



AN ASSESSMENT OF THE LEADERSHIP-SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT NEXUS: BAYELSA STATE, NIGERIA

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Cite this article:

Etekpe A., Dan-Woniwei F.D., Koko E.I., Ogroh S.E. (2022), An Assessment of the Leadership-Sustainable Development Nexus: Bayelsa State, Nigeria. African Journal of Law, Political Research and Administration 5(1), 1-36. DOI: 10.52589/AJLPRA-OPJXGMHK.

Manuscript History

Received: 9 March 2022

Accepted: 31 March 2022

Published: 15 April 2022

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ABSTRACT: *The present Bayelsa State, Nigeria was part of the Niger Delta region, described by the Henry Willink Commission (HWC) report as “poor, backward and neglected” in 1958; and urged the federal government to establish an agency to develop the area/people. The people never wanted an agency, rather a state; and when the agency – Niger Delta Development Board was established in 1961, it couldn’t develop the area. This prompted perennial agitations until Bayelsa state was created, along with 5 others – Ebony, Ekiti, Gombe, Katsina and Zamfara (BEE-GKZ) in 1996. After 24 years, the area is still least developed, even within the 6 states; and the problem was traced to bad leadership (i.e., governors). Thus, the study aimed at interrogating the nexus between leadership and sustainable development (SD), as well as, comparing and contrasting the level of SD with the other 5 states on 6 critical indices developed by the researchers between 1999 and 2020. It adopted the ‘CAABA model’ of development, along with the “people – task orientation leadership” of the Michigan Studies in 1950 as theoretical frameworks; and applied a combination of descriptive survey and historical design of data collection. The instruments containing 3 questions were given to scholars/experts in the Niger Delta University for face and construct validity, and subjected to reliability test. Data was presented in table and analysed in qualitative and quantitative formats; and the study recommended some drastic improvements in the recruitment processes of political executives (governors) by political parties and Nigerians by insisting on strict adherence to guidelines on internal democracy during party primaries. The implication is that without improvement, the political executives shall ‘drag’ Nigeria to become a ‘failed state’.*

KEYWORDS: CAABA Model, Leadership, Political Executives, Political Parties, Statehood, And Sustainable Development



INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

The focus of the study is Bayelsa state, Nigeria, created along with 5 other states - Ebonyi, Ekiti, Gombe, Katsina and Zamfara (BEE-GKZ) by the late General Sani Abacha, Nigeria's 6th head of state and government (HOSA) on 01 October 1996. The agitation for creation of state hinged on the paradox of the area being cradle of oil /gas industry in Nigeria, and the same time, the least developed in Nigeria. As the state has been created 24 years ago, it has become necessary to assess its level of sustainable development (SD) beyond HWC report's description of a "poor backward and neglected" area, especially, in comparison with the other 5 states.

The state is located in the heart of the Niger Delta Region (NDR), bounded on the east by Rivers state, on the north and west by Delta state, and on the south by the Atlantic Ocean. It has a total land area of 9,656 km² of which, 8,453 km² is riverine, criss-crossed by rivers, creeks, lakes, swamps and marshy land. The state has 8 local government areas (LGAs) at the time of creation, and the pioneer indigenous civilian governor, Diepreye Solomon Peter Alameyeseiygha (DSPA) created 24 additional development centres to facilitate grass root development in 2000. When Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) succeeded him in 2005, he also created 8 centres, making a total of 40 LGAs. Incidentally, the 32 centres have not been recognized by the National Assembly, leaving the initial 8 LGAs for analysis in this study (Etekpe, Okolo & Igoli, 2015:11).

The state is the centre of the NDR where most of the contradictions are found, that is, the economic live-wire of the country, and at the same time the least developed; the hub of oil and gas industry but yet the people are shutout of participation, benefits and control of the industry; disarticulated economy caused by activities of multinational oil companies (MNOCs) for the economy of other region in the country to grow; and has the worst indices of human capital and infrastructural development in the country, (Etekpe, et al., 2015: 11-12, Ibaba & Etekpe, 2017:15 – 17). The plight of the people is compounded by the recent Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) 2021, where 57 percent of the proceeds from crude oil goes to the Northern states, 40 percent to federal government, and only 3 percent to NDR where the oil is produced. The region is concerned of it because if only 3 percent is devoted to the development of the region when oil is still the live-wire of the country, "what would happen when the oil dry up by 2067?" (Etekpe, 2017:7-9). In addition to oil and gas, the state has clay, glass sand and salt (Table 1).

Statement of the problem

Within the 24 years of existence, the state had 9 governors – 4 military administrators (MILADs) and 5 civilian governors (Table 1-1).

**Table 1-1 Leaders (Governors) of Bayelsa state, 1999 – 2020**

S/NO	Name Of Leader (Governor)	Designation	Period
1.	Navy Captain Philip Ayeni	Military Administrator (MILAD)	07 October 1996 – 28 February 1997 (5months)
2.	Commissioner of Police Habu Daura	MILAD	28 February 1997 – 27 June 1997 (4 months)
3.	Navy Captain Omoniyi Caleb Olubolade	MILAD	27 June 1997 – 19 July 1998 (12 months)
4.	Col. Paul Edor Obi	MILAD	19 July 1998 – 29 May 1999 (12 months)
5.	Dr. DSP Alamieyeseigha (DSPA)	Civilian Governor	29 May 1999 – 09 December 2005 (6 years 5 months)
6.	Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ)	Civilian Governor	09 December 2005 – 29 May 2007 (1 year 6 months)
7.	Chief Timipre Sylva (TS)	Civilian Governor	29 May 2007 – 14 February 2012 (4 years 8 months)
8.	Hon. Henry Seriake Dickson (HSD)	Civilian Governor	14 February 2012 – 14 May 2020 (8 years)
9.	Senator Douye Diri	Civilian Governor	14 February 2020

Source: Authors compilation, 2021

Whereas, the Table 1-1 does not include governors who served an interim period, such as Right Hon. Werinipre Seibarugu, and Right Hon. Nestor Binabo, the array of governors within the short existence shows that the state has been having problems of bad leadership to fast track sustainable (socio-economic and political) development of the people and democratic institutions, especially, the legislature. Experience has shown that the problem of governance became pronounced in the Fourth Republic (1999 – 2020) when indigenous governors took over the helms of affairs of the state. The governors compromised with the legislature during appropriation bills, extra-budgetary expenditures, and confirmation of political appointees. (Etekpe, et al., 2015).

In the process, they created brigandage in governance in the First and Second Assemblies [Table -1-1 (5) (6)] that eventually led to the impeachment of two speakers of the state house of assembly (SHA), and a governor (DSPA) in the second assembly. The insecurity and instability spilled-over to the third assembly, and eventually climaxed during Timipre Sylva's (TS) tenure in the early part of the fourth assembly.

TS allegedly usurped the powers and functions of the house of assembly by taking advantage of the in experienced and immaturity of the members in the legislative business and dominated in the then ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) where he as the governor was leader (Etekpe, 2011). It became clear that by 31 December 2011, the Bayelsa State House of



Assembly (BSHA) has not impacted much on the people and the dividends of democracy were far-cry. The house, rather became more or less a rubber-stamping institution for the executive arm of government and derailed from its constitutional responsibilities. This resulted in crisis in governance (i.e., bad leadership) that affected the Niger Delta struggle, as well, since the Niger Delta struggle is to a large extent more of a Bayelsa problem because the state is at the centre of it.

Unfortunately, the system-imposed orders or policies from the leaders (political executive) did not quite change between 2012 and 2020 as the legislature was still not strengthened to perform the important role of consolidating democracy and impacting positively on the people (electorate). Olagunju (2006) has given two reasons for the importance of legislature in checking the effectiveness of leaders (governors) and sustainable development (SD) of the state. First, its members represent the different constituencies in the state and are empowered to make good laws and perform oversight functions to bring about responsible/accountable governance; and second, the stability, security, peace, consolidation of democracy and SD, whether in developed or developing country have been directly linked to the strength of the legislature.

The scenario replayed itself in the sixth assembly (Table 1-1(7) were Hon. Emmanuel Isenah was purportedly impeached on 30 September 2019 by 18, out of the 24 members. As the process allegedly did not follow parliamentary procedures, there was a strong condemnation by generality of the electorate in Bayelsa state; and in consequence, it was 'replaced' by resignation. The impeachment was allegedly instigated by H. S. Dickson (HSD) (governor). His (HSD's) successor, Senator Douye Diri (Table 1-1) has so far not also done better.

The forgoing problem of leadership was traced to the faulty recruitment process by the political parties. In a democracy, it is the responsibility of the political party(ies) to recruit leaders (i.e., presidents, governors, legislators at the state and national levels) through transparent primaries, hinged on **internal democracy**. Thereafter, the winner shall become the party flag bearer to contest with other flag bearers from other political parties in the general elections. It is for the purpose of transparent recruitment process to usher in SD that parties, including Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) manifestos and constitutions made specific provisions for it (internal democracy). The PDP constitutions (2009 as amended), for example, was clear on the issue of "nomination of candidates for election into public office ... where the conduct of primaries shall be based on the party's internal democracy" (PDP Constitution, 2009 [As Amended]: 85-88).

The Article 17 of the PDP Constitution, 2009 (As Amended), for example, implied that "internal democracy is an in-house selection of political party delegates and aspirants to public offices, who are voted for by a process that is accepted to all party faithful in a free and fair manner. Internal democracy must succeed for the recruitment process of effective leader(s) to promote sustainable development". The Constitutions of All Progressive Congress (APC) (2017:15), African Democratic Congress (ADC), Zenith Labour Party (ZLP), etc. made specific provision for internal democracy.

Whereas the provisions are clear, they are not adhered to, especially since the emergence of the Fourth Republic in 1999. In the Fourth Republic, leaders (i.e., governors are merely 'anointed, picked and/or selected by the presidency or the party's National Working committee (NWC) at national level and governors at state and local government levels. The anointing or selection



process has deprived the party members the constitutional right to present competent candidates for general elections. Accordingly, the anointed governors were usually not the best among the equals, nor prepared for the job; and he eventually impoverish, instead of, empowering the people. He, therefore, holds office, not for service or on trust of the people but self-serving and at the pleasure of his master(s) or godfather. Going forward, the PDP first started and now, followed by the other political parties' constitution that the governor becomes the party leader in the state where by he (governor) now controls both the party machinery and policy direction of the state (Amadi, 2014: 107-128). At the national level, it is the president, who in turn, controls the entire country and suffocates any other political executive who aspires to hold elective office, whether or not the person is of his party. In view of the non-adherence to the party internal democracy, in the 2019 general elections, there were 820 pre-election cases and 766 post-election petitions. In Bayelsa state governorship primaries, there were 3 (APC) and 2 (PDP) pre-election cases that challenged the status quo in order to chart a new path for participatory democracy to usher in SD. The 2 big political parties in Nigeria, APC and PDP, have come up with another awkward approach - i.e., harmonization policy, where few party stalwarts constitute themselves as 'select committee' and write down names of candidates of their choice under the auspices of harmonization. By this, without participation of aspirants/candidates, they unilaterally pick candidates that are loyal to them as flag bearers at the detriment of other candidates that are competent/prepared.

