

**POLITICS OF OIL AND MINORITY RIGHTS IN THE NIGER-DELTA AREA
OF NIGERIA.**

BY

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
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DEDICATION

This Thesis is first and foremost dedicated to Allah (Subhanahu wa ta'allah) for guarding me to this stage of my academics endeavor. It is also dedicated to the late Head of Department, Political Science Dr. Haruna Salihi Who laid the foundation of this work but could not live to see its fruition and my late father Yerima Musa Yola Manpa'a for all his sacrifices in nurturing me to attain this stage in my life. May Allah (Subhanahu wa ta'allah) grant them eternal Peace and reward them with Jannatul Firdausi.

CERTIFICATION

We certify that the Thesis entitled “Politics of oil and Minority rights in the Niger-Delta area of Nigeria” was carried out and duly presented by Manpa’a Aliyu Musa SPS/07/SMS/02761 of the Department of Political Science Faculty of Social and Management Science, Bayero University Kano. Having met the stipulated requirement for the Award of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D) Political Science of Bayero Univeristy Kano, the Thesis is hereby accepted for the its contribution to knowledge.

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ABSTRACT

This research examine the implication of oil politics and agitation for Minority rights on the socio-economic development of the oil producing communities in the Niger-Delta between 1999-2009. The study adopted the petro-state theory as basis of it analysis, this argument is hinged on the par-axis that oil dependence has political implication similar to the economic effect known as the 'Dutch Disease' or the resource curse. To them this political effects are primarily responsible for generating subsequent economic problems. In other words oil rents eventually weaken state institutions, and this hollowing out of the state occurs within the context of growing grievances. The study utilized both primary and secondary source of data, using survey method and the use of available documents. In specific term the primary data for this research were gathered through questionnaire. Secondary data on the other hand were generated through library documentation analysis. For data analysis, both descriptive and correlation statistical tools were used. Similarly data from secondary sources were analysed through simple descriptive technique known as document analysis. The study established that; the straggle for ownership and control of land, mineral, rent and royalties, the desire to influence the principle of revenue allocation based on derivation and special funds, the struggle for the political restructuring of the federation in other to accommodate their demands as well as the need, the environmental and ecological degradation that affect their communities as a result of oil exploration and exploitation as the major socio-economic and political factors that influence the tempo of the agitation for minority right in the Niger-Delta community. The study also revealed that the agitation has resulted in massive provision of infrastructure by government in the area of health, schools, water, roads and environmental sanitation, a development which tremendously impacted on the livelihood of the Niger-Delta communities. The study identify violence and threats of violence, constitutional and legalistic approach, institutional measures as well as diversionary tactic; and divide and rule as the major nature of state response to the Niger-Delta crisis. The study concluded that, although oil has contributed to the instability and lack of socio-economic development of Nigeria in general and Niger Delta in particular, it is not by any means the only reason as there are also other local factors such as state institutions choice of leadership and public policy.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Prior to the attainment of independence on 1st October 1960, agriculture was the mainstay of the Nigeria economy contributing over 64% to its GDP in addition to being the largest employer of labour (Ukeje, 2003, NBS, 2009). This development continued up to the early 1960s after oil was discovered in commercial quantity in Oloibiri, Bayelsa State, in the present Niger-Delta area. With the sudden upsurge in the price of oil in the international market as a result of rise in the global needs for power, which coincided with the a oil boom of the 1970s, an enormous wealth was created for Nigeria, resulting in dramatic shift from agrarian based economy to complete dependence on oil which contributes over 90% of the nation's foreign earning. Since then, the oil sector becomes the major arena of politics and agitation for resource control by the people of the Niger Delta area in particular and Nigerians in general.

It must be acknowledged that the dynamics of politics of oil and struggle for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta area could be better understood within the context of the political economy of oil exploration in Nigeria. There is no doubt that between 1960 and 2000 Nigeria had produced billions of barrels of crude oil which earned her billions of dollars without commensurate services being delivered to the people. More disturbing is the continuous government insensitivity to and neglect of the yearnings and aspiration of its citizenry, particularly the sympathetic scenario in the Niger-Delta area where the oil is sourced. As their land and rivers were attractive for economic activities prior to the oil regime they experienced pollution and environmental degradation in the process of oil exploration by the multinational oil companies. This have become a major source of discord between communities in the Niger Delta on the one hand and the federal government and oil companies on the other, which laid the foundation for the agitation for Minority rights by the people of the Niger-Delta area.

Similarly, there is virtual absence of basic necessities of life such as water, health services, education among others. The moral imperative of State and government which justifies its existence became a hoax. The seeming collective implication of this total neglect of its citizenry by the successive regimes had degenerated into intense struggle

for resource control by the teaming unemployed youths of the Niger-Delta area who languish in poverty amidst plenty.

The attempt by Abacha's authoritarian military regime and Obasanjo's "garrison democracy" to resort to military option as a strategy to contend the struggling minorities and maintain grip over the resource produced by the area have propelled the politics of oil and struggle for Minority rights to a heightened proportion.

The increase in the state revenue owing to the importance of oil in the global political economy has made available to the military and civilian leaders unimaginable and enormous financial resources. This development made the centre powerful as reflected in all the Constitutions drafted under the supervision of the military (1979; 1989, 1995 and 1999). Of all these period the most critical era was between 1984 and 2007 where a combination of poverty and brutal repression produced a predictable but avoidable backlash resulting in the rise in ethno-nationalism characterized by intense call for either dissolution of the country or its serious restructuring through the convention of sovereign national conference (Ojo 2006, Ibeanu and Luckham 2007).

This issue of Minority rights had further been rekindled by the Rio Summit of 1992 when its 2nd principle stated clearly that indigenous people and their communities have a vital role in environmental management and development because of their knowledge of the environment and what constitute their traditional priorities (United Nations, 1992:1). Therefore, the state should dully support their identity, culture and interest and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development. This was further supported by the polluter pay principles which provide that national authorities should endeavour to promote the internationalization of the environmental cost and the use of economic instrument, taking into account the approach that will protect the public interest but without disturbing international Trade and Investment (United Nations, 1992).

By and large the agitation by the Niger-Delta over Minority rights became more intense and heightened, especially in 1993, 1997, 1999 and 2009 when in response to the UN principles on environment the environmental activist Ken-Saro Wiwa prepared the Ogoni Bill of rights and presented it to the UN General Assembly. The bill demanded for among other things the Aboriginal Rights of the Ogoni people over their natural

resources and commensurate compensation by the Multinational Oil Companies (MNOOC) that have been polluting their land and threatened their aqua-culture. This bill was accepted and became the basis for Minority rights the world over.

Invariably the federal Government of Nigeria under the Abacha regime refused to oblige to the demand of the Ogoni people which resulted into minor skirmishes between the Ogonis themselves, as a result of which Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other Ogonis were executed on the charge of murder, despite international clamour for clemency. This sad development attracted wide criticisms from across the globe and further aggravated the already battered image of Nigeria. At home, the resultant effects of the execution of the Ogoni nine had expanded the horizon of environmental and resource control agenda in Nigerian politics.

As at 2006, the struggle for Minority rights by the Niger-Delta minorities had assumed a dangerous dimension most often violent and criminal which manifested in oil bunkering, vandalization of oil installations, attacks on security personnel and kidnapping of oil workers, foreign nationals as well as innocent citizens in demand for ransom. Although this development was noticeable in the first quarter of 1999 especially during the Ijaw Ilage conflict (flares) that later spreads to Lagos but this trend became manifest in 2003 when oil company workers were taken hostage and some military personnel's killed by persons believed to be oil bandits in creeks around Warri. This most often than not, disrupted oil production resulting in the decline in Nigeria's production capacity with seeming implication for global economy in general and that of Nigeria in particular.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The issue of politics of oil and struggles for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta area is not a new phenomenon but an on-going process which preceded Nigeria's independence. Before independence, the various chiefs in the Niger-Delta communities in a joint position presented to the Willink Commission of 1958 some demands which resisted the idea of incorporating them into the newly independent Nigeria state. Although, the Willink commission turned down their agitation and preferred the area to be made "special area" to be developed directly by the federal government, a development that led to the establishment of the Niger-Delta Development Board in

1960, the issue of Minority rights has not been laid to rest. With the discovery of oil in commercial quantity in 1970's, the politics of oil and struggle for Minority rights became renewed and manifest in the intense struggle for resource control among the indigenes of the Niger-Delta area

Nowhere did the essence of the politics of oil and Minority rights in the Niger-Delta receive a concise and lucid explanation than from the perspective which looks at it from the angle of the rent seeking attributes of the Nigerian elite. Dlakwa (2006) in particular, argues that it is the rent seeking tendency among the Nigerian elite that has thrown the nation into political crisis precipitated by fierce struggle between the diverse sub-national units over share of revenue generated predominantly from export of oil products.

In this sense, the struggle for political power and relevance became hinged on the issue of resource control in which the nation has virtually been polarized along oil bearing states and others especially those in the northern geo-political zone. Considering this development, power relationship in Nigeria's rent seeking state has thus been patterned along patron-client relationship in which the federal government by virtue of its control over the lion share of oil money in addition to other leverage serves as a patron and the component units are their clients. Therefore, in the midst of this politics of oil the oil bearing states of the Niger-Delta have hidden under the Agitation for Minority rights are thus bent on tilting the equation in order gain control over the National wealth and possibly become the patron to the Federal Government and other non-oil bearing states, through measures often combative and confrontational which at present have assumed a serious dimension.

This morbid state of affairs in the oil bearing area no doubt has seeming implication for the Nigerian economy. In response to this crisis in the Niger-Delta area, the government adopted several policy measures such as the minimum of 13% derivation, the creation of the Niger-Delta Development Commission, the deployment of joint task force (Operation Restore Hope) and later in 2007 the establishment of a Ministry of Niger-Delta.

The policy measures adopted by the government notwithstanding, relatively little is achieved in the development and stability of the area. Therefore, the issue of violent

struggle for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta has continued unabated and in a more dangerous dimension both pestilence and repetitive often characterized by criminalities such as attack on the installation of multi-national oil companies, unprovoked attack on the security agents, illegal oil bunkering and kidnapping of oil workers, foreign nationals and innocent citizens in demand of ransom. These are no doubt issues of great concern. The question is why is this so?

It is against this background that this research is set to examine the implication of ‘politics of oil’ and ‘agitation’ for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta on the socio-economic development of the Niger-Delta oil bearing communities.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study is predicated on the following questions.

- i. What is the origin of politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights in the Niger Delta Area of Nigeria?
- ii. What are the socio-economic and political factors that influence the Niger-Delta struggle for Minority rights ?
- iii. What are the effects of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of the Niger-Delta communities?
- iv. What are the implications of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of local people’s participation in decision making and sharing National wealth in the Niger Delta region?
- v. How did the Nigerian state respond to the politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta?

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of this research is to examine the implications of ‘Politics of oil’ and the Niger-Delta struggle for Minority rights on the socio economic development of the Niger-Delta area. The specific objectives of the study are to:

- i. examine the origin of politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights in the Niger Delta Area of Nigeria.
- ii. examine the socio-economic and political factors that influence the Niger-Delta agitation for Minority rights.

- iii. examine the effect of agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of the Niger-Delta Communities.
- iv. examine the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of local people participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the Niger-Delta.
- v. examine the nature of states response to the challenge of Niger-Delta struggle for Minority rights,

1.5 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

This study is guided by the following hypotheses

- i. There is no significant correlation between oil production and the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities.
- ii. Socio-Economic and political factors did not significantly increased the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities.
- iii. The Agitation for Minority rights did not significantly improve the livelihood of the Niger-Delta communities.
- iv. The agitation for Minority rights did not significantly increase the level of local people participation in decision of making and sharing of National wealth in the Niger Delta communities.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

SOURCES OF DATA

Research findings is about precision and reliability these to a larger extent depend on the quality of source of data, input inform of data and the instruments used in data collection and analysis. It is on the strength of these that the study utilize both primary and secondary source of data. The primary data are firsthand information gathered directly from the study population for the purpose of a specific study. The primary data for this particular research were generated using survey instrument specifically questionnaire, interviews, focused group discussion and personal observation of the researcher. The secondary data on the other hand were generated through library documentation analysis.

POPULATION OF THE STUDY

The population for this study consisted of stakeholders from all the five (5) main states of the Niger-Delta Namely: Akwalbom, Bayelsa, Edo, Delta and Rivers State respectively. The population cut across community leaders, politicians, youths, women, oil workers and officials of intervention agencies such as Niger-Delta Development Commission (NDDC), the Delta State Oil Producing Area Development Commission (DESOPADEC).

SAMPLE SIZE AND TECHNIQUE

Since it is practically impossible to collect data from all the respondents three states namely: Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers were selected. Five (5) Local government areas were selected from Delta and Rivers respectively while only 4 local governments were selected from Bayelsa. In each of these Local Government, 40 respondents were selected which cut across community leaders, Youth, Oil workers, NGO/CBO officials and other individual respondent which made up a total of five hundred and sixty (560) respondent all together.

The study adopted multi-stage sampling technique. For the selection of state, local government, and communities. Non probability sampling specifically purposive sampling was adopted. However, for selection of individual respondent convenience sampling was utilized. The justification for the adoption of this technique is due to the fact that there is no sample frame for all the targeted respondents and sensitive nature of the study.

Below is the Table representation

State	Bayelsa	No. of Resp.	Delta	No. of Resp.	Rivers	No. of Resp.	Total
L.G. A	1. Brass 2. Ekeremor 3. Bayesla 4. Southern Ijaw	40 40 40 40	1. Aniocha South 2. Warri South 3. Sapelle 4. Isoko North 5. Urwie	40 40 40 40 40	1. Eleme 2. Andoni 3. Porthacourt 4. Bony 5. Ogba/Egbema / Ndoni	40 40 40 40 40	
		160		200		200	560

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

The study combine both survey method and the use of available document. In the case of survey method, survey instrument such as questionnaire, interview, focused group discussion and personal observation were used. The questionnaire was desgined using Likert five (5) scale where individual responses were grade in the form of A(5) = Excellent, B(4) = Very good, C(3) = Good, D(2) = Fair and E(1) = Poor. A total of five hundred and sixty (560) questionnaires were distributed among respondents across fourteen (14) selected Local Governments in the three (3) sampled state. To coroborate the information from the questionnaire, personal interview and focused group discussion was conducted among selected community leaders, youths, groups, and women groups. Similarly, the researcher subjected the result from the above to personal observation with the view of verifying the authenticity or otherwise of the outcome. For the accomplish of these purpose eight field assistants were employed comprising of people with vast knowledge and experience about the terrain of the study (Niger-Delta).

In addition, secondary data were red through the survey of available document from such as text book, journals, periodicals and internal materials source from the document section of the central bank of Nigeria (CBN), National Bereau of Statistic (N.B.S) and central library Bayero University Kano. Others include; Ramat Library University of Maiduguri and National Institute of Policy and Strategic studies (NIPSS) Kuru.

METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Since the study is a combination of both survey. Research and Library based documentation, multiple approach sufficient for both qualitative and quantitative data were adopted. For the data generated through survey method both descriptive and correlational statistical tools were used. In the case of descriptive statistical tools such as frequency table, simple percentage and aggregate weighted mean were used to tabulate and analysed the responses of respondents. Infrancis were drawn from the analysis based on majority decision rule. However, corolation statistical tools such as analysis of variance (Anova) and spearman rank order correlation coefficient (rho) were used to test the stated hypothesis. The approri expectation for the study is 0.05 level of significance

meaning the outcome of the research be 95% error free. For the secondary data, simple descriptive technique otherwise known as document analysis were used.

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

It is an axiom that study of this nature is not only complex but cumbersome considering the terrain and exigencies surrounding the area of study, the Niger-Delta area. This complexity notwithstanding, the research outcome will be invaluable to various stakeholders. The general public will benefit from the research because; it will enlighten them on the causes of this agitation for resource control in the study area and its implication on the socio-economic development of the nation. It will also make them appreciate the need for peace and mutual co-existence with the government official and Multinational Corporation operating in the area, for the purpose of overall development of the nation.

Similarly to the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Multi-National Corporations operating in the region, the findings of the research will provide them with theoretical and practicable solutions to the lingering crisis in the region, for sustainable peace and stability thereby consolidating the economic prospect of the nation at large and economic interest of the multinational oil corporations in particular.

To the policy makers, the research outcome will provide them with policy framework and data that will serve as an input and guidance in future policy formulation on the subject matter. Furthermore, the research will provide a theoretical and empirical foundation needed for a comprehensive analysis of issue on Minority rights and resources allocation.

The study will contribute to the knowledge of researchers, students, and policy makers in their understanding of dynamic of the Niger Delta conflict and its implication for national development and the development of Niger-Delta in particular.

1.8 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The study is confined to the examination of the socio-economic implication of politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta area, between 1999 and 2009. The choice of this period is guided by the fact it marked Nigeria's 10 years of

return to democracy after a prolonged period of military dictatorship which coincided with the period in which the agitation for resource control becomes heightened.

The quality of the research is however constrained by a number of factors which include difficulties of access to relevant data due to bureaucratic bottlenecks, arising from sensitivity and confidentiality of such documents, as well as the restive nature of the of the region. However, these challenges were overcome through persuasion use of field assistance and above all use of indirect means of reaching out to the respondents.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with literature review and theoretical framework. The chapter is divided into two sections: the first section contains literature review, while the second deals mainly with the theoretical framework. The review dwelled on topical issues related to politics of oil and Minority rights. Specifically, it highlighted scholarly narratives on global politics of oil, the role of oil in global political economy, the relationship between oil and wars, oil and political outcomes, oil and economic development as well as global oil reserves and process of formation. The second segment contains the theoretical framework upon which the study is based. It started by highlighting several theoretical perspective on rentier behaviour cycle of nation state, national elite and the local bourgeois and, its impact on development and violence in resource abundant states particularly oil exporting states. Finally, it adopted the Terisa Turner “triple alliance theory of commercial capitalism”.

2.1.1 Global Politics of Oil: An Overview

There is growing literature in both quantitative and qualitative term on politics of oil (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004; Desoysa, 2000; Fearon and Laitin, 2003; Greif et al 2002; Klador, 2007; Lowi, 2009; Ross, 2006; Shaxson, 2007; Shelly, 2005; Terrylynn et al 2007 and Vaclav, 2007). These narratives broadly covered topical issues related to politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights. The reason for this upsurge in literature is the fact that oil occupied important place in global political economy. This significance of oil was amply demonstrated in the scholarly work of Shelly (2005). According to him, the exploration, exploitation and consumption of the world petroleum resources have long ceased to be matters that are decided by single nation states. In that, they have become truly global issues through which a part of the dynamics in their positive and negative effects of globalization can be understood. Specifically, his narratives offers a largely factual report of the various developments that have made the politics of oil an issue mere nation-states are not in position to deliberate upon, decide or act alone. As Shelly stressed inter alia:

At global level oil and natural gas are inseparable from geo-strategy. The Quest of the powerful consumer nations for access to energy on their own terms run parallel to the clashes over agricultural subsidiesin the energy sector the native of the consumer countries are good natives as long as they guarantee supply of oil and natural gas at prices that are low enough to be acceptable to the companies and governments in the rich consumer countries and high enough to keep the nodding donkey producers of Pennsylvania and the share holders of the oil majors happy (2005:196).

From the above position, it became clear that the politics of oil exploration, exploitation and consumption is central to how global dynamics are configured and shaped, and in turn influenced by a variety of local and global factors. Since global politics is generally dominated by world super powers, it is not surprising that controlling access to hydro-carbon reserve are binding feature of public policy since the World War I (Shelly, 2005:2). Similarly, he contends that the struggle to control these National wealth has also been the cause of major conflicts citing the overthrow of Musaddiq in Iran the Suez canal crises of 1950s, the price increase in 1973 and the Arab embargo of the same year, the 1979 Irannian revolution, the Tankar wars of 1980s and of course the Gulf War of 1990s, 2003. Shelly maintained that as long as oil remains crucial to the engine of world economy it will always be a source of conflict. To buttress his point further, he cited American Congressman (Raul) thus. “In dealing with foreign policy, because we messed up our energy” policy, we have this so called great need to defend our oil and it drives our foreign policy. Whether it is in Columbia to protect a pipeline, whether it is in Venezuela to have our CIA involved, whether in the persistent occupation of the Parsian Gulf (which does not serve our interst), whether it is in our control of where and how oil comes up the Caspian sea and possibly our presence in Afghanistan, may all possibly be related to oil energy (Raul cited in Shelly 2005:82).

The above position clearly expressed the global dimension of the control of, and access to National wealth. Though it particularly demonstrates the extent to which United States is willing to go in pursuing what it saws to be in its interest. The fundamental weakness of Shelly’s view is its inability to extend his studies to other nations whose

interest tie to politics of oil. Neither does he explore the consequences of some countries being ready to go to any extent to secure their interest pertaining to oil.

What he does rather is to present precise estimate of oil reserves in the various parts of the world. To this extent, we are informed that:

In the last ten years (1993-2002), proven oil reserves of the Middle-East rose over 45% to 699 billion barrels, those of Africa rose over 45% of 94 billion barrels, those of the former Soviet Union increased over 35% to some 78 billion barrels (Shelly 2005:13).

In short, other areas Shelly explores include the Dutch disease in which a nation has an abundance of petroleum and other natural resources but will not necessarily become rich citing countries such as Algeria, Ecuador, Indonesia, Nigeria, Trinidad and Tobago as well as Venezuela receiving 22.5 billion dollars in 1974 but only Indonesia was able to achieve a significant diversification of its economy. He equally suggests that a particular connection can be made between oil exporting countries and peculiar institutional formation as the petro state which is especially vulnerable to corruption, citing countries such as Russia, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Equado, Venezuela and Columbia. All manifesting different features of petro-economy or petro state in which oil producing countries tend to be unaccountable and so misappropriation, plunder and corruption are common. In summary, Shelly in his narrative made a number of revelations. First, that petro state are prone to corruption and institutional dysfunction. Second, that National wealth does not necessarily lead to wealth and that the inexorable pursuit of oil for purpose of exploitation can lead to war among several nations. The fundamental weakness of Shelly's submission is his inability to raise questions on several issues such as how much humanity are at the risk in future? Would the world economy be able to support this drive of consumption? As well as the specific influence of oil exploration or at least identify a way of situating the deeper significance in relation to future of the earth. And finally wheather oil can lead to global chaos which he does not attempt to answer.

Another scholarly work that found prominent place in oil in narratives is the work of Vaclav (2008) who just like Shelly attempted to give graphic illustration of the role of oil in global political economy. Issues covered under his study include National wealth

and Burdens, how oil is formed and how it has been discovered, what oil is and how it was found, how oil is produced and processed as well as how long will oil last. Vaclav started on a concrete note by acknowledging the prominence of oil in global political economy. According to him, if history is seen as a sequence of progressively more remarkable oil conversion, then oil or more accurately a range of liquids produced from it, has earned an incomparable place in human evolution. Conversion of these liquids in internal combustion engines have expanded human horizons through new and more affordable means of personal and mass transportation.

Thus, through oil or more accurately a variety of refined oil product has changed the very tempo of modern life by allowing the introduction of more efficient prime movers they increased the productivity of modern economies and they accelerated, as well as deepened the process of economic globalization (Vaclav 2008:2). On this note, therefore, the history of the oil business and of the price for crude oil paid by consumers are matters of rich documentary and statistical record, although scholars sharply varied in their analysis.

Vaclav maintained that fabulous earnings by oil exporting states have not been translated into commensurate economic and social advances. To buttress his argument further, he avers that oil rich countries have not done particularly well even in terms of economic growth: post 1960s data show that well managed resources poorer countries performed better (their economies growing two-three times faster) even after adjusting for initial per capita income. The lagging performance of the oil-rich countries became pronounced only during the 1970s after higher oil prices posted their revenues (Vaclav, 2008). Furthermore, studies by Vaclav (2008) confirms the earlier conclusion made by Alphonse the founder of OPEC who opined that oil as a curse has brought about waste, corruption, and excessive consumption with the exception of Norway with every oil price spites. On the relationship between oil, politics and stability of government, he noted that it does not get any better once we turn to politics, stability of government and civil institutions as well as long term prospect for security, citing only two Non-western oil rich countries of Qatar and United Arab Emirate whose politics and stability are not matters of chronic concern and anxious speculation. His narratives acknowledged that worries about one time stability in most of OPEC countries and particularly in Saudi

Arabia, Iran and Nigeria have generated a vast speculative literature during the last quarter century and more warnings and catastrophic scenarios are sure to come. He, however, dismissed these claims on the ground that most of these writings are produced by people who understand neither Arabic nor farsi and whose knowledge of the culture steeped in Islam is limited to repeating such often misunderstood terms of Jihad and Fatwa. Unfortunately, we most often end up with caricature rather than revealing portrait of the country. In the case of Saudi Arabia, he argued that Saudi Royal family is repeatedly potraied as unstable, insecure and out of touch and many have explicitly predict its imminent collapse when the corrupt and incompetent princes will be swear away by religiously zealous or impatient reformers (Vaclav, 2008). In Nigeria however, matters do not get any better when attention turns to violence and extraordinary level of corruption and political tension in Africa's most populous state (Nigeria). Oil production in the Niger-Delta has repeatedly been disrupted by rebels who blow up pipelines and oil terminals and kidnap oil workers and executive, even as a chronic discord between the Federal and State Governments is been exerscerbated by rising income inequalities and the radicalization of the Muslim North which some commentators saw as a precausor of an almost inevitable civil war or protracted anarchy.

On the issue of origin of oil, Vaclav (2008) argues that oils origin are not as easy to trace as those of immobile coal imprinted with visible signature. Oil's mobility means that it is usually found in places where it was not formed and the susceptibility of hydrocarbon to alteration by chemical and physical means lead to speculations that it originated from transformation of coal or by polinirization of gas from basel rocks. There is no doubt that liquid and gasesous hydrocarbon can be formed directly by inorganic chemical reactions specifically by polinirization of methane precursors, but the best evidence suggest this abiogenic process do not produce global significant volume of crude oil. There is however modern consensus among petroleum geologists and geochemists that oil inorganic origin are commercially unimportant and that crude oil are actually derived from biomass from organic compounds.

The fundamental problem with Vaclav's narrative is that it is highly scientific and technical as it is based on geochemistry which makes it very difficult for indept comprehension and analysis by scholars of behavioural science background. This

however does not imply irrelevance as Vaclac's work offers factual footage on the quantum of oil reserves country by country.

2.1.2 Politics of Oil, Instability and Development: Global Perspectives

There is widespread agreement in both qualitative and quantitative social science researches as well as in the minds of mass public that oil and wars are linked (Klador, 2007:2). This is because of the strategic place occupied by the oil in both domestic and global political economy. For instance, the dependence on oil for export and source of patronage by oil countries and heavy dependence on oil by advanced nations as engine room for technological development. This strong link between oil and wars is so evident in the growing scholarly consensus based on both qualitative and quantitative studies. This consensus notwithstanding, the association is so complex and often difficult to untangle through the use of qualitative work alone. One of the most extensive and in-depth interrogation on the above subject matter is rooted in the work of (Klador et al, 2007) who raises certain questions related to the issue of relationship between oil and war: to what extent does oil cause, exacerbate or mitigate conflict, and what are the specific mechanisms through which these occur? Does the possession of petroleum in conflict-ridden countries change the nature of conflicts? If so, how?

Despite this scholarly consensus some scholars contend that the linkage between any natural resources and war are unusually strong hence, Klare coining the term resource war. However, of all these resources, oil and its by-products occupy a strategic and outstanding place in global political economy. This has been widely acknowledged in oil narratives. As Klare later concluded:

Petroleum is unique among the world's resource...it has more potentials than any of the other resources to provoke major crisis and conflict in the years ahead (2006:xiii).

There are a lot of quantitative works that concur with this examination. Collier and Hoeffler work on economic causes of civil wars, and greed and grievances in civil war (2004) produced an intellectual evolution strikingly parallel to that found in qualitative works. While the existence of a pattern linking primary commodities in general; oil, non-fuel minerals and agricultural goods to either the onset or duration of

war is still disputed, evidence about the association between oil and war abounds in unambiguous terms. Specifically, these narratives contend that dependence on oil for export is associated with conflict, citing violent life experience in oil-rich countries like Angola, Columbia, Iraq, Nigeria, Russia and Venezuela as examples. These for instance are shared in the conclusion of scholarly works of Collier and Hoeffler, 2002; Desaysa 2002; Fearon and Laitin 2003; and Fearon 2004 all of whom demonstrated the rigorous linkage between petroleum and conflict. As Fearon (2005:483) specifically pointed out “oil predicts civil war risks”.

To further demonstrate this linkage between oil and wars, (Klador, 2007) identified two types of wars, associated with oil: the old and the new wars. “Old wars” are wars between states or actors aspiring to state power where the aim is the military capture of territory and the decisive encounter is the battle between armed forces as evident in the first and second world Wars. These wars require states to mobilize their resources as never before resulting in the construction of different states and regimes in the defeated territory. New wars in contrast take place in the context of failing states where borders become increasingly irrelevant. They are fought by network of state and non-state actors where out and out battles are rare and violence is mainly directed against civilians or symbols of order characterized by new form of political economy involving a combination of extremists politics and criminality. He cited as examples the violence in Sudan, Somalia and Iraq.

(Klador, 2007) further argued that oil wars are rentier wars and whatever the motivation of the fighters and whatever religious, ethnic or other difference also drive conflict where oil is present tends to involve struggles for control over exceptional gains generated by this valuable resource. While historically this has always been the case, the change in the later part of twentieth century is the combination of actors, involved in rent-seeking behaviour. Specifically speaking, geo-political competition which characterized the old war is supplemented by struggle among various domestic actors that effectively parcel out or even dismantle the state itself, for example secessionist wars and by violent predatory behaviour on the part of the non-state foreign and local actors for direct access to oil rent in legal and illegal ways. Put in another language, rent-seeking in oil exporting countries has gradually filtered downwards throughout societies from the

level of international competition, down to domestic competition at the state level and finally to competition among non-state actors at local level. When this occurs within the context of failing state, instead of providing arms and monies to the centralized government of the oil state to govern their people rent become linked with violence at every level making it especially difficult to re-establish authority through the controlled territory. This linkage between rent-seeking behaviour and violence is called rent-seeking circle.

Just like linkage between oil and war, several scholars of politics of oil have noted a circle in the behaviour of oil dependent state. This they explain largely in terms of price volatility. This is common especially among early scholars of classical economies. (Klador et al, 2007) while not disputing the influence of price volatility on the circle in the behaviour of the oil state argued that there are other variables. To demonstrate this, they adopted a historical combination of rent-seeking by different states and non-state actors both within oil dependent state and abroad at different terms that explain the circle. To consolidate this, they identified four phases of oil rent-seeking circle drawing inferences from oil-rich countries such as Nigeria, Indonesia, Saudi-Arabia and Iran, namely: state building, stabilization, predation and state failure. Each of these phases is characterized by peculiar actors both state and non-state, types and sources of state revenues, nature of politics, forms of politics and types of conflict arisen thereof (Klador, 2007). The contribution of Klador to oil narration is significant especially in the area of contribution to knowledge and expansion of literature. This contribution notwithstanding, his view did not adequately explain why some oil dependent states do not pass through these phases of rent-seeking behaviour circle as evident in Angola.

There are also other studies that viewed the relationship between oil and wars from different perspectives such as the resource curse theory, Dutch Disease perspectives, price volatility, factor endowment, statist or institutionalist perspective as well as structural Marxist perspective. These oil narratives not only gave divergent views on the nature of relationship but also relationship between oil and economic development. The commonest stand point among the findings of these studies is that political instability in the form of civil unrest is more prevalent in environment characterized by resource abundance especially of mineral variety than those

characterized by resources scarcity. And that resources abundant states are generally characterized by developmental backwardness. Lowi (2009), in her classic study identified four internal and external factors as responsible for the resource curse theory to explain this developmental backwardness and prevalence of violence in a resource – rich nation especially oil producing states. These factors are: Dutch Disease, price volatility, factor endowment and mismanagement of “Rent”. To her, Dutch Disease tends to afflict economies with booming resources especially oil within the competitiveness of non-booming tradeable sector. Similarly, primary products (oil, gold, diamond etc) are subject to greater price volatility in global market than manufactured goods and that in the absence of export diversification, price volatility can provoke growth collapse (Auty, 1998). In agreement, Grief et al (2002) seems to be rather suggestive on why resource-rich countries tend to be developmentally backward. According to him, Government less constrained by financial imperatives also feel less constrained in their treatment of taxpayers and these citizens once freed of their contracts with their rulers revert to perdition and conflict. In the opinion of Auty (1997), however, since resource – rich countries have a tolerance for conflict over rent than the resource- poor countries, in so far as rent offers a natural magnet for political competition, this fosters the emergence of functional states than promote sectional interests. Consolidating the above, Auty and Gelb (2000) avers that resource abundance is more closely associated with predatory and benevolent – developmental state and the former is more associated with political instability than the later. In a similar vein, Collier and Hoeffler (2001) suggest rather that it is the opportunities for natural resource predation that predict conflict in resource rich environment.

However, Lowi (2009) though not disputing the above argues that there are very few and negligible efforts by scholars to explain political outcomes in resource abundant countries until recently. Even those that existed in the early period tended to be piggy-back on the explanation for economic outcomes. He further adds that many scholars in their narratives relied upon sector based analysis in their methodology (Karl, 1997; Shafer, 1994) or the rentier state framework (Yates, 1996). And in the process ventured explicitly in to the explanation of political instability ran into problem of establishing traces of causal relationship (Lowi, 2009). She does concluded that although there exists

relationship between natural resources such as oil and instability, it is not only wealth that determines political outcome such as violence or instability rather the combination of local factors and the decision of leaders. To demonstrate this further, Lowi (2009) deployed two explanations for outcomes in resource – rich countries especially oil rich countries: economic and political explanations.

In her economic perspectives, Lowi acknowledged that most of the studies by neo-classical economies defend the resource curse hypothesis by locating the explanation for the relatively poor performance of the oil exporting countries in the peculiarities of booming sectors in general, and the Dutch-Disease syndrome in particular. This proposition was contextually used to describe the experience of Netherlands with whose large inflow of revenue from export of north sea gas in 1970s. In a simple term, Dutch Disease refers to two effects that tend to follow resource boom: in order words it is a situation in which a particular country generates revenue in aggregated term from its export but majority of its citizenry suffer in penury. The first of the two effects mentioned above therefore is the appreciation of the real exchange rate due to sharp increase in rent; the second is the tendency of a booming resource sectors to draw capital and labour away from manufacturing agricultural sector thus squeezing production in these sectors by rising their production costs (Lowi, 2009). The implication of these combined effects is sharp reduction in agriculture and manufactured goods and increase in both imported items and production, and cost of non-tradeables such as physical infrastructure and social capital. The above scenario is similar to the experience of Nigeria during the oil boom of the 1970s when agricultural production and manufacturing sectors were abandoned in preference to the lucrative oil sector which provides both the state and individual elites with rent from oil export. The rent provided by the new National wealth results in ostentatious life style with Nigerian elites spending millions on the construction of mansions at home and abroad and fleets of exotic cars often obtained and maintained by the embezzled state funds.

Despite the undisputable contribution of the Dutch Disease perspective to literature and knowledge on politics of oil, its peculiar weakness is rooted in the lack of consensus among its proponents especially in its applicability to the experience of oil exporting countries. These contradictions give rise to three dominant positions with each

having a distinct explanation. Some of these narratives maintained that the relevance of the Dutch Disease explanation is limited to full employed economies, citing Netherlands and Norway as specific examples (Karshenas, 1994; Amuzeger, 1999). Others claim that its most consistent finding is the decline in agriculture, in a highly diverse set of oil exporting LDCs (Chaudhry, 1997). The third category of scholars insists that the condition described by Dutch Disease is neither evidence of a resource curse nor particularly unhealthy. To them, the mere shift in capital and labour towards booming oil sector for instance simply implies a change in countries comparative advantage (Davis, 1995).

Arising from the foregoing, it is imperative to state that all the three positions put forward by scholars regarding the explanation of the Dutch Disease hypothesis are correct to some extent. With regards to the first line of the argument, it elucidates the emergence in the economies of a structural bias against diversification. Nonetheless, the uniform outcomes suggest contrast sharply with the variation in strategies and in performance found in high absorption oil exporting LDCs. However, findings from recent studies reveals that government of oil exporting countries can offset the effect of Dutch Disease if they are willing to do so. This they can achieve by saving the temporary wind fall (excess revenue from the sales of oil) or invest them outside the country as done by Kuwait, Norway and Venezuela as this will sterilize their short-term effects on the macro economy (Gelb et al 1998 and Van Wijnbergen 1986). In addition, the oil exporting countries may as well off the pressure against investment in the tradeable sectors either by initiating industrialization programme as in the case of Algeria, Indonesia, Iraq and pre-revolutionary Iran, or by targeting rural development as did Indonesia and initially the Islamic republic of Iran. For the low absorption, low population oil exporters such as Libya and the Gulf states, however, the application of the Dutch Disease is more tenuous given that there exist non-significant non-oil economy to develop.

Another weakness of the Dutch Disease hypothesis is that it is not inevitable as portrayed by its proponents once the government of the oil exporting countries implement policies to reduce private consumption and investment expenditure and adopt productive investment programmes in the non-oil tradeable sectors. The effect of this Dutch Disease

can be minimized if not averted (Gelb 1986; Sach 2007). The problem with the above position as presented by Lowi is that experience has shown ample evidence that governments of resource abundant countries neither have the will to save from the wind fall, adopt rural development programmes or even productive investment programme. Even where there is documented evidence of such efforts it is usually undermined by greed and sleet among government officials in the oil sector thereby rendering such countries cash-stripped or on the alternative force them to resort to external borrowing as exemplified by Nigeria and Angola. Therefore, whatever policy of restrain an oil exporting country adopt there exists a considerable effect of local factor and the decision of the political leaders. This is because natural resources in general and petroleum in particular does not in and of itself determine outcome especially political instability and violence. In another development there is concern over what resource abundant states can do to mitigate or cushion their economies on potential catastrophes of price volatility and the general decline in terms of trade and primary products which for mineral exports are among the most volatile (Auty, 1993; Gelb, 1986). The policy prescription in this respect focuses on the need for states to reduce their dependence on natural resources export by diversifying their monoeconomies, abolish protectionists policy and promote more open trade and thus avoid the risk of growth collapse (Auty, 1998; Sach and Warner, 1995).

