

Impact of Calabar Carnival on the Economic Development of Cross River State, Nigeria

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Abstract

The objective of this study is to investigate the impact of Calabar Carnival on the economic development of Cross River State, Nigeria. Survey research design was adopted and a sample size of 333 was arrived at from a population of 6000; and these samples made up the number of questionnaires that were distributed; while instrumental variable model was used for analysing the data gathered through structured questionnaire and STATA was used to analyzed the results. Findings from the study revealed that Calabar Carnival had very minimal impact on internally generated revenue in Cross River State, Nigeria. The study also indicated that Calabar Carnival had inadequate impact on Socio Economic Infrastructure in Cross River State. Based on these findings, the study recommends that Calabar Carnival should be enhanced through deliberate interventions to enable it contribute more to the State internally generated revenue; and this could be achieved by interrogating and up scaling the mix as well as quality of offerings of the carnival events in order to drive traffic with corresponding positive impact on economic development. The government at various levels should create an enabling environment through ways and means in specific intangibles such as maintenance of law and order.

KEY WORDS: Calabar Carnival, Cross River State, Economic Development and Internally Generated Revenue

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I. Introduction

More than just a display of cultural elegance and rich traditional heritage, carnivals represents an important economic enterprise with potentials for development of societies. Carnival is a segment of the creative industries and like the core real sector industries of the economy; the creative industries have the potentials to drive the growth and development of societies (Cattaneo, 2009). In Trinidad and Tobago, carnivals are a key sector of the economy and the sector is often supported by economic policy contents targeted at developing the creative and cultural industries for economic growth revival (Ellard, Cheek and Nickerson, 1999).

The foregoing situation provides compelling case for the exploration of alternative revenue conduits that are predictable, viable, sustainable and not susceptible to depletion and price uncertainty like oil. Naturally, following the potentials of tourism in Cross River State, the sector is adequately positioned to drive the future growth and development of the State's economy. In search for viable and sustainable alternative revenue outlets, the Cross River State Government leveraged on the State's tourism assets, using the Calabar Carnival as vehicle to explore the State's distinctive cultural heritage for export to the global market. Reported as the "Largest Street Party event in Africa," Calabar Carnival offers a viable revenue base for the Cross River State Government to deploy for her socio-economic development strides. According to Rao (2001), cultural carnivals provide public goods beyond just entertainments. Carnivals are economic enterprise with both retail and wholesale economic value filtering through the entire economic chain (Brau, Lanza and Pigliaru, 2007).

It would remain to establish the link between Calabar Carnival and economic development of Cross River State, and how it filters through the entire economy of the State, especially in the wake of some of the identified setbacks, which tasks the rationality of using the Cross River State tax-payers money to stage the events annually. Against this backdrop, this study is intended to explore the link between Calabar Carnival and economic development in Cross River State.

The work is guided by the following research questions:

- i. What is the impact of Calabar Carnival on internally generated revenue (IGR) in Cross River State, Nigeria
- ii. What is the impact of Calabar Carnival on the socio-economic infrastructure development of Cross River State, Nigeria

The work is guided by the following research hypotheses:

H_{o_1} : Calabar Carnival does not have significant impact on internally generated revenue of Cross River State, Nigeria

H_{o_2} : Calabar Carnival does not have significant impact on socio-economic infrastructure in Cross River State, Nigeria

II. Literature Reviews

Conceptual Review

Carnival

Conceptually, carnival is linked to street festival which brings populations together, both closely knitted and otherwise, in showcasing cultural heritages and artistic arts forms. It is also a celebrative display of cuisine, folklore and cultural beliefs. It is an event tourism that promotes social cohesion and projects the cultural wealth of a population to the intent that it is harnessed for the benefits of the entire economy. According to Brida, Barquet and Risso (2010), carnival is a recreational activity and a component of tourism. In a similar sense, Waterman (1998) viewed cultural festival as a celebration of cultural events with large followership in large open spaces, in a “street party-like” manner with musical fanfare and usually hosted by people of common interest such as kinsmen, vocation or social class. In furtherance of this definition, Gerson (1996) noted that festivals are often blended with religion and folklore, arts and entertainment as well as display of agricultural (food) harvest.