In this scenario, he/she that emerges through the faulty recruitment process is not accountable to the people, and rules the state from 'Abuja' - locale of the godfathers. The governor, in turn, 'anoints, pick and/or selects members of the BSHA, including the principal officers, chairman and councillors of the 8 LGAs and 24 development centres; and they become subservient to him (i.e., rubber-stamping institutions) - leading to what Nnanna (2017:32-40) describes as "democratic funeral". In essence, the leadership recruitment process in the state (and country) has so made 'mockery' of democracy and internal democracy that we foresee further deterioration of the major indices (measurements) of SD in Table 1-6.

It is worrisome that the indices and variables continue to deteriorate where virtually each successor performs below his predecessor (Table 1-1). The worry is that this is not the case in the other 5 states - Ebonyi, Ekiti, Gombe, Katsina and Zamfara states, that are ahead of Bayelsa state in development when they were created on the same day in 1996. Incidentally, the 5 states even received less amount of revenue from the federation accounts (Tables 1-6 and 1-8).

Research questions

The foregoing discussion has raised 3 research questions, namely:

- (i) To what extent has Bayelsa state created in 1996 developed beyond HWC report of 1958 as "poor, backward and neglected"?
- (ii) What was the impact of leadership in stimulating SD of the state since its creation? and
- (iii) To what extent has the state developed, in comparison to the other 5 states, using 6 critical indicators of development - functional education, infrastructure, human capital, industrialization, good governance, and financials (EIH-IGF) between 1999 and 2020?



Aim and objectives

The main aim of the study was to investigate the nexus between leadership and sustainable development (SD) of Bayelsa state, based on 6 critical indicators of development (EIH-IGF), as well as, compare and contrast it with the other 5 states between 1999 and 2020. The specific objectives were to:

- (i) Examine the level of SD in Bayelsa state beyond the description of HWC report in 1958 as “poor backward and neglected”;
- (ii) Interrogate the impact of leadership in SD of the state; and
- (iii) Compare and contrast the extent of SD in Bayelsa state to the other 5 states in Nigeria that were created on the same date, using 6 carefully selected indicators (EIH-IGF).

Propositions

The study proposed that:

- (i) Bayelsa state has developed between 1999 and 2020 (i.e., Fourth Republic) beyond the level described in HWC report of 1958;
- (ii) There is no strong nexus between leadership and SD of Bayelsa state; and
- (iii) The extent of SD in Bayelsa state on the 6 indicators were far ahead of the other 5 states (BEE-GKZ).

Significance of the study

The study settled the debate that it is not the amount of fund, instead, effective leadership that stimulates and/or promotes SD in a state or country. This is important because the literature on the subject matter tilt towards the perspective that insufficient fund has been the bane on SD. This study has debunked it as Table 1-8 showed how Bayelsa state that received ₦1,044.898 billion, out of a total allocation of ₦2,678.627 billion from the federation account to the 6 states between 2014 and 2020 alone, was still the least developed. The findings were useful to policy makers and investors in Nigeria.

Scope and limitation of the study

The study focused on leadership and its impact on SD of Bayelsa state, in particular, and the other 5 states (BEE-GKZ) created at the same date, in general, using 6 indicators and 19 targets of SD (EIH-IGF) (Table 1-6). Whereas leadership in a democratic setting is a collective responsibility involving the executive governor, speaker of the state house of assembly (SHA), chief judge of the judiciary, and chairmen of LGAs, this was not the case in Bayelsa state in particular, and the other states in Nigeria, in general. The activities of the state began and ended with the governor. Accordingly, leadership in this study was referred to the state governor (political executive).

The period of the study was between 1999 and 2020 (21 years) in the Fourth Republic where the state(s) was (were) governed by the indigenes. Whereas the period is reasonable for analysis, it posed its own difficulty as by 2020, the governors, except Bayelsa state, has



completed its tenure. The other 5 incumbent governors, were either at the end of their second tenure (i.e.; Ebonyi and Katsina states) or middle of their first tenure (i.e.; Ekiti, Gombe and Zamfara states) (Table 1-7) due mainly to elections re-run. Thus, the assessment was proportionated to the period of the leadership (governor).

The major limitation was that the field work was carried out within Covid-19 pandemic (Table 1-5) when there were restrictions on inter-state travels. Thus, the field work has to be staggered to a period when movements were fairly relaxed between January, February and March 2021. The other limitation was on participants' (discussants') apathy. Several participants in the FGDs, especially, chambers of commerce and industry, and government officials felt they were not in position to assess the governors; and that if the governors get to know it, they shall be reprimanded. The researchers' applied several techniques to dissuade the apprehension to be able to generate data for the analysis.

THEORETICAL ISSUES AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

Effective leadership

There are several definitions of leadership, and according to Engestrom (1997:7), a leader (governor) is one who guides and develops the activities of people/area (i.e., the state and local government areas) and seek to provide continual training and direction to achieve the constitutional obligations. For Haggai (1997), "leadership is the discipline of deliberately exerting special influence within a group to move it toward goals of beneficial permanence that fulfil the group's real needs". Biehl (1997) went further to state that, "leadership is knowing what to do next; why that's important; and knowing how to bring appropriate resources to bear on the need at hand". The forgoing definitions shows that leadership entails great duties and responsibilities as he/she (leader) is the one who knows the way, chart the way, and shows the way to SD for improvement of the welfare of the people.

The leader of the state (executive governor) has the power and ability to guide, direct, motivate, inspire an individual or group in the achievement of state objectives. He may delegate such power to the commissioners, aides or appointees, but takes responsibility of the outcome of delegations because he is the executive governor.

For Newman (1997), there are 10 laws in executing leadership role in the state and urged the governor to adhere to them. The framework in Figure 1-1 show that the laws flow from the leader's ability to conceive great dreams that should be formulated into master plan of a concrete mission statements to guide action plan. The action plan should, in turn, generate positive outcomes (indices) of development through regular evaluation and monitoring exercises.

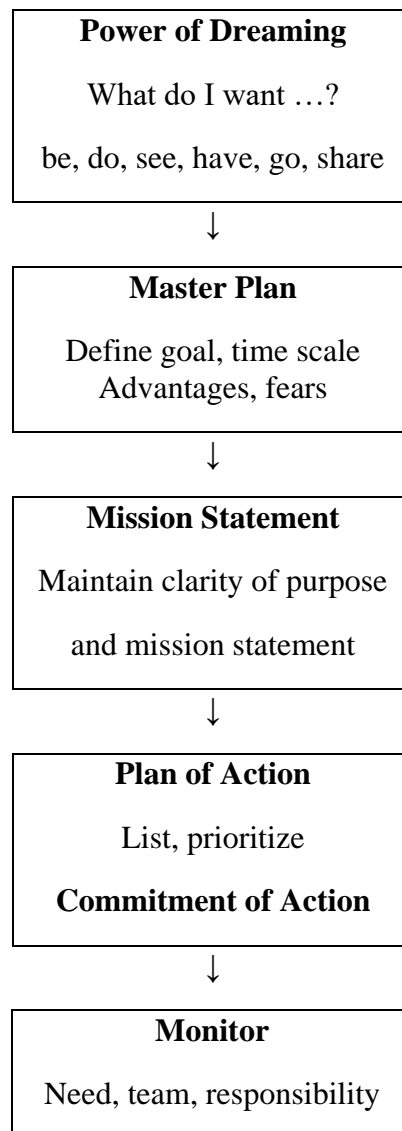


Figure 1-1: The Framework for 10 Laws of Leadership

*Source: culled from Newman, Bill (1997), 10 Laws of Leadership.
Benin City: Marvelous Christian Publication*

The 10 laws, (a-g) are relevant to this study, and are briefly discussed below.

- (a) **The leader has vision** – dynamic leadership is always fired by vision;
- (b) **The leader has discipline** – nothing worthwhile or significant is possible without discipline;



- (c) **The leader has wisdom** – wisdom is the ability to apply knowledge and experience to any given situation;
- (d) **The leader has courage** – courage is not the absence of fear; it is the mastery of it. Experience has shown that the most prevalent fears of the leaders include: (a) fear of criticism, (b) fear of rejection/recall/losing second tenure, and (c) fear of poverty and of ill-health or sudden death;
- (e) **The leader is decision maker** – he/she is a product of choice (develop yourself as a decision leader);
- (f) **The leader experiences tact, fact and diplomacy** – don't lead team with a whip, give subordinate a dream and help them attain it; and
- (g) **The leader exudes inspirational power** – leaders have a sense of purpose, and destiny. A leader should possess the power of inspiration to succeed.

Effective leadership is the foundation of a productive state. To a large extent, the state is an expression of the leadership quality of the governor. This is because when the governor's developmental priorities are right, when he seeks to serve his people rather than rule them, and when he leads by example and demonstration as in Tables 1-1 and 1-8, the state and/or people shall begin to grow and prosper.

These laws and qualities are seldom found in the type of leaders in Bayelsa state, including the chairmen of the 8 LGAs and 24 development centres (DCs) in the state (Amana, 1997). They are to a large extent found in the other states, but because of the level of preparedness, the weaknesses were not as pronounced as Bayelsa state. This is understandable because as previously discussed, it is due to the 'poor and faulty leadership recruitment process' of the governor (or chairman of LGA). The governor(s) is basically recruited from his political party without internal democracy. In the absence of internal democracy of political parties, especially since the 4th Republic 1999, leaders (governors) emerged, not from the members at primaries, but anointed and imposed on the members/people by the political party hierarchies. Thus, such leaders are loyal to the party hierarchy in Abuja rather than settling down in the state to govern the people and engender SD (Nnanna, 2017).

This practice has led to series of litigations by those who were not given 'level or fair' playing ground. Thus, as earlier stated, in pursuance of 2019 general elections alone, there were 820 court cases in Nigeria, dealing with political parties' primaries, and 766 cases on post-elections.