2.1.3 Politics of Oil: The factor Endowment Argument

Among the economic perspectives for performance outcome that focus on internal factors, the factor endowment argument is perhaps the most straight forward approach (Lowi, 2009). According to her, this approach suggests that the richer a country's 'package' of factor endowment the more 'balance' its growth and development is likely to be. Based on this therefore, it is expected that oil exporting states such as Austria and Venezuela with relatively low population of 30-35 million, huge natural resources little arable land (3%) and proximity to world class manufacturing regions with which they must compete would have poorly diversified economies. On the other divide, Indonesia, Nigeria and to some lesser extent Mexico with very large population close to or above 100 million, on the average rich soils (Arable Land between 17 and 37 percent) and abundant natural resources would have must diversified economies. Comparatively,

countries like Iran with moderate size population (70 million) some arable land (8 percent) lots of minerals and some degree of isolation from other major manufacturers would lie somewhere in the middle.

In real life situation however while economic performances in several of the oil exporting states to some extent meet the prediction of the factor endowment explanation the later can not account for outcomes in deviate cases such as Nigeria and post revolutionary Iran. For instance, until recently, Nigeria's political leadership has consistently failed to diversify the economy away from the capital intensive oil sector. Furthermore, the largely subsistent agricultural sector has failed to keep up with the ever growing population so much so that a once net exporter of food has now been importing food for several decades (Lewis, 2007). In the case of Islamic Republic of Iran however the Mulas in power paid relatively close attention to economic diversification in the initial years, at least in so far as the rural sector and agricultural development are concerned (Behdad, 1996).

The main flaw in the factor endowment perspective is its inability to clarify the variations that exist within each of the three categories of the oil exporting states. This is so because first, direct misallocations by the government of oil exporting states of along way to explaining the existing difference in economies among countries with identical endowment as do the other contextual characteristics (indicators). In a synoptic parlance the factor endowment argument just like the Dutch Disease perspective failed to capture or even consider political and institutional process that may shape behaviour and outcomes. Indeed, the limitation of economic approaches underscore the importance of institutions and government policy or even leadership ties in the economic performance of nations. This inherent weaknesses notwithstanding the contribution of proponents of both Dutch Disease hypothesis and factor endowment argument to the growth of knowledge and scholarship is commendable.

2.1.4 Politics of Oil: Statist/Institutionalists Perspectives

One of the major weaknesses of both the Dutch Disease hypothesis and factor endowment perspective is the inability of their proponents to recognize or even acknowledge the role of institutions, government policies and choice of leadership in

evaluating economic performance of resource rich (oil) nations. Hence the emergence of the statist or institutionalists perspective. Scholarly works on this perspective is situated within the rentier state framework that was first employed to discuss the cases of Iran under Shah (Mahdaby, 1970; Beblawi and Luciani, 1987; Lowi 2009). This framework posits that when government gain most of their revenue from external source such as rent or foreign aid they are freed from the need to levy tax. As a result therefore, the state becomes less accountable to the society they govern and more autonomous in decision making and behaviour (Lowi, 2009). In addition, these oil exporting states awash with capital, their main activities become distribution and not promotion of productive activities. While the availability of rents divert attention from wealth creating activities and into rent – seeking activities (Lowi, 2009). The state tends to be highly interventionist while the political legitimacy of the ruling elites rests upon the uninterrupted distribution of rent. These characteristics according to the proponents of the framework have several implication on the domestic economic and political life of the people (Beblawi, 1987; Boone, 1990; Chaudhry, 1994; Shambayati, 1994 and Yates, 1996).

In the first instance, because such states have a weakly developed extractive capacity, they lack the information they need to develop sound developmental strategy. In the second case however, being increasingly autonomous from the society, they are ignorant and insufficient to the preference of their population. Third, since these are “allocations” not “production” state the state sector grows in size and importance often becoming bureaucratically weak and highly inefficient. Neither human capital development nor entrepreneurship is encouraged and the “rent – sawking” often in alliance with the state is key to social mobility. Fourth, because resource rich states use indirect redistribution to allocate rent, those rents become key mechanism for promoting and consolidating state power. Fifth, unpredictable resources wind falls add vastly impact microeconomic management due to relative price changes and fiscal distortions. Sixth, windfall akin to manna from heaven in the hands of heavily centralized governments function as a built-in impediments to reform for they encouraged the perception of the overwhelming abundance and wellbeing. Seventh both the centralization of government and absence of regulatory structures nourished patrimonism and corruption which in turn have a negative impact on the rule of law and transparency of rent redistribution.

Lowi (2009) argues that several of the characteristics and effects noted above and attributed to rentier state are common to many post colonial regimes. He cited as example the law regulatory penetration and blotted bureaucracies as features of various developing country administration. Moreso, the fragmentation of civil societies is common place in Africa countries but can be found as well in Latin America, the middle east and Asia. (Rotberg, 2004; Widner, 1994; Zattman, 1995 and Lowi, 2009). Lowi (2009) further contends that beyond the general observation about states that heavily relied upon external rents and despite efforts to trace causal relationships, the rentier state framework has been stretched to explicate contradictory trajectories and outcomes. Scholars have pointed out the effects of oil rent from different perspectives. For instance, it has been seen as the cause of political quiescence (Crystal, 1990), but also the rise of opposition (Okruhlik, 1999), political instability (Karl, 1997) but also stability (Herto, 2006); the turn of democratization (Livine, 1978) but also the persistence of authoritarianism (Crystal, 1990; Vandewelle, 1998). Indeed one of the few phenomenon for which oil rent are unequivocally the proximate cause is the enhancement of state economy during the pre-boom years. This view has been demonstrated in empirical studies of an array of oil exporting LDCs (Crystal, 1990; Chaudhry, 1997; Karl, 1997 and Robinson, 1986). While Auty and Gelb (2000) are indeed correct in saying that given the marked differences in context the fact that resources endowment have contradictory effect is not in the least bit surprising. This does beg the question of utility of unidimensional forays into causality. Crystal in her work on Qatar and Kuwait two low absorption, low population oil exporting shows how oil rents were instrumental in weakling the links between state and society increasing the power of the state and de-politicizing society. Employing a classic rentier state framework for what are “pure distribution state” Crystal demonstrates quite convincingly that the distributive of oil rents in these deserts stateless purchased quiescence, and promoted clientalism and the persistence of authoritarianism.

Similarly Terrykarl (1997) seeks to explain why the oil booms of 1973-4 and 1978-9 led to economic stagnation and political turmoil in many oil exporting states. Following the track of Shayer (1994), she proposed that the characteristics of a countrys leading export sector influence the state’s capacity to promote economic development, and that resources abundance (oil) state tends to weaken state institutions. She claims that

oil booms are destabilizing and argues that the greater the increase in government expenditure immediately following price increase, the greater the degree of instability.

It should be noted that while her hypothesis with regard to how oil wind fall affects state behaviours and state capacity are well illustrated by her account of Venezuelan politics of oil and echo insight of the rentier state framework. Her claim that oil boom perse produce instability does not stand up. This is because not only does her analysis fail to explain the causal relationship between the increase in government spending in the aftermath of a price shock and political instability, but Karl provides no compelling evidence that the instability experience in Algeria, Iran, Nigeria and Venuzuella between 1974 and 1992 derived from the boom rather than from other phenomena or set of phenomena.

The above counter claim is documented in scholarly analysis of writers such as (Lowi, 2009 and Ross 1999). As Ross (1999:318) rightly pointed out:

It is not terribly surprising that, given what we know about historical experience and political development, these four states would undergo some degree of instability during any eighteen-year period in the latter half of the twentieth century. Algeria had only recently emerged from eight years war for its independence, following 130 years of colonial rule; Iran had undergone an acute leadership crisis in 1950s and persistent yet strongly opposed, foreign intervention during much of the contrary, prior to the 1979 revolution, Nigeria had been wracked by ethnocized politics, plus a successionsit war since independence in 1960, and Venuzuella was trying desperately to maintain a highly controlled and very fragile democratic arrangement while legacies of authoritarian rule, administrative inefficiency and foreign company involvement remained prominent.

Sectoral arguments of the sort presented by the rentier state and resource curse literature have significantly contributed to our understanding of economic performance and political outcomes and even provide an important backdrop for the study of development in oil exporters (Lowi, 2009). However many of the earlier narratives fall short in explaining outcomes in sofar as they implicitly assigned for too much relevance and weight to oil rents and insufficient weight to such things as historical legacies, institutional foundation and choice of leaders or even cultural peculiarities. The implication of the above is that these studies portray oil exporting states as evolving

purely as they do because of oil and not because of predatory governance, brittle institutions, inappropriate policies or something altogether unrelated to oil. In another contribution by the “first wave” of research on the rentier state maintained that oil revenues spawned a set of effects, but just like Karl (1997) work failed to prove that those effects issued from oil and neither precede it nor issued from something else. Indeed Linz (2000:15) warned that it would be a mistake to consider such regime as the inevitable result of economic structure, thereby ignoring many other significant factors as contributing to the stability.

In a more clearer term with out factoring agency, cultural peculiarities and historical legacies more systematically into their analysis earlier studies of the resource curse could not account for some of the very variation among oil exporters in terms of both strategy and performance nor, nor could they provide compelling explanation for political outcomes (Lowi 2009). As one observe rightly pointed out “oil exporters vary not only in their level of dependence on oil revenues, but also in the mix of endowment and historical legacies that conditions policy and political outcomes” (Chaudhry 1997:188). More recently, there is increased acknowledged variation in the natural resource (oil) exporters along a range of dimensions has spawned “conditional theories of resources curse, particularly contribution from the ‘second wave’ have focused attention on the impact of pre-existing institutions on outcome his plethora of literature is evident in the works of Chaudhry (1997), Jones Luong and Weinthal (2001), Smith (2007) and other contextual features Dunning (2008), Englebert et al (2004), Le billion (2005) all suggesting that institutional quality mediates the relationship between oil and the outcomes. Nonetheless apart from a few examples from (Vandewalle 1998; Dunning, 2005), the quality of governance and the nature of leadership choice have remained relatively understudied.

There has been of late, a flurry of research on the resource curse, focusing on such topics as relationship between natural resource wealth and civil war (Collier and Hoeffler 2001; Humpreys 2005; Ross 2006), resource wealth and democracy, resource wealth and regime durability as well as quantitative studies of political development linking authoritarian tendencies or the failure to democratize to oil, indicate statistically robust relationships (Ross 2001; Want Chekon 2002; Herb 2005). Causal mechanism to

explicate the relationships have been suggested, but the more detailed empirical analysis remained to be done.

There are also other quantitative studies that demonstrated that oil exporting state are not particularly prone to instability and failure (Boix 2003). Despite suggestions from the “first work” of rentier state literature and more recent scholarship on civil war (Feron and Laitin 2003). Smith (2004) highlights a trend of regime durability, despite the volatility of the revenue base and suggest that state craft in the form of strong institutions is key. His state craft hypothesis echoes the findings of Lowi (2000, 2004), who via a qualitative study of a single case places the explanation for outcomes within the framework of the location of modern Nation state and the institutional foundations that in here.

Smith (2007) consolidating upon this framework, argues that the persistence or breakdown of regimes depends on timing of access to oil rents relative to “late development” documenting the experiences of Iran and Indonesia through the end of the 1970s. He suggests that the availability of (oil) rents and the existence of organized opposition at the inception of late development impact institutional arrangements, hence political outcomes.

Similarly Karl (2007:273) indicate that relative success of Norway with the resource curse demonstrates that the problem of managing National wealth is essentially a “problem of historical sequence: good institutions must be in place prior to the exploration of oil”. It is on this note, that Lowi (2009) concludes that neither state-craft nor good institutions are accidents of history, rather, they are functions of the careful marrying of the skills of human agents Machiavelli virtu- with the structure, context or circumstance fortuna that agents found themselves in. He further argues that, structures and institutions matters in explaining political outcomes, but they and the context of which they are a part, do change, and they must be considered along side and in conjunction with agency this is the case because agents, leaders human individuals, as opposed to unmediated social forces are the actual movers of history.

2.1.5 Structural Marxist Perspective

There are also scholarly works that give explanation about resource curse, development and instability from the perspective of structural Marxist. This variant argues that it is the structure of the international capital markets that determine political outcomes, within this context politics follows market. Robinson (1999) in his classical analysis of the crisis in Indonesia argues that the ground work to regime breakdown and change lay in the mid 1980s, when there was a major shift in global capital market. In response to global recession, international liquidity dried up and capital importing countries were delt with a hard blow with the fall in the international price of oil and the drying up of concessional loans, the Indonesia state was forced for the first time to borrow private capital with short term horizons. When loan payment became due in 1990s coinciding with the downward spiraling of the rupiah the domestic unraveled, with economic collapse came political instability.

There is also a similar argument for Algeria, with one caveat; that its interaction with international capital markets had since in dependence consisted primarily of short to medium term loans from international banks (Corn 1993:23). Problem emerged in Algeria in the early 1980s when oil price began to fall and debt payment fell dues. This was intensified with the dramatic price downturn in 1986 and the absence of source of borrowing. Thus it was a fiscal crisis prompted by international structural change that on the cases of Indonesia and Algeria provoked instability.

There is no gainsaying that the structural Marxist perspective is a compelling argument in that it highlights the deeply vulnerable conditions of (single) export economies and the profound impact of international structural change on domestic policy institutions and outcomes. This however does not mean that this perspective has no weakness, its inherent weakness is rooted just like the dependency theory to which it is related, the argument plays down the significance of domestic structural and agential factors in shaping outcomes. For an exogenous shock to provoke a domestic crisis condition must be in place internally. Hence internal conditions, including the choice of key actors need to be elucidated. Similarly by disregarding domestic structural institutions and agential factors in the explanation for outcomes, the possibility that state could implement policies of adjustment in the face of adversity is implicitly derived. This

international structuralist analysis offer no more than a partial explanation for political instability in oil exporters.

2.1.6 Factor Responsible for Agitation for Minority rights in Niger Delta

There is growing scholarly interest on agitation for Minority rights in Nigeria, particularly the most disturbing activities of the militants in the oil rich Niger-Delta area. This growing scholarship on the activities of militant in the region result in various interpretation and perception about the origin, nature as well as implication of the politics of oil and agitation for the Minority rights in the region on national development. The fundamental problem with most of the review is not only the dearth of literature on the topic but also the fact that only few had attempted to examine the relationship between the minority agitation in the Niger Delta and national development as much of the review focus on the origin and justification for the minority agitation or otherwise. This explains why this research is paramount because its findings are expected to bridge the gap between the existing literature and the realities of national development.

Although some literature blame the multinational oil corporations for the stagnation and development misfortune experienced in the post-colonial Nigeria state (Mier, 2000; Tunner, 1985; Anyakimee, 2000; Ojo, 2006; Nwako, 2000, and Jike, 1987), a study by Omeje (2005) exonerates the transnational corporations from the total blame for economic decline in Nigeria. According to Omeje (2005:332):

It has been the state interest in rent and patrimonial accumulation that primarily defines the context of Nigeria's politics of oil and policies: the interest of Trans-National Oil Corporations (TNOc) as significant as they seem are secondary even if the rents generated are the life blood of the state.

Put it in another language, Dlakwa (2006:62) observes that the presence of trans national oil companies alone would not have resulted into the poor performance of the economy rather it was the failure of the state government to utilize properly the revenue that accrue from the oil tax, rent and royalties to promote sustainable development programmes including the diversification of the economy that is primarily responsible for

economic decline hence the fierce agitation for Minority rights which became manifest in the struggle for resource control.

In a another contribution Nnoli (1995) identifies political and economic factors as the main causes of conflict and violent agitation for resource control in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. He, like Dlakwa (2006) blamed leaders for exploiting ethnic differences for personal benefit and in the process created tension even within the same ethnic group which no doubt has implications for consensus building and formidable National development. Nnoli's study however, did not cover much relation to the agitation for right by the minorities in the Niger-Delta area of Nigeria. His study failed to identify neglect and marginalization as some of the factors responsible for violence in the region.

In a related development, Suberu (1999) stressed that the reasons for the violent agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta area are rooted in the area of grievances such as lack of critical infrastructure development and adoption of true federalism. Under this political arrangement component units have control over the resource but should pay to the central government for the common service. Suberu's conclusion however, is not sufficient because as it failed to relate it with the inter ethnic conflicts in some parts of the Niger-Delta which dates back to the colonial era as the remote cause of violent agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta area. There is also methodological lapse in the process of data generation and analysis. These lapses notwithstanding his effort is highly commendable especially in expansion of literature in the area under investigations.

Similarly, Suberu (1999) argued that the political economy of the agitation for the Minority rights by the Niger-Delta area is rooted in the discovery of oil and consequent negation of the other sectors of the economy particularly agriculture and solid mineral development. According to him, the shift to monocentric oil economy by the post colonial Nigerian state had essentially engendered a new dimension in revenue allocation politics as it incorporates the sensitive question of Minority rights and privileges as well as the issue of compensation for environmental degradation in the evolutionary process of derive to nation building.

However, although Suberu's contribution has added immensely to the existing literature on the Niger-Delta. It is arguable that the people of the Niger-Delta have been

clamouring for resource control even during the period of trade in natural produce such as palm oil, salt e.t.c. It is even on record that on the eve of the independence, their various chiefs had protested the idea of incorporating them into the Nigeria newly independent state (Mier 2000).

Obi (1998) saws the political economy of politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights in the Niger Delta as part of power game between the dominant groups in the existing power matrix. He submitted that in this game plan, all the dominant groups sawk to expand their riches, each trying to outdo the other in the belief that it would be or it is being subjected and marginalized or schemed out by others in the sharing of the national cake.

Therefore, power relationship in Nigeria has thus been patterned along patron-client setting in which the grand patron is the Federal Government by virtue of its control over the lion share of the oil revenue and the State and Local Government Authorities as their client. The oil bearing states of the Niger-Delta are thus bent on tilting the equation by gaining control over the National wealth s, and possibly become the patron to the Federal Government and non oil bearing states.

Mier (2000) further link the agitation by Niger-Delta minorities with the perpetual neglect suffered by the oil producing communities from the independent government of Nigeria, in collaboration with the multinational oil companies operating in the area. This is because the people of the Niger Delta saw the immense wealth which the oil represents but only scarce and negligible public goods such as education and health facilities were provided in return while their Environment remained polluted. The fundamental weakness of this view is its inability to saw the problematic of development as a general phenomenon that is lacking in virtually all the state of Nigeria. To treat Niger Delta as the only region that needs the attention of government in the national development drives whereas there are some states in the other parts of Nigeria whose developmental profile is worse than the coastal states of the Niger Delta. This study is therefore expected to expand its scope to the analysis of the entire developmental challenges of the post-colonial Nigeria state.

Elis and Hibon (1999:120) in their revealing study linked the phenomenon of Niger-Delta instability and its implication for lack of development with the

criminalization of the state in Africa. According to them it is stating the obvious that the criminalization of the state is the major cause of underdevelopment, instability and will even bring about the break up of the Nigeria state as indeed would all other states of Africa if not countered by rigorous revolutionary action. The only weakness of this point of view is its inability to state clearly the nature and extent of such criminalization or how such revolutionary action could be organized.

Kyari (2009) linked the Niger-Delta politics of oil and the under development of the contemporary Nigeria state, with what he called the well known legendary survivability of the Nigeria elites and the very phenomenon called the state in political science, which have seen to it that in one form or the other, things go on and on as they are. The state endures, and the elite survive. The elite engage in the mere brinkmanship dragging the state to a cliff-edge, but always managing to come back again, its only the masses who suffer or even perish as when these ups or pestilence attack occurs which are both common and repetitive in Nigeria.

He further laments that although such features are prevalent in Africa the Nigeria case is more severe despite the country's vast human and natural resources. In this respect therefore, one can not but concluded that the Nigerian elite whose duty and responsibility it is to enable the country realize its manifest destiny have betrayed its responsibility and effectively rendered Nigeria aspirations for development, unity and sustainability into "mere clichés", being worshiped not because of their essence but because "of their propaganda power". This explains why Nigeria remained a toddler after almost fifty years of her independence (Kyari, 2009).

These realities no doubt created a feeling of discontentment among the various constituent units of the federation; it engenders loss of confidence in the survivability of Nigeria amidst tension and crisis such as the Niger-Delta militancy and recently the Boko Haram insurgency in some part of northern Nigeria.

Similarly, many local people in the Niger-Delta saw a correlation between the coming of the oil companies to the region and environmental challenges especially the declining fertility of their land thus the seeds of future conflict had been planted and it was only a matter of time before they explode.

A study by Nkom (1994:430) reveals that two main forces seem to have been responsible for the current state of ethnic and cultural identity politics manifesting themselves in the national question. For one, there is the growing clamour for self-determination on the part of the cultural groups. For instance, minority groups all over the country have been demanding that they be known, located differently, and allowed greater participation in national political life. Secondly, there is the issue of greater participation in decision making at all levels of governance. He further argued that many communities, ethnic or sub-nationalities feel marginalized in the scheme of things and so want some autonomy in a form of resource control within which they can forge their national identity in a national development set up. Thus the Niger-Delta minorities realized that agitation for Minority rights is the convenient conveyor belt under which they could push their demand to the attention of the state.

Adagba (2003:2) observes that as it has been in the past, constitutional and structural arrangements have been made as a solution to some of these problems, but such solutions have failed to reflect the socio-cultural, economic and political values and aspirations of the people. According to him, for these problems to be resolved, an in-depth study of the political values and orientations of the various groups in the country needs to be undertaken as a matter of urgency.

Adagba (2003:2) further opines that there is need for Nigeria to create political culture that can blend valuable ideas emanating from the political traditions of various ethnic groups and nationalities in the country, if Nigeria wants to achieve mature nationhood, self-identity and overall national discipline.

Adagba (2004:24) argued that this school of thought which merely looks at some of the structural defects of the federal system, the ethnic and regional diversities manifested in policy formulation such as federal character and quota system and all what have been discussed as been criticized as too flimsy by radical scholars. Dunmoye (2003) argued that:

The momentum for Minority rights and resources control by Governors in the Niger-Delta areas increased during the Fourth Republic because of several reasons ranging from the injustice and inequality that characterized the distribution of national resources, particularly the oil revenue, the issue of derivation as a fundamental principle of revenue allocation, poor infrastructure in Nigeria especially in the Niger-Delta,

democratization which has made people to freely express themselves, the retaliatory measures taken by Southern states in response to the introduction of Sharia in some northern states.

He equally identified systematic destruction on the ecosystem in the oil producing states/areas which led to environmental degradation, pollution, acid rain, unemployment and poverty as well as failure of the multi-national oil companies to contribute to the socio-economic development of the oil producing states, activities of the unemployed youths, and resources control used as a vote catching ploy by politicians during general elections.

According to Oladeji (2006:289) the advent of democratic institution in Nigeria following the prolonged period of military rule has made the issue of politics of oil particularly the issue of Minority rights assume a critical position in the Nigeria fiscal federalism. This is because the minority agitation for resource control appears like a sectional strategy not only to curb the assumed established central government growing financial hegemony but also as a mechanism to bail out component units particularly the oil producing states of the Niger-Delta from their financial woes and development debacles. The crux of the view put by Oladeji is that the agitation for Minority rights in Niger-Delta is seen as the southern Nigeria's alternative to break away from the inter-tier financial dependence jinx and possible solution to states economic stagnation and lack of development in general.

In the word of Obi (1999) the concentration of the right and power to distribute land and collect compensation in the hand of the state governors have made the people of the Niger-Delta to feel short changed while the avenue for seeking redress remain virtually non existent. Recounting on the nature of grievances of the oil producing state Oladeji (2006) argued that apart from the whittling down of the derivation principles from at least 50% in the first republic to about 1% in 1992, the practice that assign 40% and 30% respectively to equity and population implies that 70% of the revenue in Nigeria is distributed without consideration to the origin. This development according to him present important sources of tension as people in the oil producing states have continued to insist on compensation for environmental degradation they perpetually suffered.

Oladeji's contribution, although did not extend to the implication of agitation on the Nigerian economic development, because for one to understand the effects of a phenomenon on other variable, it is necessary to have insight into the root causes of the problem.

Oladeji (2006) for instance, argued that the use of these concepts inter-changeably stems from the general belief that the derivation principle is the only revenue allocation principle that enables that money be returned appropriately to the state of origin of the natural resources. He noted therefore that it is natural that the clamour for resources control otherwise Minority rights becomes intense especially under the democratic institution following years of brutal repression by the military.

In another view Aghalino (2003:301) linked the political economy of the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta area to the issue of land crisis and obnoxious land laws inherited by the Nigeria state from the colonial government. This in his view is attributed to the fact that in the Niger-Delta, land issue is a festering sore in the tripartite relationship among government, oil producing communities and the oil producing firms. This agitation was made more intense by the confirmation of the power to revoke and allocate land, in addition to the payment of compensation to the various state governors rather than the land owners by the land use Acts. This development according to him had produced backlash consequences resulting in the escalation of grievances of the Niger-Delta minorities against the Nigerian state. Hence, the agitation for Minority rights and resources control.

Aghalino (2006:301) in contradistinction opines that the implication of the view point put forward by Bala and Omorunyi is that the Nigerian state inherited such obnoxious laws that made the Niger-Delta a victim of internal colonialism. He gave an example of the Mineral Proclamation Ordinance of 1966 (5.3) which states that the entire property and control of mineral and mineral oil under or upon any land in Nigeria and of oil rivers, streams and water courses throughout Nigeria is and shall be on the president in 1966. He lamented further that although the mineral proclamation was repelled and replaced with mineral Act the content remained the same.

Aghalino (2006:310) argued that the theory as demonstrated by Edevbie was formulated to encourage the northerners to intensify the belief that they are the primary

owners of the Nigerian oil. According to him, oil can be found in various areas of different hydrological variation from deep sea of the north sea, to the desert area of Saudi Arabia and in dry regions of Texas in the United States of America. He dismissed the position therefore as a pseudo theory whose ultimate goal is to influence policy on the distribution of oil revenue.

From the preceding arguments, it is clear that the main claim by the protagonists of resource control agenda is the feeling that while they produce most of the resources with which the other parts of Nigeria who contribute little or nothing to the development of the nation are being developed, the coastal state of the Niger-Delta receive little in return and singularly borne the brunt of the mineral exploration and exploitation.

The fundamental loopholes in the claims is the false assumption that the other parts of the country, particularly the north, is enjoying the proceed of the National wealth at the expense of the coastal states who suffer in form of environmental degradation and pollution of their eco-system. The reality of the issue however, is that while it is true that the oil bearing state of the Niger-Delta did not receive adequate compensation for the damage done to their farmlands and environment, poverty and under-development is a common coefficient shared by the Nigeria contemporary post colonial state from the coastal states of the Niger-Delta stretching to the deserts states in the northern Nigeria.

This line of thinking however, is not sufficient as both the state and the local government areas in the Niger-Delta have not accounted or justified the enormous resources they received from the federal government in form of 13% derivation and compensation. This is because majority of the development projects executed in the region is not done by the governors of their various states but by the federal government, Niger-Delta Development Commission or come as a corporate social responsibility by the multinational oil corporation operating in the region.

It is in support of the above position that Amuta (2001) criticized the governors of the south-south states in their struggle for Minority rights and resource control. He argued that agitation for Minority rights and resources control is the tale of resurgence and decadent tribalism, since in real sense there exists already some form of resource control in some states where the loudest voice about it is being made as the vast resources of these states are already under the control of the governors.

This view made by Amuta is inadequate especially considering the scanty nature of literature in the area. From the review made so far several observations emerged with regard to the variable under investigation. First, there is the existence of scanty materials or dearth of literature in the area of study with little or none focusing on the implication of the agitation for resources control in the Niger-Delta on socio-economic development of the people which makes this study not only timely but relevant.

Similarly, most of the literature on the Niger-Delta struggles for Minority rights treat derivation, resource control as one and the same. This became manifest in Oladeji (2006), Ojo (2006), Aghalino (2006) and Obi (1999) among others.

This development has far reaching implication on the stability and development prospects of Nigeria as a monocentric state dependant on oil as the sole source of national revenue for the performance of its statutory function directed towards national growth and development. This effort made by Oladeji although narrow in approach and methodology is not in futility because it have added value to literature on the issue under investigation.

Another common trend in most literature on the Niger-Delta is the division of the scholars along the North South divide with much of the scholars in individual and collective capacity perpetually amplifying the justification for or otherwise of the resources control agenda depending on Authors area of extraction or origin. For instance, there is common tendency among scholars of south-south extraction to shift the blame for their plight and general development backwardness of the area on the hegemonic power of the northern Nigerian power elites who dominated the political power matrix of the Nigerian state since independence thereby giving the north a leverage in the access to national cake predominantly baked from the National wealth of the Niger-Delta.

It is in response to these allegations that another line of thinking from the northern axis emerged and consistently debunked the issue of the claim over the petroleum resources by the Niger-Delta minorities, the loudest voice among which are Bala and Omorunyi.

Bala (2004) has extensively resorted to historical and geological process analysis in order to dismiss the agitation for resource control in the Niger-Delta. This he successfully achieved by deploying two lines of argument, first according by the virtue

of the British colonial conquest the Niger-Delta has lost its right over its resources to the British conquerors a right which was at independence transferred to the Nigerian state and not a region. He further argued that the oil located in the Niger-Delta is the result of the geological process that took place in the upper ridges of the Niger and Benue rivers. As such it is the people up country that should actually lay claim to the oil and not the Niger-Delta.

Corroborating Bala's (2004) first line of thinking Omorunyi (2004) argued that under the rule of international succession in international law, it is the Nigerian state and not the regions that become the successor to the ownership of what the crown or British government had in Nigeria after 1st October, 1960. This legalistic approach is too technical for empirical studies of this nature although it has strategic place in terms of contribution to the exiting literature.

On the geological process approach adopted by Bala in explaining what lead to the formation of Niger-Delta and oil, Edevbie (2006) argued that this ignores the value of a suitable geological environment for the compression of accumulated solid minerals under pressure and temperature to produce petroleum. He dismissed the view as simplistic analysis of a complex issue in which a serious and rigorous academic pursuit gives room for sentiments and selective amnesia. He maintained therefore, that the places that have petroleum resources are the areas that have the proper hydrological structure to generate them. This in his view explains why all rivers do not form delta and only a number of deltas have petroleum resources (<http://www.wardo.org/resourcecontrol>).

On the debate on politics of Minority rights not only in the Niger-Delta, but in Nigeria in general however, the common tendency among scholars, is to saw such agitation as synonymous with the issue of national question. Adagba (2004:26) attempted to categorize these variant scholarly position that border on Minority rights and national question in Nigeria into two category as represented by works of scholars such as Ikime (1986), Ade Ajayi (1992), Asika (1994) and Abubakar (2000) among others. The proposition that featured prominently among these scholars revolves around the survivability of the Nigerian state within the exigencies of the minority agitation as the case of the Niger-Delta and its implication for national development.

Mustapha (1985) in his own conceptualization tries to link the problem of national development with a series of overlapping contradictions in the process of political development in Nigeria. According to him, these contradictions include those between Nigeria and imperialism as exemplified by the interest of the transnational companies operating in the Niger-Delta and the interest of the government of making robust policies that are aimed at the overall national development, the three dominant ethnic nationalities and the continuous struggle for the control of the centre as means of garnering major share of the national cake, and the contradiction between the three dominant ethnic groups on the one hand and the smaller (minority) nationalities like the Niger-Deltans on the other hand as well as the bitter rivalry among the ever increasing states of the federation especially over an acceptable revenue allocation formula, inter-ethnic rivalries within the state, intersection rivalries within the same dominant ethnic nationalities and the inter-clan rivalries within particular states.

The emphasis here as Ikime (1996) pointed out is on economic development as the problematic of national question. The ethnic problem in Nigeria is indeed the national question around which a great deal of all our national life revolves in the name of which all sort of crime have been perpetrated against the nation. According to him, it is this issue which have produced the “we want our man” and we want our resources syndrome in Nigeria national question, which impinges on the nation’s derive for development.

This position that saws the politics of oil and the political struggle in the Niger-Delta from the liberal perspective of national question revolving around the survivability of the Nigerian project have been x-rayed in a similar but slightly different view by Ajaye (1992) who also viewed the national question and developmental challenges in the post colonial Nigeria state in terms of ethnicity. According to him, “The national question is the perennial debate on how to order the relation between the different ethnic linguistic and cultural groups so that they have the same rights and privileges access to power and equitable share of national resources” (1999:10) for the overall national development.

Oyelele (1994) for instance criticizing the view point of Ikime (1986) which asserts that “the ethnic problem in Nigeria is indeed the national question” and reason for our economic dwindle observed that the latter’s position obscures rather than clarifying what the national question is all about. Oyelele (1994) thus agrees with Nkom (1994)

who sees the national question as being concerned with social development and effective liberation of all national groups from oppression.

Thus, if the position of Oyelele (1994) and Nkom (1994) is what constitute the concepts of national question then the Niger-Delta struggle is no doubt an issue of national concern with impending danger on the course of Nigeria developmental equation.

From the economic point of view Onimode (2001:1) the core of the national question consists of political mobilization and struggles by the dissatisfied group to redress and exert more just and equitable accommodation in the name of self-determination. This coincides with the demands of the minority of the Niger-Delta which formed the basis of the today's politics of oil and agitation for the Minority rights in Nigeria, this contribution is therefore a sound footing on which study of this nature should be build and consolidated.

The explicating economic basis for Minority rights which manifested in economic mal-adjustment and economic decline from the national question are as follows:

1. The demand for equity in the distribution of national resources and the gains of development.
2. Democratic control over environmental resources.
3. Popular participation at all levels of development process and decision making.
4. The entrenchment of derivation principle in national revenue allocation.
5. Periodic review of fiscal system and the review of the distribution of legitimized power over national resources and revenue.

However, Ejenibi (1985), Saro-Wiwa (1994), Fashina (1994), and Otite (2001) while not disputing the view of Onimode went a step further to include other factors as forming basis for national question. For instance Ejenibi (1985) accuses the ruling class as the perpetrators of the problem of national unity and under-development. In his words:

The basis for the creation and continued existence of the Nigeria ruling class is not in concrete material production as a result therefore, we find in the politics of Nigeria the bourgeois over deciding on the question of production.

Thus, due to lack of base in production, these bankrupt elites have used the manipulation of ethnic, religious and geo-political division to make itself survive (Nkom: 1994, Dlakwa: 2006, Kyari: 2008 and Nnoli: 1995), in the Niger-Delta for instance, these elites hide under the pretence of pursuing the overall interest of the region which is the resources control agenda. In reality however, their main objective is self serving as most often than not they captured and cornered even the little resources that is meant for their region for their personal gain and that of their cronies at the expense of majority of the Deltans, who live in penury.

Similarly, Otite (2001:18) castigated the power elite in Nigeria as being responsible for disunity and socio-political instability as the case of Niger-Delta as well as under development rather than being responsible to the orderly and peaceful development of the country. He further observes that there has been too much concern with personal gain and sectionalism or even “familiarization of our national material wealth”. For him therefore, to enhance the resolution of the problem of national question and developmental challenges including the instability in the Niger-Delta area “the power elites can be rescued from their contemporary unproductive path through frameworks inherent in the new democratic, transparent, accountable political dispensation which has the potential of producing more statesmen than ethnic bound power elites to accelerate the development of united and prosperous born again Nigerians”.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretical interests abound in the area of study are not only relevant but adequate for analyzing the research variables (Geo-politics theory, Greed theory, petro-state theory and triple alliance theory). Although all these theories are relevant, but this study specifically adopt petro-state theory as the basis of Analysis. However, before presenting the petro state theory, it is imperative to present these array of theories albeit in synoptic form

2.2.1 Geo-Politics Theory

The geo-politics theory (‘Oil as ‘Vital Interest’) as predominantly featured in the political discourse is hinged on the praxis that states pursue their interest by controlling oil for either strategic or economic reasons (Klador, 2009:16). This strand within the

international relations purview is akin to the calculus of interest described by Machiavelli and Clausewitz. The significance of oil in the international political economy is rooted in the fact that strategic sectors that make up the heart of the economies of the West and the core US military strength is rest on the access to petroleum and simply can not survive without it. Thus it is of vital interest to the West that no single nation have the monopoly or at least dominate oil supplies, and the ultimate guarantor of the security of supply is force. Therefore oil has become not only as foreign policy issue but a national security matter and one of growing importance.

Geo-political theorist point the fact that American military have been consistently used time over time to provide 'global oil protection service' (Klare, 2007:7) cited in Klador (2007:17) for the protection of overseas field and the supply routes are also needed to keep oil flowing. The protagonist of geo-political explanations of the strong relationship between oil and war rely heavily on the examples of the 'old war' specifically the first and the Second World Wars during which petroleum played an essential strategic role and thus was quickly established as a 'vital interest'.

According to Yergin (1992) cited in Klador (2007:17) oil was critical for the conduct of the two dominant old wars the first and the Second World Wars because of revolution in military strategy that for the first time saw the emergence of auto-vehicle such as motor vehicles, tanks, air craft and swifter naval warships as the Allied forces floated to victory on flood of oils. The geo-strategist are of the view that oil plays a pivotal role in wars especially the two old wars. They cited as example that key to the victory of the Allied forces was the destruction of the rich Romanian oil fields and the denial of Germany access to the oil fields of Baku then the second largest producer of oil.

From the above it became clear that given the way and manner in which the First and Second World Wars were fought, oil and its control had proved itself as the most strategic raw material of the future, a reality all major powers recognized. Thus Britain as the dominant colonial power used the conflict to lay basis for long term control of the Middle Eastern oil seeking to make the Persian Gulf into a British Lake. Nowhere did the relationship between oil and war became manifest than in Mexico, where the United States landed troops in 1912 shortly after the discovery of huge new oil fields, and the

standard oil ran guns and money to the newly installed government so that the United State could replace British oil domination.

According to Meyer (1977) subsequent confrontation over petroleum brought Mexico and the United States close to war several more times, while British and American petroleum interest continued to battle ferociously over the countries oil until late 1938 when president Cárdenas Nationalization of all foreign oil holdings lead both countries to Boycott Mexico for the next 40 years.

Similarly, just as the Mexico conflict presaged, the role of oil in the First World War. The role of oil supplies was considered even more important not only to the conduct but as motivation for war during the Second World War. As Rommel put it:

The bravest men are nothing with out guns, the guns nothing with out plenty of ammunition and neither guns nor ammunitions are much use in mobile warfare unless there are vehicles with sufficient petroleum's to haul them around (Yergin 1992:34).