Calabar Carnival was conceived not just for cultural display and revelries but to catalyse the growth and development of the Cross River State economy. Calabar Carnival whilst providing a platform for showcasing the cultural artefacts and heritages of the State and visiting troupe, provide exposure to the citizens as well as support to infrastructural development of the State. For instance, the Obudu Ranch Resort, the Tinapa Business Resort and the Marina Resort are infrastructural responses to the growth of the Cross River State tourism sector and in particular, the footfalls of Calabar Carnival (Bassey, et al. 2011). Carnivals generate both direct and induced effects on the economy. The direct effects come from spending by tourists during the carnival on services such as accommodation, transportation and communication (Daldy, 2003). The induced effects of carnivals result from the increase flow of income to economic agents from total carnival expenditure. Carnivals are employment hubs, providing both temporary and permanent jobs. In 2018, the Barranquilla carnival saw the participation of over 2,400 musicians and 852 dancing groups (Helga, 2021). Calabar Carnival is reported to have created collaborative platform for local upcoming musicians during the 2017 event with high level participation such as Senegalese-American Akon, South African Hip Hop artist - Mafikizolo, amongst 30 other artistes across 25 countries participating (Vanguard Nigeria Newspaper, 2021). The incomes earned by participants at the carnival generate rounds of spending in the economy leading to increased revenue growth and development of the host community. Carnivals are known to drive the expansion of small and medium enterprises (Essien, Kori and Bullem, 2019), many of which are into providing services to satisfy the demand of tourists and in the process creating positive income flows in the State economy. Carnivals are imperative for growth and development, such that the University of Calabar has Carnival Studies in its list of degrees programmes (Edim and Osaji, 2014). The intent of the programme is to sustain the Calabar Carnival and perpetuate it in diverse and sustainable ways in Nigeria.

Economic Development

Governments at all levels look beyond growth to the implementations of policies that will engender economic development. While scholars and policy makers harp on the desirability of economic development, what translates into economic development is not easily conceivable. The parameters of development are multifaceted and hence, the term is not amenable to a particular nomenclature and set of variables. According to Todaro (2015), economic development focuses at structural changes that affects the entire gamut of the society, resulting in economic progress, increase societal wealth and income, reduction in poverty, improve institutional quality and equitable distribution of benefits as well as livelihood support in the society.

Ewa (2012) asserts that economic development entails improvement in quality of human life, the rise in income, job creation, consumption habits, education, health status and infrastructure. It can be inferred from this that economic development takes a holistic approach to changes and improvements including the intangible assets of law and order, social justice and governance in the society. It entails enhancement in social and economic prosperity of the society. This conception of economic development aligns with Sen's who conceptualized economic development as sustainable transformation in relevant spectrum of human existence in a state (Gürak, 2015). The perspective of Smith and Rees (1998) of economic development relates to wealth creation, wellness and health, sustainable livelihood, education, infrastructure, sustainable increase in living standards/per capita income and environmental protection. A common denominator between Todaro (2015) and Smith and Rees (1998) is in the inclusion of health, education, infrastructure and improvement in the quality of life (improvement in living standards) variables in their economic development approaches. Wealth production and rise in income in both

Theoretical Review

Modernization theory received prominence as a dominant economic paradigm in the 1950s and the 60s as it centred on charting the course of development of human society using the initial framework of the German sociologist, Max Weber. It was expounded notably by Talcott Parsons Stiglitz (2003). In its core, the theory embraces diverse disciplines and sought to explain the path of progress of societies, the variables responsible for the progress and how the society in turn responds to the progress (Farhan, 2016). The theory aligns with tourism as vector, a key development driver, attracting development capital with the potentials for increased foreign exchange earnings and favorable balance of payment (Balaguer and Cantavella-Jordan, 2006).

Also known as Rostow's theory of growth and development, modernization theory structures the various stages involved in developing tourism projects until they become generally acceptable. This theory is widely acceptable to scholars owing to its systematic and transformative nature that builds in change into the system. The theory outlines five stages of development as follows: the traditional society (pre-industrial), preconditions for take-off, the take-off process, the drive to maturity and high mass consumption (Rostow, 1990).