Sustainable development (SD)

SD are policies, programmes and projects (PPPs) embarked upon by leaders (governors) to improve the present welfare of the people and enhance socio-economic activities without adverse effects on the future generation, and it has gone through several stages. According to Everett (1976), "the main view point in the 1980s is pluralism – a willingness to recognise many different approaches to development". The approaches, ranges from economic, psychological, dependency and modernization, diffusionist to the contemporary.

The economic approach gained prominence after world war (WW) II where economists like Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx urged developing countries (DCs) to "save more



and to invest it as capital ... the emphasis was on balanced growth in the industrial, rural and agricultural sectors of the economy” (Schramin, 1988). Rostow (1960), expatiated it and identified 5 stages (approaches) to achieve a nation’s economic development, namely: (1) traditional society with low level of technology, (2) precondition for take-off, (3) take-off, (4) drive to maturity and (5) high mass consumption. This stage did not address the peculiar circumstances of developing especially African situation. Thus, Rostow’s approach was not embraced in developing countries, leading to other approaches. The psychological approach to development, on the other hand, is traced to Max Weber’s analysis of the ‘*Rise of capitalism*’ in Western Europe. The plank of his argument was on the adoption of rational scientific principles in formulating, planning, execution and mentoring of development PPPs. This too, did not address the African situation because Africans are used to communalism and not capitalism as path to development.

Going forward, Andre Gunder Frank, a South American scholar, examined the economic and psychological approaches, and concluded that “colonialism and capitalism were the two major factors responsible for the under development of developing countries (DCs)” (Frank, 1969). He posited that colonialism and Western economies have tied DCs to theirs in such a way that the SD of DCs like Nigeria is dependent on their policies (Frank, 1969). This is where diffusionist approach comes in to state that even where DCs want to innovate (i.e.; modernize), it has to be done “over time among the members of a social system (i.e., capital, technology and social structure) from Western industrialized countries” (Edari, 1976). For Edari, modernization is to fashion DCs to follow the development pattern of Western countries. The researchers position is that while it was correct that colonialism and capitalism are responsible for the under development of DCs, including Nigeria, the thesis has out-lived its potency. This is because after several decades of independence, the DCs have not evolved their path of SD. The argument suggest that the DCs had no vision to have addressed the crisis of under development. Several countries that were colonised, including India, Singapore and Rwanda, etc have moved away from this thesis. Incidentally, the path way is not also found within the perspectives of modernization and dependency, as the two perspectives over relied on GDP and GNP framework, that are no longer plausible.

Resulting from the inadequacies of the forgoing approaches that tied development to gross national product (GNP), dependency and modernization, etc, the contemporary approach is that development is based on “people-centred” (Everett, 1976). In this approach, the needs of the people take precedence over the needs of production system and GNP. This approach regards an individual, not as subject of production, but as an actor who defines the goals, controls the resources and directs the processes affecting his/her life. According to Singhal and Rogers (1980), there are central themes of people-centred development, namely; (1) empowerment of people, and (2) development of an administrative process that responds to the needs of the people. For Bobboyi (2011), the contemporary approach has 5 major elements/components, namely: (a) human growth and well-being, (b) equality, (c) self-reliance, (d) participation, and (e) sustainability. Sustainability is a measure of lasting quality in development programme; and incidentally, these elements were what the people of Bayelsa state, in particular and Nigeria, in general, are looking forth from the leader (Ekekwe 2019:5-7). The leaders, on the other hand, basically governed the state without these elements; and it has accounted for the unsatisfactory performance (Tables 1-6 and 1-7).

In Nigeria, the people-centred approach has evolved to become the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) in 2004. NEEDS is Nigerian government



economic development “plan of involving the people to participate to overcome deep and pervasive obstacles to progress that the government and the people have identified” (NPC, 2005: viii). NEEDs focuses on 4 key strategies: (1) re-orientating values, (2) reducing poverty, (3) creating wealth, and (4) generating employment. As people-centred plan, the emphasis is on eliciting the people’s participation in development activities as it (government) realised that “the greatest hindrance to progress has been the boom-and-burst mode of economic development planning and management “(NPC, 2005: xix). The approach is replicated at states level as state economic empowerment and development strategy (SEEDS) and at LGAs as local economic empowerment and development strategy (LEEDS) (NPC, 2005: 2-11). The people-centred approach is similar to the African practice of communalism to development. It, however, has different the approaches, and there is the need to harmonize them to form a model – CAABA model. This study is to unravel how the CAABA model harmonizing the different perspectives of people-centred approach shall stimulate a new path of SD for the ‘BEE – GKZ states’ in Nigeria, and Africa.

The Bayelsa state’s experience

The Henry Willink Commission (HWC) report (1958:69) stated that the then Rivers province (now Rivers and Bayelsa states) of Niger Delta region (NDR) was formed to address:

The long-standing complaint of the people of the area of creeks and marshes that the problems arising from the peculiar nature of the country (territory) was not understood at an in land headquarters at Enugu.

The report pointed out that because of the peculiar problems, the area was ‘poor, backward and neglected’ to the point where: (1) out of 84 seats in the then Eastern House of Assembly, 54 were reserved for the Ibos and the remaining 30 seats shared among the minorities of Calabar – Ogoja - Rivers (COR) area, mainly, Ijaws, Efiks and Ibibios; (2) public posts and services were deliberate object of the Ibo majority in the region to fill; (3) there were strong Ibo majority in the boards and commissions, etc; (4) contracts were awarded for works in Ibo areas; (5) there was no policy for provision of basic infrastructure in minority areas; (6) 70 percent of scholarships to secondary and post-secondary schools were awarded to Ibo majority, and the remaining 30 percent were shared among the minorities. Between 1952 and 1957, 623 post-secondary scholarships were awarded, out of which, 412 were for the Ibo majority and 211 for the minorities. Incidentally, those of the minorities were inferior to the Ibos (HWC Report, 1958: 73 – 81).

The Rivers state inherited the problem when it was created in 1967 but could not do much to improve the Bayelsa state’s axis as it concentrated too much efforts on Port Harcourt city state. Thus, when Bayelsa state was created in 1996, it had a single road linking Port Harcourt to Yenagoa, one standard 40-bed hospital at Yenagoa, and inadequate infrastructure, etc. Whereas the report has become a major reference point for the development of the area (region), it failed to outline the parameters for SD except the recommendation of establishing an economic development agency (HWC, 1958, 178 – 181). The inadequacies of the report have resulted in federal government setting up several other commissions on the area/region, but to no avail.

The first SD planning in Bayelsa state was the 3-year rolling plan, 1997-1999 during Omoniyi Caleb Olubolade, third military administrator (MILAD) of the state (Table 1-1). The plan listed



some projects to be executed during the period. It was reviewed in December 1997 and rolled over to 1998–2000; later, 2001–2003 under DSP Alamieyeseigha, (DSPA), first civilian governor of the state; and eventually to 2004 – 2006 (Table 1-1). The last period coincided with the introduction of SEEDS (Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning (MBEP), 2005: 1-3).

The Bayelsa state's SEEDS (BY – SEEDS) was a medium-term, 2004 – 2007, plan for SD of the state. The plan, on the basis of the state's comparative advantage, had capacity to generate employment opportunities, and the potential to grow the economic, listed 13 industrial activities and we have identified additional two (S/No. 6 and 8 in Table 1-3) making it 15. The Table 1-2 shows activities (ventures), ranging from petroleum refinery, gas utilization, fishery, palm oil processing, to plastic industries, venture.

Table 1-2. Industrial venture identified in Bayelsa state, 2004-2007

S/NO	Identified Industrial Ventures/Activities	Potential Location
1.	Petroleum refinery	Oloibiri, Ogbia LGA
2.	Petro-Chemical Industries	Twon – Brass, Brass LGA
3.	Gas utilization industries	Kolo, Ogbia LGA /Gbarain, YELGA
4.	Inorganic fertilizer production	Sagbama, Sagbama LGA
5.	Gas industries	Gbarain, Yenagoa LGA (YELGA)
6.	Fishery and fish – canning industry	Akassa – Okpoma, Brass LGA
7.	Animal feeds industry	Opokuma-Sabagreia, Kolokuma-Opokuma LGA (KOLGA)
8.	Garri Processing industry	Ogbia Town, Ogbia LGA; Okordia, YELGA; Opokuma, KOLGA
9.	Palm oil processing industry	Elebele, Ogbia LGA
10.	Palm kernel processing industry	Elebele, Ogbia LGA
11.	Rice plantation/processing industries	Peremabiri; Abobiri, Agbura-Otuokpoti –Southern-Ijaw and Ogbia LGAs
12.	Soap processing industry	Yenagoa, Yenagoa LGA
13.	Sugar processing industry	Oporoma, Southern-Ijaw LGA
14.	Plastic industry	Elebele, Ogbia LGA
15.	Paint manufacturing industry	Elebele, Ogbia LGA

Source: Authors compilation, 2021.

Apart from Timipre Sylva's (TS) government (2007-2012) that established the plastic and paint companies, there has been no other leader (governor) that set-up any of the industrial ventures in Table 1-2. Unfortunately, Henry Seriake Dickson (HSD) administration (2012 – 2020) "closed them down", making it a civil/public service state. HSD went on supposedly, to set-up fish ponds at Etegwe, Yenagoa and cassava farm at Ebedebiri, Sagbama, but the projects never took-off.

At its creation, the state had 278 **primary schools** with 47,078 pupils, 98 **secondary schools** with an enrolment of 27,203 students; 1 technical college with 84 students; 5 craft centres; and



3 schools for migrant fishermen. There was no tertiary institution. By 2004 during DSPA administration, the state had 536 primary schools with 478,290 pupils, 148 secondary schools with enrolment of 48,357 students. It established 1 College of Arts and Science (CAS) and 1 tertiary institution - Niger Delta University (NDU), with a student population of 4,645. The state government sent 150 students to Russia and 65 students to Belarus, to pursue higher degrees, especially in agriculture, engineering and medicine (MBEP, 2005: 21-29). Successive leaders (governors) of the State abandoned the policy of technical education such as the 5 craft centres at Polaku, Adagbabiri scholarship scheme, etc. HSD government did not also pay bursary or awarded scholarship throughout the tenure. It was at his terminal phase that he set up a student loan board, as well as, established the Ijaw Academy (secondary school) at Kaiama Town, and two additional universities (University of Africa in Toru-Orua, his village, and Bayelsa Medical University, Yenagoa), which were incidentally, under-funded.