In addition both Germany and Japan were dependent on imported oil and worries about a cut off petroleum is said to have guided their actions since access to fuel ultimately means victory or defeat (Goralske and Freeburg 1987; Yergin 1992 cited in Klador 2007:18). Furthermore the role of oil in fueling wars could also be seen in similar dynamics that shaped the crisis over suez canal when Egypt's Nasawr Nationalized the water ways through which the over two third of European oil flows. This prompted the military response in bizarre and blatant manner when the British and French working with Isreal carried out air borne Assaults on the Canal zone in 1956 until forced to withdraw by a Sandi Arabian embargo against both countries, act of sabotage against their oil facilities and the insistence of Eisenhower who did not want to get the Arabs sore at all of us (Yergen 1993:49). Similarly, the First Post Cold War crisis, the 1991 Gulf war, helped to reinforce the narrative of the old wars, when Saddam Hussein lunched a surprised invasion of his neighbour, Iran.

2.2.2 Greed Fuelling Conflict Theory

This approach is rooted in the rent seeking behaviour perspective of the political economy school of thought. The proponent argues that economic motivations are driving force of contemporary conflict (Klador 2007). According to them in conflicts where the

rule of law and taxation systems have collapsed, source of income consist of war related activities, loot pillages, taxation of humanitarian aid, unfair terms of trade or illegal trading in valuable commodities like oil or drugs. In contrast to the geo-political theorist who are primarily concerned with the international war and the motivation of those great wars. The political economy school of thought primarily place emphasis on civil wars and the primary greed for both private greed and of both state and non state actors. Therefore in precise terms while the geo-political theorist saws oil as a strategic commodity for the nation as a whole. The greed theorist are more concerned with private profit and source of finance for the belligerents in civil war with particular emphasis on insurgents.

The greed argument applies to both motivation and to opportunity. According to them access to oil revenues may be a motive for initiating or continuing as well as opportunity to finance military activities.

According to Collier and Hoeffler (2001) rebel organization with genuine grievances can raise funds through extortion of commodity export as a way of financing their struggles or grievances, but the extortion of primary commodity exports will also occur where it is profitable (greed) and the organization which perpetuate this extortion will need to take form of a rebellion.

This they captured succinctly:

We propose that the endowment of unskilled labour and guns which characterized rebel organizations is particularly suited to raise funds through the extortion of export, our proposition can be interpreted in two ways on the universal grievance and interpretation, rebellions need to finance themselves and the extortion of primary commodity exports offers the best opportunity for financial viability. In the limit, only where there are such opportunities can rebel organization escalate to the scale need for civil war. On the literal greed interpretation, the extortion of primary commodity exports will occur where it is profitable and the organization, which perpetuate this extortion will need to take the form of rebellion (Collier and Hoeffler 2001:13).

According to Collier and Hoefflers statistics the tendency for insurgences to occur are most likely when primary commodities comprise approximately one third of a states

Gross Domestic products whereas where it is above that level the government of such state can use their economic rent to suppress rebellion. However anything below that level is considered as insufficient revenue to finance the belligerents. The greed argument is applicable to all form of primary commodity.

However, there is new trend in oil narrative where some theories do distinguish between types of primary commodities and argued that the specific characteristics of particular commodities have a greater effects on the shape of conflict as well as the character of the belligerents. One scholar that immensely distinguished himself in this respect is Le Billion who contends that primary commodities can be described either as 'point or proximate' and as 'proximate or distant' depending on the resource spatial spread or mode of exploitation, while the proximate distant distinctions refers to the distance from the government. Oil is a point resource, whose exploitation involves concentrated capital intensive with few linkages to the other sectors of the economy. However, in exceptional situation where oil is close to the government or easily controlled by government usually offshore as in the case of Angola the typical form of violence is coup detat to control government. Where as oil field are distant the typical form of conflict is secessionist thus Le Billion conclude that:

Resources can serve to shape the conflict taking place, the territorial control objectives, the duration and intensity of the conflict, and relations between belligerents and populations. Resources can also affect the internal cohesion of armed movement and motivate collusion between Adversaries, especially when exploiting or trading require such leadership. (Le Billion 2005:48).

Klador et al (2007) have come up with abundant evidence to support the greed argument in their cross country survey of sex countries. They cited example with experiences in Chechnya, Indonesia and Nigeria. In Chechnya for instance where bootlegged oil is a key source of income along with loot pillage and hostage taking. Chechen fighters sell oil extracted from back yard oil wells to the Russian forces who sales it on to the Russian market similarly in Colombia the FLN bombed pipelines and forced the oil companies to introduce social programmes, thereby gaining a 'Robin Hood' image, while the FARL gained access to oil through controlling municipalities.

Right wing para-military where paid to offer protection by BP, a similar pattern take place in Aceh, Indonesia and in the Niger Delta.

The effort of the greed argument in explaining how conflicts are financed and why well financed conflict are especially difficult to end. Its fundamental weakness is inherent in its inability to offer satisfactory explanation of the complex causation of contemporary conflicts in the first place. In addition both the geo-political and greed arguments have failed in analysis of the changing character of the state in the context of oil dependence and how this create extensive grievances that feed into explanations based on greed and geo-politics. These weaknesses notwithstanding their contribution to conflict narratives are commendable.

2.2.3 The Tripple Alliance Theory of Commercial Capitalism

Terisa Tunner's (1985) "Tripple Alliance" theory of commercial capitalism clearly depicts the type of relationship that existed between the multi-national corporations, host governments and the local bourgeois elements in Nigeria.

In her view it is this triangular network of relationship that had led to the choice of ineffective development policies in Nigeria. The penetration of the Nigeria economy by the multinational oil companies have undermined the developmental prospect of the country by subduing the Nigeria state and cajoling the political class responsible for formulation and implemantation of the development policies for the realization of the Nigeria manifest destiny. The main thrust of this theoretical postulation is that:

Owing to the penetration of the Nigeria economy and manipulation of state policies by the transnational corporation the host state has been captured and weakened. Consequently, politicians' in-charge of policy making and public officials responsible for executing such policies had been subdued into willing collaborators of the multinational corporations against the wellbeing of the citizenry (Tunner and Badrau, 1985:167).

In this unholy alliance and grand conspiracy the attention of policy makers was diverted from targeting sustainable development objectives that would benefit the ordinary citizens; to those that were geared towards entrenching rent seeking tendency, fraud, waste and abuse of power among politicians and public officials.

Corroborating this postulation, Omeje (2006:321) explains that “a rent seeking mentality” driven to a pathological extremity in some developing countries like Nigeria, caused the state largely to sacrifice the well being of its populace in policy making and governance in preference to the interest of the multinational capital. Obi (1998:264) argued that the oil rents or toll booty has made Nigeria awash with petrodollars without being actively involved in its actual production which remained firmly in the hands of the foreign multinational led by Shell, not to talk of embarking popular policies that will engender growth and development.

The theoretical relevance of the Tunner’s tripple alliances theory of commercial capitalism to the study of the Niger-Delta politics of oil and Minority rights and its implication for national development stems from the very fact that Nigeria as an oil rich nation, estimated as the 10th largest oil country in terms of reserve and 7th exporting (www.third worldtravelers.com), has her population especially those in the producing region languishing in abject poverty and squalor. Dlakwa (2006:62) maintains that so much energy is dissipated over the struggle for the share of the national cake “baked from the National wealth” by the elites that little or no energy is reserved for baking new cakes especially from the solid mineral resources, or focusing attention on real development issues capable for the provision of common good.

By and large, historical facts show that the active participation in the struggle over the sharing of the cake among the elites especially, those in the Niger-Delta are basically self serving as they corruptly enrich themselves even when they succeed in getting pieces of the cake meant for the respective geopolitical entities.

In the light of the above, Nigeria is thus in consequence of these elite recklessness, exposed to the so called “Dutch Disease” paradoxically a situation in which a country earns a lot of money through her export and amasses enormous wealth in aggregate terms but whose citizenry continue to suffer from chronic poverty, disease and squalor.

To further buttress the above illustration in graphic terms statistic gleaned from World Bank and other similar researches indicate that it is an oil rich country yet “70% of the population live on less than 1 dollar a day and 90% on less than 2 dollar a day” (World Bank :2005, Iwayemi 2006:2).

In essence the money generated from oil and related commodities have not been able to create job opportunities for the ordinary citizen nor providing the life support public goods owing to greed, pervasive corruption and abuse of power. The current state of affairs of Nigeria in general and Niger-Delta in particular have revalidated the postulation made more than three decades ago by Evans (1979:11) who recognized that the Nigeria case appear suitable for analysis using the tripe alliance theory of commercial capitalism.

2.2.4 The Oil, Rent Seeking Conflict Cycle: Eclectic Perspective

It has been established in the course of this discussion that the three explanations; geo strategic, greed and the petro state can be portrayed as rent – seeking argument at different levels. Thus the geo-political argument is actually about rent seeking among oil consuming countries, which under pins the idea of direct or indirect conflict among the great polices based on classic military force. The greed argument is about rent seeking at the local level involving the non-state actors and it draws on the burgeoning literature about what are called civil wars and the economic motivations for conflict. The petro-state argument is about rent – seeking in the oil producing states and society: It represent the inter-section of greed and geo-politics and can help to explain different types of conflict, internal, external and mixed.

In applying the three explanations therefore, only the first or strategic level was relevant in the case of the old war. This is because the great powers were able to control directly or indirectly the territories where the revenues from oil accrued. In the case of the ‘New oil Wars’, all three levels are combined since new oil wars are both global and local, thus the distinction between civil war and cross-border or internationalized conflict is less relevant. In real practice this distinction is breaking down, especially as price grows increasingly volatile, discoveries become infrequent and known reserves area depleted. New oil wars involve state and non-state actors who both sawk rent and are sustained by it. Within this exigency it became difficult if not impossible to control territory either directly through military means or indirectly through support for authoritarian regime. Each of these different level of rent seeking become salient at different times, this explained the tendency for an oil/rent sawking/conflict cycle to develop in which efforts to introduce appropriate policies to manage oil revenues are

undermined by ever intensifying rent seeking behaviour and ever intensifying grievances. What does become clearer here and often very sudden is the loss of the monopoly of organized violence the difficulty of protecting oil fields either militarily or politically and in the worst cases the collapse of oil state itself.

Rent seeking at all levels of state and society explains this systematic policy failure. By rent seeking we mean an intense political competition aimed at giving short term access to oil revenue as opposed to political competition over what policies might be in the long term public interest. The finite and concentrated nature of oil and the exceptionally huge sum generated from it explain why rent seeking behaviour is so importunate and why it is territorial focused (Klador 2007).

There is abundant evidence in oil narratives indicating scholars acknowledgement of cycle in the behaviours of oil dependent states some even go beyond that to introduce historical combination of rent seeking by different state and non state actors both within oil dependent states and abroad at different times to explain the cycle.

In their collective submission they maintained that oil rent seeking cycle pass through four phases: state building, stabilization, predation and finally state failure. Below is a tabular illustration of the above.

Table 1.1: The Oil Rent-Seeking Cycle

Phase	Actors	Types of state revenue	Policies	Form of politics	Types of conflict
State building	Great powers	Non-oil taxation	Oil funds construction of state infrastructure	Nationalist and ideological (left/right)	‘Old oil wars’
Stabilization	Oil-producing state	Oil and non-oil taxation	Development and public goods, repressive apparatus	Nationalist and ideological	Frozen or offshore conflicts
Predation	Oil-producing state and non-state actors	Mainly oil revenues and ‘forced donations’	Oil extraction and repression	Identity politics (ethnic, religious, tribal)	‘New oil wars’
State failure	Mainly non-state actors	Very low	Terrorism and corruption	As above	As above

Source: Adapted from Klador (2007).

2.2.5 The Petro- State Theory

Notwithstanding the array of theories presented this study is hinged on the petro-state theory. Popular among the proponents of this theory are; Adam Smith (1776), Schumpeter (1943), Bablawi (1990), Luciani, 1990 and Klador, 2007.

The petro-state (financing patronage, repression and corruption) argument is one of the variant of rent seeking behaviour perspective that tries to explain conflict in resource rich country. This argument is hinged on the par-axis that oil dependence has political implication similar to the economic effect known as the ‘Dutch Disease’ or the resource curse. To them this political effects are primarily responsible for generating subsequent economic problems. In other words oil rents eventually weaken state institutions, and this hollowing out of the state occurs within the context of growing grievances. This makes it less likely that conflicts can be handled without violence and more likely that they will be addressed primary through the distribution of rents a strategy that only works when rent are plentiful (Klador et al 2007:22). And since by nature oil price are highly volatile this is not always the case.

The petro-state theory is inspired by the Weberian premise that the economic foundation of the state matters and that the source of income shape the structure and dynamics of state power. As Karl put it:

In matters whether state relies on taxes from extractive activities, agricultural production, foreign aid remittance or international production because these different source of revenue, whatever their relative economic merit or social import, have a powerful (and quite different) impact on the state institutional development and its abilities to employ personal subsidies social and economic programmes and direct the activation of private interest (1997:13).

For the purpose of clarity in illustration two types of capitalist state are identified: the commodity production state where government rely on tax and bargain terms of government and policy decision with the tax payers and are thus accountable and democratic (a tax and spend state). The second is the state financed with revenue from domestic production but also control the economy as exemplified by the former communist countries.

The 'rentier' state is largely different and can be viewed as no tax and spend model. In this type of state revenue are generated from the possession of natural resources or from sources generated aboard and their government largely control their economy. Oil dependent state is therefore one variant of rentier state. Since in oil rich state in which profit and wages arise from the quality of land or simply put the state's controls of territory where oil is located rather than labour invested by the state in the oil production (Klador et al 2007). The classical theorist associated rentier and landlord with militarism because territory of such states were controlled by military means (Smith 1776; Schumpeter 1943). There is however evidence of departure between the old rentier state that absolutely depend on militarism and the contemporary brand which no longer relied on the use of coercion and repression alone, but political means such as patronage and forms of ideological mobilization, to ensure the consent of their subject. Favours are distributed through networks based on families, clans or ethnic and religious identity and since extensive patronage is difficult to entangled from corruption, corruption is no longer seen as a private phenomena but part of the way of political system operates. As Beblawi explained within the context of Arab oil producing states:

The whole economy is arranged as a hierarchy of layers of rentiers with the state or the government at the top of the pyramid acting as the ultimate support of all rentiers in the economy. It is important to add here that the rentier nature of the new state is magnified by the tribal origin of these states. A long tribal tradition of buying loyalty and allegiance is now confirmed by an etat providence distributing favours and benefit to its population (Beblawi 1990:89).

In a typical petro-state economy allocation of resources to different interest groups is a way of 'buying' a type of skewed development to secure loyalty (Luciani 1990). But this also have a serious implication because of the tendency of the emergence of new interest that might escape government control. A typical example is after the increase in oil price in 1973, most of these petro-states embarked upon ambitious programmes of state led industrialization with Venezuela as a reference point (Karl 1997). However, although favours in petro-states are distributed lopsidedly in oil led industrialization. Mobilization of opposition proved to be increasingly difficult task when petro-dollars flows, and not only due to repression. But because individuals who felt they are not benefiting enough feels maneuvering for personal advantage within the existing matrix is better than seeking an alliance with similar dissatisfied elements (Liciani 1990:76).

Thus even petro-state are prone to conflict and instability especially when price are volatile, they are paradoxically quite stable most of the time. It is only when the oil price falls that the capacity for patronage correspondingly declines. This intensifies competition and repression and can produce popular insurrections, wars or secession and foreign adventures.

The justification for the choice of the petro-state theory as the basis of the study is the fact that although it is by no means the only relevant theory but the theory to a larger extent capture the essence and main variables of the study. Its explanation is explicit in the very fact that Nigeria's dependence on the oil as the main sources of external earnings no doubt has created a political implication akin to the economic effects "The Dutch Disease".

The oil earnings have weaken the Nigerian state institutions vis-à-vis the growing grevancies such as the agitation for sovereign state of Biafra by the Indigenous People of

Biafra (IPOB), the agitation for resources control by the Niger-Delta militants, the agitation by the Oduduwa people congress (OPC) and the Boko haram insurgency among others.

Despite these series of agitation that has been on going for relative long period of time, the Nigerian state was able to contain the conflict primarily through violent repression, but where such strategy proved otherwise, the state adopted the distribution of patronage, to the elites, religious and ethnic leaders, militants and the most vocal elements in the agitation purely for the purpose of buying a skewed development to secure loyalty.

However, it must be made clear that the petro-state approach adopted by the Nigeria state to pacify the conflicting interest is a combination of the old (militarism) and the contemporary brand (patronage) which no longer rely on coercion and repression alone but political means such as patronage and forms of ideological mobilization to win the consent of their subject. These favours are distributed through networks such as: families, clans, ethnic and religious identity and since extensive patronage is difficult to entangle from corruption, corruption is no longer seen as a private phenomena but part of the way the political system operate.

Notwithstanding the lopsided distribution of favour in the oil, it makes mobilization of opposition increasingly a difficult task when petro-dollar flows and not only due to repression. In this case, individuals who felt they are not benefiting enough feels maneuvering for personal advantage within the existing matrix is better than seeking an alliance with similar dissatisfied elements. This explains why the Biafrans, the Niger-Delta, the oduduwa and the Boko haram can not present common front against the Federal Government of Nigeria.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ORIGIN OF POLITICS OF OIL AND MINORITY RIGHTS IN THE NIGER-DELTA AREA OF NIGERIA

The political life of man indeed has some reflection of the generic history and environment in which he lives (Ejiofor, 1981). This is because man's physical and social environment to a large extent sharpen both his material and non-material orientation. Therefore, the people's origin, settlement, physical environment, economy, language and socio-cultural values go a long way in determining their political thinking, imagination and even their general disposition towards other human grouping living outside their system.

Thus, as Ake (1989:1) amply observed, once one understands what the material assets and constraints of society are, how such society produce goods to meet its material needs, how such produced goods are distributed and what type of relationship arise in the organization of production we have come a long way to understanding the culture of the society, its law, religious system and even its mode of thoughts. On the strength of the above, therefore understanding the historical antecedent of the people's thinking translates into understanding their behaviour on any given issue.

Thus, understanding the historical background of the people of the Niger Delta as a prelude to the understanding of the origin of the politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights in the region becomes necessary. This chapter dwells on the land and the people of the Niger-Delta, the origin of politics of oil exploration and exploitation in Nigeria, the role of multinational oil companies in the politics oil in Nigeria as well as the origin of the agitation for the control of resources in the region.

3.1 THE EVOLUTION OF THE NIGERIAN STATE

The political entity known as the Nigerian state today is a British imperial creation designed to further colonial interest of economic exploitation. Prior to the advent of British imperial rule, following the Berlin conference of 1884 – 85 (for the partition of Africa and South East Asia into European Spheres of influence), what is popularly known as Nigeria was a conglomeration of separate autonomous indigenous political systems with distinct yet, closely related socio-economic and cultural values such as the Kanem

Borno Empire, the Sokoto Caliphate, the Old Oyo Empire, the Benin City State and several other independent states (Tamuno, 1980).

Each of these political systems in the pre-colonial Nigeria have had a long history of existence and co-existence with one another. They govern themselves independently with kings, chiefs and emirs serving as the custodians of the traditional stools and administered their various separate territories or communities according to the provision of their traditional beliefs, cultural norms, values, mores and traditions.

These set standards of behaviours for this said period were scarcely officially documented. Although in few cases like in the Northern Nigerian centralized emirate system codified in Islamic law that predominantly constitute significant portion of the penal code of the Northern Nigeria. Despite the absence of such provision into single documents, they still exist as well established public means of governance, accountability and authoritative resolution of conflict and dispute arising in the process of sharing the disposable pool of resources generated from the common wealth for the overall interest of the society as the case may be.

Irrespective of the nature of the political system that existed, be it centralized as in northern emirates system, decentralized or confederation as is the case of Yoruba West of the Niger or Acephalous non-centralized Igbo gerontocracy. There existed an inbuilt institutional constraint as a mechanism for ensuring accountability and checking the excessive or arbitrary abuse of power by the various traditional institutions.

When analyzing the centralized political organization in the northern Nigeria Adagba (2004) pointed out, a critical look at the operation of these centralized system in the pre-colonial period shows that, while in theory power was not only centralized but personalized such that they tend to be absolute and Omnipresent in the socio-political and cultural life of the people, they had in built mechanism which controls the excesses of the traditional rulers.

For example, the Kingdom of Parakon and Kandi in Benin Republic where existed ministerial cabinet that assisted the king in the day-to-day administration of his domain and at the same time punish the recalcitrant kings. In the centralized emirate system that operated in northern Nigeria the fear of religious sanction as enshrined in the Islamic law was enough mechanism for good governance, accountability and check

against autocratic excessive. Same could also be said of the centralized Old Oyo Empire where the existence of the council of Oyo-messi check the excesses of the monarch as they have the power to fire and appoint a new Oba, or Alafin. Thus, it could be argued that notwithstanding the autocratic outlook of the pre-colonial political organization, it was still more democratic compared to what is operational today in the contemporary Nigerian state.

The pre-colonial political organizations had for long existed and enjoyed relatively high degree of stability until the epoch of African contact with the outside world particularly Europe which was symbolized as a period of God, Gold and Glory. In other words, the period of slave, trade, legitimate trade and Christian Missionary activities in West Africa. This period not only served as a lynch pin but nexus for the ultimate pillage of the basis for the very existence of the once stable political organizations in the pre-colonial periods (Tamuno, 1980).

The evolution of the post-colonial contemporary Nigeria state therefore, although a deliberate British colonial creation as noted earlier has been preceded by series of interplay among several internal and external variables that gave impetus to the growth and development of the Nigerian state. This began with the activities of the European explorers notably Hugh Claperton, Denham, Richard Lander, and Mango Park among others. A development following the advancement in science and technology especially the discovery of steam engine-ship and compass in addition to the invention of Quinine as anti-malaria drug.

It should be made clear that, prior to the expedition to Africa by these European explorers the area generally known as Africa today was referred to as territorial incognita (Dark continent) thus the coming of these European explorers had open the coast of Africa to the outside world. As these explorers advanced into the coast, they made their findings public to their home government on the people's cultural practices, climatic condition and the existence of abundant natural endowment in the area (Ayandele, 1980).

The publication of the findings of these explorers especially about the discovery of River Niger, a river from which the name Nigeria was later derived saw the coming of the European Merchants to the coast especially the Niger-Delta coastal states and the

bourgeoning of slave trade between these European Merchants and the African middle men. In this trade, embodied able black-men and women were exchanged for European consumer goods and shipped to the new world to work in factories and sugar cane plantations.

The coming of the Christian Missionary societies and other humanitarian groups in the after years leads to the vehement condemnation of slave trade and other Africa traditional and cultural practices considered as ungodly and against humanity. Such retrogressive cultural practice includes the killing of twins and bastard and the burying of female children alive in some communities for fear of shame.

Thus, the slave trade was abolished and replaced with the legitimate trade which is trade in natural produces such as Cocoa, Cotton, Rubber, Tobacco, Gold, Diamond, Ivory which were abundant in the virgin Africa continent. In the present day Niger-Delta for instance, there was a growth of trade in “Oil palm”.

As the legitimate trade flourished the European Merchants attempted severally to by-pass the coastal middlemen to trade directly with the people in the hinterland of the present Nigeria. This created a serious conflict between the European Merchants and the African middlemen. The conflict was further compounded by the threats posed by the messages preached by the Christians Missionaries especially the issue of equality of the kings and their subjects and the new Christian faith which was alien to African tradition and culture. Thus, the Europeans were sawn by the Africans as the harbingers of the long drought and famine they experienced during that period and must be dealt with. In must cases therefore, Europeans were harassed, molested and beaten by the Africans sometimes under the instruction of their local chiefs. (Ayandele, 1980).

Within the above exigencies, the Christian Missionaries and the European Merchants sensed danger and appealed to their home government for protection. In response to this demand the British Authority sent some contingent of British Army for the protection of the Europeans at the coast. They established a military posts at Lagos and Calabar and also established a cottage health post in these two areas to provide health care services for the officials and the European citizens in general. These were the first British colonial structures that gave impetus to the later creation of the contemporary Nigeria state for the furtherance of British economic interest. As these British personnel

most often interfere with the internal politics of the indigenes especially in the area of trade dispute and any other British economic interest.

By 1861 British had annexed Lagos and made it a crown colony directly administered from London and by 1882 established the Oil River Protectorates with its headquarter in Calabar. Throughout this period however, there was no reasonable effort by the British colonial authorities to move northward. Until after other European countries particularly France and Germany indicated interest, thus British extended its domination to the North and for administrative purpose the area was left under the protection of the Royal Niger Company. (Tamuno, 1980).

In the Northern protectorate, as it was in Lagos Colony and Oil River Protectorates there was no serious effort by British colonial authorities to setup administrative machinery until 1900. Following the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 85 convened by the then German Chancellor Reichskanzler Von Otto Bismarck in which Africa was shared into European spheres of influence. The year 1900 therefore, saw the foundation of the political structure that later metamorphosed into modern Nigerian state. For it was during this period that the British conquered Nigeria and established three separate colonial entities, namely: the Lagos colony, the oil river protectorate and the protectorate of Northern Nigeria with their administrative headquarters in Lagos, Calabar and Kaduna respectively.

However, in furtherance of its colonial interest of economic exploitation the British imperial authority introduced a policy thrust of divide and rule through the encouragement of vertical integration without efforts towards horizontal integration. Because of this the people from the three separate entities would be Nigerian colonies remain to a large extent strange bed fellows who saw each other with sense of mutual suspicion and distrust.

By 1906 the Oil River Protectorate threatened to secede from Nigeria if not merged with the colony of Lagos and same year these two colonies were merged to become the colony and protectorates of Southern Nigeria. But the Northern protectorate remained separate until in the year 1914 when Lord Lugard the then British High Commissioner and later first colonial Governor General amalgamated the Colony and

Protectorates of Southern Nigeria with the northern protectorate to become colony and protectorates of Nigeria. (Tamuno, 1980).

Therefore, it is a marriage among these strange bed fellows from distinct socio-cultural orientation that produced what is known today as Nigeria. With the integration of these three separate entities into one, an administrative structure was setup which divided the country into the three major divisions Viz: the Lagos capital with the office of the Governor General which handled all common services and both the northern and southern region harboring the office of the Lt. Governor for the day to day administration of the region and make policy recommendation for the administration of their region to the Governor General.

The 1914 amalgamation which laid the basis for the foundation of the Nigerian state has been perceived variably by Nigerians across the nation based on the imaginary ethno-regional line of cleavages that sharply divided the nation into north-south with each being duly occupied by distinct supposedly monolithic-ethnic groups that had been in existence for relatively long period of time.

This development therefore, created a scenario of serious competition and conflict in the sense that the north was dominated by the Muslim majority and the South by the Christians. This found expression in the verbal altercations of sentiment and resentment among the Nigeria nationalist. As Awolowo had earlier in 1914 observed that “Nigeria was a mere geographical expression rather than being a country” (Adagba, 2004), while in the word of Ahmadu Bello in 1953 “the amalgamation of 1914 was a mistake”, even Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had expressed similar sentiment when he cried that “my trouble started because I am an Igbo man” (Adagba, 2004). The inclination of those supposed founding fathers of the Nigerian state nevertheless led to crisis that could be said to have laid the foundation of identity politics and national question in Nigeria which spell over to the current politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta area of Nigeria.

As some keen political observers noted, “while not disputing the 1914 amalgamation mistake”, amalgamation had been a deliberate policy thrust of the British to bring various divergent ethnic groups in the country together for effective

administrative convenience and the furtherance of British economic interest (Akinjide; 2001, Abubakar; 2002).

Similarly in 1897, it incorporated the conquered Benin Kingdom and by 1900 the Niger coast a protectorate was merged with the Yoruba hinterland to form the protectorates of Southern Nigeria (Adagba, 2004:123). In the case of the Northern protectorates the story was not much different as the protectorate was midwived through a piecemeal process of gradual integration of the various ethnic nationalist into a single large unit the Northern protectorates.

Having said all these, it is germane to acknowledge the fact that the amalgamation of these distinct ethnic nationalities into one nation had remained a recurring decimal in Nigerian struggle to nationhood as it seemingly proved cumbersome to evolve an all encompassing predominant political culture in the country. A situation that led to the separate development tendency of the various regions as the major ethnic groups that dominated the three regional structures that emerged in 1957 the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba.

Rather than evolving a national political culture these dominant ethnic groups encouraged the growth of their own peculiar political culture. While the various ethnic minorities cut across these three major regions had no option rather than playing second fiddle politics, yet till today, they still play the part of the oppositions and in some case remain as insignificant appendages.

Therefore, in all practical purposes, if the issue of national question as manifested in the politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta is to be x-rayed and treated properly the amalgamation of 1914 must not be over looked inspite of the fact that, it provided an ample opportunity for the nation building, it remain indisputable the very genesis of our present crisis of confidence and political success (Akinjide, 2001:5-7) even if it was a unilateral act by the colonial power to serve its interest as Abubakar (2002) would put it, the process of integration of Nigeria since then has followed the trend of that exercise (Adagba, 2004:123). By colonialism we mean forceful extra territorial acquisition otherwise extension of socio-economic, political and cultural domination by one race or territory over the other.

It is imperative acknowledged therefore that, if the 1914 amalgamation exercise was the beginning of Nigeria integration as a nation, it only sets a stage for the future political and constitutional development of the country. This is because the first constitutional arrangement for Nigeria started in early 1922 when the country had its first constitution, the Clifford constitution which introduced elective principle in Lagos and Calabar. Even prior to that period Lord Lugard before leaving Nigeria as its first Governor General had set up the Nigerian council which initiated the setting up of Bureaucratic system in 1918. Despite this, the administration of the country from 1914 – 1918 was purely direct and aristocratic so much so that even after the 1914 exercise the British continued to rule the country as two separated entities, the north directly from London and the south from Lagos (Coleman, 1958).

It must be made clear that because of the similarities between the feudal aristocratic emirate system operated in Northern Nigeria with what is obtainable in Britain, the British colonial authority had not only protected but preserved the existing system although with slight modification to suit the European idea of good governance. Therefore, the colonial state established the native authority system in the north based on the Indirect Rule system through the centralized and steeply hierarchical structure of traditional authority in the Emirates with organized Bureaucracy akin to the Weberian ideal Bureaucracy. The successful story of the operation of the In-direct Rule system in the north led to its transplanting to the South. In the south, the absence of organized political system led to the introduction of the institutions of Warrants Chiefs to exercise sole authority; but due to the republican nature of the region the operation, of the In-direct Rule system was poorly and in some cases even broken down in certain places.

In the same vein, in a bid to preserve the existing traditional system of administration of the northern emirate system, western education and religions were permitted to spread rapidly in the south but heavily restricted in the northern Muslim dominated region where Islamic civilization had been entrenched for long. This development created fundamental imbalance in-terms of education, economic and technological development in addition to population and land mass.

In addition, the growth of political participation was permitted earlier in the South especially when Clifford constitution of 1922 introduced elective principle in Calabar and

Lagos, which gave birth to the first formal indigenous political party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) of Herbert Macaulay. (Dudley, 1968). Thus it is arguable that, the separate characters of development in Nigeria which gave impetus to future political tension and issues of national question such as the present day politics' of oil were rooted in the regional structure created by British colonial regime in 1939 under Governor Bernard Bourdillon. During this period Nigeria was divided into four (4) administrative units, the Lagos capital, the western, eastern and northern group of provinces.

3.2 THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE OF THE NIGER-DELTA

The Niger Delta, the delta of the Niger River in Nigeria, is a very densely populated region sometimes called the Oil Rivers because it was once a major producer of palm oil. The area was the British Oil Rivers Protectorate from 1885 until 1893, when it was expanded and became the Niger Coast Protectorate (Hogan, 2013).

Paradoxically, the area has a peculiar terrain, which tends to make development difficult. For instance, it is one of the largest wetlands in the world and is generally characterize by sandy costal barriers, saline mangroves, fresh, permanent and seasonal forests as well as low rain forest. The whole area is traversed and crisis-crossed by a large number of river, rivulets, canals and creeks. Though a difficult terrain, the lack of development of the region can be attributed more to lack of political will than the difficult terrain. Consequently, the area has remained largely undeveloped with the bulk of the swampy deltaic terrain completely cut off from development, modern amenities and social infrastructure. Educational opportunities are limited while modern health facilities are scarce, particularly in the numerous coastal settlements in which the bulk of the oil fields are located.

The Niger Delta, as now defined officially by the Nigerian government, extends over about 70,000 km² and makes up 7.5% of Nigeria's land mass. Historically and cartographically, it consists of present day Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers States. In 2000, however, Obasanjo's regime included Abia Akwa-Ibom, Cross River State, Edo, Imo and Ondo States in the region. Some 31 million people of more than 40 ethnic groups including the Bini, Efik, Ibibio, Annang, Oron, Ijaw Itsekiri, Isoko, Urhobo, Ukwuani,

and Kalabari, are among the inhabitants in the Niger Delta, speaking about 250 different dialects.

The Niger Delta, and the “South South Zone”, which includes Akwa Ibom State, Bayelsa State, Cross River State, Delta State. Edo State and Rivers State are two different entities. While the Niger Delta is the oil-producing region the Nigerian South is a geo-political zone. The Delta is an oil-rich region, and has been the centre of international controversy over devastating pollution and ecocide, kleptocracy and human rights violations in which Royal Dutch Shell has been implicated.

Western Niger Delta consists of the western section of the coastal South-South Nigeria which includes Delta, and the southernmost parts of Edo, and Ondo States. The western (or Northern) Niger Delta is a heterogeneous society with several ethnic groups including the Urhobo, Isoko, Itsekiri, Ijaw (or Ezon) and Ukwuani (Igbo) groups in Delta State, along with Ilaje in Ondo State. Their livelihoods are primarily based on fishing and farming. History has it that the Western Niger was controlled by chiefs of the five primary ethnic groups the Itsekiri, Isoko, Ukwuani, Ijaw and Urhobo with whom the British government had to sign separate “Treaties of Protection” in their formation of “Protectorates” that later became southern Nigeria.

Central Niger Delta consists of the central section of the coastal South-South Nigeria which includes Bayelsa and Rivers States. The Central Niger Delta region has the Ijaw (including the Nembe-Brass, Ogbia, Kalabari people, Ibani of Opobo & Bonny, Okrika, and Andoni clans). The Ogoni and other groups which consist of Ogba, Egbema, Ekpeye, Ndoni, Etche, Ikwerre and Ndoki in Rivers State. Eastern Niger Delta Section consists of the Eastern (or Atlantic) section of the coastal South-South Nigeria which includes Akwa Ibom and Cross River States. The Eastern Niger Delta region has the Efik, Ibibio, Annang, Oron, Ogoja (including Ekoi and Bekwara) people, who are all related with a common language and ancestor.

The Niger Delta people sustained heavy suffering and deaths during the Nigerian Civil War also known as the Biafran War with Nigeria as the entire Niger Delta became major war fronts as the Nigerian Army fought and pushed the Biafran soldiers out of the Niger Delta into the Biafra territory leading to the end of the war. Over one million Niger Deltans died during the war with present Akwa Ibom State, Bayelsa State, Cross River

State, Delta State, and Rivers State of which Akwa born State, Delta State and Bayelsa State sustained most of the casualties, (Vidal, 2010). Initial lost of lives occurred when the Biafran soldiers invaded the Niger Delta at the start of the war where many Niger Delta community leaders were eliminated as the region was mainly on the side of the Federal Government. Many children and adults died due to starvation, diseases and as casualties of war.

During the colonial period, the core Niger Delta was a part of eastern region of Nigeria, which came into being in 1951 (one of the three regions, and later one of the four regions). This region included the people from colonial Calabar and Ogoja divisions, which are the present Ogoja, Annang, Ibibio, Oron, the Efik people, the Ijaw and the Igbo people, as the majority and the NCNC (National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon) as the ruling political party in the region. NCNC later became National Convention of Nigerian Citizens, after western Cameroon decided to separate from Nigeria. The ruling party of eastern Nigeria did not seek to preclude the separation and even encouraged it. The then Eastern Region had the third, the fourth and the fifth largest ethnic groups in the country (Igbo, Ibibio and Ijaw) after Hausa/Fulani and Yoruba. Instead of using the opportunity of being the Region that had the three largest ethnic groups in the country out of the five largest, the Region engaged in infighting and self-destruction and claiming of Ibibio and Ijaw along with other ethnic groups in the Region as minorities instead of uniting to use their position as the Region with the third, fourth and fifth largest ethnic population in the country to advance their development.

In 1953, the old eastern region had a major crisis due to the expulsion of Professor Eyo Ita from office by the majority Igbo tribe of the old Eastern Region. Eyo Ita from Calabar was one of the pioneer nationalists for Nigerian independence. He was an Efik man. The minorities in the region, the Ibibio, Annang, Efik, Ijaw and Ogoia, demanded a state of their own, the Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers (COR) state. The struggle for the creation of COR state continued and was a major issue on the status of minorities in Nigeria during debates in Europe for Nigerian independence.

In 1961, another major crisis occurred in then eastern region of Nigeria when the leadership of the region allowed the present Southwestern Cameroon to separate from Nigeria (Akwa born and Cross River) through a plebiscite while the leadership of the

then Northern Region did what they had to do to keep Northwestern Cameroon in Nigeria that is the present day Adamawa and Taraba States. Without the 1961 plebiscite, Nigeria would not have the current problem with Cameroon about Bakassi as Bakassi would have been an interior part of Nigerian (Akwa born and Cross River) territory. A second phase of the struggle saw the declaration of an Independent Niger Delta Republic by Isaac Adaka Boro during Ironsi's administration, just before the Nigerian Civil War. During the Nigerian civil war, Southeastern State of Nigeria was created (also known as Southeastern Nigeria or Coastal Southeastern Nigeria), which had the colonial Calabar division, and colonial Ogola division. Rivers State was also created. Southeastern state and River state became two states for the minorities of the old eastern region, and the majority Igbo of the old eastern region had a state called East Central state. Southeastern state was renamed Cross River state and was later split into Cross River state and Akwa Ibom state. Rivers state was later divided into Rivers state and Bayelsa state.

Phase three saw the request for justice and the end of marginalization of the area by the Nigerian government with Ken Saro Wiwa as the lead figure for this phase of the struggle. The indigents cried for lack of developments even though the Nigerian oil money is from the area. They also complained about environmental pollution and destruction of their land and rivers by oil companies. Ken Saro Wiwa and other leaders were killed by the Nigerian Federal Government under Sani Abacha. Unfortunately, the struggle got out of control, and the present phase, the phase four, has become militant.

The area has continued to be of increasing strategic importance in view of the unstable nature of oil supplies to the international community, owing to the numerous ongoing conflicts in the Middle East. The area also has a vast natural gas reserve reported to be among the largest in the world. Virtually the entire Nigeria's natural gas fields are located in the region. This has further gone to underscore the importance of the Niger-Delta to Nigeria's economic survival.