Empirical Review

Bassey, et al. (2011) embarked on the "Analysis of the Economic Impacts of Cultural Festivals: The Case of Calabar Carnival in Nigeria." The study sought to establish the economic impacts of the carnival and tourism in positioning Cross River State as a sustainable non-oil dependent economy and to investigate the spending pattern of visitors on the day of the carnival including the accommodation and transportation trend during the carnival. The study used the survey method and employed the use of semi-structured and self-administered questionnaires to generate and collect data for analysis of the impact of the carnival on the economy of Cross River State. The study used convenience sample of 464 attendees to collect information on a major variable namely, the social and economic impacts of event tourism to the host community. Descriptive statistical tools were used to analyse the data collected and the result arrived at supports the assertion that event tourism bears a positive impact on the host community. Notwithstanding, not much was demonstrated in the study to sufficiently explain the impact of Calabar Carnival on some specific socio-economic variables such as infrastructure and intangibles such as law and order, disease prevalence, wastes and a host of others.

Attah, et al. (2013) examined "Carnival Fiesta and Socio-Economic Development of Calabar Metropolis, Nigeria." The study was informed by the need to establish the nexus between the Calabar Carnival and the socio-economic progress of Calabar Metropolis. The study used the survey method and generated data for analysis through questionnaire administration to 1,495 attendees, randomly selected to represent the population of the study. The data generated were analysed using simple percentages and the Pearson Product Moment Correlation tool. The key variables in the study are on the impacts of Calabar Carnival on poverty reduction of residents, internally generated revenue to the host Municipal Authorities and contribution to infrastructure. The result showed that carnival fiesta significantly impacts the growth of infrastructural faculties, level of poverty, the people's standard of living and intangibles, such as the sexual mannerism of the people in the host community. The study therefore, advocates for the deepening and extension of the Calabar Carnival blueprint to cover other parts of the Cross River State economy.

Essien, Kori and Bullem (2019) on their part examine "Carnival Activity and Economic Development of Youth in Southern Senatorial District of Cross River State, Nigeria: Implication for Environmental Adult Education." The study made use of the survey design to draw a sample of 544 respondents from the study area with the focus on the contribution of Calabar Carnival to the economic development of youth as variable. Using the Pearson Product Moment Correlation analysis, the study's hypothesis was tested at the 0.05 significant level and the result revealed a significant impacts of carnival activities on economic development of Cross River State. On the strength of the findings, the study recommended the decentralization of Calabar Carnival to integrate other parts of the State so as to allow them showcase their tourism potentials in like manner.

Telfer and Sharpley (2015) investigated “Tourism and Development in the Developing World”. The study reviewed the extent to which tourism products impact on economic growth and development. The variable in the study is the contribution of tourism events to the economy of residents in the Global South. Using a worldwide panel data of select destination countries consisting of Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago, South Africa and Bahamas involving close ended questionnaire distribution; the result of the study highlighted the contribution of tourism in generic terms, to economic development in the specific areas of job creation, physical infrastructure development including institutionalization of law and order. It was however, not clear how the respondents to the questionnaire were selected from a bias and convenience sample point of view; given the wide cross-border study area.

Also using the survey design framework, Edim and Osaji (2014) studied the “Perception of Economic and Environmental Impact of Calabar Carnival in Calabar Metropolis of Cross River State, Nigeria.” The data for the study was generated from 200 randomly selected respondents who were also participants at the carnival to test two key variables, namely: the contribution of Calabar Carnival on the economy of residents of Calabar Metropolis; and, the impact of Calabar Carnival on the environmental indices of the study area. Applying the Pearson Product Moment Correlation, the result of the study affirmed the claims of a significant effect of economic and environmental impact on account of Calabar Carnival on residents of Calabar Metropolis.

Montero and Yang (2022) studied “Religious Festivals and Economic Development: Evidence from the Timing of Mexican Saint Day.” The study reviewed cross-locality variation in festival dates and in the timing of agricultural seasons using qualitative cross case analysis research. The research variable is on the nexus between the agriculturally coinciding festivals and income of residents in Mexico. The major finding from the study indicates that agriculturally-coinciding festivals cause lower household income and worse development outcomes overall. The result further suggest that the negative pull of agriculturally-coinciding festivals on household income is likely due to lower agricultural productivity which inhibits structural transformation from agriculture; thus, concluding that agriculturally-coinciding festivals may nonetheless persist since they also result in increased religiosity and social capital.