On **infrastructure**, especially, electricity, water and transportation, the state at inception had an independent power plant (IPP), known as Kolo Creek Gas Turbine Station (KCGTS). It had 150 distribution sub-stations ancillary networks that span over 400 kilometres of transmission line. It was the largest IPP in Nigeria. DSPA administration improved on it and raised the load from 3 megawatts (MW) to 15 MW in 2004. Whereas TS sustained it, HSD further abandoned it in 2013. The staff were then deployed to several ministries, including Ministry of Power and Rural Electrification that merely exists as a bureaucracy. Thus, the state now solely depends on Port Harcourt Electricity Distribution Company (PHEDC) that hardly supply electricity.

A **water** board was established at Okaka, Yenagoa in 1999, that provided few mini-neighbourhood water scheme, but was incapacitated by poor funding. The situation was compounded by successive leaders (governors) that abandoned the water projects, thereby subjecting the people to sink individual boreholes for water vendors to buy and hawk.

On **transportation**, the state has 2 modes; road and water ways. The main water way routes are: Yenagoa-Brass/Akassa; Yenaoga-Amassoma-Oporoma-Olugbobiri-Koluama-Ukubie-Foropa-Ekeni-Ezetu; and Yenagoa-Nembe. The few roads constructed were: Yenagoa-Mbiama, Yenagoa-Tombia-Amassoma, Opokuma-Sabagreia, and Yenagoa-Nembe, and Sagbama-Ekeremor, Yenagoa-Oporoma are still uncompleted.

It should be emphasised that the state's 'Bayelsa line' that provided road transport services was changed to Bayelsa transport company (BTC) in 2001. BTC provided skeletal marine passenger transport services through the marine department of the state Ministry of Transport. It had 2 ferry boats between 1999 and 2004, but stopped thereafter; leaving marine transportation to the private boat operators. HSD started an airport project and partially completed it within his eight-year tenure, but it is not commercially viable.

Again, the state had 6 **hospitals**, 2 private clinics, 4 pharmacists and 35 medical doctors (MDs) at inception. By 2004, it had 1 federal medical centre (FMC), 9 general and 16 cottage hospitals/clinics; 187 health centres, and 17 privately owned hospitals/clinics; 119 MDs, 25 pharmacists, and 178 nurses/mid-wives. The general hospital of Okolobiri, Yenagoa LGA was upgraded and made a teaching hospital for NDU. Furthermore, School of Nursing /Midwifery at Tombia (Yenagoa LGA) and College of Health Technology (CHT) (Ogbia LGA) were established (2000-2003). TS also established an hospital, (Diete Koki Memorial Hospital) at Opolo, Yenagoa and HSD setup an expensive Bayelsa health insurance scheme (BHIS) in



2013, and Bayelsa Medical University (BMU). These were not adequate to render efficient health care delivery services in the state.

The Experience of other states

Stanley and Otu-Eleri (2017) studied the educational system of Ebony state, with emphasis on “learning outcome for both public and private primary school pupils”. The study was not particular about the number of schools established each year by the leaders (Table 1-7), but the extent to which schools meet the learning needs of the pupils in the state; and found that, out of the sampled population of 3,041 pupils in primary 4, the pupils “performed very poor and had very low competencies in numeracy, literacy and life skills (NLLS)”. The study concluded that learning outcome in primary schools have low competencies. It however, sampled only primary 4 of selected schools in public sector, and was not concerned about private schools. Thus, with the small sample size, the results/findings cannot be generalized and as such, did not address the issues at stake. Emma, Ewvim and Ukeje (2020) examined, the human capital development (HCD) in Ebonyi state. According to their study, HCD is the “process of creating opportunities in the aspect of social and economic empowerment through training, workshops, coaching, consultation, and activating environments in which human beings can rapidly learn and apply new ideas, competencies, skills, behaviours, and attitude for task actualization and sustainability”. The study determined the impact of Ebony state’s HCD programmes on food security, poverty reduction, and level of poverty rate in the state; and found that “food security, poverty and hunger still persisted in the state”. This is understandable, especially the negative impact of farmer-herdsmen conflicts, violent activities of indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB), etc. on the people. Again, like the previous one, the scope of the study was work limited and a large component of HCD were left out of the study. It, therefore, did not address the theme of this interrogation. This is where the findings of Igba, Igba and Monday (2015:93) becomes relevant as it pointed out how Ebony state redressed it through entrepreneurship development. The study found that entrepreneur can enhance socio-economic development through creation of new jobs, movement of foreign goods, and conversion of raw materials into finish products. This is commendable but for the programme to work, there has to be adequate social infrastructure, i.e.; electricity. Thus, at best; the study may be relevant to the city dwellers and not the entire populace. It is, therefore, not too useful to this study that focussed on the entire state.

Ojo, Shiitu, Bemisaiyi and Ado (2019: 158) analysed the “basic infrastructure – basic systems, facilities and services of Ekiti state to operate at optional capacity”. The researchers established a strong relationship between the level of socio-economic development, and quality of infrastructure in Ekiti state. The study found that there were incremental improvements in infrastructure, as such, 45 percent of respondents had access to pipe borne water, 44 percent agreed that the road networks in their area were good, 38.4 percent had good drainage, and 48 percent had electricity supply between 1 and 6 hours per day. Notwithstanding, the study was emphatic that there was inadequate infrastructure in the state. It therefore, suggested that there was need for maintenance of decaying infrastructure and establishment of new ones. Whereas, the research addressed a critical component of SD (infrastructure), it concentrated only on the state capital. The study was not holistic as such its relevance is constrained. What was expected was a broad-based investigation to determine how infrastructure has supported SD in the entire state.



Misbahu and Boyl (2021: 24) also examined the level of infrastructure in Gombe metropolis, and pointed out that there are two types of infrastructure: hard and soft core infrastructure. The hard core is referred to physical networks necessary for industrialization and nation-building, and the latter is regarded as institutions that should sustain the social, economic, health and educational system of a state like Gombe or country like Nigeria. They emphasised that infrastructure in Gombe metropolis, in particular, and Gombe state, in general suffered from political, legal, environmental and technological challenges because of the varied attitude of the leaders (governors) that led to stalling several projects. These, included: establishment of industrial estate in the 11 LGAs in 1997, industrial policy formulation committee (IPFC) in 1999, Gombe master plan for 2018 – 2030 in 2018 and instead of developing Dadin Kowa dam to general hydroelectric power, the state government spent ₦4billion in constructing an international conference centre in 2019 (Table 1-7).

The study, however, recorded improvement in road network that “increased from 56 percent in 1996 to 57.9 percent in 2005, and further to 60 percent in 2015 “(Hashidu, 2015: 26). What we noticed from the said study was that construction of roads has taken precedence over other infrastructural development in Gombe state, especially – the metropolis to the negligence of rural communities. Thus, the single-case study of Gombe metropolis did not answer the questions raised in this investigation.

In his study of “road transportation system in Katsina state”, Kabiru (2016) stated that roads in Katsina state have been dilapidated, thereby increasing vehicle operating costs that has, in turn, made movement of goods and people difficult. He went further to state that the electricity and health facilities were also inadequate. In terms of public primary schools, the study found that there were 167 in 2020, out of which, 59 were built between 2007 and 2015 (Table 1-8). He concluded that ‘there is need for adequate funding to stimulate social, economic and infrastructural development in the state’. The findings tilted towards the popular perspective that insufficient finance is the bane of SD. This perspective is no longer tenable because there are several states, including Bayelsa state, and countries that have abundant human, financial and natural resources that are still poor, while the reverse, i.e., Japan, Singapore and Britain is the case. Thus, scholars like Kabiru should look beyond the on-going notion that finance, instead of other critical–success– factors, especially, effective leadership is the bane of SD.

The foregoing review has unravelled **gaps in the literature**, which tilts towards adoption of GDP and/or GNP as indicators of SD. While not ignoring them, contemporary literature is shifting emphasis to ‘people-centred’ approach. The other gap is the continual undue emphasis that insufficient finance is the bane of SD in the state(s), in particular, and Nigeria, in general. Thus, poor state(s) or countries have attributed their under-development to lack of natural and financial resources, and have, resorted to domestic and foreign borrowings to execute PPPs. Such perspective or studies failed to address the reasons countries like Nigeria, Sudan, Gambia and other African countries with abundant natural resources are still under-developed. In essence, the level of SD is not necessarily a function of the abundance of resources.

This is where Lee Kuan Yew, former prime minister of Singapore, comes in. He supports the debate that poor leadership, instead of lack of resources (finance) that is the bane of SD, using his experience as a test case. This is understandable as countries, such as Japan, Britain, India and Rwanda, as previously highlighted that are not as endowed with natural resources as Nigeria, Congo Brazzaville, etc. have far developed because of effective leadership.



Theoretical framework

The study adopted the “communal agro-allied-based agriculture (CAABA model)” theoretical framework propounded by Etekpe (Etekpe & Inyang, 2008:31-37). The CAABA model was initially propounded “as an alternative theory of employment and development hinged on agriculture. It is meant to replace the on-going theories of dependency and modernization that have failed Nigeria and Nigerians” (Etekpe & Inyang, 2008: 30-43). For CAABA model, the starting point for SD in Bayelsa state, NDR, Nigeria and/or Africa, is ‘revisiting agriculture’ as the catalyst of SD where the state and federal governments have comparative advantage. They should, therefore, formulate appropriate policies and programmes that shall build the capacity of local farmers to be able to evolve and dictate appropriate equipment and technology that they can operate to enhance their productivity. In essence, the model advocates agriculture for economic transformation of the ‘BEE-GKZ’ states and Nigeria. The model is opposed to local state and federal governments and their agencies importing agricultural equipment, machineries and technologies (EMT) from Europe/America and imposing them on the local farmers without their inputs or building their capacity to understand and operate them. The theory advocates that the ‘farmers (people) should be at the centre of development (i.e., people-centred); and having harmonized the different perspectives, expanded it to other components of SD, especially, in NDR and Nigeria to “propel changes in the structure, strategies and process” of SD for the leaders (governors) to build the capacity of people, empower and involve them in the administration of the state/country” (Etekpe, 2017:15-34). On “how the model works?” Etekpe (2017:35) stated:

In the CAABA model, development starts with planning for the formation of agricultural cooperatives (clusters or cells), and how to encourage them to produce higher yields. In the process of farming together as cooperatives, they shall evolve appropriate technology that shall spur emergence of local fabricators, such Ogelex Engineering Works, Yenagoa as necessity to address the tools needed for easy application. This process is applicable to entrepreneurs for cottage industries, etc, and the vocation will become an occupation and primitive tools give way for appropriate implements (that shall develop along with the capacity of the farmers). There are local equipment and machinery fabricators that shall collaborate with the local farmers to fabricate the tools. The collaboration shall open opportunities for some improvements along the needs of the farmers. The fabricators include (a) Ogelly Engineering Enterprises, Yenagoa, Bayelsa state, (b) Nigerian Stored Product Research Institute (NSPRI), Port Harcourt, Rivers state, and (c) Federal Institute of Industrial Research Oshodi (FIIRO), Oshodi, Lagos. This means, it is the operators (farmers), instead of bureaucrats, that will determine the nature of tools for the progression from subsistence to semi-mechanization and eventually mechanization ...