Nigeria has become West Africa's biggest producer of petroleum. Some 2 million barrels (320,000 m³) a day are extracted in the Niger Delta. It is estimated that 38 billion barrels of crude oil still reside under the delta as of early 2012 (Adelfemi, 2013). The first oil operations in the region began in the 1950s and were undertaken by multinational corporations, which provided Nigeria with necessary technological and financial

resources to extract oil (Scott, 1970). Since 1975, the region has accounted for more than 75% of Nigeria's export earnings. Together oil and natural gas extraction comprise "97 per cent of Nigeria's foreign exchange revenues". Much of the natural gas extracted in oil wells in the Delta is immediately burned, or flared, into the air at a rate of approximately 70 million m³ per day. This is equivalent to 41% of African natural gas consumption, and forms the largest single source of greenhouse gas emissions on the planet. In 2003, about 99% of excess gas was flared in the Niger Delta, although this value has fallen to 11% in 2010. (See also gas flaring volumes) (Amnesty International, 2009). The biggest gas flaring company is the Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Ltd, a joint venture that is majority owned by the Nigerian government (UNFCCC, 2003). In Nigeria, "...despite regulations introduced 20 years ago to outlaw the practice, most associated gas is flared, causing local pollution and contributing to climate change" (World Bank, 2010). The environmental devastation associated with the industry and the lack of distribution of National wealth have been the source and/or key aggravating factors of numerous environmental movements and inter-ethnic conflicts in the region, including recent guerrilla activity by the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta(MEND).

In September 2012 Eland Oil & Gas purchased a 45% interest in OML 40, with its partner Starcrest Energy Nigeria Limited, from the Shell Group. They intent to recommission the existing infrastructure and restart existing wells to re-commence production at an initial gross rate of 2,500 bopd with a target to grow gross production to 50,000 bopd within four years (Friends of the Earth, 2004).

The effects of oil in the fragile Niger Delta communities and environment have been enormous. Local indigenous people have seen little if any improvement in their standard of living while suffering serious damage to their natural environment. According to Nigerian federal government figures, there were more than 7,000 oil spills between 1970 and 2000 (Vidal, 2010).

When long-held concerns about loss of control over resources to the oil companies were voiced by the Ijaw people in the Kaiama Declaration in 1998, the Nigerian government sent troops to occupy the Bayelsa and Delta states. Soldiers opened

fire with rifles, machine guns, and tear gas, killing at least three protesters and arresting twenty-five more.

Since then, local indigenous activity against commercial oil refineries and pipelines in the region have increased in frequency and militancy. Recently foreign employees of the primary corporation operating in the region, were taken hostage by outraged local people. Such activities have also resulted in greater governmental intervention in the area, and the mobilisation of the Nigerian army and State Security Service into the region, resulting in violence and human rights abuses.

In April, 2006, a bomb exploded near an oil refinery in the Niger Delta region, a warning against Chinese expansion in the region. MEND stated: We wish to warn the Chinese government and its oil companies to steer well clear of the Niger Delta. The Chinese government, by investing in stolen crude, places its citizens in our line of fire (Taylor, 2007).

Government and private initiatives to develop the Niger Delta region have been introduced recently. These include the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), a government initiative, and the Development Initiative (DEVIN), a community development non-governmental organization (NGO) based in Port Harcourt in the Niger Delta. Uz and Uz Transnational, a company with strong commitment to the Niger Delta, has introduced ways of developing the poor in the Niger Delta, especially in Rivers State

In September 2008, MEND released a statement proclaiming that their militants had launched an 'oil war' throughout the Niger Delta against both, pipelines and oil-production facilities, and the Nigerian soldiers that protect them. Both MEND and the Nigerian Government claim to have inflicted heavy casualties on one another (B.B.C, 2008).

In August 2009, The Nigerian Government granted Amnesty to the militants which saw the militants surrendering their weapons in exchange for a presidential pardon, rehabilitation programme and education.

3.3 BACKGROUND OF THE POLITICS OF OIL IN NIGERIA

The beginning of the 19th century witnessed the emergence of industrial revolution in Europe and later in the United States of America as a result of advancement

in science and technology. This period marked an era of sporadic rush out for colonies in Africa, Asia, Pacific, and South America by the industrial advanced countries of Europe. Namely, Britain, France, Portugal, Italy and Spain.

This development no doubt has intensified the tempo of scramble for alternative source of oil in particular and other raw materials such as gold, Cocoa, Cotton, rubber, diamond, Ivory among others by the colonial masters for the sustenance of their industries (Tamuno, 1980). This frantic and ultimate search for assured source of stable oil have necessitated the industrially advanced countries through their transnational corporations to expand their horizon for alternative source of oil by intensifying the exploration and exploitation activities in the Persian gulf, Venezuela, Indonesia, Angola and most specifically Nigeria (Dlakwa: 2006).

The sudden rush by Transnational Oil Corporations was driven purely by the search to expand their economic interest to their host communities. This drive for oil was in all practical intent primarily to make profit in addition to securing accessibility to assured strategic source of energy to strengthen their industrial base. The above exigencies, could therefore be said to be the foundation that gave impetus to politics of oil in Nigeria and other parts of the globe. Suffice to say this, it is not out of place to say that although oil exploration as a business had been a long time dream and adventure, the actual drilling of oil well started in August 1859 by Edward L. Drake in North Western Pennsylvania, USA (Dlakwa, 2006:63).

During this particular, epoch oil was basically used as illuminants i.e for provision of light. This continuous up to the first quarter of the 21st century when automobile and similar machines using fuel came on board and oil usage gained more prominence in the global political economy. This development had opened a new page in the chapter of oil history as more efforts have been intensified towards oil prospecting in order to meet up the challenges of the global energy requirement. In response to this global demand for energy, over 50,000 oil fields had been discovered by 1968 world over, and more than 200 billion barrel of oil had been produced (Petroleum Encyclopedia Britannica, 2006).

Furthermore, the average production rate was pegged at 22 billion barrel per day, while the estimated global oil reserve by then was 2.39 trillion barrel out of which about 77 percent has been discovered. In Nigeria the origin of the politics of oil is closely

associated with the work and adventure initiated by John Simon Benham in 1906, the year the protectorates of the oil rivers and Lagos colony were merged to become colony and protectorates of Nigeria. Acknowledging this gallant stride by John Simon his home government the British Authority encouraged and supported his company (Dlakwa, 2006) (The Nigeria Bitumen Corporation) which pioneered the prospecting for oil in Nigeria.

For the furtherance of its economic interest the British colonial authority protected Bergheim monopoly of the prospecting rights. The British government equally re-wrote mining legislation at Benham's request creating the southern Nigeria mining regulation known as the Oil Ordinance of 1907 and provided the Nigeria Bitumen corporation with financial leverage in form of loan to support its search for petroleum (Obesi, 2003).

Things however, did not go as expected when this overzealous oil prospector died in September 1912 after his company had incurred an expenditure to the tune of 143,000 pounds and sunk 15 oil wells without hitting oil. This development had forced many oil companies with interest in oil prospecting to have a change of mind considering the financial implication involved in the oil exploration and exploitation business. As such no company after the demise of Bergheim or individual had indicated interest in Oil. Until oil consortium called Shell D' Arcy came on the scene and monopolized oil prospecting in the entire country just like its predecessors.

After frantic efforts and incurring expenditure to the tune of 30 million dollars on drilling activities in the present day Niger-Delta for close to twenty years, the company hit its first commercial oil well in 1956 at Oloibiri in the present day Bayelsa state. One distinctive feature of oil prospecting in Nigeria is the attempt by virtually all the oil prospectors to monopolize the operation. This is evident in the fact that when Bergheim came on board he bought up all the drilling license for his company, the Nigeria Bitumen Corporation, similarly the between 1937 and 1958 Shell D Arch had the whole country as one concession. Until 1959 when other foreign companies were granted concession for oil prospecting in Nigeria.

The dominant foreign oil companies that took active part in the exploration and exploitation of oil in Nigeria include among others, the Shell BP, Mobil, Tenneco, Gulf (Cheveron), Safrap (ELF), Agip, Philip, ESSO Japan petroleum, Occidental, Deminix,

Union oil, Niger petroleum and Niger National wealth(Nigeria: foreign participation in oil and gas industry on line Nigeria.com).

It must be acknowledged at this particular juncture that these companies had monopolized the oil market for more than three decades until in 1991 when the first indigenous company, the consolidated oil joined the race by hitting a commerce oil quality in the Niger-Delta area, this development was followed by the resurgence of pockets of indigenous oil companies in the oil business, they include among others; the AMN, Consolidated Oil, Summit Oil, Dubril Oil, Yinka Folomiyo petroleum, allied Energy, Avendish as well as Atlas and Express petroleum (IWAYEMI 2006:6). This spate of indigenous oil companies involving in the oil business has led to government determination to increase the local participation in oil sector “from 15% in 2007 and 70% by 2010 (CIA, 2005). This is indication of success story however, as the National Assembly have successfully passed the local content bill into Act.

Be that as it may, it is germane to state that the Nigerian economy which predominantly depended on the oil sector is dominated by the foreign transnational oil companies thereby compromising the economic sovereignty of the nation. This is because leaving the commanding height of an economy of a nation like Nigeria in the hands of the transnational oil capital is not politically expedient. In the sense that the sovereign state of the host country could easily be compromised. As Olukoshi lamented any country that left the engine room of its economy in the hands of Multinational Corporations will never develop (Olukoshi, 2000).

It is in response to this challenge that the (NNPC) Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation through its Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR) has been mandated to among other things, assert the nations sovereignty in the oil exploration and exploitation activities, ensure the continuous exploration within ‘the national territory, in order to have full examination of the Nigerian petroleum potentials. It is in line with the above challenge that Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) established the petroleum training institute at Effurun and The Federal University of petroleum resources, Effiruna in 2007. It equally through Petroleum Technology Development Fund (PTDF) provides both foreign and domestic scholarship for students in the field of

engineering and other oil related field such as geology, chemistry and geo-physics among others.

Similarly, sequel to becoming a member of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in July 1971, the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) began to part take in the oil business by entering into concession with multi-national oil corporations to undertake joint venture in oil exploration and mining.

The NNPC started on a modest note by acquiring 35% equity in 1979 it has a country of about 60% respectively (Dlakwa, 2006:64). With the advent of the Murtala Obasanjo administration the Federal Military Government of Nigeria in its war against the racial regime of apartheid in South Africa took a bold step to nationalize the shell BP as a counter measure to the company's violation of the restriction imposed on the export of the Nigerian oil to the apartheid regime in South Africa. It is fair to acknowledge at this juncture that after series of review in the participation agreement, it is clear that by 1993 the oil sector of the Nigeria economy was controlled by the following stakeholders in the oil sectors, NNPC 55% Shell 30%, ELF 10% (Manpa'a, 2005).

From the proceeding discussion it is that between 2001 to date Nigeria had found a prominent place in the league of oil producing and exporting nations, in particular it was the 13th largest oil producing country with average capacity of producing 2.22m barrel per day (B pd) as well as the 7th largest oil exporting country with more than 45% going to the United State of America, on the average the Nigeria daily oil export amount to 2.0 million barrel per day (b pd) ([third world travelers.com/world oilfact.tml](http://thirdworldtravelers.com/worldoilfact.tml)).

In another development, the Petroleum Act of 1969 and its subsequent amendment (1973, 1974, 1979, 1989, 1995, and 2003) as well as the various constitutional provisions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provided that "The control of the oil and gas in any place within any land in Nigeria under its territorial waters, and continental shelf is vested in the Nigeria state". (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999).

This constitutional provision and the prolonged period of protracted military rule that dominated Nigeria body politics has placed enormous political power and excessive control of oil revenue at the disposal of the central government at the expense of the

component units. These component units, the state and local government on the other hand depend on the crumbs of the National wealth that fall from the table of the federal government for their own socio-economic development.

By and large, this revenue realized from the sales of oil near totally supports the survival of the Nigeria economy. Therefore, the politics of Nigeria has become intricately interwoven with the politics of oil. Thus, the general feeling of marginalization based on the existing primordial lines of cleavages, in the nation becomes eminent. This is evident in the fact that the Nigeria policies are benchmarked on oil revenue since the first time oil was discovered in commercial quantity. This constitutes the key factor that brought to fore the sub-national identity especially those of the Niger-Delta extraction for resource control and devaluation of power to the sub-national units.

3.4 THE ROLE OF MULTINATIONAL OIL COMPANIES IN THE POLITICS OF OIL IN NIGERIA

A close examination of the politics of oil exploration and exploitation, no doubt, reveals the heavy presence of Multinational Oil Companies in the oil sub-sector of the Nigeria economy. The question that really comes to mind is what is responsible for this state of affair?. It is simply a product of the very facts oil exploration is capital intensive project which requires huge amount of money and high level of technology.

The high cost of exploration and exploitation of oil in terms of finance and risk involved in it therefore made it possible only for multinational oil companies who have financial capacity base to dominate the oil sector. The Nigeria Government has however, for several years shown more interest in regulating the operation of the foreign oil companies through the issuance of license and imposition of rent and royalty on the prospecting and mining activities of the foreign oil companies rather than directly involving in the oil exploration (Dlakwa, 2006).

This does not mean however, that the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria does not at all involve directly in the oil activities but rather such involvement is limited to joint venture agreement with MNOCs. Even with this, the Nigerian Government is cautious that the entire amount required for meeting the joint venture obligation on its part are earned from the other charges imposed on the multi-national oil

companies. For instance, in recent time the Nigeria government has shifted attention to Profit Sharing Contract (PSC) a development that left the entire liability in the upstream operations of the multi-national companies (Ibeanu and Luckham, 2007).

These foreign companies having sensed the enormity of cost and risk involved in the business of oil exploitation are mindful and selective about the choice of particular oil zone they could invest in and do business. The criteria often used in the choice of which zone to patronize are; the probability of getting hydro-carbon in commercial quantity, the enabling environment created by national policy of a particular country with regards to equity participation and most importantly of political risk (Dlakwa, 2006:66).

Considering the above checklist, in term of reserve capacity Nigeria seems to be favourable for Transnational oil companies for oil business because as of 2001/2002 country had an estimated hydro-carbon reserve put at 24 billion barrels, making Nigeria the 10th largest country with oil reserve capacity in the world (*third world traveler, world oil facts, 2.magazine*). Similarly as of 2005 the proven oil reserve had reached 35.2 billion barrels.

Comparatively, on the global trend the distribution of oil has been disproportionately with the Arabian – Iranian Sedimentary Basin in the Persian Gulf having the highest oil reserve (41% of the world total endowment) and it is the most lucrative zone for oil prospectors and miners. The reason for this is the fact that two-third of the “super-giant field” numbering about 20 are located in the Persia gulf. Saudi Arabia alone has about eight of them super-giant making it the country with the largest reserve in the world. The remaining one third of the super-giant field outside the Persian gulf are distributed as follows: two in the US, two in Russia, (Petroleum Encyclopedia Britanica 2006:66). It is interesting to know that of the major top 20 ranking countries in terms of oil total reserve. The highest five, namely Saudi-Arabia, Iraq, UAE, Kuwait and Iran are in Persian Gulf.

According to CIA (2005:2) reports Nigeria has about 250 small fields and about 200 other fields whose capacities have not been determined when this is compared with the oil fields in the Persian Gulf region. These are less competitive because they contain less than 50 million barrels each.

The reason why oil investors prefer the super-giant oil field is because of the economy involved in exploration and exploitation. First it gives them ample opportunity

of striking viable quantity of oil in such fields in the first few well trials. On the contrary, it takes several attempts and quite a number of wells to be sunk in fields with small reserves before commercially viable quantity of hydro-carbon can be struck (Dlakwa, 2006). Similarly, in the long run the quantity of oil in the supergiant fields would last longer and be more cost effective.

The advantage of the Nigeria type of oil which makes it attractive to the foreign investors is that it is of high quality with light low sulphur which could be benefited at relatively low cost compared with other major oil provinces like the North sea, and the gulf of Mexico (Omene, 2002, 11).

It must be acknowledged, that although Nigeria as an oil producing country is divided into seven distinct basin in oil prospecting parlance, the Niger-Delta area has the highest potential of medium and small size oil fields compared to the others; this therefore give the region a leverage to attract foreign investors to invest their resources in the prospecting for oil in the region.

Regarding the issues of equity participation policy however, the petroleum Act of 1969 provides for 35% portfolio holding, which has now been increased to 55 – 57%. Apart from the mandatory government participation through the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), the Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR) which confers on the multi-national oil company oil license “non exclusive right to explore and invest by surface geological and geo-physical muscle within an area of about 12944sqkm for an initial period of one year renewable on expiration”. The second is the oil prospecting license and (OPL) which confer upon the license the exclusive rights of surface and sub-surface exploration for exploration for petroleum in an area not more than 2488.8sq km, for an initial period of three years renewable for two years. “While the third category is Oil Mining Lease (OML) which confers on the holder exclusive right to explore, min, produce and transport petroleum for delineated area. With a maximum duration of lease of 20 years, renewable for another 20 years in expiration” (Omene, 2002:21; Dlakwa, 2006:67).

In addition, the government imposes several other charges on the MNOCs including Petroleum Profit Tax (PPT), royal, and rent. The profit Tax Act of 1959 requires MNOCs to share their profit on oil on a 50% basis with the government of

Nigeria. The tax has been revised upward to 55% in 1971, 65-75% in 1974 and 85% between 1975 and 2006 (Dlakwa, 2006). Similarly, a royalty of 20% of an share oil production is to be paid to the government. In respect of the offshore operation the royalty is not fixed but rather graduated depending on the depth of the oil well. Specifically, for a dept of up to 200 meters the royalty is 16.67%, for the depth of up to 500 meters 12.0% for 800 meters depth 8.0% and for a depth of up to 1000 meter depth has zero royalty, due to the enormous cost involved (Iwayemi 2006:10), in a nutshell over 98 percent of oil production in Nigeria is subjected to these charges under the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) as provided for by the joint venture agreement. Be that as it may, when Nigeria is compared with other countries in the less developed countries such as Algeria, Angola, Indonesia and Venezuela, the fiscal regime provided under Nigeria's memorandum of understanding is quite favourable to the government.

The reason for this is that major share (57%) of the total crude produced in the country goes to the government as a rent (Business Day 18/13/03:29-30). The government only uses it allocation for export or allocates to the NPC for domestic use. The National Petroleum Investment Management Services (NAPIMS) a subsidiary of the NNPC is responsible for managing the government share of the crude allocation. Therefore, while the Nigeria government benefits immensely from the fiscal regime, the multi-national oil companies suffer the financial burden as such, they use to make choice strictly on the attractions of fiscal regime imposed by the host government. They would rather go to other zones than to operate in Nigeria.

The socio-economic climate in Nigeria since the 2001 after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon tower in the United States of America; and the subsequent war against terrorism embarked upon by US. The Gulf region had been uncomfortable for the US and the MNOCs as they constitute the prime target of extremist. In the Niger-Delta area there were several cases of destruction of the MNOCs properties and oil installations. For instance, in December 2004 "militants took 75 workers hostage in the Niger-Delta area, attacking several oil flow station and calling for better infrastructural development and improved welfare for the local population (CIA 2005:5). Below is tabular illustration.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICS OF OIL AND MINORITY RIGHTS IN THE NIGER-DELTA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the discussion of main variable, politics of oil and minority rights in the Niger-Delta area of Nigeria. The first segment of the chapter dwelt on the highlight of socio-economic and political factors that influence the agitation for minority right in the Niger-Delta. In second segment focus will be on how the Federal Government of Nigeria responded to the agitation and the effectiveness of the measures taken. The second segment is divided into four sections:

The first section dwelt on the general analysis of the various strategies adopted by the Nigerian State where four basic strategies namely: violence or threats of violence, constitutional legalistic approach, institutional approach as well as diversionary tactics/divide and rule policy adopted were utilized and its effects on the agitation. The second contains the presentation and analysis of data from Bayelsa State, which is one of the state sampled in the Niger – Delta. The third section dwelt on the analysis of responses from communities in the River State on issues related to how they view the various strategies adopted by the Nigerian state in pacifying the protesting oil producing communities. The fourth and last section deals with analysis from the Niger-Delta communities in Delta State with the view of ascertaining how the community members perceive the effects of each of the strategy adopted by the Nigerian state to end the lingering crisis.

4.1 SOCIO- ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE AGITATION FOR MINORITY RIGHTS IN THE NIGER DELTA

The ongoing conflict and contestation for resources control between the federal government of Nigeria on one hand and the oil producing states and communities of the Niger-Delta area of Nigeria on the other had drawn attention to plethora of issues pertaining to the nature and character of the Nigerian state and its corresponding consequences on the inter-ethnic relations on one hand and the national developmental equation on the other. It is against this background that this chapter examines the political economy for the Niger – Delta agitation for Minority rights.

4.1.2 THE STRUGGLE FOR OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF MINERALS, LAND, RENTS AND ROYALTIES

One of the most logically compelling themes of the demand for resources control by the oil producing communities of the Niger-Delta area is the contention among the three key actors notably the federal government, the state governments and the various oil producing communities claims over the ownership of mineral, land, rents, and royalties, to strip this to its barest requires the X-ray of the right of ownership of land and rents accrued from such factors. There exist basically two rights of ownership of land namely the customary land rights which bestows the right of ownership of land in the local community entrusted in the hand of the custodian of the traditional stool, here the rights to control land and minerals are exclusively of the local community for the overall common good of its aborigines. The second right of ownership is the statutory land ownership which vested the power for control of land and mineral rents in the state government on behalf of the state this position was amply captured in the 1978 land use Decree repealed and enacted as the 1979 Land Use Act. Thus, within the framework of both the customary and statutory right of ownership the federal government has no direct claims to land in the state; However, although the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria by provision, have still vested and maintain the power over the control of land in the hands of the State Governors on behalf of the state with the exception of the Federal Capital Territory which is vested in the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the same constitution have specifically vested the issue related to mineral deposited not limited to, but including oil and gas in the hand of the Federal Government in the case of mineral and gas which constituted the main focus of this study to be specific section 16 of the 1999 constitution amended provides that “The control of the oil and gas in any place within any land in Nigeria under its territorial waters and continental shelf is vested in the Nigerian state” (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999) relying on this provision that the Federal Government has continually not only prescribed how much is paid by the multinational oil companies operating in the Niger-Delta for land used but also collects the rent at the detriment of the oil producing communities. Another ostensible justification complementing the federal government

action is the Petroleum Acts of 1989 which vested in the federation the power to control all minerals and gas “in, under or upon the land and territorial waters of Nigeria”. The contradiction however which the oil producing communities are questioning its authenticity is the provision of the constitution which clearly stipulates that the ownership of land which under the practice of same constitution is vested in the states.

Thus, the Niger-Delta people would argue that the federal government’s retention of the mineral land rent as unconstitutional and illegal since the states are legally entitled to such rents, as of rights and it is this basis that give impetus to the basis for agitation for resource control by the oil producing communities of the Niger-Delta. As the Editorial of Guardian News Paper captured the position of the MOSSOP Thus:

MOSSOP insist that oil Royalties and rents are the property of the landlords and the Federal Government must return to the oil bearing communities all royalties and rents paid to it by the oil companies since 1958 (Guardian 19th March 2000:9).

From the above scenario two unresolved issues became discernable which need to be analysed critically. First is the question of whether the mining rents are logically the property of the Federal Government and the second is the issue of the attempt by the oil producing communities to juxtaposed mineral rent and royalties as resources legitimately belonging exclusively to the oil producing communities. With regard to the first question, the rents should actually belong to the state government of the various oil producing communities or to the specific oil bearing communities involved. This may appear ambiguous though as the land use act would appear to have given the state the right to these rents but the oil producing communities also have asserted that they have an exclusive intrinsic right to what they regard as rents on communal land. With regard to the second issue and question however, the constitutional position is unambiguous when it stated that while rents are tributes to the owners of land in this case the state government of the oil producing communities, royalties are purely levied on minerals whose ownership remain vested in the Federal Government. This position had been amply captured by the Okigbo Commission on Revenue Allocation when it stated inter-alia:

The owners of the minerals on which undisputable royalties are levied under the existing laws and constitution is the government of the federation. It follows that the payment of a part or the whole of the revenue from this source to the state (communities) where the mineral is produced does not derive from legal right but from political or other considerations. To transform this political act into a legal claim or right as the oil producing states seem want to do violet in reality (FGN 1980: 93).

The above position conflicts with the demand of the oil producing communities of the Niger –Delta who want complete resource control or at worst not less than 10 percent of the federally collected mineral revenues should be returned to the oil producing areas on the basis of derivation principle. This constitutes of the prime political economy of the agitation for resource control by the oil producing areas of the Niger-Delta.

4.1.3 Revenue Allocation Principle based on Derivation and Special Fund

Another widely supported demand that constituted a major theme in the political economy for resource control by the oil producing communities of the Niger-Delta area is the application of derivation principle in the allocation of the federally collected revenue for the achievement of distributive justice principle. One inherent characteristic of the application of the derivation is that it is politicized along the north-South dichotomy; while the people of the oil bearing communities of the Niger-Delta felt that the principle of derivation as in operation today has shortchanged the oil producing areas of its legitimate share of the National wealth which it produced because of the domination of political institution of decision making by the northern power elites, they thus demanded that the revert to the status quo. The northern power elites are of the view that oil unlike agricultural products is not labour intensive and that it was revenue realized from the sale of agricultural products particularly groundnuts and cocoa that were used to develop the nation's earlier infrastructure and oil exploration. Of course, derivation is a long standing principle of revenue allocation in Nigeria. The derivation otherwise known as the origin principle of distribution stipulates that a significant portion of the revenue collected in a locality should be returned to the locality or segment.

This principle has however been progressively de-emphasised as mineral exploration replaced agricultural export as the principal source of government revenues and foreign exchange earnings in Nigeria. This change in the rules has given impetus for the resources control agenda with the ethnic minorities of the oil producing area denouncing it as politically motivated assault by the majority nationalities on the economic rights of the minority communities who are perceived as too small and weak to threaten the stability of the federation.

This minority perception has been lucidly presented by the first civilian Governor of the old Rivers State and the representative of the Ijaw communities:

Derivation as a revenue allocation criterion is not new in this country. It featured prominently when cotton, groundnut etc. were the main sources of revenue in Nigeria. But it has continued to be deliberately suppressed since crude oil became the mainstay of the country's economy (Okilo, 1980:3).

The above position put by the representative of the Ijaw community, the largest ethnic nationality among the Nigeria Delta oil bearing state is the expression of their grievances towards the politicization of oil revenue with regard to the application of the derivation principle. However, the question actually is why should derivation that has been a major principle of revenue allocation since independence become de-emphasized, the answer to this question is not far from the politicization of the sharing of the National wealth by those who control state apparatus since access to political power as major decision making mechanism especially with regards to authoritative allocation of resources and values depends on those controlling political power. This will definitely ignite the oil producing minorities to agitate for resource control since in Nigeria decision making and power matters, for those who make the loudest voice succeed in pushing their demand to the Nation's Agenda setting machinery and this was amply utilized by the Niger-Delta minorities hence the political economy for the resource control agenda.

The feelings of resentments about the politicization of the national cake baked from the oil sub-sector by the people of the Niger-Delta was also re-echoed in the editorial of the National Concord which clearly stated that:

there have been disheartening contradiction and inconsistencies in Nigeria, a nation that recognized 100 percent derivation as the basis for revenue allocation in 1950, but reduced it to 50 percent at independence in 1960 and further 45 percent in 1970, 20 percent in 1975, 1.5 percent in 1983 and 2 percent in 1992 as crude oil found in Ijaw community became the main source of National Revenue. (December 11, 1998:2)

From the exploration of the politics of oil within the context of derivation as a revenue allocation principle certain conclusion became crystal:

1. That politics of oil has led to the de-emphasizing of derivation principle as criterion for revenue sharing in Nigeria progressively.
2. that the progressive diminution of the derivation principle has been accompanied by agitation for resource control agenda by the minorities of the oil producing community with corresponding tendency for official acceptance of the need for the establishment of special funds for ecological rehabilitation of the mineral producing areas which in essence made the oil producing communities' plight to come to the core of the national agenda setting institution.

4.1.4 The Struggle for Political Power and Restructuring of the Federation

Although both the derivation and the special fund ultimately squarely fit into the major issue in the agitation for resource control, another outstanding theme is the agitation for the restructuring of the internal territorial configuration of the federation. This has been demands pushed by the persistent clamour by the Ogoni oil producing community for greater ethno-political autonomy in order to give them the right to the control and use of a fair proportion of their presumed economic resources for capacity building and community development. The essence of this clamour for economic rights and participation in the decision making process has been specifically captured in the Ogoni bill of rights' cardinal objectives which include:

- (a) The political control of the Ogoni affairs by the Ogoni people.
- (b) The right to control and use a fair proportion of the Ogoni resources for Ogoni development.

- (c) Adequate and direct representation as of rights in the Nigeria National Institution.
- (d) The right to protect the Ogoni environment and ecology from further degradation.

The above cardinal objective of the Ogoni Bill of right clearly indicates that political interest had taken precedence over every other consideration since access to the control of political power has direct bearing over every other variable economic or environmental.

Furthermore, the demand for the control of political power as means of securing economic leverage was not limited to the Ogoni ethnic nationality alone but also across other ethnic nationalities of the Niger-Delta oil producing region, although the form and content vary in scope and magnitude but the overall objective is to get them integrated into the main arena of decision making for better access to the National Cake backed from the National wealth (Ibeanu and Luckhana, 2007).

Thus, the Ijaw leaders had called for an autonomous federation within the Nigerian confederation. In other words, they were demanding for the politico-territorial consideration of the Ijaws presently spread over five states into two broad homogenous Ijaw communities. These have been identified as Bayelsa to be constituted from Rivers and Akwa Ibom States and Form Ebe which is expected to comprise Ijaw communities in the present day Ondo, Edo and Delta State (*National Concord 11 December 1998*). The minority ethnic nationalities of the oil producing Niger-Delta area had also favoured the creation of additional states and local governments as a medium for enhanced accessibility to federal resources and also as a means of mitigating the lopsided political balance of the smaller minority groups within the Nigerian power configuration.

By and large, it is charitable to acknowledge that the struggle for the control of political power had come to the fore of the political economy of the struggle for resource control by the Niger-Delta oil bearing minorities. Since in politics power remained the most viable mechanism for the authoritative allocation of scarce resources and value it follows naturally that the struggle for power by the various power elites not only occupies central place in the politics of oil in Nigeria but serve as an impetus for expanding the horizon of the resource control agenda by the Niger-Delta ethnic minorities.

The most basic reason advanced for this clamour is hinged on the paraxes of the realization by the minority oil producing communities that despite the fact that their region produce the resources that contribute more than 80 percent to the Nation's revenue base, yet, they had no adequate representation in the main stream of the Nigeria politics and economy such as in the area of political appointment and sharing of the juicy and lucrative oil contracts (Mier, 2000; Ojo, 2006).

Thus, some off the hook theories tried to blame the situation on the domineering role-played by foreign capital especially the multinational oil companies in the control of the Nigeria economy and public officials responsible for the formulation and implementation of public policies. These public officials prefer to remain as commissioned agents for primitive accumulation by the imperialist to enable them participate in the international political economy.

According to them, it is the free access given to the foreign capital to dominate the Nigerian economy that had led to strained relationship among the various power elites and also between the various indigenous ethnic nationalities in the country. For instance, from the attainment of political independence to date, the issue had grown to the proportion that paved way for the political economy of the agitation for resources control in the Niger-Delta area. To sustained this ugly trend there was a deliberate creation of ethnic identity politics by the domestic power elites and false consciousness which was rooted in the colonial manipulation of the political structure leading to a keen context for power and national resources among the major contenders with their regions serving as a convenient conveyer belt for the accomplishment of their selfish interest.

Similarly, the abolition of the federal system of government and its replacement with quasi unitary system following a long period of protracted military rule had resulted in the minitralization of the existing political space and economic opportunities thereby opening the centre into the arena for economic and political contest among the various indigenous power Elites that constituted themselves into champion of their individual interest under the guise of ethnic agenda (Ojo, 2006).

The implication of the above is that it had rendered the contest for the control of economic and political power into a zero sum game where the winner takes all and the loser losses everything including his personal safety. Thus, the area of political contest

invariably became state of warfare and in the state of war experts are propelled to the fore front. This partly explained why the military had for several years captured and controlled the political and economic power base of Nigeria. Regrettably however, these military governments had continuously negated the provision of basic life support facilities even to the very regions that produced the enormous resources on which they feed fat with their cronies.

The resultant effects of the above ugly development is that it set the various frustrated minority ethnic groups of the Niger-Delta against the Federal military government through constant demand for resources control as a very good tool for political bargain. But if they could not secure complete resource control they will at best have a better representation in the scheme of things. The militarization of the arena of political and economic power struggle occasioned by the use of repression by armed state security against dissident voice had served as an impetus for violent agitation for resource control by the oil producing minorities. These militants had no option than to adopt similar military approach as a counter to the repressive tendency of the Nigerian state represented by the power elites.

To achieve this, the minorities constitute themselves into militant transnational social movements and adopted the gorilla warfare tactics to tackle the federal crack down on the dissidents voice demanding for fairness and justice in the distribution of the national resources.

To buttress this point further, Ekeh (2001) avers that the militarization and nationalization of the Nigerian police had added impetus to the violent agitation by the oil producing minorities. This is done in an awkward manner by the Nigerian state so much so bad that the centralised police force which is supposed to carry out civic policing function for the protection of lives and property of the common man is converted by the Nigerian power elites to promote violence rather than peace in the name of executing the government directives with immediate effects. When this state repression amidst poverty is combined with lack of respect for the sanctity of human lives by the Nigeria security agents, the resultant effects is the sustained loss of faith in the legitimacy of the National Authority. A development that created opportunity for the battalion of unskilled and uneducated youth parading the creeks and streets of the major centres of the oil producing

region to become willing tools in the hand of the desperate power elites and political class to serve as political thugs during electioneering and thereafter constitute themselves into armed militants for the resources control agitation.

Thus, the Niger-Delta power elites and the political class therefore, provide the militants with arms and resources and with the encouragement of their traditional Ogboni cult their morale became high and they launched offensive against the Nigeria state.

4.1.5 Environment and Ecological Degradation

Examination of environment and ecological degradation as a major theme in the political economy of the agitation for resource control by the Niger-Delta oil producing minorities is guided by four basic principles that emphasize the nature of relationship existing between men and physical and social environment.

First and foremost is the fact that physical environment provides man with a set of conditions which may be favourable or unfavourable for human living and development. In addition, the same physical environment provides man with a source of resources which permit him with either a narrow or wider range of choice in the way of making a living depending on the nature of the environment and man's technological development, cultural preference and socio-economic and political organization chosen, his pattern of life and way of making a living within the limits which may be posed by the environment.

Based on the above therefore it is germane to state that the relationship between man and environment is dynamic, which involves a two way flow of activities which in turn expresses themselves in his response to the opportunities, limitations and hazards as presented by the natural environment within the context of the above. Therefore, it is not out of place to conclude that the Niger-Delta oil producing minorities response is engendered interplay between natural factor and man made factor as created by the oil exploration by multi-national oil corporation operating in the region.

SECTION ONE

4.2 FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO AGITATION FOR MINORITY RIGHTS IN THE NIGER-DELTA AREA

Oil has become a critical element in the power capabilities of nations within the matrix of global political economy. This is evident in the perpetual contradiction of both exogenous and indigenous dimensions with which National wealth have been surrounded. From the international point of view, it has become the major source of instability among nations; bearing in mind the popular Gulf War of 1996 and the 1st September, 2009 when America invaded Iraq as an example. In addition there are series of domestic violence between the various internal interest groupings within the various oil producing states especially between the central authorities on the one hand and oil producing communities on the other. The main sources of these frictions resulting into political instability and eventual political risk are in the area of revenue sharing formula especially the struggle over the control of the lion's share of the national cake.

The common trend in this contention is the continuous outcry for marginalization by the oil producing communities especially in the area of provision essential services and other basic needs without which life became meaningless and unbearable. The attendant consequence of this cry for marginalization by this oil producing communities is the agitation for Minority rights or resource control. It is apparent to acknowledge that at the centre of conflict surrounding oil exploration and exploitation, is the Shell Petroleum Development Corporation, which is a clear manifestation of the contradiction inherent in the operation of global capitalism.

In Nigeria as in other nations practicing federalism, fiscal relationship between the centre and the component units have always presented an important problem area requiring both human scheming and political will to surmount these overbearing challenges. This situation is more pronounced among the emerging federal states like Nigeria where a combination of several factors constrained the operations of fiscal federalism or distributive justice as an all important element of inter governmental fiscal policy.

The above situation has given impetus to the fact that politics has taken the centre stage of revenue allocation and the apparent popular perception of the central government

growing financial hegemony in relations to its component units as a result of persistent manipulation of the revenue allocation formula. The resultant effect of this mindsets of the dominance of politics in the intergovernmental fiscal relations, especially in an oil dependent mono-centric and rentier economy like Nigeria is the growing feelings of being short changed by the oil producing communities and the outright demand for absolute control of the natural resource found in their area, while they pay appropriate taxes to the central government for essential services as enshrined in what the Niger Delta called the “principle of true federalism”.

The above scenario therefore presents the Nigerian state with the impracticable challenges of effective management of crisis associated with the imbalance between the mandate and the available resource at all levels of government, especially where oil is involved. Consequently, it is glaring that the Nigeria state had always view the oil producing communities with suspicions considering the fact that those that control the central government are not from the oil producing states (Ironsi, Gowon, Murtala, Obasanjo, Shagari, Obasanjo, Yar’adua). This imaginary threat to the central government by the oil bearing communities has further been aggravated by the adoption of the confrontational approach through the resurgence of many militia groups among the Niger delta communities. This has further reinvigorated the state’s perception of these agitations as a separatist tendency which threatened the corporate existence of the Nigerian state.

The question therefore is how the Nigerian State responded to this growing wave of politics of oil and the agitation by the minority especially in the Niger delta? The answer to this sensitive question is worth retreating due to the fact that the Nigeria State under both military and civil administration had adopted several measures to whittle down the tempo of this politics of oil and agitation by the militants for Minority rights in the Niger- delta region. These measures could be grouped for the purpose of convenience and proper understanding contextually:

i. The use of force/threats of violence

Within the context of this study refers to the deployment of the state instruments of coercion i.e. real or perceived repressive, militarism and or excessive force to pacify and contain the agitation by the oil producing communities in the Niger-Delta region.

ii. Institutional measures

Institutional measures within the context of this research refers to developmental initiatives, institutions and social security incentives established by the Nigeria state such as the Niger-Delta Development Board (NDDDB), Oil Mineral Producing and Development Commission (OMPADEC), Niger-Delta Development Commission (NDDC), equity in shares, amnesty programme and other initiatives to cushion the effects of oil exploration, exploitation and fast tract the Development of the Niger-Delta Oil Producing Area of Nigeria.

iii. Legislative and constitutional response

This refers to the use of part or whole of the legal statue, instruments, constitutional provision, court interpretation or injunction to whittle down the contentions of the oil producing communities in the Niger-Delta Area.

iv. Divide and rule/Diversionsary tactics

This refers to any strategy or tactics adopted by the Nigerian state to create crack and weaken the rank of the agitators. It could be patronage, sighting of development project as well as location of Local Government Headquarters.