Jammy, et al. (2020) examined “Carnivals as Catalyst for Economic Development: Strategic Role of Newspapers.” The study deploys the library and documentation research methods to collect data for the study. The central variable in the study is the contribution of mass media and its nexus to the Calabar Carnival in deepening economic development. On analysis, the result of the study revealed that carnival has the potentials for creating jobs for the teeming unemployed youth and artisans. The study further confirmed that mass media could play significant role in promoting carnivals and hence, economic development.

Siyabonga and Lihle (2018) studied “Festivals as a Niche for Local Economic Development: A Case Study of the East London Port Festival, Eastern Cape, South Africa.” The study adopted case and cross case qualitative research method in exploring how festivals infuse economic, social and environmental benefits to festival host communities. The central variable in the study is the contribution of cultural festivals to employment and economic development. Analyses of the secondary data sources generated for the study outlined the potential of festival in creating employment opportunities and generally speaking, stimulation of the local economy.

III. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Research Methodology

Research Design: The research design adopted for this paper is the *causal comparative* research design. survey research design. This design is focused on the generation of data through the deployment of questionnaires and other statistical survey instruments on the research area of interest. A survey relates to the totality of effort directed towards the collection of data from components of a population with a view to determining the current state of that population within specific set of variables. Questionnaire was administered to raise data meant for tabulation and while results are analyzed to establish the effect of Calabar carnival on the economic development in Cross River State, Nigeria.

Population of the Study and Sampling Selection Procedure

The population of this study shall comprise of selected participants and stakeholders ranged from the band members, hotel owners, transport operators, officials of the Cross River State Tourism Bureau, foreign and local visitors within Chiefs & Councils at the Calabar Carnival of Cross River State as shown in Table 3.1 and they are: Big Qua Clan, Mbakoro, Nyahasang, Ediba, Ikot Omin, Akim Clan, Efot, (Calabar Municipal), Ekondo, Mbukpa Odioka, Atakpa Clan, Uwanse, Efut Abua, (Calabar South). The total population of this group is six thousand (6000).

Smith (1984) sample technique was used to estimate a sample size out of the study population.

The Smith (1984) formula is given by:

$$n = \frac{N}{3 + Ne^2}$$

Where:

- N = Population size
- 3 = Constant
- e = Margin of error (5%)

$$n = \frac{N}{3 + Ne^2}$$

Substituting into the formula we have:

$$n = \frac{6000}{3 + 6000(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = 333$$

Table 1: Proportional allocation for Selected Chiefs and Councils in Calabar Metropolis

S/N	Chiefs & Councils	Location	Population	Sample
1.	Big Qua Clan	Calabar Municipal	455	$\frac{333 * 455}{6000} = 25.30$
2.	Mbakoro	Calabar Municipal	535	$\frac{333 * 535}{6000} = 29.79$
3.	Nyahasong	Calabar Municipal	555	$\frac{333 * 555}{6000} = 30.80$
4.	Ediba	Calabar Municipal	595	$\frac{333 * 595}{6000} = 33.02$
5.	Ikot Omin	Calabar Municipal	450	$\frac{333 * 450}{6000} = 24.98$
6.	Akim Clan	Calabar Municipal	445	$\frac{333 * 445}{6000} = 24.70$
7.	Efot	Calabar Municipal	540	$\frac{333 * 540}{6000} = 29.97$
8.	Ekondo	Calabar South	450	$\frac{333 * 455}{6000} = 24.99$
9.	Mbukpa Odioka	Calabar South	455	$\frac{333 * 455}{6000} = 25.30$
10.	Atakpa Clan	Calabar South	495	$\frac{333 * 459}{6000} = 27.50$
11.	Uwanse	Calabar South	520	$\frac{333 * 520}{6000} = 28.90$
12.	Efut Abua	Calabar South	505	$\frac{333 * 505}{6000} = 28.03$
Total			6000	333

Source: Author’s Computation 2022

Method of Data Collection: Questionnaire was used as the instrument for data collection and most of the questions were defined in simple format to arouse respondent interest to read carefully and answer each question to ensure easy completion. They indicate, 5= Strongly agreed = 4 = agreed = 3 = undecided = 2 = disagreed = 1 = strongly disagreed in a 5-point Likert type scale

Therefore, following Eja, et al. (2012) and the need for the method of instrumental variables (IV), the study considered a linear population model:

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1x_1 + \beta_2x_2 + \dots + \beta_kx_{k-1} + \mu \text{----- (1)}$$

First, z_1 must be uncorrelated with $\mu : Cov(z_1, \mu) = 0 \text{----- (2)}$.

$$x_k = \delta_0 + \delta_1x_1 + \delta_2x_2 + \delta_{k-1}x_{k-1} + \theta_1z_1 + r_k \text{----- (3)}$$

$$CRE_D = \alpha_0 + \sum_{j=-k}^p (\beta_1 CRIGR_t) + \sum_{j=-k}^p (\beta_2 CRPI_t) + \varepsilon_t \text{-----} (3)$$

Where;

CRE_D = Cross River State Economic Development

CRIGR= Cross River State internally generated revenue

CRPI = Cross River State socio-economic infrastructure

CREL = Cross River State employment levels

α_0 = Intercept or autonomous parameter estimate

$\beta_1, \beta_2, \beta_3$ are parameter co-efficient of internally generated revenue and socio-economic infrastructure

ε_t, μ_t and ν_t are the error terms

Statistical Test of Hypothesis

Hypothesis one (H01): Calabar Carnival does not have significant impact on internally generated revenue of Cross River State.

Table 2: Results on Calabar Carnival and Internally Generated Revenue

Method	I.V-Approach				
Source	Sum of Square	DF	MSE	No. of obs	274
Model	5.09215396	1	5.09215396	F(1,273)	4.66
Residual	298.013301	273	1.09162381	Prob > F	0.0317
Total	303.105455	274	1.10622429	R-squared	0.5117
				Adj. R-squ.	0.4917
				Root MSE	1.0448
CRE _D	Coef.	Std. Err.	Z(P> Z)	[95% Conf. Interval]	
_Cons	2.849401	.2569856	11.09 (0.000)	2.343476	3.355327
CRIGR	-0.0850229	0.0756078	-1.12 (0.262)	-0.2338713	0.0638255

Source: Author's Computation, 2022(STATA 14)

Test of Hypothesis One

Table 2, revealed that there is no significant relationship between Calabar Carnival and internally generated revenue in Cross River State. This was captured by the value of the Z-statistic (Z) -1.12 and an associated PV of 0.262 which is greater than 0.05. Therefore, the study accepts the first null hypothesis (H01) and state that Calabar Carnival has no significant impact on internally generated revenue in Cross River State

F-statistic

By examining the overall fit and significance of the model, it could be observed that the model has good fit. This was captured by the probability F-statistic value of 0.0317 which is less than 0.05.

The R² (R-square)

The coefficient of determination **R² (R-square)**, which was used to measure the goodness of fit of the estimated model, however indicates that the model is reasonably fit in prediction. That is, about 51.17 percentage change in Calabar Carnival in Cross River State was due to internally generated revenue, while 48.83 percent unaccounted variations were captured by the white noise error term.

Hypotheses Two: H02: Calabar Carnival does not have significant impact on socio-economic infrastructure in Cross River State, Nigeria

Table 3: Results on Calabar Carnival and Socio-Economic Infrastructure

Method	I.V-Approach				
Source	Sum of Square	DF	MSE	No. of obs	274
Model	108.57212	1	108.57212	F(1,273)	84.17
Residual	350.862186	273	1.28993451	Prob > F	0.0000
Total	459.434307	274	1.68290955	R-squared	0.4363
				Adj. R-squ.	0.4135
				Root MSE	1.1358
CRE _D	Coef.	Std. Err.	Z(P> Z)	[95% Conf. Interval]	

_Cons	1.319672	0.1614627	8.17(0.000)	1.001796	1.637547
CSEI	0.5204108	0.0567245	9.17 (0.000)	0.4087358	0.6320857

Source: Researchers Computation, 2022(STATA 14)

Test of Hypothesis Two

Table 3, however revealed that Calabar Carnival has no significant effect on Socio Economic Infrastructure in Cross River State as captured by the Z-statistic value of 9.17 and its associated PV of 0.000 which was found to be less than 0.05. Therefore, the study rejects the second null hypothesis (H02) and concludes that Calabar Carnival has had a significant effect on Socio Economic Infrastructure in Cross River State.