In applying the theories to the subject matter, the political executives (governors) saddled with the responsibilities of developing the state are more of low-productivity groups, who do not promote innovation (appropriate technology) as they were basically recruited by a faulty process that is protected by their defective party constitutions and federal system. Thus, even though they understand the importance of collective (citizen) participation in exploitation of their human and national resources and distribution across the state or country, they arrogate undue powers to themselves and dictates programmes, policies and projects (PPPs) even when they are not viable (PPPs) at the detriment of the people. He does not consider public opinion and participatory democracy to a large extent and intimidates the house of assembly i.e., BSHA, to passing executive bills by fiat. This is because he considers the member of BSHA as his 'recruits' or 'boy' that holds office/position at his (not electorates) pleasure (Amadi, 2014, Ibaba & Etekpe, 2017). The frameworks are relevant because they point to the contemporary approach that SD starts with the 'people'.

Research methods

The study applied triangulation research methods i.e., qualitative and quantitative (Amin, 2005: 62; Abdulahi, 2018). While quantitative because it applied focused group discussion (FGD), it's qualitative as the independent and dependent variables were numerical, i.e., both variables were measured in numbers (Tables 1-6 and 1-8).

It then applied descriptive survey design as it sought to find out and describe the level of SD after 24 years of the states' creation. The instrument for data collection, titled, 'Selected indices (measurement) of development' (Table 1-6), along with the 3 research questions in Section 1-3 above were developed by the researchers for the FGD (Table 1-5). The instrument covered 6 critical indices of SD (EIH-IDF), with 19 targets, were 'face and construct' validated by three scholars – 1 each from Measurement and Evaluation, and English and Literary Studies Departments, Faculties of Education and Arts, NDU; and 1 from Planning Research and Statistics (PRS) Department, MBED, Bayelsa state. The instruments were validated on structure and clarity.

It was complimented by historical method where the researchers sourced for data from the federal ministry of finance (FMF) (federation revenue allocation (Table 1-8), PPPs from relevant ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) in the respective states, analysis of bio-data; internet and intelligence sources; and presented them through qualitative and quantitative formats.

The study applied purposive sampling technique (Bailey, 1982: 99) to carefully selected 6 institutional target discussants (participants) of different background (Table 1-4) from 3 major towns in each of the states in the study area (Table 1-4). The institutional discussants (participants) represented 'major shades of public opinion' and the FGDs were held in their respective secretariats.

The number of FGDs were: 1 FGD/institution/town of 3 towns/state was 3 and with 6 institutions/states, the number was 18/states, making a total of 108 FGDs for 6 states. In the same vein, each of the institutions had 10 elected executives/town, making it 30 discussants (participants)/town, and 180/state, and by extension, 1,080 FGDs for the 6 states (Table 1-3). The sampled population seemed small, but was adequate because, as earlier stated, they represented 'major shades of public opinion'. Furthermore, the sampled population has equal



discussants (participants) for the purpose of ease analysis. Again, each of the state capitals was included in the sampled population because it was assumed that most of the PPPs were executed there, followed by the next major town, in that order.

The researchers recruited one research assistant (RA) for each state, except Bayelsa state, where they were conversant with the people/area. The RAs were indigenes, knowledgeable about each study area, and spoke the local dialect fluently.

Table 1-3: Sampled Population for Focused Group Discussion (FGD)

S/N	Variables (Characteristics)	State (BEE-GKZ) and Towns						Total
		Bayelsa	Ebony	Ekiti	Gombe	Katsina	Zamfara	
1	Towns	Yenagoa	Abakaliki	Ado-Ekiti	Gombe	Katsina	Gusau	
		Amassoma	Afikpo	Ikere	Kaltungo	Funtua	Kaura-Namoda	
		Odi	Okposi	Ijero	Bajoga	Malum-fashi	Gummi	
2	Dates	20/01-25/01/2021	27/01-31/01/2021	02/02-05/02/2021	15/02-20/02/2021	22/02-27/02/2021	02/04-08/04/2021	
3	(1) Civil Servants (NLC/TUC)	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	30(6)=180
	(2) Public Servants (ASUU)	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	30(6)=180
	3) Market Women/Men	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	30(6)=180
	4) Press (NUJ)	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	30(6)=180
	5) Chamber of Commerce	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	30(6)=180
	6) Government Officials	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	3(10)=30	30(6)=180
	Total	18(60)=180	18(60)=180	18(60)=180	18(60)=180	18(60)=180	18(60)=180	180(6)=1,080

Source: Authors Fieldwork, 2021.

Key: NLC – Nigerian Labour congress, ASUU – Academic Staff Union of Universities

TUC – Trade Union Congress, NUJ – Nigerian Union of Journalist

3 (10) =30 =Towns of 10 participants each sampled population =30, etc.

180) (1,080) = 180 participants/category/6 states of 6 categories =1,080 etc.



DATA ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

Data presentation and analysis

Table 1-4 as presented has 3 different characteristics of the bio-data of discussants in FGDs - gender, age, and educational qualifications. It showed that, out of the total sampled population of 1,080 in 180 FGDs in Table 1-4, the researchers held 50 FGDs with 510 discussants (Table 1-5). The characteristics of discussants ranged from civil servants (NLC/TUC) to government officials, mainly, political appointees and senior career civil servants (Table 1-4). There were 358 males and 152 females, totalling 510. The gender imbalance was understandable as the population, except market women, were in the traditional male-dominated occupations. The imbalance did not, however, adversely affect the quality of discussion.

On age distribution, 41 were within the ages of 18-39, 296 in 40 – 60, 127 in 61 – 70 years, and 46 for 71 years and above (Table 1-4 [c]). It was a fair distribution where the vibrant age brackets of 40 – 70 years dominated the discussants. The groups, balanced with a reasonable number of discussants at both extremes i.e.; 41 (18-39 years for the youths), and 46 (71 years and above for senior citizens), brought in their exuberance and maturity to bear in the assessment.

This was seemingly correlated to the educational qualifications where 61 discussants were holders of school certificate/national diploma. This category, mainly market women/men, were followed by 221 discussants that had HND/BSc. They were civil servants, journalists, officials of chambers of commerce (COC), and government. Incidentally, none of the public servants (i.e., ASUU) were in this category (becomes the minimum academic qualification to lecture in the university is master's degree. Thus, this category (Public servants) had a total of 174. The last category – others, numbered 54 and were mainly technical/professional qualifications for journalists and COC.

Table 1-5 was on the actual number of FGDs held in each of the 3 selected towns/state for the 6 states. The Table 1-5 showed that a total number of 50 FGDs (between 7 and 9 per state) with 510 were held, as against the sampled population of 18 FGDs/state on 180 discussants/state, totally 1,080 discussants. The shortfall cut across all the categories, except market women/men. The reason was that some of the institutions, i.e.; NLC, TUC, NUJ and COC do not operate outside the state capitals, except on special assignments/coverage. This was not the case for ASUU which operates a decentralised structure where each chartered union are found in each university to operate and the FGDs corresponded with the number of the state-owned-tertiary institutions (SOTI). Be that as it may, the shortfall did not negatively affect the data as the remaining institutional discussants' 'shades of public opinion' covered the entire state.

Going forward, Table 1-6 was on the 6 critical indices (measurement) of SD, spread over 19 target areas for the assessment of the level of development of Bayelsa state, and in comparison with the other 5 states between 1999 and 2020. Whereas, the data were basically from 3 towns, including the state capitals in each of the state, they were presented for the entire state since as earlier stated, discussants represented 'shades of public opinion' that cut across the entire state.

The data showed that the cumulative public primary schools enrolment were higher in the southern (BEE) states than northern (GKZ) states. It ranged from 8.201 million in Bayelsa state to a record high of 18.402 million in Ekiti state, and fell to 2.20 million in Gombe state. It, again, rose to 8.04 million in Katsina state, and fell to 2.091 million in Zamfara state. The



variation was based on the age-long perception of western education in the country. The pattern seemed replicated in the cumulative public secondary schools' enrolment where Bayelsa and Ekiti states in Southern Nigeria recorded 3.92 million and 12.513 million, respectively, and fell to 0.837 million in Zamfara state. The pattern followed the other indices on education, including establishment of tertiary institutions.

On **infrastructural development**, Ebonyi and Ekiti states ranked highest, in terms of, kilometres of road construction where Ebonyi state constructed 40,050 kilometres and Ekiti state had 25,010 kilometres. Katsina state followed with 20,341 kilometres of road, and the least was Bayelsa state (9,500 kilometres). The pattern was replicated in the other areas of infrastructural development, especially, it was the least in number of towns connected to national electricity grid and supply of portable water. Though a state capital, Yenagoa is best described as a large town with little infrastructure and basically lacked development. The data was clear that Ebonyi state led in connectivity to national grid and provision of water, followed by Ekiti state, and the least was Bayelsa state. In these areas, 'GKZ states' performed better than the 'BEE states', especially, in comparison with the amount of fund received from the federation account (Tables 1-6 (6) and 1-8).

Table 1-4: Bio-Data of Discussants (Participants) in Focused Group Discussion (FGD)

S/No	Variables/ Characteristics (a)	Gender (b)			Age (Years) (c)					Educational Qualification (d)					
		Male	Female	Total	18-39	40-60	61-70	71 and above	Total	WASC/NECO/OND	HND/BSC	Masters	PhD	Others	Total
1.	Civil servants (NLC/TUC)	80	10	90	20	40	25	5	90	20	45	19	6	-	90
2.	Public servants (ASUU)	72	18	90	5	60	20	5	90	-	-	20	70	-	90
3.	Market women/men	28	62	90	10	62	12	6	90	26	40	14	-	10	90
4.	Press (NUJ)	60	20	80	6	58	12	4	80	5	40	5	-	30	80
5.	Chambers of Commerce	78	12	90	-	30	40	20	90	10	50	16	-	14	90
6.	Government Officials	40	30	70	-	46	18	6	70	-	46	19	5	-	70
Total		358	152	510	41	296	127	46	510	61	221	93	81	54	510

Source: Authors Fieldwork, 2021

Keys: NLC – Nigerian Labour Congress

ASUU – Academic Staff Union of Universities

TUC – Trade Union Congress

NUJ – Nigerian Union of Journalist

WASC – West African School Certificate

NECO – National Examination Council

OND – Ordinary National Diploma

HND – Higher National Diploma.