It is imperative to give a synoptic highlight of these responses within their specific context.

4.2.1 The Instruments of Force/Threats or of Violence

It is axiomatic to state that repression had been a conventional approach used by modern states in resolving its internal conflict especially as it relate to the intergovernmental fiscal relations. For instance, the common trend shared by the government under both civil and authoritarian administration in post colonial Nigeria state especially in whittling down the voice of opposition like the agitation for resource control by the Niger-Delta minorities is the use of instrument of violence or threats of force. The first attempt by the Nigerian post colonial state to use repression as a counter insurgency measure against its citizens is rooted in the clamp down on the Adaka Boro 12 day revolution on the 23rd February 1966 (Mier, 2000). Adaka Boro proclaimed the Niger-Delta republic with himself as the Head of State. The Adaka Boro irredentist Niger-Delta volunteer force numbered over 160 thousand men engaged and defeated the

Nigeria police in a bloody battle but was defeated on the 12th day by the Nigerian armed forces. The central theme of the Boro's agitation then was resource control.

Similarly, in 1995 the Ogoni environmental activist Ken Saro-Wiwa mobilized the Ogoni youth to launch mass and often violent protest against the activities of Shell in Ogoni land. This development was considered by the military government under General Sani Abacha not only as an economic sabotage, bearing in mind its implication for oil production, but as having grave security implication for the corporate existence of the Nigeria State (Ibeanu and Luckham, 2007; Mier, 2000).

Therefore, fearful of the consequences that the Ogoni's continued protest might have on the oil production and its revenue base power, the Nigerian state fore-closed any possibility of peaceful settlement and consequently decided to clamp down on the Ogoni's using state instrument of force, to pacify the Ogoni situation which appeared horrendous. Consequently, the Ogoni crisis was laid to rest and Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni right activists were hanged in a broad day light despite global clamour for clemency. By and large, it has been stated from the very onset that the use of repression as a strategy to whittle down protest against the state by the citizenry is not limited to the military authoritarian regimes but also exercised by civil administrations. Thus, the democratically elected government of Olusegun Obasanjo had ordered the military actions against the civilian population in the town of Odi in revenge to the killing of 13 military personnel. This resulted in the destruction of Odi with much civilian causality both killed and injured. In addition, properties worth millions of naira were destroyed. Similarly a lot of civilians were maimed, women raped and communities displaced.

Furthermore, the present administration of Goodluck Ebele Jonathan had also declared a full scale war on the coastal area of the oil producing regions of Nigeria in which a large number of women, children and other civilians were not only displaced but lost their lives. The impression of the above scene is that oil is more precious than human blood to the Nigerian leaders.

Ojo (2006:311) has summarized the rationale behind the excessive use of force by the Nigeria state to quell down the protesters as:

Convergence of interests in the politics of the control of National wealth and the survival of Nigeria because of the mono-culture-nature of the economy.

This position was amply supported by Ikelegbe who states clearly that “given the very high stake of oil it make the state to be sluggish on dialogue, negotiation or concession but expansive in terms of repressive response”. This culture of use of state instrument of coercion by the Nigerian state to pacify the youth a strategy that never paid off is sawn by many observers as a continuation of Pax Britannica in the area to harass and intimidate the people to submission by possible wiping out communities as epitomized by Odi Massacre under the Obasanjo democratic regime.

Be that as it may, it is imperative to state that the use of instrument of force against the citizenry by the Nigeria security forces is not limited to the oil bearing communities but common trend and manifest character of the Nigeria leaders as this approach had also found expression in Zaki Biam in Benue State (2004) where the whole community was ransacked by the Nigeria military as well as in the city of Maiduguri during the Boko Haram insurgency.

4.2.2 The Legalistic Constitutional Approach

The Nigerian state had also responded to the politics of oil and agitation for resource control by the Niger-Delta minority ethnic groups through the utilization of legal or constitutional measures. The fundamental of all these is the introduction of the 1969 Petroleum Act which vested the ownership of all oil deposit in the Nigeria post colonial state.

Similarly the power to grant oil exploitation license (OEL) is vested in the office of the minister of petroleum resources. This by implication resulted in the state having power to appropriate all land in the oil producing areas under the guise of public interest and claim to the National wealth. The introduction of 1979 Land Use Act which bestowed the right of ownership of land in the hands of the state had further redefined the position of land ownership in Nigeria, of particular interest is the section 28 of the Acts which stipulates that the state governor could revoke a right of occupancy, for the purpose of public interest, which includes requirement of land for mining purpose or oil pipeline or for any purpose connected there with.

Furthermore, the Nigerian state had also attempted to whittle down the tempo of agitation for resources control through the provision of section 162(2) of the 1999 constitution which gave back the not less than 13% of the monies generated from all resources to the various state governments in the oil producing areas. This does not only mean to generate sympathy for the people but due to the ferociousness with which the youth in the Niger-Delta were advancing their cause.

The introduction of the on-shore-off shore dichotomy via the provision and pronouncement of section 162(2) of the 1999 constitution by the supreme court which limited the seaward boundary of the littoral state for the purpose of calculating the amount of revenue accruing to the federation account from any natural resources to the low water mark of the land surface, therefore the collective implication of the legally induced constraint introduced by the post colonial state is to reduce the over bearing influence of the oil producing state on the control of resource found within their region and by extension increase the grip of the Nigeria state on the oil deposit and its power base (Dlakwa, 2006; Ibeanu and Luckham, 2007).

Let it be made clear that the legalistic and constitutional measures adopted by the Nigeria state also had some noble intention of genuinely responding to the collective aspiration for development of the Niger-Delta community; for instance the successful passage of the local content bill into law and the granting of 25% equity share in the oil to the oil producing states is a success story and an indication of government's genuine desire to address the Niger-Delta development challenges. It is expected therefore, that the people of Niger-Delta should show positive response to this government gesture.

4.2.3 Diversionary Approach

Other strategy adopted by the Nigerian State to whittle down the effects of the agitation for resource control is the divide and rule policy through tacit support of one ethnic group against others. For instance, there was deliberate attempt by the federal government to give preferential treatment in the provision of essential services and location of local government headquarters in the area perceived as supporters of government at the detriment of its perceived opposition.

A classical example is the case between the Ijaws and Itsekiri in the location and relocation of local government in Delta state which resulted into ethnic violence among the two groups; the essence of this is a diversionary tactics by the government to divert the attention of the people from the exploitative tendency of the government and multinational oil companies (Ojo 2005:311).

Similarly, the Nigeria state adopted the strategy of cooperation and payment of money to selected community leaders. The intension behind this action is to create a crack among the rank of the people and weaken their support base; a clear point of reference is the government generated skirmish among leaders of Ogoni communities which led to factionalization of the group between Ken Saro Wiwa and Ladun Metton. When the group led by Metton and Kobeni (Mier, 2000).

4.2.4 Institutional Response

The Nigeria state also adopted several institutional strategies to resolve the Niger-Delta crisis arising from politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights since independence, thus successive governments have in individuals and collective capacity put different institutional measures to overcome or face the challenges of the Niger-Delta crisis. For instance, on the attendance independence, the government of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa had declared the Niger-Delta area as a special area to be developed directly by the federal government, leading to the establishment of the Niger-Delta development board in 1960. These boards have no doubt made a tremendous land mark in the development area despite the challenges of insufficient fund. The activities of the board were however truncated by the bloody civil war of 1967 – 1970 (Mier, 2000; Ojo, 2006).

At the end of the civil war, the Gowon administration embarked on the programme of reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction which is not limited to the Niger-Delta area but cut across all Nigeria regions, as such there was no specific allocation set aside for the development of the Niger-Delta area.

Similarly by 1992 the federal military government under General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida established the oil mineral producing area development commission (OMPADEC). The mandate of the commission is to administer the special fund set aside

for the development of the Niger-Delta area. This move by Babangida was generally seen by observers as a genuine desire to develop the neglected oil producing areas of the Niger-Delta through the use of some quota of the production for the provision of basic infrastructure and capacity building through provision of employment, project distribution and construction. It must be acknowledged that the federal government by ways of commission has expended billions of naira in the oil producing communities for development, which makes some observers to applaud the government initiative as a reflection of magnanimous and godly spirit in sympathizing with the circumstances of the poverty stricken oil producing communities (Suberu 1999:37, Ugoh and Ukpere 2010).

However, like other institutional framework introduced the OMPADEC has left much to be desired as it suffered some operational setback arising from its neglect to share contract and employment. In additions, the commission embarked on frivolous spending which amounted to the tune of billions of naira on uncompleted white elephant projects most of which have no direct bearing on the socio-economic needs of the people. On this note therefore, it is stating the obvious that developmental challenges confronting the oil producing communities of the Niger-Delta is not squarely a failure of government, but those who handled the project (Ojo, 2005).

The advent of chief Obasanjo's democratic elected government in 1999 saw a dramatic departure from the Babangida's line of thinking as the OMPADEC was replaced with the Niger-Delta development commission (NDDC), in 2000, with similar but slightly different mandate considering the historical antecedent of the region. This move was seen as a positive development except that the outcome of the activities of the commission were far from the expectation of the people of the region as their yearning especially the provision of the basic infrastructure remained elusive.

This programme failure were mostly attributed to inherent contradiction such as inadequate representation of various oil producing communities on the board, and the involvement of the members of the non-oil producing areas in the commission. The perception of the oil bearing areas is that while their communities are being starved of projects expected to alleviate their sufferings from poverty, person from non-oil producing areas are becoming richer and live in affluence. This, no matter the efforts made by the NDDC to reach the oil producing communities with project and programmes

that will up lift their standard of living cannot be expedient because of the people mindset that that NDDC was based on exploitation and oppression.

It could be deduced from the above therefore, that the crisis of the Niger-Delta is not only a product of the mindset but expectation as such, no matter how genuine is the intent and effort put by institutions like NDDC it will not succeed. This is because the people of Niger Delta already have a fixated mind that the palliative institution such as NDDC are based on exploitation and oppression. Worse still the people of the oil producing area are of the view that the federal government is unleashing arrogant treatment and deprivation on them because of its believe that they are not only disinherited but expendable people, it is these injustices and exploitation that led to the emergence of ethnic-based militia such as the movement for the survival of the Ogoni people (MOSSOP), the association of mineral producing areas of river state (AMPARS) and the association of oil producing minorities (AOPM) among others (Mier, 2000; Ibeanu and Luckham, 2007).

It is quite impressive to note that with the successful transition of power from Chief Olusegun Obasanjo to late Umar Yar'adua, the Yar'adua's government came up with the seven point agenda, one of which was the provision of peace, security and stability in the Niger-Delta area. In order to realize this noble dream, the president established a ministry of Niger delta. The ministry was mandated among other things to formulate and coordinate policies for rapid socioeconomic development and security of the Niger delta region.

In addition, the government has proclaimed amnesty for the militant and urged them to surrender all illegal arms in their possession unconditionally within 60 days starting from 5th of May 2009 to October 6, 2009.

SECTION TWO

4.3 EFFECTIVENESS OF NIGERIAN STATE RESPONSE TO NIGER DELTA INSTABILITY IN BAYELSA STATE.

This section focus on the effectiveness of the various measures adopted by the Nigeria state in response to the instability in the Niger-Delta areas of Bayelsa state.

4.1a: Effectiveness of violence/threats of violence on the Niger-Delta Instability in Bayelsa State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Yenagoa												
1	Yenagoa HQ	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	4	44.4	3	33.3	9	100
2	Ikibiri	-	-	-	-	1	10	6	60	3	30	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	70	3	30	10	100
4	Tombia	-	-	-	-	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	6	75	1	12.5	8	100
6	Ammassoma	-	-	1	12.5	1	12.5	2	25	4	50	8	100
7	Ogobiri	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	2	22.2	5	55.6	9	100
8	Angiama	-	-	1	10	-	-	3	30	6	60	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	5	55.6	2	22.2	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	-	-	1		-		-		8	100	8	100
11	Aleibiri	-	-	-	12.5	-	-	6	75	1	12.5	8	100
12	Peretoreugbene	-	-	-	-	2	20	3	30	5	50	10	100
	Brass												
13	Twon Brass	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	75	2	25	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	5	55.6	3	33.3	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	44.4	5	55.6	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	77.8	2	22.2	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The main objective of Table 4.1a above is to examine the effectiveness of violence/threats of violence as a strategy adopted by the Nigeria state to whittle down the Niger- Delta instability. The table shows that 44.4% of the respondent in Yenagoa community in Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State maintains that violence/threats of violence is not effective and bad approach adopted by the Nigeria State to whittle down the agitation for Minority rights. 33.3% and 22.2% are of the view that the strategy was worse and effective respectively.

In Ikibiri community of the same Local Government Area 60% of the total respondent rated the effectiveness of approach as bad, whereas 30% are of the view that the approach was worse. However the remaining 10% did not respond to the question. Inference made from the above was that the approach was ineffective in the community.

Similarly, in Agudama/Epe community, the out come was not much different as majority of the respondents maintains that the violence and threats of violence adopted by the Nigeria State as a response to the Niger-Delta instability was ineffective. This was

confirmed by 70% of the respondents which saw the approach as bad while the remaining 30% believe that it was even a worse strategy. In Tombia community 62.5% rated it as bad, 12.5% as worse, while 25% did not respond. On this note it is inferred that the adoption of violence and threat of it as a strategy by the Nigerian State did not work in Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.

The table equally revealed that in southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State the adoption of violence and threat of violence as a strategy did not yield any positive result as majority of respondents across the Local Government rated the approach either as bad or worse. To confirm this 75% of respondents in Oporoma community rate the approach as bad strategy, where as 12.5% each saw it as worse and effective respectively. It is clear therefore that the strategy is ineffective.

In Ammassoma community of Southern Ijaw Local Government Area, 50% affirm that the strategy is worse, 25% saw it as bad, 12.5% did not say any thing about it while the remaining 12.5% rated it as effective. In aggregate term the strategy was not effective in the community. The performance of the strategy was still ineffective in Ogobiri community where 55.6% of the respondents rated the approach as worse, 22.2% saw it as bad, while the remaining 22.2% did not respond on the matter.

The result in Angiama community was not different as 60% and 30% of the respondents rated the strategy as worse and bad respectively, while the remaining 10% said it was effective. This implied that the strategy was not effective in the community. In summary the use of threats and violence in southern Ijaw as a strategy to whittle down the agitation for Minority rights did not work out.

The table revealed similar result in Ekermor Local Government Area where the approach was also not effective as confirmed by the responses of majority of the respondents across the communities. for instance in Ekeremor community, 55.6% opines that the approach was bad, 22.2% said it was even worse, while the remaining 22.2% did not respond to the question.

Furthermore, in Toru-Ndoro community in the same Ekeremor Local Government Area all the respondents 100% agreed that the strategy is worse and ineffective on the community. The result from Aliebiri community did not show any difference as 75% of the respondents affirms that the approach was bad, 12.5% saw it as worse, while the remaining 12.5% did not even respond on the issue. This signifies that the strategy was not effective on the community. 50% of the respondents rate the use of violence/threat of it as a strategy as worse in Peretorugbene community, 30% maintain it was bad, while 20% did not even respond. It is clear that the strategy adopted in Ekeremor Local Government was not effective as it indicated either bad result or in some extreme cases worse.

The table also revealed that the situation in Brass Local Government was not different as far as the use of violence or threats of violence as a strategy is concerned. In

Town Brass which is the headquarters of the Local Government Area, 75% and 25% of the respondents rates the strategy as bad and worse respectively signifying lack of effectiveness.

Similarly, in Okpo Ama Brass it was 55.6% of the total respondents which maintained that the approach was bad, 33.3% hold the view that the approach was even worse, while the remaining 11.1% did not respond on the issue. In Ewo Ama Brass 55.6% and 44.4% maintains that the strategy was worse and bad respectively, implying lack of effectiveness of the approach.

Finally in Odeama Ama Brass, 77.8% supported the view that the use of violence or its threats as a strategy was bad while the remaining 22.2% said it was even worse. From what we have analysed so far, it became crystal that the adoption of violence and or threats of violence by the Nigerian state as a solution to the violent agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities of Bayelsa State did not go down well with the aborigines as it rather than solving the problem and yield the desired peace, is instead degenerated into violent conflict of monumental proportion. It was practically therefore not a workable solution to the problem.

4.2a: Effectiveness of Institutional approach as the Nigerian State response to the Niger-Delta Instability in Bayelsa State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Yenagoa												
1	Yenagoa HQ	3	33.3	4	44.4	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	2	20	5	50	2	20	1	10	-	-	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	3	30	6	60	-	-	1	10	-	-	10	100
4	Tombia	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	8	100
6	Ammassoma	3	37.5	4	50	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	8	100
7	Ogobiri	2	22.2	5	55.6	1	11.1	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
8	Angiama	4	40	5	50	1	10	-	-	-	-	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	3	33.3	4	44.4	1	11.1	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	1	12.5	6	75	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	8	100
11	Aleibiri	2	25	4	50	1	12.5	-	-	1	12.5	8	100

12	Peretorugbene	3	30	5	50	2	20	0	0	0	0	10	100
	Brass												
13	Twon Brass	3	37.5	4	50	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	2	22.2	6	66.6	-	-	-	11.1	-	-	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	4	44.4	4	44.4	1	11.1	1	-	-	-	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	2	22.2	6	66.7	1	11.1	1	0	0	0	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 4.2a the community members were required to assess the effectiveness of the adoption of institutional approach as a strategy to pacify the Niger-Delta militant to lay their arms and embrace peace.

By institutional approach here we mean the establishment of developmental institution such as the OMPADEC, NDDC, the ministry for Niger-Delta and other social incentives introduced such as derivation, equity in share and the local content bill among others. The survey in most community across the state revealed that the institutional approach is by far the most successful strategy adopted by the Nigerian State as a solution to the lingering Niger-Delta instability.

This was confirmed by the views of the majority of the respondents who supported this position. For instance in Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the result revealed positive outcome. Specifically, in Yenagoa community the approach was successful as 44.4% and 33.3% rated the approach as effective and very effective respectively leaving only the remaining 22.2% who said it was a bad approach.

In Ikibiri community 50% of the respondents maintain that the approach was effective, 20% said it was even very effective. Only 10% saw the approach as bad, where as the remaining 20% did not respond on the matter. It is clear here that the use of institutional approach as a strategy was to a large extent successful in Ikibiri community of Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. Similarly, the survey in Agudama/Epe community had yielded positive result as 60% saw the use of institutional approach as a strategy as effective, 30% affirms that it is even very effective, where as it is only 10% that rate the strategy as bad and ineffective. It is clear therefore, that the approach was a success story in Agodama/Epe community of Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.

In Tombia community in the same Yenagoa Local Government Area, the result was also impressive as 62.5% of the respondents confirmed that it was effective, 25% said it was even very effective, while the only remaining 12.5% did not even responded on the matter. In summary, the adoption of institutional approach as a strategy for whittling down the Niger-Delta struggle was a huge success story in Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. The table equally shows that in southern Ijaw Local Government Area, the adoption of institutional approach as strategy for whittling down the Niger-Delta instability was successful in all the three sampled communities all though

there exist slight variation in the quantum of the effectiveness of the measure on communities.

For instance in Oporoma community majority of the respondents maintained that the approach was either effective or very effective. To confirm this empirically 62.5% of the total respondents rated the strategy as effective, 25% rated it as even very effective, while the remaining 12.5% did not even respond to the issue. The result in Ammassoma community was similar, as 50% and 37.5% of the respondents maintain that the strategy was effective and very effective respectively, but the remaining 12.5% did not respond on the issue. In Ogobiri community in the same Southern Ijaw Local Government Area, 55.6% of the respondents confirmed that the adoption of institutional approach by the Nigerian State was effective, 22.2% said it was very effective. Only 11.1% saw the approach as bad, where as the other 11.1% remain silent on the matter signifying effectiveness of the approach in the community.

Comparatively, in Angiama community of the same Southern Ijaw Local Government Area, it was also clear that the adoption of institutional measure by the Nigeria State was a large success. This was confirmed by the majority of the respondents, as 50% and 40% of the total respondents saw the measure as effective and very effective respectively, while the remaining 10% did not respond as the issue at all. This signify the degree of effectiveness of the institutional measure adopted on the community.

The table also shows the result in Ekeremor Local Government Area. Where it was discovered that the institution approach adopted was effective in the area. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents in Ekeremor community where 44.4% and 33.3% affirms that strategy was effective and very effective respectively, where as 11.1% saw the strategy as bad, while the remaining 11.1% did not respond on the issue. In Toru-Ndoru community of Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State the result shows that the adoption of institution approach as a strategy was successful, as 75% of the respondents saw the strategy as effective, while 12.5% maintained that it was even very effective. The remaining 11.1% of the total respondents however, did not respond in the issue. This implies that the adoption of institutional approach was effective on the community.

In Aleibiri community of the same Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the strategy was effective as majority of the respondents confirmed, specifically speaking 50% and 25% saw the strategy as effective and very effective respectively. 12.5% did not respond on the issue while the remaining 12.5% said it was bad. The implication of the above is that the strategy was successful in the community.

Looking at the situation in Pereterugbene community in the same Local Government Area 50% of the respondents says that the strategy was effective. 30% saw it as very effective, where as the remaining 20% did not respond on the issue. This implies that the strategy was effective on the said community. In summary, the adoption of the

institutional approach as a strategy was a successful story through out communities selected in Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.

Similarly, the table revealed the effectiveness of the strategy on the communities in Brass Local Government Area. The result indicate that in Twon Brass community, majority of the respondents saw the strategy as effective, as 50% of the respondents affirmed to this. However 37.5% and 11.1% saw the strategy as very effective and bad respectively in the community. This signifies that the adoption of institutional approach as a solution to the lingering crisis in Niger-Delta was impressive in Twon Brass community.

Similarly, 66.6% of the respondents in Okpoama Brass affirm that it was effective, 22.2% said it was even very effective. However those that said the strategy was bad constitute 11.1% which is insignificant to warrant any difference. It is clear therefore that the institutional approach adopted as a strategy was successful. In Ewoama Brass 44.4% each of the respondents saw the strategy as both effective and very effective respectively, while those who did not respond to the issue constitute 11.1%. It is clear therefore that the adoption of the institutional approach was successful in Ewoama Brass community of Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.

Finally in Odieama Brass community of Brass Local Government Area, the survey revealed that those who saw the institutional approach as effective constitute 66.7% of the respondents. 22.2% said that the strategy was very effective while the remaining 11.1% did not respond to the issue. On general note the adoption of institutional approach as a strategy to whittle down the instability in the Niger-Delta communities in Bayelsa State was the most successful of all the strategies.

4.3a: Effectiveness of Legal/Constitutional approach to the Niger-Delta Instability in Bayelsa State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Yenagoa												
1	Yenagoa HQ	1	11.1	2	22.2	1	11.1	5	55.6	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	-	-	3	30	2	20	5	50	-	-	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	1	10	3	30	-	-	6	60	-	-	10	100
4	Tombia	-	-	2	25	-	-	4	50	2	25	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	-	-	3	37.5	1	12.5	4	50	-	-	8	100
6	Ammassoma	-	-	2	25	2	25	4	50	-	-	8	100
7	Ogobiri	-	-	2	22.2	1	11.1	6	66.7	-	-	9	100
8	Angiama	2	20	3	30	-	-	4	40	1	10	10	100
	Ekeremor												

9	Ekeremor HQ	-	-	3	33.3	-	-	5	55.6	1	11.1	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	-	-	2	25	1	12.5	5	62.5	-	-	8	100
11	Aleibiri	1	12.5	1	12.5	-	-	2	25	4	50	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	-	-	2	20	2	20	5	50	1	10	10	100
	Brass												
13	Twon Brass	1	12.5	2	25	1	12.5	4	50	-	-	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	-	-	3	33.3	1	11.1	4	44.4	1	11.1	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	5	55.6	1	11.1	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	1	11.1	1	11.1	2	22.2	5	55.6	-	-	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The task of table 4.3a is to examine the effectiveness of the use of legal/constitutional approach as a strategy by the Nigerian State to whittle down the instability arising from the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities of Bayelsa State. The survey revealed that unlike the case of the institutional approach which have been proven successful the adoption of the legal/constitutional approach had left much to be desired. This was supported by majority of the respondents across the state.

Looking at the trend in Yenagoa community in the same Yenegoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the table reveals that 55.6% of the total respondents saw the strategy as bad, 22.2% of the respondents acknowledges that the adoption of legal/constitutional approach as a strategy was effective in the community. However, these who did not responded to the issue constitute 11.1%, where as the other remaining 11.1% saw the approach as even very effective.

In Ikibiri community of the same Local Government Area, majority of the respondents which made up of 50% and 30% maintained that the adoption of constitutional/legal approach was bad and effective measures respectively. Whereas the remaining 20% of the remaining respondents did not respond to the issue. It is thus concluded that the adoption of constitution/legalistic approach by the Nigeria State was bad in the Ikibiri community. Similarly the table indicates that the outcome of the survey in Agudama/Epe was negative, as 60% of the respondents saw the strategy as bad, 30% rated it as effective, while the remaining 10% saw the approach as very effective. This implies that the adoption of constitution/legal approach as a strategy was bad.

Examining the survey from Agudama/Epe community in Yenagoa Local Government Area, 60% of the respondents affirms that the adoption of legal/constitutional approach as a strategy was bad, 30% maintains that it was effective, while the remaining 10% opines that it was even very effective. This implies that the adoption of constitutional/legal approach did not yield positive result in Agudama community.

In Tombia community of the same Yenagoa Local Government Area, it was revealed that the adoption of constitutional/legal approach as a solution to the lingering crisis in the Niger-Delta region did not yield any positive result. This was confirmed by majority of respondents as 50% of the total respondents saw the strategy as bad one, 25% believe that it was even a worse approach. However the remaining 25% affirm that the approach was effective. This impliedly shows that the constitutional/legal approach adopted by the Nigerian State as a solution to the lingering crisis in the Niger-Delta region did not solve the problem in Tombia community. From the above analysis it is clear that the legalistic/constitutional approach adopted by the Nigerian State in response to the lingering instability in the Niger Delta communities did not yielded satisfactory result in Yenagoa Local Government Area, as majority of respondents across the selected communities did support this view.

In addition, the table reveals the effectiveness or otherwise of the legal/constitutional approach as a strategy in Southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. The overall result in that Local Government indicates that the legal/constitutional strategy was never an effective measure in pacifying the militants. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents across the selected communities in the Local Government. For instance 50% of the sampled respondents in Oporoma community believe that the approach was bad. 37.5% on the other hand maintained that it was indeed an effective measure, while the remaining 12.5% remain silent on the issue.

Similarly the survey in Ammassoma community was not much different from the result in Oporoma as 50% of the respondents as well regard the legal/constitutional strategy as bad and ineffective. However, 25% maintains that the approach was effective, the remaining 25% did not respond to the issue. Judging from the majority position therefore it is inferred that the constitutional/legal approach was ineffective in Ammassoma community of Southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.

Furthermore, on the same issue of adoption of legal/constitutional approach as a response to the agitation in the Niger-Delta communities majority of the respondents in Ogobiri community of the same Southern Ijaw Local Government Area maintained that the approach was ineffective in the community. This was confirmed by 66.7% of the total respondents who saw the approach as bad, 22.2%. However opines that it was effective, where as the remaining 11.1% did not respond on the issue.

In Angiama community, the result was similar although with variation in quantum and magnitude as 40% believe that the constitutional/legal move adopted by the Nigeria State was a bad one, only 10% said it was worse. Where as 30% and 20% of the remaining respondents rated the approach as effective and very effective respectively. The overall result in Southern Ijaw as represented by the views of the dominant majority there is that the adoption of the legal/constitutional measure as a strategy did not yield any meaningful result in respect to curbing the instability in the Niger- Delta.

Looking at the situation in Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the result indicate that the measure adopted by the Nigerian State was not effective. This claim is backed by responses of majority of the member of the selected communities. In a more specific term, 55.6% of the total respondents affirms that the legal/constitutional approach as a solution was bad and ineffective, 11.1% saw it even as worse approach. However the remaining 33.3% of respondents indicates that the move was effective. Infrancies from the above reveals therefore that the measure was indeed bad an ineffective in Ekeremor community.

The survey in Toru-Ndoro community in Ekeremor Local Government Area, reveals that 62.5% of the respondents hold the view that the adoption of legal/constitutional approach as a strategy by the Nigerian State as a solution to the Niger-delta crises was bad and ineffective. 25% of the respondents saw the more as effective. Whereas the remaining 12.3% did not respond on the issue.

In Aliebiri community in the same Local Government Area, 50% of the respondents which constituted majority affirms that the move was worse and ineffective, 25% rated the move as bad one. While 12.5% each of the remaining respondents saw the strategy as effective and very effective respectively indicating ineffectiveness of the measure in Aliebiri community.

Comparatively, the out come in Peretorugbene community in the same Ekeremor Local Government Area indicates that 50% of the respondents are of the view that the legal/constitutional approach was bad and ineffective, 10% said it was even worse approach. But 20% saw the strategy as effective. Those who did not say anything constitute the remaining 20% implying that the approach was ineffective as Peretorugbene community in Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. In summary the general rating of the constitutional legal approach adopted by the Nigerian State in communities across Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State is that the strategy was in effective in talking the challenge.

The table also shows the rating of the use of constitutional/ legal approach as a strategy by the Nigerian State in response to the Niger-Delta crisis in Brass Local Government Area. The result indicates that majority of the respondents in Twon – Brass said the approach was bad and ineffective. This view was supported by 50% of the respondents. 25% of the respondents saw the strategy as effective, 12.5% said it was even very effective, while the remaining 12.5% remain silent on the issue. The conclusion here is that the strategy was ineffective in Twon Brass.

In OKPOMA Brass community 44.4% of the respondent subscribed to view of the majority in the Town Brass as they saw the approach as bad, 11.1% said it was worse, where as 33.3% affirms that it was effective whereas 11.1% did not respond. This

implies that the constitutional/legal approach did not yielded any positive result in the community. However, in Ewoama Brass community the outcome was not different as majority of the respondents 56.7% and 11.1% all believe that the legal/constitutional approach were both bad and worse respectively signifying lack of positive results. The remaining 22.2% opines that it was effective strategy, but since it is the majority that hold its sway it is concluded that the approach was not effective in Ewoama Brass community.

Just like Ewoama Brass, the result from Odiema Ama Brass community saw the legal/constitutional approach as not effective as confirmed by respondents below. 55.6% rated the approach as bad, 22.2% did not respond on the issue, whereas the remaining 11.1% each of the remaining respondents that saw the approach as effective and very effective respectively. From he foregoing, it became clear that the adoption of legal/constitutional approach in response to the Niger-Delta crisis by the Nigerian State did not yield the desired result across the selected Local Government Areas of Bayelsa State as it proved to be ineffective measure.

4.4a: Rating of the Effectiveness of diversionary tactics/Divide and rule as strategy as Nigerian State response to the Niger-Delta Instability in Bayelsa State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	N o of re p	%	No of rep	%		
	Yenagoa												
1	Yenagoa HQ	-	-	2	22.2	2	22.2	4	44.4	1	11.1	9	100
2	Ikibiri	-	-	2	20	-	-	5	50	3	30	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	-	-	2	20	-	-	6	60	2	20	10	100
4	Tombia	-	-	4	50	1	12.5	3	37.5	-	-	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	-	-	2	25	2	25	4	50	-	-	8	100
6	Ammassoma	-	-	2	25	1	12.5	5	62.5	-	-	8	100
7	Ogobiri	1	11.1	3	33.3	-	-	5	55.6	-	-	9	100
8	Angiama	-	-	-	-	2	20	6	60	2	20	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	-	-	2	22.2	1	11.1	6	66.7	-	-	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	1	12.5	4	50	-	-	2	25	1	12.5	8	100
11	Aleibiri	-	-	2	25	1	12.5	5	62.5	-	-	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	-	0	3	30	-	-	3	50	2	20	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	-	-	3	33.3	1	11.1	2	22.2	2	22.2	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	5	55.6	2	22.2	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	-	-	-	-	3	33.3	5	55.6	1	11.1	9	100

16	Odieama Brass	-	-	2	22.2	1	11.1	6	66.7	-	-	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

One of the measures adopted by the Nigerian State to weaken and further whittle down the tempo of the violent agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities is the diversionary tactics and divide and rule. The objective of table 4.4a is to examine the extent of the effectiveness of this measure in achieving the stated objective. On the general note, the result from the table indicate that the measure was not effective as confirmed by majority of respondents in the communities across the state except in few communities where the outcome indicates that the strategy was effective in solving the problem. This result is presented graphically as follows.

In Yenagoa community Yenagoa Local Government Area, the survey revealed that the use of divide and rule or diversionary tactics was not successful. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents as 44.4% of them affirm that the approach was bad and ineffective. 11.1% go a bit further to confirm that the approach was indeed worse. However those who rated the approach as effective constitute 22.2% of the respondents, while the remaining 22.2% remain silent on the issue.

The result in Ikibiri community shows that that strategy adopted did not help the Nigerian State as it proved to be in effective. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents as 50% and 30% rated the diversionary tactics and divide and rule as bad and worse respectively. The remaining 20% saw the approach as effective.

In Agudama/Epe community of the same Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State the table revealed that majority of the respondents are of the view that the approach did not yield any positive result. This was confirmed by 60% and 20% of the respondents who rated the adoption of divide and rule/diversionary tactics by the Nigerian State as bad and worse respectively. Where as the remaining 20% said the approach was effective.

The situation in Tombia community in the same Local Government Area, on the effectiveness of divide and rule or diversionary tactics by the government was quite different from the other three communities as majority of the respondents hold that the strategy was effective. This was confirmed by 50% of the respondents who rated the approach as effective. Only 37.5% said the approach was bad and ineffective while the remaining 12.5% did not respond on the issue. This implies that the use of divide and rule/diversionary tactics by the Nigerian State was a success story in Tombia community of Yenagoa Local Government Area. In summary, infracies made from the above indicate that while the use of diversionary tactics/divide and rule as a strategy did not pay well in Yenagoa, Ikibiri and Agudama/Epe communities, it was a success story in Tombia community all in Yenagoa Local Government Area.

The scenario in Southern Ijaw Local Government Area shows a harmonious but slightly differentiated outcome as the table indicates that the use of divide and rule/diversionary tactics as a ploy by the Nigerian State to undermine the Niger-Delta struggle was a failure. This was empirically confirmed by majority of the respondents from communities across the Local Government Area as shown below.

Beginning with Oporoma community which is the headquarter, 50% of the respondents rated the approach as bad, 25% did not respond on the issue, where as the remaining 25% saw the approach as effective. In Ammassoma community of the same Local Government Area, the story was the same as 62.5% saw the approach as bad and ineffective, 12.5% hold the view that it was indeed effective. This implies that the approach was not effective in both Oporoma and Ammosomma communities respectively.

In Ogobiri community in the same Southern Ijaw Local Government Area, 55.6% of the total respondents hold the view that the adoption of divide and rule/diversionary tactics by the Nigerian State as panacea to the lingering Niger-Delta crisis was bad. However 33.3% and 11.1% saw the approach as effective and very effective respectively. Inferences from the above indicate that although the strategy adopted was not effective but the gap between the number of respondents that are in agreement and those in disagreement with the view is minimal.

Furthermore, the lack of effectiveness of the approach appeared more glaring in Angiama community of Southern Ijaw Local Government Area as 60% and 20% of the respondents rate the approach adopted as bad and worse respectively. The remaining 20% did not respond on the issue. This implies that the adoption of divide and rule/diversionary tactics was not effective, in Angiama community. In sum the strategy adopted by the Nigerian State in response to the Niger – Delta crisis proved abortive across all the selected communities in Southern Ijaw Local Government Area as presented in the above table.

Furthermore, the table revealed that 66.7% of the respondents who constituted the majority in Ekeremor community rated the adoption of divide and rule/diversionary tactics as bad and ineffective. 11.1% of the respondents did not respond, where as the remaining 22.2% said the approach was very effective.

The situation in Toru-Ndoro community of the same Ekeremor Local Government Area indicate that, majority of the respondents with 50% and 12.5% hold the view that the approach was effective and very effective respectively. Where as the remaining 25% saw the approach as bad. Those who did not respond on the issue constituted 12.5%. Inference from the above therefore, clearly demonstrate that the adoption of divide and rule/diversionary tactics by the Nigerian state in response to the agitation in the Niger-Delta communities in Toru Ndoro community of Ekeremor Local Government Area was a success story.

The outcome of the survey in Aliebiri community in the same Local Government Area was that the adoption of the divide and rule/diversionary tactics strategy did not yield positive result. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents, as 62.5% of the total respondents believe that the approach was bad.

Similarly, 25% rated the approach as effective, while the remaining 12.5% remain silent on the issue. This signifies that the adoption of divide and rule/diversionary tactics did not help the Nigeria State to achieve its desire objective in Aliebiri community of Ekeremor Local Government Area. Looking at the issue in Peretorugbene community in the same Local Government Area, it was clear that the approach was a failure. This was confirmed by 50% and 20% of the respondents who rate the approach as bad and worse respectively. However the remaining 30% of the respondents saw the approach as effective.

Looking at the situation in Brass Local Government Area, it was revealed that the strategy adopted has been rated in varied perspective across the communities. In Town Brass community for instance, 33.3% of the total respondents which constituted the majority hold the view that the strategy was effective. However 22.2% each, of the remaining variable maintained that the approach was bad and worse respectively, in the community. Those who did not respond on the issue constitute 11.1%. In essence the adoption of the diversionary tactics/divide and rule strategy did not yield positive result in the community.

Comparatively, the outcome was much different in Koala Brass as the adoption of the strategy produce negative consequence. For instance 55.6% of the respondents were of the view that the approach was bad, 22.2% hold that it was even worse. While the remaining 22.2% did not responded on this note it is concluded that the approach did not yield positive result in Koala Brass.

In Ewo Ama Brass, the outcome revealed that 55.6% of the total respondents which constituted the majority were of the view that the adoption of diversionary tactics/divide and rule was bad approach and ineffective for that matter. Only 11.1% rated the approach as worse, while the remaining 33.3% did not respond. It is clear therefore that the adoption of divide and rule/diversionary tactics to mitigate the Niger-Delta instability by the Nigerian State did not yield positive result in Ewoama Brass community of Brass Local Government Area of Delta State. Moreover the survey in Odieama Brass indicate that the use of diversionary tactics/divide and rule did not yield any positive result.

