, which he shared with the owner of the cycle. MalaCycle would provide him additional N50 (USD \$0.20) per day—or more, depending on the sales made in a given day. For example, if he made N1000, he would only return N200 and would keep N800—three times as much as what he currently makes each day. On the other hand, since the school would own several cycles (e.g., 100), the school could make N20,000 (USD \$100) every day. This money could be used for loan repayments and other academic activities.

This approach calls for appropriate leadership that transcends school management and enters community management. School management has the responsibility of managing academic activities in the school and designing important and productive programmes that will transform learning and teaching, including the training and education of the teaching and support staff. In contrast, the community members, as the owners and managers of the school businesses, should have the skills, competence, commitment and experience to manage those businesses. In the following paragraphs, I propose the leadership skills required for the Mala primary school—and, by extension, for all of its social businesses, once established.

In social business, leadership skills are critical to successful transformations. As such, leadership is essential and important for the transformation of the Mala primary school and its social businesses. Stakeholders' (i.e., teachers' and other community leaders') commitment defines the community's readiness to change. Success requires a framework, and, for every school, a different framework needs to be developed. For this case study, I argue for "leaderful practice" (Raelin 2003). This leadership paradigm presents leadership as a collective experience, which is shared by everyone, not serially, but concurrently and collectively (Raelin 2003). This new paradigm in leadership is relevant to the Mala school because lessons from evolutionary theory have indicated that, as things evolve, our capacity to adapt and discover new ways of managing circumstances also evolves. As the saying goes, necessity is the mother, not only of invention, but also of discovery. Whitaker (1997) indicates that primary schools are not simple organizations; instead, "... they are as complex as any organization in society, with tasks as difficult to manage as those asked of any profession" (p. ix). Therefore, effective management of primary schools—and, indeed, of all complex organizations—will create a new sense of consciousness with the capacity to focus on the complexity and ambiguity of change, as advocated in Woolley (2010).

Leadership, such as the collaborative and distributed leadership proposed by Raelin (2003), is essential to the success of such schools as the Mala primary school. This leadership comprises the critical roles that teachers, students, and other stakeholders will play in developing a systemic, shared leadership capacity. This capacity is essential for the creation of a supportive learning environment, as indicated in Woolley (2010). Such leadership does not stop at the school level. Instead, as suggested by Senge (2006), schools should form partnerships with other community sectors in order to reach their goals.

Every teacher should consider himself/herself a leader in his/her own right. As such, teachers and school administrators should be guided by the following:

- a) Use standards in all assessments. These standards could be local, state or national.
- b) Increase instruction time for challenging subjects, such as science, mathematics and reading skills.
- c) Ensure substantial involvement by stakeholders in the development of teachers.
- d) Develop a comprehensive system to monitor individual students' performances and design ways to easily help struggling students.
- e) Involve stakeholders—and, particularly, individual parents—in efforts to connect students with other students. Since parents may not be literate, special lessons should be designed to help illiterate parents achieve working skills in this area.
- f) Design accountability measures in accordance with global standards. For example, for the Mala primary school, accountability measures should include all measures that are essential for quality primary education and that are applicable at the class level being measured. These measures should include aptitude measures, academic measures, and other measures. The case is similar for the businesses created.
- g) Use assessment measures for the school, including globally acceptable quality assessment instruments and tools.

4.3 Principle 3: Investors can only get back their initial investment.

Initial start off capital could be obtained from the various poverty-alleviation programmes and enterprise development programmes, as indicated earlier. However, since these funds are to be obtained in line with social business principles, the lenders must be convinced that the total amount borrowed will be the only amount that will be returned. This requires extensive advocacy on the part of the social businesses. In some instances, when capital is sourced from other avenues (such as NGOs or CBOs), or in the form of grants from the government, all of the investments should be monitored, and returns should be channelled to the objectives for which an enterprise is set up. For example, upon presentation of a convincing proposal, the Kada North Local Government could advance a grant to MalaCanoe to establish a canoe service business. All of the funds given to the school must be used for the business, and a portion of the returns from the business must flow back to the business to help it grow. The rest must be devoted to the school's academic and other activities to help the school achieve its objective regarding the provision of quality education.

4.4 Principle 4: When the total investment is paid back, all profits stay with the business for the purposes of expansion and improvement.

It is important to indicate here that, although money may be contributed to start a social business, once the total investment is repaid, all profits must stay to expand and improve the business. Alternatively, if the business line is saturated, other business can be started with the investment, or all of the profits could be used to meet the objectives of the school. Therefore, if money is borrowed or invested to start MalaTransport, once all of the borrowed or invested money is returned, the profits can be used to grow the business, to invest in other ventures or to be used to meet the objectives of providing quality education to Mala school pupils.

4.5 Principle 5: Once established, the company will respect the environment.

Since the environment is critical for the sustainability of businesses, this principle is important to observe and follow. It should be recalled that I have previously indicated my observation of the fertility of the land around the community river. Cultivation of this land will help to eliminate poverty and support ecological conservation.