**Table 1-5: Discussants (Participants) in Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)**

S/ N	Variables (Characteristics)	States (BEE-GKZ) and Towns											
		Bayelsa		Ebony		Ekiti		Gombe		Katsina		Zamfara	
1.	Towns	Yenagoa/Amassoma/Odi		Abakaliki/Afikpo/Okposi		Ado-Ekiti/Ikere/Ijero		Gombe/Kaltungo/Bajoga		Katsina/Funtua/Malum-Fashi		Gusau/Kaura-Namoda/Gummi	
	Population	Sampled	Actual FGD	Sampled	Actual FGD	Sampled	Actual FGD	Sampled	Actual FGD	Sampled	Actual FGD	Sampled	Actual FGD
2.	(1) Civil Servants (NLC/TUC)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)
	(2) Public Servants (ASUU)	3(10) (30)	2(10) (20)	3(10) (30)	2(10) (20)	3(10) (30)	2(10) (20)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	30 (10) (30)	-
	3) Market Women/Men	3(10) (30)	3(10) (30)	3(10) (30)	3(10) (30)	3(10) (30)	3(10) (30)	3(10) (30)	3(10) (30)	3(10) (30)	3(10) (30)	3(10) (30)	3(10) (30)
	4) Press (NUJ)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)
	5) Chambers of Commerce	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)
	6) Government Officials	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)	3(10) (30)	1(10) (10)
	Total sample: 180(1,080)	18(60) (180)	9(60) (90)	18(60) (180)	9(60) (90)	18(60) (180)	9(60) (90)	18 (60) (180)	8(60) (80)	18 (60) (180)	8(60) (90)	18 (60) (180)	7(10) (70)
	Actual: (108)(510)												
Date		20/01-25/01/2021		27/01-31/01/2021		02/02-05/02/2021		15/02-20/02/2021		22/02-27/02/2021		02/04-08/04/2021	

Source: Authors Fieldwork, 2021

Keys: NLC – Nigerian Labour Congress ASUU – Academic Staff Union of Universities

TUC – Trade Union Congress

NUJ – Nigerian Union of Journalist

3 (10) – 3 Towns of 10 Discussants each/Target population =30 state, etc

In the level of **public transportation system**, the discussants strongly disagreed (SD) that the system was working in Bayelsa state, especially, beyond where DSP administration left (Table 1-7). DSPA established BTC, and inherited by TS worked epileptically during his tenure and grounded by HSD administration. This was not the case in the other 5 states. The reverse was the case in primary health care system where discussants agreed (A) that there were slight



improvements, especially, during ‘HSD’s tenure where the administration introduced the Bayelsa health insurance scheme (BHIS) in 2014. The civil/public servants, however, paid heavily for it. The gain was literally wiped-off as it abandoned the primary health centres in the 8 LGAs, as well as, the diagnostic centre where most of the medical tests were conducted. Discussants. Strongly agreed (SA) that Ebonyi and Katsina states had functional health facilities, and barely agreed (A) with the remaining states, on the matter.

In **human capital development** (HCD), the study assessed the rates of employment, unemployment, and literacy. On employment, Bayelsa state had the lowest rate with 25 percent, followed by Ebony state (30.05 percent) and the highest was Katsina state (53.10 percent). The data showed that the rate of employment in ‘GKZ states’ were higher than ‘BEE states’. This is understandable because they embarked more on capital projects, i.e.; road construction that is a catalyst of employment than ‘BEE states’. Here, the researchers wondered how Ebonyi state with the highest kilometres of road construction could not equally generate the highest rate of employment. The response was that Ebonyi people are moving away from government jobs to viable production and trading based industries/ventures, and it accounted for the variation. In the Bayelsa state, the employment rate was low because the state has an official embargo on employment since 2000. Thus, graduates of the 4 tertiary institutions hardly got employed.

Conversely, the rate of unemployment is highest in Bayelsa state (60.20 percent) and lowest in Ebonyi state (21.10 percent). It was high, too, in Ekiti state (48.07 percent), followed by Zamfara state (41.02 percent). In Ekiti state, the rate of graduates from the institutions within and outside the state overwhelmed the state government’s strategies in job creation. The situation was peculiar in Zamfara state which is barely moving out of the status of rural state. On the other hand, Ekiti state has the highest literacy rate (74.08 percent), followed by Ebonyi state (62.50 percent) and Bayelsa state (46.60 percent), respectively. It should be emphasized that Ekiti state is also leading in national literacy ranking as the most educated state in Nigeria.

There was no production-based **industry** in Bayelsa state. The state, however, had two state-owned-enterprises (SOEs), namely, Bayelsa plastic industry (BPI), and Bayelsa paint company (BPC) at Elebele, near Yenagoa during Sylva’s administration in 2011. They were closed down by ‘HSD’ government (Tables 1-1 and 1-7). This was unlike the other states that encouraged business enterprises where Ekiti had 28 production-based industries, and Zamfara state (8). Ekiti state was leading because of its strong background from the defunct western Nigeria, and that of Ebonyi state was ‘deliberate public policies’ entrenched by the pioneer military administrator (MILAD) (Table 1-7). Going forward, it (Bayelsa state) was the least, in terms of ‘standard commercial’ ventures, i.e.; supper markets, 5-star hotels, oil and gas serving firms, engineering works, and furniture construction ventures, etc. The sector was dominated by Ekiti state, with 306 ventures, followed by Gombe (65). It should be stated that Gombe state, has been earlier earmarked as an industrial centre by the defunct Northern Nigeria Development Corporation (NNDC) in 1963. In the area of **good governance**, discussants strongly disagree (SD) that there was citizens’ participation in governance in the Bayelsa (2007 – 2020) and Zamfara states (1999 – 2011). They, however, agreed (A) that there were some elements of citizens’ participation in governance in the other 3 states (Table 1-6). They agreed (A) in the area of accountability/transparency in Bayelsa and Katsina state. The data unravel that ‘HSD’ administration introduced ‘monthly transparency’ briefings where the governor, along with chairmen of LGAs rendered monthly statement of income and expenditure. The exercise eventually became irregular, mere ritual, and, self-defeated.

On security, Bayelsa state was rated as the most secured state in Nigeria, followed by Ekiti, and Gombe state. Insecurity in Katsina and Zamfara states were very high and traced to Boko Haram, whereas Ebony state that was also high, was hinged on political intolerance of the leader(s) to contending positions.

Table 1-6: Selected Indices (Measurement) of Sustainable Development (SD) of States Created in 1996 in Nigeria

S/N	Indices of SD (EIH-IGF) 1999-2020 (a)	States (BEE-GKZ)					
		Bayelsa (b)	Ebony (c)	Ekiti (d)	Gombe (e)	Katsina (f)	Zamfara (g)
1.	Functional Education	8.201 m	15.174 m	18.402 m	2.200 m	8.04 m	2.091 m
1	Cumulative Public Primary Schools Enrolment						
2	Cumul. Public Secondary Schools Enrolment	3.920 m	9.105 m	12.513 m	0.991 m	1.094 m	0.837 m
3	No. Public Primary Schools	510	1,138	1,250	134	108	98
4	No. Public Secondary Schools	412	387	878	171	202	120
5	No. State Owned Tertiary Institutions (University/College of Education)	4	2	3	2	2	2
2.	Infrastructure:	9,500 km	40,050 km	25,010 km	18,950 km	20,341 km	15,380 km
6	Roads (Kilometres Constructed)						
7	Electricity Connection to National Grid	6 (10) towns	15 (19) towns	10 (15) towns	6 (14) towns	15 (19) towns	8 (15) towns
8	No. Portable Water Supply	3 (10) towns	10 (19) towns	5 (15) towns	5 (14) towns	10 (19) towns	4 (15) towns
9	Public Transport System	SD	A	A	A	A	A
10	Primary Health Care System	A	SA	A	A	SA	A
3.	Human Capital Development (HCD):	25%	30.05%	38.05%	40.0%	53.10%	35.01%
11	Employment Rate (%)						
12	Unemployment Rate (%)	60.20%	21.10%	48.02%	38.35%	31.08%	41.02%
13	Literacy Rate (%)	46.60%	62.50%	74.08%	34.05%	41.80%	38.09%
4.	Industrialization:	-	28	30	20	15	8
14	No. Viable Production-Based Industries						
15	No. Viable Trading-Based Ventures	6	45	306	65	38	22



5.	Good Governance:	SD	SD	A	A	A	SD
16	Citizen Participation						
17	Accountability/Transparency	A	SD	SD	SD	A	SD
18	Security	SA	SD	A	A	SD	SD
6.	Finance (Table 1-3):	₦1,044,	₦298,0	₦294,9	₦308,788	₦407,518	₦333,263
19	(₦'000,000)	898	16	73	11.49%	15.16%	12.40%
	Federal Government Revenue Allocation	38.88%	11.09%	10.96%			

Source: Authors Fieldwork, 2021

Key: SA-Strongly Agreed; A-Agreed; SD-Strongly Disagreed; M-Million 6 (10) towns = 6 out of 10 major towns connected to national grid, etc.