SECTION THREE

4.4 EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NIGERIA STATE RESPONSE TO THE NIGER-DELTA INSTABILITY IN RIVER STATE

The focus of this section is on the effectiveness or otherwise of the various approaches adopted by the Nigerian state in response to the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities of Rivers state.

4.1b: Effectiveness of Violence/Threats of Violence approach as Nigeria State response to the Niger-Delta Instability in River State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Elemi LGA												
1	China HQ	-	-	3	21.4	-	-	10	71.4	1	7.1	14	100
2	Alode	-	-	2	20	-	-	6	60	2	20	10	100
3	Alesa	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	4	44.4	3	33.3	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	-	-	1	8.3	-	-	8	66.7	3	25	12	100
5	Atagba	-	-	2	20	-	-	7	70	1	10	10	100
6	Ikuku	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	6	54.5	2	18.1	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	-	-	2	13.3	-	-	9	60	4	26.7	15	100
8	Elekahia	-	-	-	-	2	18.2	7	63.6	2	18.2	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	4	44.4	3	33.3	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	80	2	20	10	100
11	Dema	-	-	2	25	-	-	5	41.7	1	12.5	8	100
12	Abbey	-	-	-	-	1	9.1	8	72.7	2	18.2	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Andoni												
13	Omoku HQ	-	-	-	-	2	18.2	7	63.6	3	27.3	11	100
14	Ogba	-	-	-	-	2	20	5	50	3	30	10	100
15	Egbema	-	-	2	18.5	-	-	6	54.5	3	27.3	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The main goal of table 4.1b is to assess the effectiveness of violence/threats of violence as one of the strategies adopted by the Nigerian State to pacify the Niger-Delta communities protesting for Minority rights.

The result generally indicate that the approach did not yield any positive out come across communities in River State. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents across Niger-Delta communities. For instance in Nchia community in Eleme Local Government Area of River State demonstrate that majority of the respondents are in support of the view above. As 71.4% and 7.1% shows that the approach was not effective (bad) and worse respectively, there by constituting the majority voice. However, the remaining 21.4% said the approach was effective. Based on the majority rule decision it is here by concluded that the approach did not yield positive result.

In Alode community, the result was similarly but slightly different as 60% of the total respondents saw the impact as good, 20% rate it as effective, while the remaining 20% said it was even worse as an approach. This implies that the use of force did not solve the problem in Alode community of Eleme Local Government Area. In Alesa community in the same Eleme Local Government Area, the table indicate that the approach was also not effective, as 44.4% of the respondents maintained this view, 33.3% believe that the approach was even worse, where as the remaining 22.2% did not respond on the issue. Inference from the above therefore confirmed the use of violence/threats of violence's by the Nigerian State against the citizenry is not a solution to the agitation for Minority rights in Alesa community of Eleme Local Government Area of River State. In summary despite the variation in quantum and magnitude of the effectiveness of the approach, the overall result in Eleme Local Government Area is that the use of violence or threat of violence have failed.

The table also shows the result of the survey in Andoni Local Government Area of River State. It was clear that the result in Andoni did not differ much from the Eleme situation. This was confirmed by the proportion of the respondent in support of the ineffectiveness of the use of violence or its threats. The result in Ngo community indicates that 66.7% and 25% of the respondents affirms that the approach was both bad and worse respectively. However, only 8.3% of the remaining respondents which is negligible believe that the approach was effective. In a nut shell the approach did not produced the desired result in Ngo community.

By and large the lack of effectiveness of the violent approach was not restricted to Ngo community alone as two of the other communities sampled conform to this result. In Atagba community of the same Andoni Local Government for instance, 70% and 10% of the respondents maintained that the approach was both bad and worse in their community, where as the remaining 20% saw the approach as effective. On this note it is crystal that the use of force or violence did not produce any tangible result in the area with regard to the agitation for Minority rights.

Ikuku community in the same Local Government Area on the other hand revealed similar but slightly different result as only 27.3% of the respondents said the approach was effective. However, 54.5% and 18.1% of the remaining respondents go against that,

as they rated the approach as bad and worse respectively. Based on the foregoing therefore, it is inferred that the adoption of violence or threats there of did not yield positive result in Andoni Local Government Area and its surrounding communities.

Similarly, the survey in Port Harcourt city Local Government Area did not show much different outcome. It reveals that the adoption of violence or threats of violence by the state against its citizenry was a complete failure of government specifically, in Port Harcourt community, only 13.3% of the total respondents saw the approach as good, while 60% and 26.7% each said it was bad and worse respectively. The implication of the above is that the adoption of violence/threats of violence by the Nigerian State against the Niger Delta community of Port Harcourt city was ineffective. There was similar result in Elekahia community in the same Port Harcourt city Local Government Areas where 60% and 26.7% constituted the majority maintains that the adoption of the approach was bad and worse respectively, while only 18.2% remained silent on the issue. Signifying poor performance of the strategy in the community.

Looking at the scenario in Amadi Ama community in the same Local Government Area, it was clear that the adoption of violence/.threats of violence by the government did not work, as 44.4% of the respondents said the approach was bad, 33.3% believe that it was even worse of where as only 22.2% affirms that the approach was effective. In sum, the result in all the selected communities in Port Harcourt Local Government Area: Port Harcourt city, Elekahia and Amadi Ama revealed that the approach was bad and ineffective.

The table also shows that in Bony Local Government Area of River State, all the three selected communities indicate the use of violence/threats of violence by the Nigerian State to pacify the protesting members of their respective communities was to no avail. In Bony headquarter specifically 80% and 20% of the respondents in unison affirms that the adoption of violent approach or its threats by the Nigerian State was bad and worse respectively. Signifying the failure of the approach to achieve its primary objective. In Dema community of the same Local Government Area 41.7% said it was bad, 18.2% maintains that it was even worse approach, where as, only 25% saw the approach as effective.

In Abbey community, the situation was almost identical as 72.7% and 18.2% which constituted the majority believe that the approach was bad and even worse respectively, while the remaining 9.1% did not even respond on the issue. The condition in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area was not much different. For instance in Omoku community those who saw the approach as bad constitute 63.6%, 27.3% opines that the approach was even worse, while the remaining 18.2% remain silent.

In Ogba community in the same Local Government Area, 20% of the respondents did not respond on the issue, 50% said the approach was bad and ineffective, while the remaining 30% saw the approach as even worse. In essence the adoption of violence was

unpopular among the Ogba community. The situation was similar in Egbema community as only 18.2% of the respondents opines that the adoption of violence as a strategy by the Nigerian State was effective. Those who believe that the approach was bad, worse and to that effects ineffective constitute 54.5% and 27.3% of the respondents respectively.

In summary the adoption of violence and or threats of violence by the Nigerian State in response to the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities of Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of River State was a complete failure.

4.2b: Effectiveness of Institutional approach as Nigeria State response to the Niger-Delta Instability in River State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	5	35.7	7	50	-	-	2	14.3	-	-	14	100
2	Alode	2	20	5	50	-	-	3	30	-	-	10	100
3	Alesa	-	-	4	44.4	2	22.2	3	33.3	-	-	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	-	-	6	50	4	33.3	2	16.7	-	-	12	100
5	Atagba	-	-	6	60	2	20	2	20	-	-	10	100
6	Ikuku	-	-	4	36.4	-	-	5	45.5	3	27.3	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	3	21.8	9	60	1	6.7	2	13.3	-	-	15	100
8	Elekahia	4	36.4	5	45.5	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	2	22.2	7	77.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	1	10	7	70	-	-	2	20	-	-	10	100
11	Dema	-	-	2	25	-	-	4	50	2	25	8	100
12	Abbey	-	-	6	54.6	2	18.2	3	27.3	-	-	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	2	18.2	5	45.5	-	-	4	36.4	-	-	11	100
14	Ogba	-	30	6	60	-	-	1	10	-	-	10	100
15	Egbema	-	-	2	18.2	3	27.3	4	36.3	2	18.2	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 4.2b, respondents were asked to examine the effectiveness of institutional approach adopted by the Nigerian State in response to the Niger-Delta agitation for Minority rights. In their respective communities.

The survey in River State revealed different views on the issue although the dominant position hold by the majority of the respondents across the state indicate that the institutional approach adopted the Nigerian State as a strategy had paid off in several

of the communities selected across the five Local Government Area. This does not mean however that there are no communities that did not benefited from the institutional approach and thus sawing it as ineffective.

To buttress the above result, we begin with the Eleme Local Government Area of River State. In Nchia community the headquarter of the Local Government Area, there is strong indication that the institutional approach had yielded positive result and as such became effective tool in pacifying the protesting community. To confirm this position 50% and 37.5% of the respondents are of the view that the strategy was effective and very effective respective. Where as the remaining 14.3% maintain that it was bad. Infrace from the above therefore, indicate that the approach was effective in the community.

Similarly 50% and 20% of the respondents in Alode community of Eleme Local Government Area affirmed that the adoption of institutional strategy was effective and very effective respectively. However the remaining 30% said that the strategy was not effective as far as the community is concern signifying effectiveness of the approach in Alode. In Alesa community of the same Eleme Local Government Area, it is clear that the approach was effective as confirmed by 44.4% of the respondnets. However 33.3% believe that the approach was bad and in effective, where as the remaining 22.2% did not respond on the issue. This signifies that the approach adopted was also effective in Alesa community. In summary, it could be deduced from the table and the analysis that all the communities selected, Nchia, Alode and Alesa rated the approach as effective.

Furthermore, examining the situation in Andoni Local Government Area of River State only two communities out of the three sampled indicate that the adoption of institutional approach was effective, while the remaining one believe that the approach was ineffective. In specific term Ngo community indicates that the institutional approach adopted by the Nigerian State was effective as confirmed by 50% of the total respondents which affirmed that the strategy was effective. Only 16.7% saw the strategy as bad. Where as the remaining 33.3% not respond on the issue.

The scene in Atagba community in the same Local Government Area was similar indicating effectiveness of the approach as 60% of the respondents confirmed that the strategy was effective. However, 20% of the respondents saw the approach as bad. Those who remained silent on the issue constitute the remaining 20% it is therefore, concluded that the strategy adopted in form of institutional approach did yield positive result in the community of Atagba in Andoni Local Government Area.

In Ikuku community of the same Local Government Area, the result was distinct from the one in the two communities above as 45.5% of the respondents which constituted majority believe that the institutional strategy adopted by the Nigerian State was not effective (bad), 27.3% rated the strategy as even worse. However, the remaining 32.3% maintained that the strategy was effective. This implies that the adoption of

institutional approach as strategy in Ikuku community of Andoni Local Government Area of River State was not effective.

The table further shows the result in Port Harcourt city Local Government Area, where all the communities affirms that the choice of institutional approach as a strategy by the Nigerian State was a success story. Specifically the survey in Port Harcourt community which is the headquarters of the Local Government indicate that 60% and 21.8% of the total respondents believe that the strategy adopted by the Nigerian State was effective and very effective respectively. 6.7% remained silent on the issue, where as the remaining 13.3% view the approach as bad. In essence the adoption of the institutional approach by the Nigerian State was effective in Port Harcourt community.

Similarly in Elekahia community, it was established that the adoption of institutional strategy by the Nigerian State was a success story this was confirmed by 45.5% and 36.4% which constituted the majority as the rated the strategy as effective and very effective, it was only 18.2% of the respondents that saw the strategy as bad and in effective. It is inferred therefore, that the adoption of the institutional strategy was successful in Elekahia community of Port Harcourt Local Government Area of River State. In Amadi – Ama community in the same Port Harcourt Local Government, 77.8% of the respondents affirms that the institutional strategy was effective. While the remaining 22.2% believe that the strategy was even very effective; implying success story in the adoption of institutional approach as a strategy in Amadi-Ama community.

The result in Bony Local Government Area was similar to what is tenable in the other Local Government Areas. In Bony community for instance it was revealed that 70% and 10% of the respondents respectively rated the strategy as effective and very effective in the community. However, only 20% maintained that the approach was bad and ineffective for that matter. In Dema community of Bony Local Government Area, the outcome revealed that the adoption of institutional approach was not effective as supported by 50% and 25% respectively who affirmed that the strategy was both bad and worse. Only the remaining 25% saw the approach as effective. In essence the adoption of institutional approach as a strategy in Dema community was a failure.

In addition to the above the result in Abbey community, Bony Local Government Area indicated that the adoption of institutional approach in response to the Niger-Delta lingering crises was successful and effective. This was supported by the majority of the respondents as 54.6% of the respondents hold the view that the strategy adopted was effective, only 27.3% saw the approach as bad, the remaining 18.2% did not respond on the issue. The conclusion drawn from this scene is that the adoption of institutional strategy was successful in Abbey community. On the whole the dominant view in the area as far as the adoption of institutional strategy was concerned the adoption of institutional approach as a strategy have significantly achieve so many positive results in Bony Local Government Area.

Still on the effectiveness of the institutional approach as a strategy to pacify the protesting communities in the Niger-Delta, the survey in Omoka community of Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area shows that 45.5% and 18.2% of the respondents hold the view that the institutional approach adopted by the Nigerian State was effective and very effective respectively where as the remaining 36.4% said the approach was bad. This implies that the institutional approach adopted was effective in the community of Omoka, in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of River State.

The next community is Ogba community in the same Local Government Area where 90% made up of 60% and 30% respectively maintained that the adoption of institutional approach was effective and very effective in the community. However the remaining 10% rated the strategy as bad signifying lack of effectiveness of the institutional strategy in Ogba community. This signifies that the use of institutional approach was successful in Ogba community.

In addition the survey in Egbema community indicated that the institutional strategy adopted by the Nigerian State, was not effective. This was confirm by majority of the respondents in the community as 36.3% and 18.2% were of this opinion respectively. However, only 18.2% of the respondents saw the approach as effective. Where as the remaining 27.3% did not respond on the issue. Inferences made from the above therefore, indicates that the adoption of institutional approach as a strategy to whittle down the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger- Delta communities of Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of River State have proved to be abortive and in effective, in most of the communities sampled.

4.3b: Effectiveness of Legal/constitutional approach as Nigeria State response to the Niger-Delta Instability in River State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	-	-	2	14.3	-	-	9	64.3	3	21.4	14	100
2	Alode	-	-	3	30	2	20	5	50	-	-	10	100
3	Alesa	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	4	44.4	3	33.3	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	-	-	7	58.3	-	-	3	25	2	16.7	12	100
5	Atagba	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	70	3	30	10	100
6	Ikuku	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	6	54.5	2	18.2	11	100

Port-Harcourt													
7	Port Harcourt HQ	-	-	3	20	2	13.3	8	53.3	2	13.3	15	100
8	Elekahia	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	6	54.5	3	27.3	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	5	55.6	2	22.2	9	100
Bony LGA													
10	Bony HQ	-	-	2	20	1	10	4	40	3	30	10	100
11	Dema	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	75	2	25	8	100
12	Abbey	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	8	72.7	1	9.1	11	100
Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni													
13	Omoku HQ	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	4	36.4	5	45.5	11	100
14	Ogba	-	-	3	30	-	-	6	60	1	10	10	100
15	Egbema	-	-	4	36.4	-	-	4	36.4	3	27.3	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The aim of table 4.3b is to examine the effectiveness of the use of legal/constitutional approach by the Nigerian State as a solution to the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger – Delta communities in River State. Generally speaking, the table indicated that with the exception of Ngo community in Andoni Local Government Area of River State, the use of legal./constitutional approach as a strategy was not effective across the selected communities. this near harmony in outcome notwithstanding there still exist variation in terms of quantum and magnitude in the lack of effectiveness of the approach in promoting peace and security.

The survey in Nchia community in Eleme Local Government Area indicate that 64.3% of the respondents are of the view that the strategy was not effective in the community as it rated the strategy as bad, 21.4% maintained that it was even worse. Where as the remaining 14.3% rated the strategy as effective. On this note, one would be right therefore to conclude that the legal/constitutional strategy adopted by the Nigerian State was not effective in curtailing the agitation for minority in Nchia community.

In Alode community in the same Local Government Area, the table indicate that the constitutional/legal strategy was not effective in the community. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents made up of 50% who saw the approach as bad. However, only 30% affirms that the strategy was effective as the remaining 20% were silent on the issue. In the case of Alesa community in the same Local Government Area, it was clear that majority of the respondents viewed the constitutional/legal approach as a failure. This position was demonstrated by 44.4% and 33.3% of the total respondents who maintained that the strategy was bad and worse respectively, against 22.2% who said it was effective, thus implying that the constitutional/legal approach adopted by the Nigerian State did not yield any positive result in Alesa community.

Looking at the situation in Andoni Local Government Area, the outcome was a mixture as 58.3% of the respondents constituting the majority affirms that the strategy

was effective. However 25% and 16.7% respondents rated the strategy as bad and worse respective. Inference from the above therefore indicate that the use of constitution/legal approach was considered effective in Ngo community.

In Atagba community, the respondents in unison revealed that the constitutional/legal approach was not effective as all the respondent went in support of this. This was confirmed by 70% of the respondents who said it was bad and ineffective, while, the remaining 30% maintained that it was even a worse strategy as far as Atagba community is concern.

The situation in Ikuku community in the same Local Government is similar to that of Atagba community, as 27.3% of the respondents saw the constitutional/legal approach adopted by the Nigerian State as effective. However, majority of the respondents made up of 54.5% and 18.2% rated the approach as bad and worse respectively and cannot be effective in Ikuku community.

Furthermore, the table also revealed the effectiveness or otherwise of the constitutional/legal approach in Port Harcourt city Local Government Area. In Port Harcourt community it was clear that the constitutional/legal response was not effective in any way as 53.3% and 13.3% believe that the strategy was bad and worse respectively as against 20% effective and 13.3% no response.

The result was not much distinct in Elekahia community in the same Local Government where 54.5% and 27.3% saw the strategy as bad and worse respectively against 18.2% that affirms to effectiveness. This signifies that the constitutional/legal approach was ineffective in Elekahia community. In a similar development, the survey in Amadi-Ama community revealed that with regard to constitutional/legal approach, 55.6% saw the approach as bad, 22.2% believe that it was even worse, where as the remaining 22.2% remain silent on the issue. Meaning the constitutional/legal approach not effective in the community.

Looking at the situation in Bony Local Government Area, it was clear that the constitutional/legal strategy was not effective as majority of the respondents across the Local Government Area affirm to this. In the proportion of Bony community 40% bad, 30% worse, 20% effective while 10% of the respondents did not respond on the issue. The implication of this finding is that the constitutional/legal approach as a strategy to whittle down the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger- Delta community of Bony was not effective. In Dema community, 75% of the total respondent saw the approach as bad, 25% maintained that it was even worse signifying its ineffectiveness in the community.

Moreover, in Abbey community it is clear that the strategy adopted by the Nigerian State was ineffective. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents who supported this view, as 72.7% and 9.1% of the respondents saw the approach as bad and worse respectively against the remaining 18.2% that said it was effective strategy. The

survey in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area revealed similar result. As 18.2% respondents in Omoka community maintained that the constitutional/legal approach was effective, where as 36.4% saw the approach as bad, while 45.5% opines that it was even worse. This implies that the strategy did not work in Omoka community of River State.

In Ogba community of the same Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area it is clear that the strategy did not yield positive result as only 30% of the respondents believe that the strategy was effective where as 60% and 10% maintained that the approach was bad and even worse respectively. This signifies the ineffectiveness of the strategy in Ogba community. In variably, the result from Egbema community did not significantly differ from each other, as 36.4% each of the respondents saw the strategy as effective and bad respectively. Where as the remaining 27.3% said it was even worse.

From the foregoing analysis, it became clear that the adoption of constitutional/legal approach as a strategy to whittle down the tempo of the agitation for Minority rights among the Niger-Delta communities in River State did not show any appreciable result. Even though the constitutional/legal approach is by far better in terms of effectiveness compared to the use of violence or threats of violence. However, despite this the strategy has to a large extent left much to be desired in terms of solving the Niger-Delta crisis.

4.4b: Effectiveness of Diversionary Tactics/Divide and rule as Nigeria State response to the Niger-Delta Instability in River State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	-	-	2	14.3	1	7.1	7	50	4	28.6	14	100
2	Alode	-	-	3	30	-	-	5	50	2	20	10	100
3	Alesa	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	6	66.7	1	11.1	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	-	-	3	25	-	-	8	66.7	1	8.3	12	100
5	Atagba	-	-	2	20	-	-	7	70	1	10	10	100
6	Ikuku	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	8	72.7	-	-	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	-	-	3	20	-	-	10	66.7	2	13.3	15	100
8	Elekahia	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	6	54.5	3	27.3	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	-	-	3	33.3	-	-	4	44.4	2	22.2	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	-	-	-	-	2	20	4	40	4	40	10	100
11	Dema	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	5	62.5	2	25	8	100

12	Abbey	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	72.7	3	27.3	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	7	63.6	2	18.2	11	100
14	Ogba	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	80	3	20	10	100
15	Egbema	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	6	54.5	2	18.2	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

One of the approaches adopted by the Nigerian State in response to the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger- Delta communities is the diversionary tactics or divide and rule strategy. The task of respondents in table 4.4b therefore is to examine the effectiveness of this strategy in mitigating the lingering Niger-Delta crises in River State.

From the survey conducted across the state majority of the respondents maintained that the approach was not effective. Specifically, in Nchia community of Eleme Local Government Area, 50% and 28.6% of the respondent maintained that the approach was bad and worse respectively. However only 14.3% believe that the approach was effective. The remaining 7.1% did not respond on the issue. On this note therefore, it is clear that the use of divide and rule/diversional tactics was not effective in Nchia community of Eleme Local Government Area of River State.

Similarly in Alode community of Eleme Local Government Area, 50% of the respondents which constituted the majority affirms that the diversionary approach as a strategy was bad and ineffective. 20% opines that the approach was even worse, whereas the remaining 30% view the approach as effective. Inferences from the above therefore, indicate that diversionary tactics as a strategy adopted by the Nigerian State in response to the agitation for Minority rights was not effective in Alode community.

In Alesa community of the same Eleme Local Government Area, 66.7% of the respondents affirms that the divide and rule approach was bad, 11.1% said it was even worse, as against 22.2% that view the approach as effective. Impliedly this shows that the use of diversionary tactics/divide and rule was not effective in Alesa community of Eleme Local Government Area. From the analysis above it is clear that the use of divide and rule or diversionary tactics by the Nigerian State to undermine the agitation for Minority rights in all the three communities of Eleme Local Government Area of River State: Nchia, Alode and Alesa proved abortive and ineffective as confirmed by majority of the respondents in that area.

The result of the survey in Andoni Local Government revealed that just like the case in Eleme the divide and rule strategy adopted by the Nigerian State did not yield any positive result this was demonstrated by respondents across the three, selected communities. Starting with Ngo community, only 25% of the respondent saw the diversionary tactics as effective. However 66.7% and 8.3% all believe that the strategy was bad and worse respectively signifying in effectiveness of the strategy.

The result from Atagba community was similar with that of Ngo community as 70% of the total respondents affirms that the strategy was bad and not effective, whereas 10% opines that it was even worse approach. However, the remaining 20% maintains that the strategy was effective. This implies that the use of divide and rule/diversionary tactics by the Nigerian State to whittle down the agitation for Minority rights was not effective in Atagba community.

The survey in Ikuku community of Andoni Local Government Area was clear, it indicates that the choice of divide and rule or diversionary tactics as a strategy did not produce any effective result. This was backed by 72.7% of the respondents who saw the approach as failure. However the remaining 27.3% hold the view that the strategy was effective. In summary the overall result in aggregate term demonstrate that in all the three communities sampled in Andoni Local Government Area, the choice of diversionary tactics/divide and rule by the Nigerian State to pacify the protesting communities did not work effectively.

In addition the outcome in Port Harcourt city Local Government Area in general was very clear that the strategy adopted by the Nigerian State in form of divide and rule/diversionary tactics did not work. This claim was confirmed by majority of respondents across the selected communities in the area. Specifically, 66.7% of the respondents in Port Harcourt community hold the view that the approach was bad and ineffective, 13.3% said it was even worse. However only 20% of the respondents saw the approach as effective. Judging from the majority decision rule, it was clear that the choice divide and rule/diversionary tactics by Nigerian State did not produce success story in Port Harcourt city community of Port Harcourt Local Government Areae of River State.

In Elekahia community the outcome was almost the same thing as 54.5% and 27.3% of the respondents saw the use of divide and rule as an option by the Nigerian State as in effective. Where as 18.2% maintains that it was effective. Indicating that the adoption of such strategy was not effective in Elekahia community, Port Harcourt Local Government Area of River State. In Amadi-Ama community of the same Local Government Area, 33.3% of the respondents hold the view that the strategy was effective. 44.4% saw the strategy as bad, while the remaining 22.2% maintain that it was even worse. In essence the choice of divide and rule was ineffective in Amadi-Ama community of Port Harcourt Local Government Area of River State. On aggregate note the choice of that strategy did not yield anything good in Port Harcourt Local Government Area, there by the strategy remained ineffective.

Further to this, in Bony Local Government Area, the result indicate that the choice of divide and rule as a strategy was a bad move. In specific term, majority of respondents in the proportion of 40% each saw the performance of the strategy as bad and worse respective. The remaining 20% however did not respond on the issue. Meaning that the strategy was ineffective on the community.

In Dema community of the same Local Government Area, it was realized that the use of divide and rule as a response by the Nigerian State did not yield any positive result. 62.5% and 25% opines that the approach was bad and worse respectively, thereby rendering the approach ineffective. Only 12.5% rated the approach as effective the adoption of divide and rule as a strategy therefore prove abortive in Dema community of Port Harcourt Local Government Area.

In Abbey community of the same Local Government Area however, nothing has changed as 72.7% and 27.3% of the respondent hold the view that the adoption of divide and rule as a strategy to pacify the protesting communities in the Niger – Delta was bad and worse respectively implying that the approach was in effective. In summary the choice of divide and rule otherwise diversionary tactics was ineffective in Bony Local Government Area. From Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of River State result indicate in effectiveness of the strategy all through the three sampled communities: Omoku, Ogba and Egbema.

In Omoku community which is the headquarter of the Local Government, only 18.2% of the total respondents view the approach as effective. 63.8% said the approach was a bad move, whereas the remaining 18.2% opines that it was even worse strategy. This implies that the choice of divide and rule as policy option by the Nigerian State to mitigate the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta community in Omoku remain unpopular. In Ogba community of the same Obga/Egbema/Ndoni Local Governemnt Area, 80% of the respondents believe that the approach was bad. Where as the remaining 20% said it was even worse approach. This implies the ineffectiveness of the approach in Ogba community.

Similar, the result in Egbema community was not much different as only 27.3% of the respondents believe that it was an effective strategy. 54.5% and 18.2% however, saw the approach as bad and worse respectively. In essence the adoption of divide and rule/diversionary tactics by the Nigerian State was in effective.

In summary, it is clear from the forgoing that the attempt by the Nigerian State to use the diversionary tactics as a ploy to pacify the protesting communities in the Niger-Delta oil producing area did not yield any encouraging result. This is owing to the fact that majority of the respondents in all the selected communities across the selected Local Government Areas of the state were in consensus that the approach has proven to be bad and ineffective as a strategy. The only variation however is the rate or quantum of response put forward by respective communities on specific issue.

SECTION FOUR

4.5 EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NIGERIA STATE RESPONSE TO THE NIGER-DELTA INSTABILITY IN RIVER STATE

In the previous sections of chapter four, the effectiveness or otherwise of the measures adopted by the Nigerian state in response to the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities was analysed. Specifically the analysis covered thirty one communities across nine Local Government Areas in Bayelsa and River States.

In this section the focus of the study is on the same issue. However this particular one focus on the fifteen (15) sampled communities in five selected Local Government Area of Delta State: Aniocha South, Warri South, Sapele Isoko North and Urwie, Local Government Areas.

4.1c: Effectiveness of violence/threats of violence on the Niger – Delta Instability in Delta State

		V. Effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Aniocha South												
1	Ogwashi Uku	-	-	2	16.7	-	-	7	58.3	3	25	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	6	66.7	1	11.1	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	2	25	2	25	4	50	-	-	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	-	-	2	14.3	-	-	9	64.3	3	21.4	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	6	54.5	3	27.3	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	2	16.7	-	-	8	66.7	2	16.7	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	3	23.1	2	15.4	6	46.3	2	15.4	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	88.9	1	11.1	9	100
9	Eleme	-	-	2	20	-	-	5	50	3	30	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	-	-	2	16.7	-	-	7	58.3	3	25	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	1	11.1	3	33.3	5	55.6	-	-	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	75	2	25	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	-	-	2	14.3	-	-	8	57.1	4	28.6	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	2	25	-	-	5	62.5	1	12.5	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	2	25	-	-	6	75	-	-	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 4.1c the task of respondents is to examine the effectiveness or otherwise of the instrument of violence/threat of violence as one of the strategies adopted by the

Nigerian State in search for solution to the lingering crisis in the oil producing communities of the Niger-Delta area in Delta State.

The result from the table 5.1c above revealed that the use of violence/threats of violence by the Nigerian State was not effective in whittling down the tempo of the agitation for Minority rights in Aniocha South Local Government Area. This position was confirmed by the responses of the majority who affirm to this claim. To particularly demonstrate this, 58.3% of the total respondents in Ogwashi Uku community in Aniocha South Local Government Area, uphold the view that the strategy was bad and ineffective. 25% maintained that the strategy was even worse in terms of effectiveness. However only 16.7% remaining are respondents saw the use of violence or threat of violence as an effective strategy in Ogwashi Uku community. This signifies that the instrument of violence or threat of violence did not work in the community.

Similarly in Adonte community of the same Local Government Area majority of the respondents have supported the view that the use of violence/threats of violence was not successful in the community. To demonstrate this only 22.2% of the total respondents claimed that the strategy was effective. However the remaining 66.7% and 11.1% which constituted the majority of the respondents saw the approach as bad and worse respectively in terms of effectiveness. On this note it is discernable that the strategy was not a success story in Adonte community of Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Like the outcome in Ogwashi Uku and Adonte communities, the result from Ewalu community of the same Aniocha South Local Government Area of delta State was not different as only 25% of the respondents believe that the approach was effective. 50% examine the approach as bad and ineffective, where as the remaining 25% did not respond on the issue. This confirm that the strategy was ineffective in Ewalu community. In sum, it could be right for one to conclude that the adoption of violence/threats of violence by the Nigerian State as a strategy to end the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities of Aniocha South Local Government Area was not successful judging by the rate of respondents who think in the direction.

The next Local Government Area of focus is Warri South. The outcome in Warri South Local Government Area on the ineffectiveness of the use of violence/threat of violence by the Nigerian State is overwhelming as demonstrated by majority of the respondents in all the three selected communities. In Warri headquarter, only 14.3% of the total respondents hold the view that the approach was effective. However, the remaining 85.7% said it was not effective as 64.3% hold that the approach was bad, while the remaining 21.4% saw it even as worse. Implying that the instrument of violence/threat of violence as a strategy did not work in Warri community.

In Obodo community in the same Warri South Local Government Area, 54.5% and 27.3% of the total respondents uphold the view that the strategy was bad and worse

in terms of effectiveness respectively. Only 27.3%, however, said the outcome was effective. This signifies failure of the use of violence/threats of violence in Obodo community of Warri South Local Government Area.

The situation in Gbene-matu community revealed similar but slightly different result as 66.7% of the respondents rated the strategy as bad, 16.7% hold that it was even worse in terms of effectiveness, however the remaining 16.7% maintained that the strategy was effective. Indicating lack of effectiveness of the approach on the community. Inferences from the above scenario indicated that the use of violence/threat of violence as demonstrated by the Nigerian State did not have much effects on the protesting oil producing minorities in Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Examining the situation in Sapele Local Government Area. The result was clear that the strategy did not work effectively as expected by the Nigeria State. To demonstrate this, majority of the respondents in the selected communities have supported this view. Specifically in Sapele community, 23.1% of the respondent hold the view that the strategy was effective. 15.4% remain silent on the issue. However those who saw the approach as bad constitute 46.2%, where as the remaining 15.4% believe that the approach was even worse in terms of effectiveness. This implies the failure of the strategy in Sapele community. Similarly, all the respondents in Amukpe community confirm that the strategy was inactive as 88.9% of the respondents viewed the approach as bad, whereas the remaining 11.1% maintained that it was even worse terms of ineffectiveness.

In Eleme community of the same Sapele Local Government Area it was clear that only 20% of the respondents believe that the choice of violence/threat of violence was effective measure. However, 50% of the respondent saw such measure as bad, where as the remaining 30% affirms that it was even worse in effects. In summary the use of violence/threat of violence by the Nigerian State was unproductive in Sapele Local Government Area.

Looking at the situation in Isoko North Local Government Area, the result indicated that the use of violence/threats of violence did not work in these communities. In Ozoro headquarter for instance only 16.7% of the total respondents are of the view that the strategy was effective. However, 58.3% said it was bad, where as the remaining 25% maintains that it was even worse when it come to the issue of effectiveness of strategy. The conclusion here is that the use of violence was not effective in Ozoro community. In the community of Ofagbe in the same Isoko North Local Government Area, the result was not much different as 55.6% of the respondents which constitute the majority are of the views that the approach was bad and ineffective. Only 11.1% saw the approach as an effective strategy. However the remaining 33.3% did not respond on the issue. It is clear therefore, that the choice of violence/threats of violence did not work in Ofagbe community of Isoko North Local Government Area.

The outcome in Ellu community in the same Isoko Local Government Area, indicate that all the respondents (100%) are of the view that the use of violence/threat of violence did not yielded the desired goal to the Nigerian State as 75% of the respondent rated the strategy as bad, while the remaining 25% saw it even as worse in the area of effectiveness. In aggregate term the use of violence/threats of violence by the Nigerian State to whittle down the agitation for Minority rights was in effective in Isoko North Local Government Area.

The table further present the result in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State where the out come shows that the strategy of violence/threats of violence did not work effectively in the area. This was demonstrated by majority of the respondents. For instance in Effurun community which is the headquarters of the Local Government Area, only 14.3% of the respondents said the approach was effective against the remaining 57.1% and 28.6% who saw the use of violence/threats of violence as bad and worse respectively. This implies that the strategy did not work in the Effurun community.

In the same vien the survey in Ekpan community was not much different as 62.5% and 12.5% which is the majority, opines that the choice of violence/threats of violence was bad and worse respectively, against the remaining 25% that saw the strategy as effective impliedly the approach did not work in Ekpan community of Urwie Local Government Area.

Similarly, in Jeddo community 25% of the respondents saw the approach as an effective strategy, while the majority with 75% believe that the choice of violence/threat of violence did not wok effective in Jeddo community. In summary the choice of violence/threats of violence in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State was not effective. From the forgoing analysis it became clear that the use of violence/threats of violence by the Nigerian State as a strategy to whittle down the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities of Delta State did not yield the desired goal as demonstrated by majority of the respondents across the state.

4.2c: Effectiveness of the Institutional Approach as the Nigerian State response to Niger- Delta Instability in Delta State

		V. Effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Aniocha South												
1	Ogwashi Uku	3	25	6	50	2	16.7	1	8.3	-	-	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	5	55.6	1	11.1	3	33.3	-	-	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	4	50	2	50	2	25	-	-	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	-	-	8	57.1	3	21.4	1	7.1	2	14.3	14	100

5	Obodo	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	9	81.1	-	-	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	2	16.7	7	58.3	2	16.7	3	25	-	-	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	2	15.4	7	53.8	2	15.4	3	23.1	0	0	13	100
8	Amukpe	2	22.2	5	55.6	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	9	100
9	Eleme	-	-	6	60	2	20	1	10	1	10	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	-	-	10	83.3	-	-	0	0	2	16.7	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	3	33.3	-	-	6	66.7	-	-	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	4	50	2	25	2	25	-	-	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	-	-	7	50	2	14.3	3	21.4	2	14.3	14	100
14	Ekpan	1	12.5	5	62.5	-	-	-	-	2	25	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	-	-	1	12.5	5	62.5	2	25	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The main objective of table 4.2c is to examine the effectiveness of the institutional approach as strategy adopted by the Nigerian State in response to the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger – Delta communities in Delta State. Arising from the analysis, the table revealed the following. In Aniocha South Local Government Area it was clear that the use of institutional approach was effective. This was confirmed by the majority of respondents in the selected communities selected across the Local Government Area.

In Ogwashi Uku community of Aniocha South Local Government Area, it revealed that the strategy was effective, as 50% of the respondents believe that the approach was effective, 25% hold the view that the strategy was even very effective. However, only 8.3% of the respondents said the approach was bad, the remaining 16.7% did not respond on the issue. This implies that the use of institutional approach was successful in Ogwashi Uku community in Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Similarly the result was not much different in Adonte community as 55.6% of the respondents indicate that the use of institutional approach was effective, where as 33.3% examine the approach as bad. While the remaining 11.1% did not respond on the issue. On this note it is clear that the strategy was effective in Adonte community. Looking the issue of institutional approach in Ewalu community, the table revealed that only 25% of the total respondents saw the approach as bad and in effective. However 50% rated it as effective. While the remaining 25% did not respond on the issue, signifying that the use of institutional approach was successful in Ewalu community. In sum it is clear that the use of institutional approach by the Nigerian State as a solution to the Niger-Delta

instability was successful in all the communities selected in Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State.

The next Local Government Area is the Warri South Local Government Area, where the outcome of the survey shows mixed result as the use of institutional was effective in two communities but not effective in the other community. This was demonstrated by majority of respondents across the selected communities. in Warri community 57.1% of the respondents affirms that the choice of institutional approach yielded success story in the community. Only 7.1% and 14.3% saw the choice of the strategy as bad and worse respectively. While the remaining 21.4% remain silent on the issue. The implication of the above is that the choice of institutional approaches a response was effective measure in Warri community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

In Obodo community of the same Warri South Local Government Area, however the result was different as only 18.2% of the total respondents believe that the institutional approach was effective, against 81.1% of the respondents which constituted the majority who hold the view that the strategy was indeed bad and in effective in the community. This signifies that the choice of institutional measure was not effective in Obodo community.

The result in Gbene-Matu community was successful as 58.3% and 15.4% saw the measure as effective and very effective respectively, where as 25% of the respondent hold the view that it was bad. While the remaining 16.7% did not respond on the issue. This implies that the use of institutional approach had lead to significant success in Gbene-matu community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State. On this note it is concluded that the adoption of institutional measure as a response to the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger – Delta communities of Warri South led to a mixed result as it proved to be effective in Warri and Gbene-matu communities, but ineffective in Obodo community in the same Warri South Local Government Area.