4.6 Principle 6: The company's employees will receive market wages and better-than-average working conditions

In most of the businesses proposed in this paper for the Mala school, the workers will also be the business owners. These workers must get wages above and beyond what they originally earned in other jobs. However, it should be noted that, as the businesses grow, there might be a need to establish enterprises that require skills that are not available within the community and, thus, that require the engagement of others. Such positions should carry wages consistent with or above economic standards.

4.7 Principle 7: Do it with joy

This principle is one of the most important principles in the development of social businesses—and, as such, in the development of the Mala primary school as a social business. It is therefore important to delve into this what this principle will entail for the Mala primary school as a social business.

First, it is essential for all of the stakeholders (including the students) to focus on and commit energy to the objective of the school, which is learning. Learning should be made as effortless for the pupils as possible. For example, teachers should develop joy in teaching, parents should develop joy in seeing their students achieve academically, and, in turn, the businesses should be developed, through good leadership, to develop joy in serving the needs of the community. Secondly, since the development of joy in what all stakeholders do is tied to leadership, it is important for the school to build leadership capacity among all of its stakeholders, including its students. Thirdly, Yunus (2010) indicates that joy in doing one's work also involves the psychological and emotional wellbeing of the individual. Therefore, it is important to ensure that we foster healthy, safe and supportive learning environments. Such an approach will ensure that the school provides, not only structures and processes that immediately and decisively address physical, emotional and psychological well-being, but also ones that create bonds between the school and its students. For example, students may experience caring relationships with teachers or other adults in the school or be offered interventions to ensure that their individual learning needs are met. The school should also provide opportunities for its worker. Moreover, it is necessary to integrate students' families into the school and its activities. This will provide a framework for establishing professional accountability for learning—an approach based on focusing on what is learned, not on what is taught. Lastly, community development and poverty eradication are important considerations for helping joy to thrive in poor communities. It is, thus, important for the school's leadership to work on problems and issues that they care about within the community and to develop experiences that help them make sense of the wider world. These actions will spur joy in whatever the leaders do.

V. Conclusions and Suggestion for research: The Beginning of the Provision of Quality Education and Poverty Eradication in Nigerian Public Schools

The use of social business theory, as explained in the last sections, will transform the Mala primary school and help it achieve high performance. Moreover, since education is essential in the elimination of societal ills and poverty, it will help solve some of the most pressing societal problems of the Mala community. As noted above, in the future, the Mala primary school must emphasize the following important points and these provide suggestions for future research in addition to conducting further studies in several other schools and given more time for the study:

1. In order to cope with the demand for change, including changes in the quality of education, the number of students coming into the school, the growth of social and societal ills that need to be checked, the school needs to design and implement acceptable, viable and futuristic changes in its leadership and management structure. These changes must be in keeping with the community (e.g., 'leaderful' practices). For further study, it is important to conduct a study of leadership style that will be capable of driving social businesses in Nigeria.
2. Given all the changes that will occur in the community in general and in the school in particular, the Mala primary school should be able to manage its activities well in the future. This means that, in line with complex adaptive system theory (Miller and Page 2007), the school should anticipate chaos, ambiguity and paradox. Thus, it should be humanistic rather than mechanistic in the management of its activities. The ability of the school to survive and thrive as a social business in line with the thinking of Yunus (2010) will depend on its increased capacity to adapt quickly to new conditions, situations and challenges.
3. School stakeholders, who will also be eventual managers of the school as a social business venture, should be in tune with the reality of the community situations in the community. Specifically, they must be able to capture the needs of the community and to translate these needs into businesses in order to help the community, while simultaneously helping the school deliver on its objectives. This calls for the stakeholders to have insight, to be aware, to have an understanding of human activities, to know how to halt the spread of ills and, finally, how to develop good fortune and share it with all.

5.1 Theoretical Implications

The theoretical implication of this work is that it extends our understanding of the concept of social business principles to have multiple objectives. A framework for turning low performing schools to high performing through social business has been developed. As indicated, however, the framework must be applied taking the unique context of the school into consideration.

In addition, this work indicates that in addition to the main objective of providing quality education to its pupils, schools located in high poverty areas can as well play central role in poverty reduction at the same time become high performing through transforming teachers. The assumption is that when teachers are transformed through training funded by the social businesses conducted by high poverty schools, teachers might begin drawing on what is known about the problems confronted by the school, the students, and the communities. The teachers will then take initiative to focus on learning by the pupils, solving problems confronted by parents and eventually reduction in overall poverty in the community.

5.2 Practical Implication

In practice, however, this work indicated that it is important to involve schools' stakeholders in the drive to transforming the schools to high performing. This means that there is the strong need for leadership. Leadership that should be button up in its approach such that stakeholders should made be willing and able to change their attitude towards the school as a system. This will change community's attitudes towards certain negative behaviours that may not auger well for learning and teaching. Such as hawking, and other menial jobs performed by pupils. Once the community and the stakeholders believe in their school or in the role of the school to bring change, the school can be a model and garner the necessary respect and achievement desired by the community. The school can as well partake in the development of leadership capacity that enable a focus on the students, the teachers, community leaders and the system of learning.

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