Table 1-7 Leaders (Civilian Governors (CGs) and Military Administrators (MILADs), BEE-GKZ States 1996-2020

S/N	Period	Name, Designation and Special Records					
		Bayelsa (created from Rivers state)	Ebonyi (created from Enugu state)	Ekiti (created from Ondo state)	Gombe (created from Bauchi state)	Katsina (created from Kaduna state)	Zamfara (created from Sokoto state)
1	01/10/1996-28/02/1997	Philip Ayeni (MILAD)					
2	28/02/1997-27/06/1997	Habu Daura (MILAD)	Walter Feghabo (MILAD)	Mohammed Bawa (MILAD)	Joseph Orji (MILAD)	Samaila Bature Chamah (MILAD)	Jibril Yakubu (MILAD)
3	27/06/1997-19/07/1998	Omoniyi Caleb Olubolade (MILAD)					
4	19/07/1998-29/05/1999	Edor Obi (MILAD)	Simeon Oduoye (MILAD)	Atanda Yusuf (MILAD)		Joseph Akaagerger (MILAD)	
5	29/05/1999-09/12/2005	Diepreye S P Alamieyeseigha (CG)		Otunba Niyi Adebayo (CG) (1999-2003),	Abubakar Habu Hashidu (CG) 1999-2003	Umaru Musa' Adua (CG) 1999-2007	Ahmed Sani Yarima 1999-2007
6	09/12/2005-29/05/2007	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (CG)	Sam Egwu (CG)	Ayo Fayose (CG), 2003-2006, Tunji Olurin 2006-2007	Mohammed Danjuma Goje (CG) 2003-2007		



7	29/05/2007-14/02/2012	Timipre Sylva (CG)	Martin Elechi (CG)	Tope Ademiluji (April-May 2007 (CG) Segun Oni (CG) 2007-2010 Kayode Fayemi (CG), 2010-2014 Ayo Fayose (CG) 2014-2015	Ibrahim Hassan Dan Kwanbo (CG) 2011-29/5/2019	Ibrahim Shema (CG) 2007-2015	Mahmud Shinkafi (CG) 2007-2011 Abdulaziz Abubakar Yari (CG) 2011-2019
8	14/02/2012-05/29/2020	Henry Seriake Dickson (CG) (14/02/2012-14/02/2020)	Dave Umahi (CG) 2015-2023	Ayo Fayose (CG) 2016-2018 Kayode Fayemi (CG) 2018-2023	Muhammad Inuwa Yahaya (CG) 2019-2023	Aminu Bello Massara 2015-2023	Bello Matawalle (CG) 2019-2023
	No. MILADs/CGs	8	5	10	5	5	5

Source: Authors Field work, 2021

The total **financial receipt** of the 6 states from the federation account between 2014 and 2020 was ₦2,687.456 billion; out of which, Bayelsa state received ₦1,044.899 billion, representing 38.88 percent of the total receipts to 'BEE-GKZ' states. This was followed by Katsina state (₦407.518 billion), representing 15.16 percent, Zamfara state (₦333.263 billion), etc., and the least was Ekiti state (₦294.973 billion), respectively (Tables 1-6 and 1-8). The data showed that while Ebonyi state received N298.06 billion (11.09 percent), second to the least, it ranked higher in infrastructure, HCD, and industrialization indices than Bayelsa state. Ekiti state's leaders were on the other hand, determined to maintain the records from the defunct Western Nigeria. The financial records did not, however, cover 1999 - 20013 because such data were not available.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

- 1) The study showed that Bayelsa state has developed beyond the level reported by HWC report in 1958. Prior to the creation of Rivers state in 1967, the present Bayelsa state (that was part of it) was known as Yenagoa province in the defunct Eastern Nigeria. It became Brass division at the creation of Rivers state in 1967, and Bayelsa state in 1996. As pointed out in the literature review, the level of SD prior to the state's creation was so



low that none of the indices recorded in Table 1-7 were found. Nevertheless, the level of SD was not commensurate with the abundant resources (Tables 1-2, 1-8 and 1-9).

- 2) On the other result, there was a strong nexus between leadership and SD in Bayelsa state, in particular, and the 5 other (BEE – GKZ) states created in 1996. The nexus covered the 6 critical-success-factors (indices) of SD highlighted in Table 1-6, and is briefly discussed as follows:

a) Functional Education

- i. Whereas pupils and students in primary, secondary and tertiary institutions in Bayelsa state made considerable progress during DSPA and GEJ (May 1999 – May 2007) administrations, and TS government (2007–February 2012) sustained it to an extent, including award of scholarship and payment of bursary, HSD (2012 – February 2020) literally abandoned education. It, not only discontinued scholarship, bursary and grant, etc., but under-funded the 4 tertiary institutions, and rather introduced subvention scheme for recurrent, not capital, expenditures. The institutions have survived mainly because of Tertiary Education Trust Fund (Tetfund) (formally Education Trust Fund [ETF]) interventions. The Ijaw National Academy (secondary school) established during the period that was supposed to be tuition free was funded by civil/public servants through education trust tax. The State Universal Basic Education Board (SUBEB) stated that by January 2019, the Bayelsa state had 265,000 out-of-school children.
- ii. While Ebonyi state recorded an average pupil/students growth rate of 11.50 percent per year in primary and secondary schools, Ekiti state growth rate rose from 23.83 percent (May 1999 – May 2007), to 29.58 (2010-2020), Gombe state, enrolled an average of 214,000 *almagiri* pupils between 2007 and 2012 (Table 1-7).
- iii. The data unravel that whereas the level of funding of schools/institutions in the other 5 states were higher than Bayelsa state, the learning outcome in Ebonyi, Katsina, etc. states showed low competencies in numeracy, literacy and life-skills in public primary and secondary schools between 2012 and 2017.
- iv. Nigeria has a total of 87,741 public primary schools with total of 24,422,918 pupils; and 7,129 public Junior and Senior Secondary schools. Of the numbers, a total of 59,007 schools were built in 2007 – 2015 as against 11,295 (2016 – 2020) (Kabiru, 2016; Stanley & Boyd, 2017), (Tables 1-6 and 1-7).

b) Infrastructural development

- i. Whereas the senatorial road networks in Bayelsa state started in 1999 – 2011, it stagnated between 2012 and 2020. Going forward, there was near-absence of intra-city road networks, especially in Yenagoa; the state capital. This resulted in permanent traffic hold-ups in the morning and evening hours between Edepie and Okutukutu towns axis of the Melford Okilo express road, creating undue stress to commuters.
- ii. After 24 years of statehood, there was only one standard market at Swali. The other daily/weekly markets in Yenagoa metropolis continue to operate by the road side, along Melford Okilo express road. Incidentally, this is the only gateway to/from Yenagoa, and such markets create hazard to traders/motorists.



- iii. Having gone through the painful experience of Port Harcourt (PH) as a city state, all the leaders (governors) did not change the phenomenon. Worst still, Yenagoa is a 'glorified city state' with poor infrastructure.
- iv. The state inherited Kolo gas turbine, the first independent power plant (IPP) in Nigeria from Melford Okilo's government in 1980. DSPA and TS administrations sustained it but was abandoned by HSD in 2013 and the staff were redeployed to several ministries, including a newly created Ministry of Power and Rural Electrification, that merely exist as a bureaucracy. Thus, the state now solely depends on Port Harcourt Electricity Distribution Company (PHED) that hardly supply electricity. This has adversely affected the growth of production-based industries, and small-medium-scale enterprises (SMEs) in the state.
- v. As Table 1-6 showed, infrastructure was front burner in the other states, especially, Ebonyi state, where capital projects, i.e., roads, took an average of 62.03 percent of the annual budgets. This policy was set by the pioneer MILAD in 1996 – 1998, and there were network of roads connecting Abakaliki – the state capital with the rest of the state.
- vi. In Gombe and Katsina states, road and other infrastructural developments took precedence over other indices of SD. Also, in Zamfara state, Bello Matawalle (2019-) increased the pace of public transportation. In Ekiti state, Ojo, et al (2019) studies showed that 45 percent of the citizen have access to pipe bone water, 44 percent had access to road networks, and 48 percent had electricity, respectively. The study, however, pointed out the need to maintain decaying infrastructure and establish new ones, especially, in the rural areas to reduce rural-urban migration.

c) Human capital development (HCD)

- i. There has been an official embargo on employment in Bayelsa state since DSPA's administration in 2000, and was seemingly lifted by HSD administration in the 3rd quarter of 2018 when he proclaimed an 'automatic employment' of 1,000 first class graduates and doctorate (PhD) degree holders. This gesture was appreciated but too insignificant to make positive impact when compared to the 24 years of non-employment policy. Accordingly, the reports of *National Bureau of Statistics* (NBS) in July 2019 stated that 'Bayelsa state had an unemployment rate of 46 percent' and it climbed up to 60.20 percent in 2020.
- ii. The employment rate was impressive in Gombe and Katsina states due to a combination of high capital budgets for construction of roads, etc. and viable trading-based ventures. While these parameters were prevalent in Ebonyi state, its rate of employment was lower than expected. Nevertheless, as previously stated Ebonyi people are moving away from government employment syndrome to SMEs as employers of labour.
- iii. Ekiti state led in the literacy ranking, followed by Ebony and Bayelsa states. The rate is lower in 'GKZ states' due mainly to an historical antecedent. The study found that poor HCD has led to capital flight, capital sink and capital stagnancy in Bayelsa, Zamfara and Katsina states it has militated against industrialization.

**d) Industrialization**

- i. Whereas the state and region were known for palm oil/kernel at pre-and-colonial eras, the Bayelsa oil palm company (BOPC) has been moribund since 1996. It has no functional mills and associated accessories to process palm oil, thereby giving opportunity to neighbouring communities in Ogbia LGA to harvest and process it at will. Going forward, Sylva's administration established two state-owned-enterprises (SOEs), i.e., Bayelsa Paint Company (alpha paint) and Bayelsa Plastic Industry at Elebele, near Yenagoa. They were producing but were folded in 2012 under HSD's administration without any explanation by the State's Ministry of Industry incorporated. Going forward, the Peremabiri rice plantation that is capable of producing enough rice to feed the entire West Africa has been abandoned since 1999. Whereas it continued to be budgeted for each year.
- ii. The Scandinavian countries - Denmark, Norway and Sweden, that are by the ocean, took advantage of their environment and industrialized alongside fishery and related environment-based ventures. Presently, they are the largest exporters of stock and ice fishes, etc. Unfortunately, Bayelsa state, as well as, the other historical Niger Delta states that are located by the Atlantic Ocean have neglected fishery, and rather shuttling overseas for foreign investors (Etekpe, 2009: 1-3 and Etekpe, 2017). In line with 'CAABA model; the state should start the industrialization drive with fishery and environment-based industries.
- iii. Our recent research findings on industrialization show that each of the mangrove tree that grows wild in the Bayelsa state, in particular, and NDR, in general has 70 potential raw materials; and we have popularized the findings among the Niger Delta states for commercialization, including Bayelsa state (Etekpe, 2017).
- iv. It should be stated that President Buhari, Nigeria's 6th civilian president, has approved the formation of 9 agricultural associations, such as mushroom, rice, coconut, kolanut, and cassava, etc., and several states have taking advantage of it. Unfortunately, Bayelsa state has so far merely glossed over it. These associations are potential employers of labour.
- v. It should be recalled that during Alfred-Spiff's administration in old Rivers state (1967 – 1975), the leader (governor) incorporated a sea food company that was involved in deep sea fishing. The company used to bring its catch (produce) to the Marine Base, Moscow road, Port Harcourt on weekends for citizens to buy. The produce spurred the emergence of storage, processing, packaging and related cottage industries that employed about 20,450 unskilled and skilled labour. Unfortunately, the state government has discontinued it while looking up to Europe, Americas, and even India and Pakistan for industrialization of the state.
- vi. It is difficult to attract foreign investors when the country and NDR have been classified as 'high risk area for business' since Obasanjo-Atiku's administration by US' government in 2001. This is compounded by the increasing level of insecurity in the state/country since 2015.
- vii. Whereas Bayelsa state had no production-based industries (PBIs) and the least, in viable trading-based ventures (VTBVs), it was the reverse in the other states, Ekiti state, for



example, had 30 PBIs and 306 VTbVs. These, included marine, oil and gas servicing, engineering and packaging industries. Gombe state had 20 PBIs and 65 VTbVs that included dredging, engineering and cement (Ashaka) companies. Ebonyi state, on the other hand, took advantage of its environment and promoted crushed rock mining, metal works and agriculture-and-agro-based industries.