The next Local Government Area surveyed is Sapele. The outcome of the survey in Sapele Local Government have recorded a huge success as majority of respondents across all the three sampled communities have confirmed this. In specific term, the result in Sapele community shows that 53.8% of the respondents hold the view that the use of institutional measure was effective. 15.4% maintained that the measure was even very effective, only 23.1% opines that the approach was bad. While the remaining 15.4% remain silent on the issue. The conclusion driven from this analysis is that the use of institutional measure by the Nigerian State in Sapele community was successful to a large extent. Furthermore the result in Amukpe community in the same Sapele Local Government Area was similar to what was found in Sapele community. This was demonstrated by majority of respondents in the community as 55.6% and 22.2% of the respondents viewed the use of the institutional measure as effective and very effective

respectively, where as the remaining 22.2% affirms that the approach was bad and ineffective. Based on the majority decision rule it is clear that the use of institutional measure by the Nigerian State in Amukpe community was a large success.

Similarly 60% of the total respondents hold the view that the use of institutional approach in Eleme community effective. 20% did not respond on the issue, where as 10% each was of the view that the measure was bad and worse respectively. The overall result in Sapele Local Government Area indicates that the use of institutional approach was successful as confirmed by majority of the respondents in the communities across the Local Government.

Looking at the scenario in Isoko North Local Government Area the outcome was disaggregated as two out of the three communities sampled, Ozoro and Ellu communities are of the view that the institutional measure was effective in their respective communities while the result in Ofagbe community to the contrary as majority of the respondents supported this. For instance in Ozoro headquarters 83.3% of the respondents maintains that the institutional approach was effective, where as 16.7% affirms that the approach was even worse and ineffective. This signifies that the use of institutional approach as a measure to whittle down the tempo of the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta community was effective. In Ozoro community of Isoko North Local Government Area.

The result in Ofagbe community in the same Local Government Area was however, different as only 33.3% of the respondents saw the measure as effective, where as 66.7% of the respondents which constituted the majority maintained that the institutional measure was bad and ineffective. The implication of this finding is that the choice of institutional measure by the Nigerian State was a failure in Ofagbe community. In a contra-distinction, the result in Ellu community revealed that 50% of the respondents supported the view that the measure was effective. However 25% said it was bad and ineffective, while the remaining 25% remain silent. This implies that the choice of institutional measure in Ellu was huge success. On a general note the conclusion from Isoko North Local Government was that the use of institutional measure was successful in Ozoro and Ellu communities, where as it was failure in Ofagbe community in the same isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State.

The table also shows the result in Urwie Local Government Area. It was revealed that the result was mixed as some communities supported the use of the institutional measure, where as others were against it. For instance in Effurun community 50% of the total respondents said that the measure was effective, 21.7% believe that it was bad, while 14.3% said it was even worse. The remaining 14.3% however remain silent on the issue. This implies that the use the institutional measure was effective.

In Ekpan community of the same Local Government Area, only 25% of the respondents maintain that measure was bad and ineffective. However 62.5% and 12.5%

affirms that measure was effective and very effective respectively. In essence the use of institutional measure by the Nigerian State in response to the Niger-Delta instability was a huge success in Ekpan community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

However, the result of the survey in Jeddo community in the same Local Government revealed that it was not successful. This view was supported by the majority of the respondents. This was confirmed by 62.5% of the respondent who examine the measure as bad, 25% maintained that it was even worse, where as the remaining 12.5% of the respondents did not respond on the issue. The outcome therefore indicates that the use of institutional measure was not effective in Jeddo community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State. From the above analysis it is clear that the adoption of institutional approach measure by the Nigerian State was effective in Effurun and Ekpan communities, where as the outcome was ineffective in Jeddo community.

4.3c: Effectiveness of the Legal/Institutional Approach as Nigerian State response to Niger- Delta Instability in Delta State

		V. Effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Aniocha South												
1	Ogwashi Uku	-	-	1	8.3	-	-	9	75	2	16.7	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	4	44.4	3	33.3	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	62.5	3	37.5	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	-	-	4	28.6	-	-	8	57.1	2	14.3	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	6	54.5	2	18.2	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	6	50	-	2	4	33.3	0	0	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	3	25	-	-	8	61.5	7	15.4	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	2	22.2	1	2	6	66.7	-	-	9	100
9	Eleme	2	20	5	-	-	-	3	30	-	-	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	2	16.7	7	58.3	-	-	3	25	-	-	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	3	33.3	-	-	5	55.6	1	11.1	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	2	25	-	-	6	75	-	-	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	-	-	2	14.3	-	-	10	71.4	2	14.3	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	3	37.5	-	-	5	62.5	-	-	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	4	50	1	2	3	37.5	-	-	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The task of respondents in table 4.3c is to examine the effectiveness or otherwise of the legal/constitutional approach been adopted by the Nigerian State in response to the

agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities of Delta State. The result revealed that the approach was not effective in most of the selected communities across the state. This does not mean however, that there are no communities where the approach was believed to be effective. In order to get the result clearer, the analysis will be community based.

Starting with Aniocha South Local Government Area, it is clear that the use of constitutional/legal measure as a panacea to the agitation was not effective. This was demonstrated by majority of the respondent in all the three selected communities as will be seen in detail below. In Ogwashi Uku community for instance 75% of the total respondents examine the measure as bad, 16.7% believed that it was even worse in terms of effectiveness. Where as only 8.3% affirms that the approach was effective. On the whole it is justifiable that the legal/constitutional approach was not effective in Ogwashi Uku community. In Adonte community of the same Aniocha South Local Government Area 22.2% of the respondents believe that the approach was effective. However, 44.4% and 33.3% of the respondents are of the view that the approach was bad and worse respectively. This implies that the constitutional legal approach was ineffective in Adonte community.

The result in Ewalu community of the same Local Government indicate negative result as 62.5% of the respondents maintained that the approach was bad, where as the remaining 37.5% maintained that it was even worse. The implication of this result is that the constitutional/legal approach did not work effectively in the Ewalu community. In summary, the adoption of constitutional/legal approach by the Nigerian State in response to the agitation for Minority rights has proved to be ineffective in Aniocha Local Government Area as demonstrated by majority of respondents across the three sampled communities.

Furthermore, in Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State, the outcome of the survey was not uniform across communities. The result in Warri and Obodo communities revealed that the use of constitutional/legal approach was in effective, where as in Gbene-matu community it proves to be effective. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents. For instance in Warri community which is the headquarter of the Local Government, only 28.6% of the respondents rated the use of constitutional/legal approach as effective. However 57.1% and 14.3% saw the approach as bad and worse respectively. This signifies that the use of constitutional/legal approach was ineffective, in Warri community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

The result in Obodo community was similar as only 27.3% hold the view that the approach was effective. 54.5% believe that the approach was bad, while the remaining 18.2% said it was even worse in terms of effectiveness. This implies that the use of legal/institutional approach was not effective in Obodo community.

However, in Gbene-matu community of the same Warri-South Local Government Area, the outcome of the survey was quite distinct as it indicated that the use of legal/constitutional approach was effective. This was demonstrated by majority of the respondents. 50% of the total respondents believe that the strategy was effective. However 33.3% hold the view that it was bad and ineffective, while the remaining 16.7% did not respond on the issue. The implication of the above is that the use of constitutional/legal approach by the Nigerian State was effective in Gbene-matu community of Warri South Local Government Area. Based on the above, it became clear that the use of constitutional/legal framework in the Warri South was not successful all through, as it was successful in two communities, Warri and Obodo communities whereas in Gbene-matu community of the same Local Government the approach was a huge success.

Moreover in Sapele Local Government Area the view of the majority of the respondents is similar to what was obtained in Warri South Local Government Area, as the result revealed mixed outcome with Sapele and Amukpe on the negative side of the approach while Eleme on the positive side. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents in their respective communities. In Sapele community for instance only 25% of the respondents affirm that the approach was effective. However, 61.5% and 15.4% rated the approach as bad and worse respectively. This signifies that the choice of constitutional/legal approach as a strategy by the Nigerian State did not argue well in Sapele community indicating lack of effectiveness of the strategy.

Similarly, in Amukpe community the table revealed that the use of constitutional/legal approach was not effective as only 22.2% of the respondents affirm that the approach was effective. However, 66.7% maintained that the approach was bad and ineffective, whereas the remaining 11.1% did not respond on the issue. Therefore, the choice of constitutional/legal approach was not effective in Amukpe community of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State. In Eleme community, the situation was a bit different as 50% of the respondents affirm that the approach was effective. Similarly, 20% maintain that the approach was even very effective. However only 30% of the respondents said the approach was bad. Thus it is concluded that the use of constitutional/legal approach was effective in Eleme community of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State.

The next Local Government Area to examine is the Isoko North where the result also indicates mixed outcome as demonstrated by majority of respondents in these communities.

Specifically in Ozoro community, which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area, 58.3% of the respondents said the approach was effective, 16.7% saw the approach as very effective. Those who saw the approach as bad and ineffective

constitute 25%. It is clear therefore that the use of constitutional/legal approach in Ozoro community proved to be effective as supported by the majority of the respondents.

However, the result proved to be ineffective in Ofagbe and Ellu communities both of Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State. For instance in Ofagbe community 55.6% and 11.1% saw the use of constitutional/legal approach as bad and worse in terms of effectiveness respectively, where as the remaining 33.3% maintained that it was effective. This implies that the approach was ineffective in Ofagbe community.

Looking at the situation in Ellu community only 25% of the respondents rate, the constitutional approach as effective, where as 75% of the total respondents which constituted the majority uphold that it was bad and ineffective. Thus, indicating lack of effectiveness of the constitutional approach in Ellu community of Isoko – North Local Government Area. Furthermore the situation in Urwie Local Government Area shows a mixed result in Effurun community for instance 71.4% and 14.3% saw the approach as bad and worse respectively, where as the remaining 14.3% did not even respond. This signified that the use of constitutional/legal approach was not effective in Effurun community.

Similarly, the result in Ekpan community of Urwie Local Government Area, indicated negative effects, as only 37.5% of the respondents saw the approach as effective. While the remaining 62.5% maintained that it was ineffective. This signifies that the outcome as far as Ekpan community is concerned was negative or ineffective. In Jeddo community, 50% of the respondents said the choice of constitutional/legal approach was effective in their community, 12.5% did not respond while the remaining 37.5% did saw the approach as bad and ineffective for that matter. From the foregoing, it is clear that the use of constitutional/legal strategy was not effective in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

4.4c: Rating of the Effectiveness of Diversionary tactics/Divide and rule as Nigeria State response to Niger- Delta Instability in Delta State

		V. Effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Aniocha South												
1	Ogwashi Uku	-	-	3	25	-	-	9	75	-	-	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	6	66.7	2	22.2	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	2	25	-	-	4	50	2	25	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	-	-	2	14.3	-	-	12	85.7	-	-	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	5	45.5	2	18.2	3	27.3	1	9.1	11	100

6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	2	16.7	-	-	8	66.7	2	16.7	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	3	23.1	-	-	10	76.9	-	-	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	6	66.7	1	11.1	9	100
9	Eleme	-	-	3	30	-	-	5	50	2	20	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	-	-	6	50	2	16.7	4	33.3	-	-	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	7	77.8	-	-	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	5	62.5	2	25	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	-	-	3	21.4	-	-	9	64.3	2	14.3	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	2	25	1	12.5	5	62.5	-	-	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	2	25	-	-	4	50	2	25	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 4.4c above respondents were asked to examine the effectiveness or otherwise of the use of Diversionary Tactics/Divide and rule strategy by the Nigerian State to whittle down the tempo of agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities of Delta State. To achieve this fifteen communities across five Local Government Area were chosen.

From the table the result indicates that in Aniocha South Local Government Area, the use of such approach proved to be abortive and ineffective judging by the rate of responses in that direction. Specifically in Ogwashi uku community of Aniocha South Local Government Area, only 25% of the respondents affirm that the use of divide and rule/diversionary tactics was effective, against the remaining 75% which constituted majority. This implies that the choice of such approach was ineffective in Ogwashi Uku community.

Similarly, in Adonte community of the same Local Government Area, 11.1% of the respondents remained silent on the issue. However, 66.7% and 22.2% maintained that the divide and rule/diversionary approach was bad and even worse respectively. This signifies that such approach was not effective in Adnote community.

The outcome was not different in Ewalu community of the same Aniocha South Local Government Area since only 25% of the respondents saw the approach as effective against 50% that hold the view that it was bad and 25% that even rated the approach as worse in terms of effectiveness in whittling the agitation for Minority rights in the community. From the above it is clear that the choice of divide and rule/diversionary tactics as a strategy to undermine the agitation for Minority rights in the Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State by the Nigerian State was not effective as demonstrated by majority of respondents across these selected communities.

Next is Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State. Here the outcome of the survey is not different from what was found in Aniocha Local Government Area. For instance in Warri headquarter, only 14.3% of the total respondents saw the approach as effective against 85.7% which is the majority indicating that the approach was not effective. However, in Obodo community of the same Local Government Area, the result was distinct as 45.5% of the respondents, which constituted the majority, confirm that the use of diversionary tactics was effective in the community. Where as 27.3% saw it as bad approach, 9.1% said it was even worse in performance. While the remaining 18.2% did not respond on the issue. This signifies positive result implying lack of effectiveness of the approach in Obodo community.

The outcome in Gbene-matu was similar to the one in Warri community as only 16.7% of the respondents rated the approach as effective, against 66.7% and 16.7% who saw the approach as bad and worse respectively in the area of effectiveness in performance. The implication of the above therefore, is that the choice of diversionary tactics/divide and rule strategy was not successful in Gbene-matu community of Warri South Local Government Area. In summary, while the use of diversionary tactics/divide and rule was confirmed to be effective in Warri and Gbene-matu communities of Warri South Local Government Area, it is clear that it was effective in Obodo community of the same Warri-South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Furthermore, in Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State, it was clear that the choice and use of divide and rule/diversionary tactics as a strategy to undermine the agitation for Minority rights by the Nigerian State was not successful. This was confirmed by the rate of responses in support of this view. Looking at Sapele community for instance only 23.1% of the respondents saw the approach as effective, against the remaining 76.9% who affirms that the approach was bad and ineffective in Sapele community.

In Amukpe community, the story was not different as 22.2% of the respondents opines that the approach was effective, against 66.7% which constituted the majority that saw it as bad in terms of effectiveness. This signifies that the choice of divide and rule strategy by the Nigerian State was not effective in Amukpe community of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State.

In a similar development, the outcome from Ellume community was not much different as only 30% of the respondents believe that the approach was effective against 50% and 20% who rates the approach as bad and worse respectively. The implication of the above finding is that the use of divide and rule/ diversionary tactics was not effective in Sapele Local Government Area as confirmed by majority of respondents across the selected communities in the Local Government Area.

The next Local Government is Isoko North Local Government where the outcome was not harmonious as the approach happened to be effective in only one community and

in effective in the other two selected communities. Specifically in Ozoro community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area it is clear that the approach was effective as demonstrated by 50% of the respondents in support of this. 16.7% however, did not respond on the issue, where as the remaining 33.3% said the approach was bad.

However in Ofagbe and Ellu communities of Isoko North Local Government Area the use of divide and rule/diversionary approach was not effective as demonstrated by majority of the respondents. Specifically, in Ofagbe community, only 22.2% of the respondent saw the approach as effective against the remaining 77.8% that maintained that it was bad and ineffective. Similarly, in Ellu community only 12.5% saw the approach as effective, remaining 62.5% said it was even worse approach in terms of effectiveness in performance.

Moreover, the outcome of the survey in Urwie Local Government Area indicates negative result as demonstrated by majority of the respondent across the various communities in the Local Government Area. For instance, in Effurun community which is the headquarters of the Local Government Area, 64.3% and 14.3% of the respondents saw the use of the divide and rule approach as bad and worse respectively in terms of effectiveness in performance. However only 21.4% maintains that it was effective strategy implying lack of effectiveness of the strategy.

In Ekpan community of the same Local Government Area the situation was not different as only 25% of the respondents opines that the approach was effective. 12.5% did not respond on the issue where as 62.5% which constituted the majority maintained that it was bad and ineffective approach. This implies poor performance by the approach in Ekpan community. In Jeddo community of the same Urwie Local Government Area, only 25% of the respondents saw the approach as effective, 50% said it was bad while the remaining 25% affirms that it is even worse in terms of performance. This signifies that the approach was in effective in Jeddo community.

In summary, the result indicate that the use of divide and rule/diversionary tactics was not effective in Urwie Local Government Area from the foregoing presentation and analysis it is clear that the use of divide and rule/diversionary tactics as a strategy to undermined the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities of Delta State has resulted to different opinion and interpretation among respondents across the selected communities in the state. While majority of the respondents saw the approach as ineffective in terms of performance, there are stall pockets of communities that maintained that although the ploy was not comfortable to the residents but its adoption by the Nigerian State was not with out success.

CHAPTER FIVE
SOCIO–ECOMNOMIC IMPACT OF THE AGITATION FOR MINORITY
RIGHTS ON THE NIGER DELTA COMMUNITIES.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter highlights the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of the Niger-Delta communities. The chapter focused on three selected states in the Niger-Delta namely: Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers using component such as Water, Health, Road network, Electricity, Education, Trade and skills, sanitation, employment, income as well as peace and security as the main parameters for measuring livelihood.

The Analysis is disaggregated with the view of showing clearly the disjointed in the level of benefits receive by each community in a particular Local Government in a specific State. This enables the reader to insolate the benefit of each community in aggregate terms and compare it with the other communities. To achieve this successfully the chapter is divide into three segment with each segment dealing with analysis of issues related to the subject matter in each state.

SECTION A

5.1.1 The Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Livelihood of Niger-Delta Communities in Bayelsa State.

The focus of the section is on the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of Niger-Delta communities in Bayelsa state. To achieve this, 16 communities were selected across the four sampled local government areas: Yenagoa, Southern Ijaw, Ekeremor and Brass Local Government Areas.

In the case of table 5.1a and 5.2a, the study utilized aggregate weighted mean using Likert five (5) scale to measure the responses of the individual respondents.

The Likert scale is graded scale given by A = 5points, B = 4points, C = 3points, D = 2points and E = 1point. The decision rule for the aggregate mean is that if the mean is equal to or greater than (\geq) 2.5 is regarded as positive and accepted. On the other hand where the aggregate weighted mean is less than ($<$) 2.5, it is regarded as negative and rejected. This aggregate weighted mean (\bar{x}) for each variable is used to rank order the impact of the variable on the community. Therefore, the higher the value of the aggregate weighted mean (\bar{x}) of the parameter concerned on the community the greater the impact.

In the case of table 5.1a and 5.2a therefore, any community that scored less than (2.5) aggregate mean (\bar{x}) of say for example water is considered as not impacted upon in the area of provision of water.

The computation of the aggregate mean is given by thus:

$$x = \frac{a(5) + b(4) + c(3) + d(2) + e(1)}{\text{Grand Total}}$$

Where:

- x = aggregate weighted mean
a = number of respondents that rated the option as excellent
b = number of respondents that rated the option as very good
c = number of respondents that rated the variable as good
d = number of respondents that rated the variable as fair
e = number of respondents that rated the variable as poor

Grant total = Total number of A+B+C+D+E

5.1a Impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the water component of livelihood in the Niger Delta communities of Bayelsa State

S/N	Yenagoa LGA	A5	B4	C3	D2	E1	EFX N	X	Rank	Result
1	Yenagoa HQ	3(15)	4(16)	2(6)	-	-	37/9	4.11	1	Accepted
2	Ikibiri	2(10)	4(16)	3(9)	1(2)	-	37/10	3.7	4	Accepted
3	Agudama/epe	--	-	2(6)	3(6)	5(5)	17/10	1.7	10	Rejected
4	Tombia	-	-	1(3)	3(6)	4(4)	13/8	1.63	11	Rejected
Southern Ijaw										
5	Oporoma HQ	-	-	2(6)	3(6)	3(3)	15/8	1.87	9	Rejected
6	Ammassoma	-	1(4)	2(6)	2(4)	3(3)	17/8	2.13	8	Rejected
7	Ogobiri	2(10)	2(8)	4(12)	1(2)	-	32/9	3.55	6	Accepted
8	Angiama	-	-	1(3)	4(8)	5(5)	16/10	1.6	12	Rejected
Ekeremor										
9	Ekeremor HQ	-	-	-	1(2)	8(8)	10/9	1.11	13	Rejected
10	Toru – Ndoro	-	-	-	-	8(8)	8/8	1.0	15	Rejected
11	Aleibiri	-	-	-	2(4)	3(6)	8/8	1.1	13	Rejected
12	Peretorugbene	-	-	-	1(2)	9(9)	11/10	1.1	13	Rejected
Brass L.G.A										
13	Twon-Brass HQ	2(10)	4(16)	2(6)	-	-	32/8	4.0	2	Accepted
14	Okpoama-	1(5)	3(12)	2(6)	1(2)	-	25/7	3.57	5	Accepted

	Brass									d
15	Ewoama-Brass	3(15)	2(80)	3(90)	1(2)	-	34/9	3.77	3	Accepted
16	Odieama-Brass	-	3(12)	4(12)	2(4)	-	28/9	3.11	7	Accepted

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Decision Rule: Aggregate Mean >2.5 Impacted (Accepted)

<2.5 Not Impacted(Rejected)

In table 5.1a above respondents were asked to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on their livelihood using water as a parameter.

Arising from the analysis the survey revealed the following: In Yenagoa the Head quarter of Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the agitation for Minority rights have significantly impacted on the provision of water to their community with an aggregate mean rating of 4.11.

In Ikibiri community of Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State the respondents rated the impact of the agitation on the provision of water as impressive with an aggregate weighted mean of 3.7. However in Agudama / Epeme and Tombia communities of the same Local Government Area, it has been established that the agitation for Minority rights has not significantly enhanced the provision of water to the communities with an aggregated mean of 1.7 and 1.63 respectively. The above scenario depicts that only two communities surveyed have water while the remaining two have nothing to show about it.

In southern Ijaw Local Government of Bayelsa State, the survey revealed that Oporoma community which is the head quarter of the Local Government has an aggregate mean of 1.89, Ammassoma, has 2.13 while Angiama has 1.6. These signifies that the agitation did not impact positively on the provision of water. In Ogbiri community of southern Ijaw Local Government however, the survey recorded an aggregate mean of 3.55 signifying an impressive impact on the provision of water in the community.

Looking at Ekeremoh Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. The survey revealed that the agitation for minority have not impacted on the provision of water in the four communities. Statistically speaking Ekeremoh community which is the headquarter of the Local Government recorded an aggregate weighted mean of 1.11, Toru –Ngoro 1.0, Aleibiri 1.1, while Pereturugberu has 1.1 respectively. In sum all the communities in Ekeremoh Local Government did not benefit positively in the area of provision of portable water.

In Brass Local Government Area, the survey revealed that all the four communities have rated the impact of water positively albeit in variant proportion with the head quarters having an aggregate mean 4.0, Oporoama Brass, 3.57, Ewoama Brass, 3.77 while Odiema Brass having 3.11.

From the above, it is discernable that at communities level out of the 16 communities surveyed across the four Local Government Areas only seven communities namely, Yenogoa, first, Twon Brass second, Ewoama Brass third, Ikibiri community fourth Okpoama Brass fifth Ogobiri sixth and Odiema Brass seventh have respectively benefited in terms of water provision against the remaining nine whose rating is below minimum benchmark signifying that the agitation did not positively impacted on their citizenry in the area of provision of water.

Comparatively, at Local Government Level it is clear that of all the four Local Government Areas survey in Bayelsa State, Brass Local Government have recorded the highest positive impact in the area of provision of water with all the four communities recording above minimum standard, the reason for this could be due to the fact that Brass as an oil producing community and its environs have benefited in term of water provision not only from the State and Federal Government but also as corporate social responsibility from Brass liquefied natural gas and agip oil company.

5.2a Impact examination of the agitation for Minority rights on the health component of livelihood in the Niger Delta communities of Bayelsa State

S/N	Yenogoa LGA	A5	B4	C3	D2	E1	EFX N	X	Rank	Result
1	Yenogoa Hq	3(15)	2(8)	3(9)	1(2)	0(0)	34/9	3.78	3	Accepted
2	Ikibiri	0(0)	3(12)	4(12)	2(4)	1(1)	29/10	2.9	8	Accepted
3	Agudamma/Epe	1(5)	2(8)	5(15)	1(2)	1(1)	31/10	3.1	7	Accepted
4	Tombia	0(0)	4(16)	2(6)	2(4)	0(0)	26/8	3.25	6	Accepted
Southern ijaw										
5	Oporoma HQ	0(0)	2(8)	4(12)	2(6)	0(0)	26/8	3.25	6	Accepted
6	Ammassoma	2(10)	4(16)	2(6)	0(0)	0(0)	32/8	4.0	1	Accepted
7	Ogobiri	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	4(8)	5(5)	9/9	1.0	13	Rejected
8	Angiama	1(5)	2(8)	4(12)	2(4)	0(0)	29/9	2.9	8	Accepted
Ekeremor										
9	Ekeremor HQ	2(10)	4(16)	2(6)	1(2)	1(1)	35/9	3.89	2	Accepted
10	Toru-Ndoro	1(5)	1(4)	5(15)	1(2)	0(0)	26/8	3.25	6	Accepted
11	Aleibiri	1(5)	0(0)	2(6)	3(6)	2(2)	19/8	2.38	9	Rejected
12	Peretorugbene	0(0)	2(8)	3(9)	1(2)	4(4)	23/1	2.3	10	Rejected

							0			
Brass L.G.A										
13	Twon-Brass HQ	2(10)	4(16)	1(3)	0(0)	1(1)	30/8	3.75	4	Accepted
14	Okpoama Brass	1(5)	2(8)	3(9)	1(20)	0(0)	24/7	3.43	5	Accepted
15	Ewoama-Brass	0(0)	0(0)	2(6)	4(8)	3(3)	17/9	1.89	12	Rejected
16	Odieama-Brass	0(0)	1(4)	3(9)	2(4)	3(3)	20/9	2.22	11	Rejected

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Decision rule: aggregated mean >2.5 impacted (accepted)

<2.5 not impacted (rejected)

In table 5.2a respondents were asked to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the health component of livelihood i.e in the area of clinical and hospitals services. The survey revealed that: Yenagoa community which is the headquarter of Yenagoa Local Government as well as the state capital of Bayelsa State has immensely benefited from the provision of clinical service with 3.78 points. In addition all the other three communities surveyed under Yenagoa Local Government namely; Ikibiri, Agudama/Epeme and Tombia communities have collectively benefited positively with an aggregate mean of 2.9,3.1 and 3.5 points respectively.

Similarly, the situation in southern Ijaw is slightly different as all the three communities namely: Oporoma headquarters (3.25) Ammosoma(4.5) and Angiama community (2.9) have recorded positive impact with only Ogbobiri which has no single health centre left without any positive impact in the area of clinical and health service.

Furthermore, in the case of Ekeremoh Local Government Area, the survey revealed that only two of the communities namely Ekeremor community the Local Government headquarters and Toru-Ndoro recorded positive impact with the aggregate mean point of 3.89 and 3.25 respectively. While the remaining two communities Aleibiri and Peretorugbene did not record any positive impact this disparity could be due to the fact that while Ekeremoh and Toru-Ndoro had hospitals, these hospital were neglected and abandoned, the other two communities do not have even a health post or clinics.

The situation in Brass Local Government is similar to what is tennable in Ekeremoh Local Government Area. In the sense that only two communities out of the four surveyed recorded positive impact in the area of health component of the livelihood, namely: Twon – Brass the Local Government headquarters with on aggregated of 3.75 points, followed closely by Okpoama Brass with 3.43 point. However, Ewoama Brass and Odieama Brass did not record any impressive impact to that effect with negligible 1.89 and 2.22 point respectively.

Based on the above therefore, comparative analysis of the impact of the agitation in the area of health component revealed that Ammosomo community is rated to have recorded the highest benefits with an aggregated of 4.0 point which could be due to the existence of well equipped functional hospital. This is to be followed by Ekeremoh community which is the headquarters of Ekeremor Local Government with an aggregate of 3.89 point; followed by Yenagoa communities with on aggregate mean point of 3.78. other communities that follows in sequential order are: Twon Brass, 3.75 point aggregate, Okpoama Brass 3.43 point Tombia community of Yenagoa Local Government Area with 3.25 point, Agudama/Epe community and Angiama community with on aggregate mean of 2.9 point together. The remaining did not met minimum bench mark required for impact examination as none of these communities by record has any functional health post. At the Local Government Level of analysis Yenagoa Local Government Area shows the record of highest impact with all the four communities surveyed under it showing impressive impact of the agitation on the clinic and Health service component. This is followed by southern Ijaw Local Government which has benefited immensely in the area of health service with three out of its four communities surveyed namely: Oporoma, Ammasoma and Angiama communities showing impressive impact with only Ogobiri community without impact.

On the other hand Ekeremoh and Brass Local Government Area share similar social benefits in the area of clinical and health care service where two communities from each of the two Local Government Area shows positive record, while the remaining communities remain without impact.

Comparatively, result from focused group discussion, interview and personal observation to some extent did not agree with the perception of the respondent as there exist general consensus among the discussant and empirical record that while it is true that there is improvement in the area of Health and medical service in Yenagoa Community where exist six general hospitals and former specialist hospital which has been upgraded to the Federal Medical Centre. In addition these hospital have on several occasion receive support in terms of drugs, logistics and facility upgrade from the Niger-Delta Development Corporation and Shell Petroleum Development Company in terms of intervention and initiatives.

There is glearing evidence that the other three (3) selected communities in Yenagoa Local Government namely; Ikibiri, Agudama/Epe and Tombia did not significantly benefited from the health service. Although there exist health post in Tombia and Agudama/Epe communities, there is no health care facility in Ikibi community. Even these Health Centres in Tombia and Agudama/Epe are not functional due to lack of

essential drugs, trained personnel and logistics. This does not mean however that these communities did not in any way benefit in terms of health care service provision as some of the discussant confirmed that the communities seldom benefit from the community outreach programme a brain child of shell petroleum Development Company which brings door step medical attention to the rural and riverine communities.

In Ekeremor Local Government Area the consensus among the discussant was that the agitation did not have any impact on the health care service delivery, practical evidence as observed by the researcher indicated that although there is an effort to improve the existing facilities in the general hospital Ekenemor by both State Government and Federal Government through the Millennium Development Goals the project was abandoned and remained uncompleted and that the existing structure was none functional as there is no essential drugs, qualitative health personnels as well as logistics. Even the trained community health workers are not motivated as their salaries are not paid regularly. In Torundoro which is a neighboring community the community health cost is not functional. However Aliebiri and Perotorugbeni communities in Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State have no health facilities and the communities, have no access road to the metropolis. Therefore in essence the communities in Ekeremor Local Government Area including the headquarters simply does not have access to functional qualitative health care service and this could not said to have benefited health wise from the agitation. The consensus among the discussant in Ekeremor Local Government Area is that the challenges is not peculiar to Ekeremor but all Ijaws because they do not send their girl child to schools, they do not interact with other tribes even through inter-marriage as such they remained unexposed and land lacked communities.

In Southern Ijaw Local Government area their situation is pathetic as fact emerging from the four selected communities: Oporoma, Angiama, Ogobiri and Ammassoma. Though interview, focused group discussion and personal observation has painted gloomy picture in terms of health impact on the communities. In Oporoma Community which is the headquarter of the Local Government two health facilities exist the primary health care clinic and (60) sixty bed capacity general hospital, but the sad aspect of their story is that the (60) sixty bed capacity general hospital despite the gigantic structure existing was never functional as it become abandoned project. The primary health care clinic on the

other hand has no qualified health care personnel and there is no essential drugs. Similarly, the proximity of the town to the state capital where they can access health care facilities is far as they are across the sea.

In Angiama community the situation was similar, as the only existing cottage hospital has no Doctor or any qualified health workers and the hospital is out of essential drugs. In Ogobiri community their situation is slightly different as there exist no single health care facilities. The only community that has functional health care facilities in Southern Ijaw Local Government is the Ammasoma community a thirty minutes drive from Yenagoa the state capital and home of the former executive Governor of Bayelsa State D.S.P Alamyeisigha. The combination of strategic proximity from the state capital and being a home town of a political godfather of Bayelsa politics placed Ammassoma an edge over other communities not only in southern Ijaw but Bayelsa State in general. It is the only community that benefited from medical and health services as an after math of the Agitation.

Comparatively, in Brass Local Government result from interview, focused group discussion and personal observation indicate that while despite the challenge of its proximity to the state capital two (2) communities Brass town and Okpoama Brass has benefited from the agitation health wise, while the other two Ewoama and Odiema Brass have no health care facilities and are of disadvantage proximity to the state capital where they can access health care delivery service facilities.

In general conclusion, empirical evidence abound that out of the sixteen (16) communities sampled only four communities “Yenagoa, Ammassoma, Brass town and Okpoama Brass have benefited from the health care service and even among these four, only Yenagoa could boast of full functional and equipped hospital. It is natural to conclude therefore, that the agitation for minority right did not impact positively health wise communities in Bayelsa State.

5.3a Impact agitation for Minority rights on the road components of livelihood in the Niger Delta communities of Bayelsa State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
1	Yenagoa Yenagoa HQ	3	33.3 3	4	44.4	2	22.2	0	0	0	0	9	100
2	Ikibiri	0	0	0	0	1	10	2	20	7	70	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	2	20	3	30	4	40	1	10	0	0	10	100
4	Tombia	1	12.5	2	25	4	50	1	12.5	0	0	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	0	0	0	0	2	25	3	37.5	3	37.5	8	100
6	Ammassoma	2	25	2	25	4	50	0	0	0	0	8	100
7	Ogobiri	0	0	2	22.2	4	44.4	2	22.2	1	11.1	9	100
8	Angiama	1	10	2	20	6	60	1	10	0	0	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	22.2	7	77.8	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	2	25	5	62.5	8	100
11	Aleibiri	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	25	6	75	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	8	80	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	0	0	2	25	1	12.5	4	50	1	12.5	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	0	0	2	28.5	4	57.1	1	14.3	0	0	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	0	0	0	0	3	33.3	4	44.4	2	22.2	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	0	0	0	0	2	22.2	5	55.1	2	22.2	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In the case of table 5.3a respondents were asked to rank the impact of the agitation on the road network as a component of livelihood in their various communities. The table reveals that in Yenagoa community, Yenagoa Local Government Area of the State, 33.3% of the total respondents rated the impact of the agitation on road construction as excellent, 44.4% said it was very good while the remaining 22.2% rated it as good impact. It is concluded that the agitation for Minority rights have impacted positively on road construction in Yenagoa community.

In Ikibiri community of Yenagoa Local Government, 70% of the total respondents rated the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on road construction as poor, only 20% said that it has fair impact while the remaining negligible 10% rated it

impact as good. Based on the majority decision rule therefore, it is concluded that the agitation did not impacted positively on road construction in Ikibiri community

In Agudama/Epe community of Yenagoa Local Government Area of the State, significant 40% of the total respondent rated the impact of the agitation on road as good, 30% said, it has very good impact, 20% are of the view that the impact was excellent, the remaining 10% which constitute an insignificant proportion said the impact on road was fair. It is discernable therefore, that the community examination of the impact of the agitation on road network as a component of livelihood in Agudama/Epe is Impressive.

In Tombia community of Yenagoa Local Government of the state, 50% of the total respondent are of the view that the agitation for Minority rights had good impact on the provision of road to the community, 25% ranked the impact of the agitation on road construction as good, where as, 12.5% said it was excellent, those who did not respondent constitute ther remaining 12.5%.

In southern Ijaw Local Government Area, the survey revealed that in Oporoma Community the Agitation did not had any impact on road construction as 37.5% rated the impact as poor and fair, respectively. While only 25% ranked it as good. In the case of Ammassoma community in southern Ijaw Local Government, 50% of the respondent which constitute a significant proportion are of the view that the impact was good, 25% said it is even good and excellent respectively, none of the respondent ranked the impact as poor. Base on this therefore it is concluded that the impact of the agitation on road construction in Ammassoma community of southern Ijaw Local Government was positive. With regard to Ogobiri community of southern Ijaw Local Government the survey revealed that the impact of the agitation on road construction was good, as 44.4% of the total respondents believes that the impact was good, 22.2% said it was very good and fair respectively, while 11.1% which constitute a negligible proportion rated the impact as poor.

Looking at the situation in Angiama community of southern Ijaw Local Government Area, the survey revealed that the impact of the agitation on the provision of road was good, as 60% of the total respondents said it was good, 20% ranked it as even very good, while the remaining 10% believe that the impact was both excellent and poor respectively. On this note therefore, it is established that the impact of the Agitation on Road construction in Southern Ijaw Local Government as good.

In Ekeremor Local Government Area, the survey revealed that the agitation did not impacted positive in the area of road construction. For instance, in Ekeremor Headquarters, 77.8% of the total respondents rated the impact as poor, while the remaining 22.2% said the impact was fair.

In Toru-Ndoro community, the situation was not much different with what is obtainable in the other parts of Ekeremor Local Government Area, as the over whelming majority made up of 62.8% of the respondent believes that the agitation did not impact

on the community in the area of road construction, only 25% are of the view that the agitation has impacted fairly, while the remaining 12.5% said the impact was good. Based on the majority decision rule therefore, it is clear that the agitation did not impacted in the area of road provision in Toru-Ndoro community of Ekeremor Local Government Area. In Aleibiri and Peretoragbene communities both in Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the survey revealed that the agitation did not impacted positively on the provision of road. This is evident as 75% and 80% of the total respondent rated the impact as poor respectively, whereas, the remaining (20% and 25%) said it was fair.

Looking at the situation in Brass Local Government Area the picture revealed mix impact in the area of road provision, specifically in Twon-Brass which is the Local Government headquarter, it revealed that the impact was fairly as about 50% of the total respondents are of the view, 25% believe that the impact was even very good, while the remaining 12.5% rated it as poor. In the case of Okpoama community in Brass Local Government, the general impression was that the impact was positive, with 57.1% and 28.5% of the total respectively affirming to this. However, 14.3% even saw the impact as fair. In Ewoama community, most of the respondent 44.4% are of the opinion that the impact of the agitation was fair, 33.33% believes that the impact was good, while the remaining 22.2% said that it was poor. In similar development the situation in Oduama Brass was not quiet impressive just like the situation in Ewoama Brass as 53.1% of the total respondent said that the agitation impacted fairly on road provision in the community while 22.2% rated the impact of good and poor respectively. Thus, the conclusion is that the impact of the agitation on road provision was fair in Ewoama Brass.