F-statistic

More so, from Table 3, it could be observed that overall regression model is significant. This was captured by the probability F-statistic value of 0.000 which is also less than 0.05.

The R^2 (R-square)

The coefficient of determination R^2 (R-square) however showed that the model has a poor fit. That is, about 43.63 percent change in Calabar carnival in Cross River State was due to socio economic infrastructure, while 56.37 percent unaccounted variations were captured by the white noise error term. It showed that Calabar Carnival had a poor impact on socio economic infrastructure in Cross River State.

IV. Discussion of Findings

Empirical results from the study indicate that Calabar Carnival has a positive but insignificant impact on internally generated revenue in Cross River State, Nigeria. The implication of this findings is that the carnival contributes to increasing the state's IGR but may not significantly impact the state's overall revenue generation and again while the Calabar carnival may provide a boost to the state's economy and generate revenue, it may not be enough to address the state's revenue shortfall and fiscal challenges. This means that policymakers in the state may need to explore other revenue generation strategies and policies in addition to the Calabar carnival to drive sustainable revenue growth in the state and is in line with the position of Mous and Wazif (2008). In Nigeria where increasing contribution of cultural carnivals to economic development with specific respect to sustainable job creation is all-important; the results point to the fact that more will need to be done to enable full optimization of the untapped potentials

More so, it was noted from the analysis that Calabar Carnival has poor impact on the socio-economic infrastructure of Cross River State, Nigeria. it means that the carnival may not have contributed significantly to improving the state's basic social amenities such as healthcare, education, housing, and transportation. The policy implications of this finding are that while the Calabar carnival may generate revenue and boost tourism, it may not directly address the fundamental socioeconomic needs of the state's population. This finding is in line with Attah, et al. (2013), where the increasing need for a nexus between the Calabar Carnival and the physical infrastructure calibration on a routine basis was emphasized. The result showed that there is a connection between the Calabar Carnival (from the point of view of potentials for economic development growth) and the level of infrastructure supply, poverty prevalence (owing to job creation opportunities) and the gross state product.

V. Conclusion

The findings from the study revealed that that Calabar carnival has the potential to contribute significantly to economic development of Cross River State, Nigeria. The study revealed that Calabar Carnival has a positive but insignificant impact on internally generated revenue in Cross River State. Calabar Carnival had a poor impact on socio-economic infrastructure in Cross River State. Calabar Carnival was also observed to have an insignificant impact on employment generation in the State. This study findings are basically due to the underdeveloped nature of tourism sector in Nigeria. A vibrant and an efficient tourism sector would enable a country to generate revenue for growing population, generate employment, socio-economic infrastructure and provide sustainable base for internally generated revenue to power the operations of the state government. This is particularly important, as Calabar Carnival was conceived not just for cultural display and revelries but to catalyse the growth and development of the State including the well-being of its citizens.

VI. Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study the following recommendations are made:

- i. Calabar Carnival must be enhanced to contribute more to the State internally generated revenue and this can be achieved through the deepening and liberalization of the carnival's entire value chain such that allows for continuous innovation as well as participation of non-state actors such as the private sector as the case with the hybrid listing of Carnival Corporation Plc on the London Stock Exchange and as an American Depository Share (ADS) on the New York Stock Exchange. In this regard, possible floating of the Calabar Carnival in the capital

market for purposes of sustainability and good governance in the long term is recommended. The net effect will be expansion of the number, scope and reach of carnival bands, instigation of all-year calendarise cultural events with positive catalytic impact on the State's internal revenue, gross state product and sustainable jobs creation as well as related socio-economic infrastructure.

- ii. Cross River State has a rich cultural heritage and artefacts including performance troupe for which the State Government could leverage to extend the frontiers of the carnival beyond Calabar Metropolis especially as the learning curve over the near two decades of the Calabar Carnival experience has been shortened. Important heritage assets that could complement such expansion of the carnival to a state-wide event include but not limited to the Obudu Ranch Resort, the Tinapa Business Resort, the Ikom Nkim Monolith, Agbokim Waterfalls and the Marina Resort. A state-wide carnival with the right policy governance arrangement and operated under a competitive market regime will widen the basket for internal revenue to the state given increase in tourist traffic, deepen investment in socio-economic infrastructure, boost sustainable jobs for the population and by extension, significant improvement of the gross state product.

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