e) Good governance

- i. The study found that Ekiti (10) and Bayelsa (8) states experienced the highest rate of leadership turn-over, as against the others that had stable transition (Table 1-8).
- ii. Etekpe, et al. (2018:7) argues that “effective leadership anchored on participatory democracy stimulates good governance. It (good governance) was hardly found among the leaders (Table 1-8), especially in Ebonyi and Zamfara states. Of particular interest was Ebonyi state where there was near absence of good governance and yet it recorded high performance indices. This, invariably means that the state would have done better If, it had pursued good governance.
- iii. The data clearly showed that the major missing link in the states and country in the 4th Republic is good governance. This, as previously pointed out, was traced to faulty leadership recruitment process by the political parties not adhering to their guidelines in internal democracy.
- iv. The implication of bad governance is that it breeds crisis of confidence between the leader (governor/political class) and the citizenry.

f) Finance

- i. Table 1-8 summarised the revenue allocation to Bayelsa and the 5 other states by the federation accounts allocation committee (FAAC) between 2014 and 2020. The Table 1-8 clearly showed that Bayelsa state received the highest amount from FAAC and yet the least developed in several performance indices. While it may be agreed that Ekiti state was fairly developed since the First Republic, the study tour to the state in 2021 showed that the additional indices (measurements) of development out-performed Bayelsa state. We equally visited Ebonyi state that was described as ‘rural state’ in 1996, now has road networks, street lights, recreational centres, functional educational system that were far ahead of Bayelsa state (Table 1-6). Going forward, the other major city after Katsina in Katsina state at its creation was Funtua; but by 2020, about 3 other cities (Malum-Fashi and Rimi) have sprang-up, making it a 5 city-state with reasonable infrastructure. This was the case of Gombe state that had only Ashaka town beside Gombe city; it now has Kaltungo and Bajoga, and is competing with Bauchi city/state where it was carved out from in development. The Gombe State University, for example, has facilities, offices and residential accommodations for staff and students for the next 5 years, as against the institutions in Bayelsa state that depend on Tetfund’s intervention.



Table 1-8 Summary of gross revenue allocation to Bayelsa and 5 other states created in 1996 from the Federation Accounts (2014 – 2020)

Year	Summary of revenue allocated (₦'000,000) and, States (BEE-GKZ)						Total
	Bayelsa	Ebonyi	Ekiti	Gombe	Katsina	Zamfara	
2014	179,647	47,063	47,030	49,080	64,899	52,240	
2015	109,163	36,006	36,073	37,765	50,041	40,150	
2016	87,679	30,094	30,176	31,415	41,624	33,465	
2017	124,153	40,077	37,754	40,246	52,032	47,746	
2018	168,666	49,441	49,180	51,152	68,272	54,861	
2019	156,630	48,779	48,731	51,199	66,814	53,894	
2020	218,960	46,556	46,029	47,931	63,836	50,907	
Total	1,044,898	298,016	294,973	308,788	407,518	333,263	2,687,456
Total %	38.88%	11.09%	10.96%	11.49%	15.16%	12.40%	100%

Sources: Federal Ministry of Finance, 2021.

Table 1-8 summarized the gross revenue from the federation account, and how the total gross receipts of Bayelsa state was nearly equalled the total receipts of the 5 other states. We used the gross revenue instead of net revenue because the deductions were due to reckless spending that made successive governor(s) resort to both domestic and foreign borrowings. Furthermore, the Table 1-8 has deliberately left out internally generated revenue (IGR) and if it were added, the actual revenue accrued to each state would have been much-more-higher. As earlier stated, the financial records for 1999 – 2013 were not available.

3) The result of the study clearly showed that the other 5 states have developed far ahead of Bayelsa state in the areas of functional education, infrastructure, HCD, industrialization, and to a large extent, good governance (Table 1-6). The reason for it was traced to poor leadership. This is worrisome as it is a major oil producing state where the leaders should have positioned the economy around the petroleum industry, alongside the 7 different types of natural resources in Table 1-9. The Table 1-9 identified 7 types of natural resources, along with the estimated quantity of reserves, current world market prices and gross financial value that should form the building bloc of industrialization in Bayelsa state.

4)

Table 1-9 Natural resources and proven oil/gas reserves in Bayelsa state as at 2013.

S/NO	Types of Resources	Estimated Proven Quantity	Current market price (US\$)	Value (US 000,000)
1.	Clay	456,400,250 MT	295/MT	134,638
2.	Lignite	Not available (NA)	44.47 MT	-
3.	Limestone	255,400,460 MT	2.56 MT	654
4.	Glass-sand	1,400,250,000 MT	8.40/ton	11,762
5.	Manganese	NA	2,400 MT	-



6.	Crude oil	10.922 million barrels	100/barrel	109,220
7.	Gas	5,000,000 cubic feet (cf)	135/cf	135,000,000

Source: Culled from SPA (2014: 41). *A backbone without coccyx-A response to the Northern agenda at the National Conference*, Abuja: South-South People's Assembly (SSPA)

Whereas the leaders of Bayelsa state blamed the slow pace of SD on the topography (terrain), the study found that the other states have similar problems, and still developed. Gombe state, for example, has steep slopes, ravines, escarpment, sandstone, and deep valley, and Ebonyi state has gullies and deep valleys, etc. This shows that physical constraints do not stop engineering works to develop the state; instead, it raises the cost of construction. Aside, Bayelsa state received N1,044.898 billion, representing 38.88 percent of the total revenue from the federation account to 'BEE-GKZ states' between 2014 and 2020.

The findings had addressed the **gap in literature** that it is not the amount of fund, instead, effective leadership, that promotes SD in the state(s). Accordingly, effective leadership is the most critical-success-factor of SD in 'BEE-GKZ states' and Nigeria.

5) Other findings

- (a) That CAABA model, which has harmonised the African practice of communalism and people-centred approach, is an ideal path to SD of 'BEE-GKZ state', Nigeria and Africa. This is because the model has taking into consideration people and community capacity building, that has been largely missing in previous approaches or models to stimulate educational, infrastructural, HCD, good governance and industrial development, including prudent natural and financial management in Nigeria and Africa. In this model, the needs of the people (citizen) shall take precedence over political patronage or 'godfatherism', and the people/citizenry shall not be subject of production but actors/participants of development.
- (b) That there was undue politicization of development to the point that politics has relegated SD to *apolitical*. There were evidences that politics played a critical factor in citing PPPs, awards and execution of contracts, etc. In the process, political consideration took precedence over due diligence. In Gombe state, for example, this led to abandonment of Gombe Master Plan, 2000 – 2020, building of Dandi-Kowa dam for generation of hydroelectric power, and construction of industrial layout, etc.
- (c) That the greatest hindrance to SD in Bayelsa state has been the exclusion of technocrats, intellectuals and people with opposite position from the leader (governor).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In summary, the study assessed the level of SD of Bayelsa state beyond what HWC report described as a 'poor, backward and neglected' area in 1958, as well as, compared the level of development with the other 5 states created in 1996 between 1999 and 2020. This was the period the States were governed by their respective elected civilian governors. The researchers developed standard performance index (SPI), using 6 critical indices (measurement) anchored



on 19 targets of SD. The states (BEE-GKZ) were 3 each from the Southern (BEE) and Northern (GKZ) Nigeria. There were a total 10 FGDs with 6 carefully selected institutional discussants based on 3 open-ended questions as instrument of data collection. The study applied qualitative tool of analysis. Relevant literature on leadership, sustainable development, and the study areas were reviewed, and the field work was carried out in the first quarter of 2021.

The study found that whereas the level of SD in Bayelsa state had gone beyond the level described by HWC report in 1958, the pace of development was not commensurate with the amount of resources, including the revenue received from the federation account, i.e., N1, 044.898 billion, out of N2,687.456 billion received by 'BEE-KGZ' states between 2014 and 2020. It also found that Bayelsa state was generally far behind the levels of SD in the other 5 states created in 1996, mainly due to poor leadership. The issue of poor or ineffective leadership was traced to the faulty recruitment process of the leaders by the political parties not adhering to internal democracy. Without internal democracy, leaders were merely selected based on loyalty, instead of competence. This has accounted for the poor educational, infrastructure, HCD, industrialization, and inefficient application of funds.

The result of the study was clear that apart from the pioneering administration (1999 – 2007) that performed fairly well, subsequent leaders in Bayelsa state were basically 'low-productivity leaders'. Going forward, the study also pointed out variance in the performance, as well as, degree of weak leadership of the other 5 states. They, however, seemed to be better prepared for governance than those of Bayelsa state (Table 1-6).

The study addressed the propositions, and found that:

- 1) Bayelsa state has developed far beyond the level described by HWC report of 1958;
- 2) There is a strong nexus between leadership and SD of Bayelsa state, in particular, and 'BEE-GKZ' states, in general; and
- 3) The level of SD in Bayelsa state was below that of the other 5 states.

The results and findings were significant because it added the gaps in literature that lack of fund has been the bane of SD in the state(s) and country. The study found that it is poor or in effective leadership, rather than insufficient fund that is the bane of SD in 'BEE-GKZ states', in particular and Nigeria, in general.

The study is further significant because it has moved undue reliance on GDP/GNP to 'people-centred approach' to SD. It is believed that the shift in paradigms shall spur SD at the local, state, and national levels in Nigeria.

Based on the results and findings, the study recommended that:

- a) The political parties in Nigeria should improve the leadership (governors and other elective positions) recruitment process by adhering to their guideline on internal democracy;
- b) Electorates (citizenry) should enter into performance bond on education, infrastructure, HCD, industrialisation, good governance and accountability/transparency with those aspiring for positions during their political campaigns by eliciting the cooperation of the National Peace Accord committee for enforcement. The citizenry shall hold the winners



to the bond. By this, the leader shall be accountable to the electorate (citizenry) instead of 'godfather(s)' and become 'high productivity' leader.

- c) The electorate should henceforth insist that the leader adopts CAABA model of SD and the cardinal features of the model be incorporated into the above performance bond.

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