In summary Yenagoa and Southern Ijaw Local Government Areas, appeared to be the most favored Local Government Areas in the provision of road with three communities each (Yenagoa, Tombia and Agudama Epe),(Ammassoma, Angiama and Ogobiri) all having positive impact in the area of road provision respectively. This is followed by Brass Local Government where only two communities show impressive result (Okpoama and Ewoama), while the other two (Twon Brass and Odieama Brass) recording fair impact. However, Ekeremor Local Government is the worst in the area of road provision as all the four communities (Ekeremor. Toru-Ndoro, Aleibiri and Peretorugbene) ranked the impact as poor.

5.4a Impact agitation for Minority rights on the electricity component of livelihood in the Niger Delta communities of Bayelsa State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Yenagoa												
1	Yenagoa HQ	3	33.3	4	44.4	2	22.2	-	-	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	20	8	80	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	1	10	2	20	6	60	1	10	-	-	10	100
4	Tombia	-	-	1	12.5	6	75	1	12.5	-	-	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	1	12.5	2	25	4	50	1	12.5	-	-	8	100
6	Ammassoma	-	-	1	12.5	5	62.5	1	12.5	1	12.5	8	100
7	Ogobiri	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	2	22.2	6	66.7	9	100
8	Angiama	-	-	-	-	1	10	7	70	2	20	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	6	66.7	2	22.2	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	-	-	-	-	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	8	100
11	Aleibiri	-	-	-	-	1	12.5	2	25	5	62.5	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	-	-	1	10	-	-	3	30	6	60	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	1	12.5	5	62.5	2	25	-	-	-	-	8	100
14	Okopoama Brass	-	-	1	14.3	5	71.4	1	14.3	-	-	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	-	-	2	22.2	4	44.4	2	22.2	1	11.1	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	-	-	-	-	6	66.7	2	22.2	1	11.1	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In the table 5.4a above the task of the respondent was to examine how the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta area impacted on the Livelihood of their various communities using electricity as a parameter, arising for the survey the result revealed the following:

In Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the general impact on its communities were positive with only one community the Ikibiri community rate the impact as negative with an over whelming 80% of the total respondents rated it as poor. The remaining three communities however rated it as positive. In Yenagoa Local Government Headquarter 44.4%,33.3% and 22.2% of the total respondents rated the impact as very good, excellent and good respectively.

In southern Ijaw Local Government, Oporoma community believes that the impact was positive as 50% of the total respondents rate it as good, 25%as very good while 12.5% as excellent only 12.5% rated it as poor. Hence the conclusion that the

impact is over whelmgly positive. In Ammassoma community the result was similar with 62.5% of the total respondent, rating the impact as good while 12.5% ranked it ever as very good. In ohebiri community the impact was negative 66.7% of the total respondents rated it as poor while in Angiama community the impact was fair with 70% of the total respondent rated it as fair.

In Ekeremor Local Government, the situation on general note was not very impressive as only two communities stated that the impact of the agitation on electricity was only fair, with Ekeremor 66.7% and Trou-Ndoro, 62.5% of the total respondents. However, the remaining two communities namely Aliebiri and Peretorugbene believes that the impact was negative with 62.5% and 60% of the total respondents ranking the impact as poor. In Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State the impact of the Agitation on the provision of electricity was highly impressive with 62.5% and 25% of the total respondent ranking the impact as very good, excellent and good respectively

In Okpoama Brass 71.4% of the total respondents believes that the impact was good while 14.3% are of the view that the impact was excellent. In Ewoama Brass and Odiema Brass the impact was good, with Ewoama 44.4% as good, 22.2% as very good and fair respectively with only 11.1% said it was poor. In Odiema Brass 66.7% rated it as good, 22.2% as fair, while 11.1% of the total respondents which constitute an insignificant appendage rate it as poor

5.5A Impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the Education component of Livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of Bayelsa State

	Yenagoa	Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
1	Yenagoa HQ	2	22.2	1	11.1	5	62.5	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	-	-	2	20	1	10	6	60	1	10	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	1	10	-	-	6	60	2	20	1	10	10	100
4	Tombia	-	-	-	-	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	-	-	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	-	-	8	100
6	Ammassoma	3	37.5	4	50	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	8	100
7	Ogobiri	-	-	-	-	4	44.4	3	33.3	2	22.2	9	100
8	Angiama	-	-	-	-	2	20	7	70	1	10	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	2	22.2	1	11.1	5	55.5	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	-	-	1	12.5	6	75	1	12.5	-	-	8	100
11	Aleibiri	-	-	-	-	2	25	4	50	2	25	8	100

12	Peretorugbene	-	-	1	10	5	50	2	20	2	20	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	0	0	1	12.5	4	50	2	25	1	12.5	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	-	-	-	-	4	57.1	2	28.6	1	14.2	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	1	11.1	-	-	2	22.2	5	55.5	1	11.1	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	-	-	2	22.2	5	55.5	1	11.1	1	11.1	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 5.5a communities were asked to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights , on the livelihood of their citizenry using education component as a parameter.

In Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State the survey revealed that in Yenagoa community the impact was impressive as 62.5% of the total respondents believes that the impact was good, 22.2% maintain that it was ever excellent while 11.1% said it was very good and poor respectively. In sum the agitation had positive impact in the area education provision in Yenagoa community

In Ikibiri community, the situation was not different from what exist in Tombia as the rating was both fair with 60% and 62.5% of the total respondents holding the above as dominant view. In Egudama Epe community however, the impact was positive and impressive as 60% of the total respondents rated the impact as good. In sum the impact of the agitation on education provision in Yenagoa Local Government as a whole is well above average .

In southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the situation was a slight departure from what is tenable in Yenagoa Local Government Area as the result revealed that the agitation did really impacted positively on the livelihood of all the four communities surveyed, although in different quantum and magnituded. In Oporoma community which is the headquarter for instance, 62.5% of the total respondents believes that the impact was good, 25% said that it was even very good, while the remaining 12.5% rated it as having fair impact on the community thus the aggregate response in this community is that the agitation has resulted in improvement in the provision of education

In Ammassona community, the result was similar to what exist in Oporoma as 50% of the respondent rated the impact as very good, 37.5% believes that it rather impacted excellently, while the remaining 12.5% view the impact as good comparatively, the result is not impressive in Ogobiri and Angiama communities put together as in the case of oporoma and Ammassomamm. In Ogobiri 44.4% are of the opinion that the impact for the agitation of the provision of education was good, 33.3% rated it as fair, while the remaining 22.2% believes that the impact in the area of provision of education was poor and negative. In Angiama community, 70% of the total respondents are of the

view that the agitation had fair impact on education, while 20% and 40% rated the impact as good and poor respectively.

The outcome of the survey in Ekeremor Local Government Area was total positive and impressive in aggregative term as far as the impact of the agitation on Education is concern specifically, in Ekeremor community, which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area 55.5% of the respondent revealed that the impact of the agitation on education was good 11.1% believes that the impact was both very good and fair respectively. In essence the agitation had positive impact on the provision of education in the community.

In Toru-Ndoro community of Ekeremor Local Government Area respectively, 75% of the total respondents rated the impact as good, while 12.5% believes that the impact was both very good and fair. In Aheibiri community the agitation did not have impressive impact as, 50% of the respondents which constituted the majority are of the believe that the impact was fair while 25% rated it as good and poor respectively.

In Peretorugbene community of the same Local Government Area, the impact was similar to what exist in Ekeremor headquarter although with little difference as, 50% of the total respondent opines that the impact of the agitation on the provision of education was good, 10% rated it as very good. While, the remaining 20% each believes that the impact was both fair and poor respectively.

In Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State the cumulative outcome was that the agitation had a positive impact on the provision of education. In Twon Brass and Okpoama Brass communities in the same Brass Local Government Area, 50% and 57% of the total respondent are of the views that the impact was good, 25% and 28.6% revealed that it was fair, while the remaining 12.5% and 14.2% rated the impact as poor respectively.

In Ewoama Brass community of the same Local Government Area, 55.5% of the total respondent rated the impact as fair, 22.2% opines that the impact was good, only 11.1% rate the impact as both excellent and poor respectively. However, in Odiema Brass community, the result was more impressive as 55.5% and 22.2% of the respondents affirms that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on education provision were good and very good respectively. While, the remaining 11.1% rate the impact as fair and poor respectively.

From the foregoing presentation, it became crystal that the impact of the agitation for minority on the provision education as a component of livelihood was positive through it varies in quantum and maginatititude, with regard to all the four Local Government Area surveyed in Bayelsa State. It appears that southern Ijaw and Ekeremor Local Government Areas and their respective communities seems to benefits much from education compared to Yenogoa and Brass Local Government Areas, although the impact on these communities where also positive. This discrepancy could be due to difference in

the number of education institutions sited in each Local Government Area: primary, secondary and tertiary as well as the gravity of the structures and learning facilities found in each community.

5.6a Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the trade and skills component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of Bayelsa State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
1	Yenagoa HQ	2	22.2	4	44.4	2	22.2	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	-	-	1	10	2	20	3	30	4	40	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	-	-	-	-	3	30	2	20	5	50	10	100
4	Tombia	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	50	4	40	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	2	25	2	25	3	37.5	1	12.5	-	-	8	100
6	Ammassoma	-	-	2	25	4	50	2	25	-	-	8	100
7	Ogobiri	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	3	33.3	5	55.6	9	100
8	Angiama	-	-	-	-	2	20	6	60	2	20	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	-	-	2	22.2	2	22.2	5	55.6	-	-	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	-	-	-	-	5	62.5	1	12.5	2	25	8	100
11	Aleibiri	-	-	-	-	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	-	-	1	10	3	30	6	60	-	-	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	-	-	-	-	2	25	4	50	2	25	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	4	44.4	1	11.1	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	-	-	-	-	3	33.3	5	55.5	1	11.1	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	-	-	1	11.1	2	22.2	5	55.5	2	22.2	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 5.6a respondents were asked to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the trade and skills component of livelihood in their various communities. In Yenagoa community which is the Headquarters of the Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the survey revealed that 44.4 % of the total respondents which constitute majority said that the impact was very good, 22.2% rated it as excellent and fair respectively while the remaining 11.1% each believes that the impact was poor. Judging from the majority decision rule therefore, it is concluded that the impact of the agitation on trade and skills in Yenagoa community was positive.

While in Ikibiri, Aguda Epe and Tombia communities of Yenagoa Local Government Area, the agitation had negligible impact if any on the lives of the

inhabitants as 40% 50% of the respondent believes that it impacted poorly on their livelihood using trade and skills as parameters

In aggregate term therefore, the agitation did not impact positively on the livelihood of the inhabitants of the community since only Yenogoa community which is the headquarter of the local Government as well as the state capital seems to benefits in terms of trade and skills.

In southern Ijaw Local Government Area, the survey revealed that while the agitation did really impacted on the livelihood of two communities namely Oporoma headquarters and Ammassama with 37% and 50% which constitute the majority as good, 25% rated it even as very good. This imply that the impact was positive. However, result from the other two communities, Ahiebiri and Angiama did not show positive impact as 56% and 60% of the respondents irrespectively, rated the impact as very good. Looking at the situation in Ekeremo Local Government, only Turo-Ndoro resident believes that the impact was good with 62% of the respondents which is the majority.

However, in the remaining three communities, it indicated negative impact in the Ekeremor headquarters, Aleibiri and Peretorugbene the result was not distinct as far as proportion of 55.6% for Ekeremor. 62.5% for Aleibiri and 60% for Peretorugbene. Therefore since the impact in the majority of the community was fair it is thus concluded that the impact of the agitation in Ekeremoh Local Government was fair.

In Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the survey revealed that the impact in aggregate term was negative, with Twon Brass accounted for 50% as fair, Okporoma Brass had 44.4%, while, 55.5% are for Ewoama Brass and Odeama Brass who seems to have benefit use from the impact this was followed by southern Ijaw where two communities benefited immensely, while Ekeremor Local Government and Brass Local Government both score fair impact.

5.7a Impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the sanitation component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of Bayelsa State

	Yenogoa	Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
1	Yenogoa HQ	2	22.2	1	11.1	4	44.4	2	22.2	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	40	6	60	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	-	-	1	10	-	-	3	30	6	60	10	100
4	Tombia	-	-	1	12.5	3	37.5	1	12.5	4	50	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	25	6	75	8	100
6	Ammassoma	2	25	-	-	4	50	1	12.5	1	12.5	8	100
7	Ogobiri	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	6	66.6	2	22.2	9	100
8	Angiama	-	-	-	-	2	20	5	50	3	30	10	100

Ekeremor													
9	Ekeremor HQ	2	22.2	3	33.3	1	11.1	3	33.3	-	-	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	-	-	-	-	2	25	-	-	6	75	8	100
11	Aleibiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	37.5	5	62.5	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	20	8	80	10	100
Brass													
13	Town Brass	3	37.5	2	25	3	37.5	-	-	-	-	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	-	-	-	-	2	28.6	5	71.4	-	-	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	1	11.1	-	-	3	33.3	4	44.4	1	11.1	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	33.3	6	66.7	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The task of respondents in table 5.7a above was to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on sanitation as a parameter for measuring livelihood in their various communities. Specifically speaking, in Yenagoa Local Government Area the study shows that the impact was poor as only Yenagoa community which is, the state capital and the headquarters of the Local Government as well had positive impact.

In southern Ijaw Local Government Area, the Oporoma community which is also the Local Government headquarters had recorded negatively impact in the area of environmental sanitation, as 75% of the total respondents which constitute majority rated the impact as poor against 25% that saw it as fair in impact. The impact by the rating of the Ammassoma community was positive as 50% of the total respondent rated it as good, while, 25% each rated it even as excellent and poor respectively. Therefore since in aggregate term majority of the respondents rated the impact as good and excellent, it is hereby concluded that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on sanitation in Ammassoma community of southern Ijaw was positive.

In both Ogobiri and Angiama communities the survey revealed that the impact was fair as 66.6% for Ogobiri and 50% for Angiama which constitute majority of the total respondent believes that the impact was fair respectively, thus in summary, Oporoma had negative impact, Ammassoma had impressive impact while Ogobiri and Angiama communities had fair impact.

In the survey on Ekeremor Local Government Area, the result revealed that with the exception of the Ekeremor community which is the headquarters of Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, where as 33.3% of the respondents rated it as very good, however 22.2% of the respondents rated it as excellent, while 11.1% as good, thereby in aggregate term indicate positive impact, the result in the remaining three communities was negative with 75% for Toru-Ndoro, 62.5% for Aleibiri and 80% for Peretorugbene all showing negative slope indicating lack of positive impact on the respective communities.

Examining the situation in Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. Town Brass which is the Local Government headquarters revealed that 37.5% each of the respondents rated the impact as good and excellent respectively, 25% rated it as very good which in aggregate value therefore, implies positive slope in the area. In Okpoama Brass community 71.4% of the total respondents believes that the agitation had fair impact in the area of environmental sanitation. In Ewoama Brass community 44.4% of the respondents believes that the impact was fair, 33.3% are of the view that it was good while 11.1% rated the impact as both excellent and poor. Therefore, since in aggregate term majority of the respondent are in the positive quadrant, it is concluded that the impact was positive on the community.

However, in Odiama Brass community 66.7% of the respondent which constitute absolute majority believes that the impact was poor against 33.3% of the remaining respondents who saw it as fair. In summary the impact in Twan Brass is positive, in Okpoama Brass community is fair, likewise in Ewoama Brass where it was also fair. However in Odiama Brass it was poor and negative.

5.8a Impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the employment component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of Bayelsa State

	Yenagoa	Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
1	Yenagoa HQ	2	22.2	3	33.3	3	33.3	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	-	-	2	20	5	50	2	20	1	10	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	-	-	3	30	2	20	4	40	1	10	10	100
4	Tombia	-	-	-	-	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	1	12.5	3	37.5	2	25	1	12.5	-	-	8	100
6	Ammassoma	2	25	4	50	-	-	-	-	2	25	8	100
7	Ogobiri	0	0	0	0	4	44.4	4	44.4	1	11.1	9	100
8	Angiama	-	-	-	-	3	3	5	50	2	20	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	1	11.1	2	22.2	5	55.6	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	-	-	-	-	3	37.5	4	50	1	12.5	8	100
11	Aleibiri	-	-	-	-	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	-	-	-	-	3	30	6	60	1	10	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	2	25	2	25	4	50	-	-	-	-	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	-	-	-	-	3	42.9	2	28.6	2	28.6	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	-	-	2	22.2	5	55.5	-	-	2	22.2	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	1	11.1	3	33.3	4	44.4	-	-	1	11.1	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 5.8a above contains respondents examination of the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on livelihood of their various communities using employment as a parameter for measuring Livelihood.

The result in Yenagoa Community, of Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, revealed that the agitation has impacted positively on their livelihood, as 33.3% of the total respondent believes that the impact was very good and good respectively 22.2% said it was even excellent. Where as the remaining 11.1% affirms that it was fair. Therefore, since majority of the respondents give positive response on the impact it is concluded that the impact of the agitation on employment in Yenagoa was impressive.

The situation in both Ikibiri and Agudama/Epe was slightly different, in Ikibiri for instance 50% of the respondents opines that the agitation had a good impact on the livelihood of their community in the area of employment, 20% said it was even very good and fair respectively, while only 10% which is insignificant in proportion said the impact was poor. The conclusion therefore is that the agitation had indeed good and positive impact on the livelihood of Ikibiri community. In the case of Agudama Epe communities in the same Yenagoa Local Government Area respondents affirms that the agitation. However of the respondents maintains that 40% of the had fair impact on the community, 30% it was very good, while the remaining 20% believes it was good. In aggregate term therefore, it is concluded that the agitation had fair impact on employment in Agudama Epe community.

Similarly in Tombia community of Yenagoa Local Government Area, an Overwhelming 62.5% of the respondent rated the impact as fair, against 25% and 12.5% of the respondents which believes that the impact was good and fair respectively. The summary of the finding from the Yenagoa Local Government Area therefore is that the agitation had impact respectively on the livelihood of the residents although with slight variations.

Looking at the situation in southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State the survey revealed that in Oporama community which is the headquarters of the Local Government Area, the impact was positive as 37% of the respondent believes that the impact was very good. Where as 25% rated it as good while, 12.5% of the respondent rated it as excellent and fair respectively. Thus the overall impact in this community is impressive. In Ammassoma community of southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the survey revealed that the impact of the agitation on the provision of employment was positive. This was confirmed by 50% of the respondents believes that the impact was good, while 25% are of the view that the impact was both excellent and poor respectively.

In Ogbobiri and Angiama communities the impact was not much different from one another as majority of the respondent opines that the impact was fair, with 44.4% of the respondents rating the impact as fair in Ogbobiri, while 50% rated it as fair in

Angiama. However, 44.4% of the respondents rated the impact as good in Ogobiri, while only 30% rated it as good in Angiama community. In summary, the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on employment generation in southern Ijaw is both fair and good. In Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, only Ekeremor community believes that the impact was impressive with 55.6% rated it as good, while 22.2% rated it as very good, only 11.1% rated it both as excellent and fair. However all the remaining three communities Toru-Ndoro Aleibiri and Peretergbene believes that the impact of the agitation on employment generation in their communities was fair, Toru-Ndoru having 50% as fair and 37% good while Peretougbene recorded 60% fairs and 30% as good. The overall conclusion therefore, is that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on employment generation in Ekeremor Local Government Area of Batlesa State was fair.

Looking at the situation in Brass Local Government Areas of Bayelsa State, the survey revealed that the impact of the agitation on all the communities also good, with Twon Brass having 50% as good, while 28.6% of the respondents believes that it impacted both fair and poor respectively. In Ewoama Brass community 55.6% rated it as good, while 22.2% said it was even very good and poor respectively. However in Odeama Brass community 44.4% of the respondents opines that the impact was good, 33.3% believes that it was even very good, while the remaining 11.1% rated the impact as excellent and poor respectively. In aggregate terms therefore, the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the employment component of livelihood in Brass Local Government Area was good and Impressive.

5.9a Impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the income component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of Bayelsa State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
1	Yenagoa HQ	1	11.1	2	22.2	4	44.4	2	22.2	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	30	7	70	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	-	-	2	20	5	50	1	10	2	20	10	100
4	Tombia	1	12.5	2	25	3	37.5	2	25	2	25	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	1	12.5	1	12.5	4	50	2	25	-	-	8	100
6	Ammassoma	2	25	-	-	4	50	1	12.5	1	12.5	8	100
7	Ogobiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	7	77.8	9	100
8	Angiama	1	10	1	10	3	30	4	40	1	10	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	1	11.1	2	22.2	2	22.2	4	44.4	-	-	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	-	-	-	-	2	25	1	12.5	5	62.5	8	100

11	Aleibiri	-	-	-	-	1	12.5	2	25	5	62.5	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	-	-	-	-	3	30	5	50	2	20	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	2	25	2	25	4	50	-	-	-	-	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	-	-	-	-	5	71.4	2	28.6	-	-	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	1	11.1	1	11.1	2	22.2	4	44.4	1	11.1	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	3	33.3	5	55.6	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In Table 5.9a, respondents were asked to examine the impact of the agitation for the Minority rights on the livelihood of their communities using income as a parameter.

In Yenagoa community, of Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, 44.4% of the total respondents are of the view that the agitation had impacted good on their level of income, 22.2% rated the impact as even very good and poor respectively, while, the remaining 11.1% saw it as excellent, the impact in aggregate term therefore, was positive and impressive. In Ikibiri community, 70% of the total respondents rate the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on their income as poor, as only 30% maintained that the impact was fair. In Agudama Epe community, on the other hand, 50% of the total respondents rate the impact as good, 20% as very good and poor, while the remaining 10% said it had fair impact. The conclusion therefore is that the impact of the agitation on Agudama Epe community in income distribution was impressive.

In Tombia Community of Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, 37.5% of the total respondents are of the view that agitation had impacted good on their income, 25% each rated it as very good and fair, while the remaining 12.5% said the impact was even excellent. Based on the majority decision rule therefore, it is concluded that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on income distribution in Tombia community was positive. In sum, the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on income distribution in Yenagoa Local Government Area was impressive and positive save for (Ikibiri community) where the situation was bad and negative.

Analyzing southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the survey revealed that the impact was good and positive in Okporoma community, with 50% of the total respondents rating the impact as good. However 25% rated it as fair, while 12.5% rated it as very good and excellent respectively. In Ammassona community, the situation was not much different as 50% of the respondents believes that it was good, 25% rated it even as excellent while the remaining 12.5% said it was even very good and poor respectively.

In Ogobiri community on the other hand, the situation was bad as the overwhelming majority of 77.8% of the total respondents saw the impact as poor, while the remaining 22.2% believes it was fair. Thus the overall outcome is that the agitation did not impacted positively on Ogobiri community of Southern Ijaw Local Government

Area of Bayelsa State. In Angiama community, the impact was rated as fair, with 40% of the respondents believing that, the impact was fair, 30% are of the view that it was good, while the remaining 10% rated it as excellent very good and poor respectively. This are impact of Angiama is fair. In summary, the impact of the Agitation on the livelihood of the residents of southern Ijaw was positive except for the case of Ogobiri community which show negative impact.

In Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the survey revealed disaggregated impact, with (Ekeremor headquarters and Peretorugbene) communities rating the impact as fair with 44.4% and 50% of the total respondent agreeing with that, (Toru-Ndoro and Aleibiri) communities recorded negative impact with 62.5% of the total respondents in both the communities affirm to this. On the aggregate, the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the income of the residents of Ekeremor community was both negative and positive.

In Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the Agitation had good impact on the income of residents. In Town Brass Community (59%) and Okpoama Brass (71.4%). However, in Ewoama Brass Community the impact was fair with 44.4% of the total respondents which constitute the larger proportion of respondent. In Odiamma Brass Community the impact was negative as 55.6% of the respondents affirm to that. In summary, the impact of the Agitation on the income of community members is a mixed one with two communities (Town Brass and Opkoama Brass) having very good impact, in Ewoama Brass it was fair while, Odeama Brass it was poor.

5.10a Impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the peace and security component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of Bayelsa State

	Yenagoa	Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
1	Yenagoa HQ	2	22.2	2	22.2	5	55.5	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	1	10	1	10	6	60	-	-	2	20	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	2	20	1	10	2	20	4	40	1	10	10	100
4	Tombia	3	37.5	-	-	4	50	1	12.5	-	-	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	2	25	2	25	3	37.5	1	12.5	-	-	8	100
6	Ammassoma	-	-	2	25	4	50	1	12.5	1	12.5	8	100
7	Ogobiri	1	11.1	2	22.2	3	33.3	3	33.3	-	-	9	100
8	Angiama	1	10	2	20	6	60	1	10	-	-	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	4	44.4	2	22.2	2	22.2	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	1	14.2	1	14.2	4	57.1	1	14.2	-	-	8	100
11	Aleibiri	-	-	1	12.5	4	50	3	37.5	-	-	8	100

12	Peretorugbene	-	-	2	20	3	30	4	40	1	10	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	2	25	-	-	5	62.5	1	12.5	-	-	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	1	14.2	1	14.2	4	57.1	1	14.2	-	-	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	-	-	2	22.2	2	22.2	4	44.4	1	11.1	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	2	22.2	1	11.1	4	44.4	1	11.1	1	11.1	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 5.10a above respondents were asked to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the peace and security as component of Livelihood in their respective communities. In Bayelsa State, the survey revealed that in Yenogoa community of Yenogoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the impact was positive, with 56% of the total respondent rating the impact as good, 22.2% believes that it was both every good and excellent. While the remaining 11.1% rated it as fair.

In Ikibiri community, 60% rated the impact as good, 10% believes that it was excellent and very good respectively, where as the remaining 20% are of the view that the impact was poor. In a generic term therefore, the impact with regard to Ikibiri community was good just like the case of Yenogoa. The situation in Tombia community, of Yenogoa Local Government was not much different, from the other two communities mentioned, as 50% of the total respondents believes that the impact was good, 37.5% says that the impact was even excellent, while the remaining 12.5% rated it as fair.

However, in the case of Agudana/Epe community, 40% of the total respondents are of the view that the impact was fair, 20% rated it as even excellent, while 10% believes that the impact was both very good and poor respectively. In summary, the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on peace and security in Yenogoa Local Government was positive, as all the three communities surveyed namely, (Yenogoa, Ikibiri, and Tombia) rated the impact as good with only (Agudama/Epe) rating it as fair.

In southern Ijaw Local Government Area, the survey reveal that the impact in all the four communities was good, except that the positive nature of the impact varies in magnitude. In oporoma community which is the headquarter, 37.5% which is the majority are of the view that the agitation had a good impact on peace and security in the community, 25% rated the impact as excellent and very good while, the remaining 12.5% rated it as fair. In Ammassoma community, 50% of the total respondents which constituted the majority believes that impact was good, 25% said it was even very good, while 12.5% rated the impact as both fair and poor respectively. In Angiama community the situation was not much different as 60% of the total respondents believes that the agitation had good impact on, the peace and security component of livelihood in their community, 20% believes that the impact was even very good, while the remaining 10% said it was both fair and poor. In case of Ogobiri community of southern Ijaw Local

Government Area of Bayelsa State, 33.3% rated the impact as both good and fair, 22.2% said it was even very good, while the remaining 11.1% rated the impact as excellent.

Looking at the situation in Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, in Ekeremor community, which is the headquarter of the Local Government, 44.4% of the respondents believes that the impact of the agitation on peace and security was excellent 22.2% rated it as very good and good respectively, while the remaining 11.1% said it was fair. In aggregate term the impact could be said to be positive on the community.

In Toru-Ndoro community of Ekeremor Local Government Area, 57.1% believes that the impact of the agitation on peace and security as a component of livelihood as fair. However, the remaining 14.2% each saw the impact as very good and poor. In Aleibiri community, 50% of the total respondent are of the view that the agitation had good impact on peace and security in the community, 37.5% said it was fair while the remaining 12.5% said it was even very good in impact. However, in Peretorugbene community 40% of the total respondents rated the impact as fair, 30% said it was good in impact, while 20% saw it as even very good. Based on this, it is concluded that the impact of the agitation in Peretorugbene community was good. In summary, the impact of agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of the communities in Ekeremor Local Government Area in aggregate term was positive inclined.

In Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the survey revealed that the impact on most of the communities was positive, although there is variation in the degree of impact. In Twon-Brass community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area, 62.5% of the total respondent believes that the impact was good, 25% said it was even excellent, while the remaining 12.5% said it was fair. Based on majority decision rule therefore it is concluded that the impact was positive on the community. In Okpoma Brass community, however, 57.1% of the total respondents are of the view that the agitation did impacted good on the community in the area of peace and security, while 14.2% of the respondents rated the impact as excellent, very good and fair respectively.

On general note therefore, the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the community was good. In Ewoama Brass community, 44.4% of the respondents affirms that the agitation had fair impact on the community, 22.2% rated it both as very good and good, while the remaining 11.1% believes that the impact was poor. In aggregate term therefore, the agitation had fair impact on the community. In Odiema Brass community of Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, the survey revealed that 44.4% of the total respondents rated the impact as good, 22.2 believes that the impact was even excellent while 11.1% are of the view that the impact was very good fair and poor respectively.

In summary the impact of the agitation on peace and security in term of the communities in Brass Local Government Area namely (Twon Brass, Okpoma Brass and

Odiema Brass) were all good and positively inclined, while only (Ewoama Brass) had fair impact.

SECTION B

5.1.2 The Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Livelihood of Niger-Delta Communities in Rivers State

In section A of this chapter, the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of Niger-Delta communities in Bayelsa state was examined. In this section B, the focus is on the same issue but this time around in Rivers state, where 15 communities were selected across five (5) sampled local government areas: Eleme, Andoni, Port Harcourt, Bony and Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni local government areas of the state.

5.1b The impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the water component of livelihood in Niger-Delta communities in River State

S/N	Eleme L.G.A	A(5)	B(4)	C(3)	D(2)	E(1)	<u>EFX</u> N	X	Rank	Decision
1.	Nchia HQ	2(10)	2(8)	4(12)	2(4)	2(4)	$\frac{38}{14}$	2.7	5	Accept
2.	Alode	1(5)	0(0)	3(9)	2(4)	4(4)	$\frac{22}{10}$	2.2	9	Reject
3.	Alesa	0(0)	2(8)	2(6)	3(6)	2(4)	$\frac{24}{9}$	2.667	6	Accept
Andoni LGA										
4.	Ngo HQ	1(5)	2(8)	4(12)	2(4)	3(3)	$\frac{32}{12}$	2.67	6	Accept
5.	Atagba	0(0)	1(4)	2(6)	3(6)	4(4)	$\frac{20}{12}$	2.0	10	Reject
6.	IKUKU	0(0)	0(0)	2(6)	3(6)	6(6)	$\frac{18}{11}$	1.63	12	Reject
Porth-Harcourt										
7.	Part-Harcourt	3(15)	4(16)	4(12)	3(6)	1(1)	$\frac{50}{15}$	3.33	1	Accept
8.	Elekaina	2(10)	2(8)	5(15)	1(2)	1(1)	$\frac{36}{11}$	3.27	2	Accept.
9.	Amadi Ama	2(10)	1(4)	4(12)	2(4)	0(0)	$\frac{30}{9}$	3.33	1	Accept.
Bony LGA										
10	Bony HQ	2(10)	1(4)	3(9)	2(4)	2(2)	$\frac{29}{10}$	2.9	4	Accept.
11	Dema	0(0)	1(4)	2(6)	4(8)	2(2)	$\frac{16}{8}$	2.0	10	Reject
12	Abbey	0(0)	1(4)	2(6)	3(6)	5(5)	$\frac{21}{11}$	1.9	11	Reject

Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni										
13	Omaku HQ	2(10)	3(12)	4(8)	1(2)	2(2)	$\frac{34}{11}$	3.1	3	Accept.
14	Ogba	0(0)	2(8)	3(9)	1(2)	4(4)	$\frac{23}{10}$	2.3	8	Reject
15	Egbema	1(5)	2(8)	2(6)	3(6)	3(3)	$\frac{28}{11}$	2.54	7	Accept.
	Total								162	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 5.1b respondents were asked to examine the impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the socio-economic well being of the Niger-Delta Communities in River State using water as a specific component for measuring livelihood.

In Nchia community which is the head quarters of Eleme Local Government Area of River State the survey revealed that the agitation had indeed impacted positively on the provision of water to the community with an aggregate mean of 2.7 points which place the community fifth in term of impact in the state. Similarly in Alesa community in Eleme Local Government, the result was not much different as the community had also recorded positive impact in the area of provision of water with an aggregate mean point of 2.67 which ranked the community sixth in terms of water provision. However, the situation was clearly different in the case of Alode community in the same Eleme Local Government Area of Rivers State. Thus the survey revealed that the agitation did not impact positively in the area of provision of water to the community as it has an aggregate mean of 2.2 point which by far is below minimum beach mark required for positive impact. In general term the agitation for Minority rights has impacted positively on the provision of water for the Niger-Delta community in Eleme Local Government Area of River State since two out of the three communities selected have met the basic requirements.

Looking at the situation in Andoni Local Government Area of the River State, survey revealed that the impact of the agitation on the provision of water to the communities was not impressive. This is owing to the fact that two out the three communities selected have not benefit positively from the agitation. specifically Atagaba community recorded an aggregate mean of 1.63 which is below minimum bench mark of 25% and above required.

In Ngo community which is the headquarters of Andoni Local Government Area, the situation was by far better as the agitation has proven to positively impacted on the community with an aggregate of 2.67 mean which place the community sixth in terms benefit with regard to water provision.

In Part-Harcourt Local Government Area the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the three autonomous communities surveyed revealed positive impact. For instance Port-Harcourt community which is the headquarters of the Local Government

Area had a tie with Amadi- Ama community as both emerged first in Rank, these two communities were followed by Elkahiaso another community in Part-Harcourt Local Government Area with an aggregate of 3.27 points to emerge second on the rank in terms of impact examination in the area of provision of water.

In Bony Local Government Area of River State only Bony Community which is the headquarters of the local government recorded positive impact in terms of water provision as it recorded 2.9 aggregate mean to emerge fourth on the list in terms of benefits. However, Dema and Abbey communities in Bony Local Government Area did not benefit any positive impact in the area of water since they recorded an aggregate mean of 2.0 and 1.9 points respectively which indicate negative impact.

In Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of River State it was only Ogba that recorded negative impact with aggregate mean of 2.3, Omoku Community which is the Headquarters of the Local Government Area emerge third within the same Ogba/Egbema/Andoni Local Government Area emerge 7th with an aggregate mean of 2.5 point both of which indicate positive impact. In summary, of all the communities surveyed across the local government

Areas of River State, six communities namely Alode community in Eleme Local Government Area, Atagba and Ikuku both in Andoni Local Government Area, Dema and Abbey communities in Bony Local Government Area and Ogba in Ogba/Egbema/ Ndoni Local Government Area all of River State recorded negative impact in the area of provision of water, against the remaining nine communities Nchia and Alesa in Eleme Local Government Area, Port-Harcourt, Elekahia and Amadi-Ama in Port-Harcourt local government and Omoku and Egbema communities in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni local government areas in the area of water provision.

5.2b Impact of the agitaion for Minority rights on the health component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of Rivers State

S/N	COMMUNITI ES	A(5)	B(4)	C(3)	D(2)	E(1)	EFX/N	X	Rank	Decision
Eleme LGA										
1	Nchia Hq	2(10)	4(16)	3(9)	5(10)	0(0)	45/14	3.21	6	Accept
2	Alode	2(10)	2(8)	3(9)	2(4)	1(1)	32/10	3.2	7	Accept
3	Alesa	0(0)	4(14)	3(9)	1(2)	1(2)	29/9	3.22	5	Accept
Andoni LGA.										
4	Ngo Hq	2(10)	4(16)	4(12)	1(2)	1(1)	41/12	3.42	4	Accept
5	Atagba	2(10)	2(8)	3(9)	1(2)	2(2)	31/10	3.1	8	Accept
6	Ikuru	1(5)	3(12)	1(3)	4(8)	2(2)	30/11	2.73	11	Accept
Port-Harcourt										
7	Port Harcourt	3(15)	2(8)	6(18)	3(6)	1(1)	48/15	3.2	7	Accept
8	Elekahim	2(10)	3(12)	5(15)	1(2)	0(0)	39/11	3.55	2	Accept
9	Amadiama	1(5)	4(16)	2(6)	2(4)	0(0)	31/9	3.44	3	Accept

Bony LGA										
10	Omoku Hq	2(10)	3(12)	4(12)	1(2)	0(0)	36/10	3.6	1	Accept
11	Dema	1(5)	2(8)	3(9)	0(0)	2(2)	24/8	3.0	9	Accept
12	Abbty	1(5)	2(8)	4(12)	2(40)	2(2)	31/11	2.82	10	Accept
Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni										
13	Omoku Hq	3(15)	2(8)	4(12)	1(2)	2(2)	39/11	3.55	2	Accept
14	Ogba	2(10)	1(4)	4(12)	2(4)	1(1)	31/10	3.1	8	Accept
15	Egbema	1(5)	2(8)	3(9)	3(6)	2(2)	30/11	2.73	12	Accept
	Total								162	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 5.2b above respondents were asked to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the health component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of Rivers State.

In Eleme Local Government Area of River State, the out come of the survey indicate that the agitation has impacted positively on the health components of socio-economic development, although there is slight variation in the magnitude in terms of specific community impact the variation is to insignificant to warrant any charge in impact.

In Nchia community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area for instance, it recorded an aggregate mean of 3.21% points to emerge sixth in rank in terms of impact benefit in the area of health service development. The situation was not much different in rank in terms of impact benefit in Alode and Alesa communities of Eleme Local Government Area of Rivers State, as they recorded 3.2% and 3.22% aggregate mean points respectively, signifying positive impact on the lives of the communities with Alesa community ranked fifth while Alode community both of Eleme Local Government Area ranked seventh.

Similarly, in Andoni Local Government Area of River State, Ngo community which is the headquarter of the local government has the highest health benefit in terms of impact with an aggregate mean of 3.42 points, which place it fourth in the entire state among the communities surveyed. Atagba community on the other hand also recorded positive impact in terms of health policy benefits with an aggregate mean of 3.1 point ranking eight among the communities. However Ikuku community in Eleme Local Government Area emerge number eleven in terms of impact in the health component.

Invariably, findings from the survey in Port Harcourt Local Government Area, also revealed remarkable and impressive impact on the health sector, as Port Harcourt city was ranked seventh with an aggregate mean of 3.2 point. Similarly, Elekahia community in port Harcourt heal Government area had also recorded tremendous positive impact in the area of health service as it ranked second, with an aggregate mean of 3.55 points. The situation in Amadi Ama community of Port Harcourt Local Government Area

was not much different as it ranked third in term of health benefits with an aggregated mean of 3.44%.

However in Bony Local Government Area of River State, although the result show positive impact, in all the communities in terms of health benefits, but the magnitudes and dimension revealed a mixed out come, as Bony community which is the headquarter of Bony Local Government Area recorded the overall highest impact and ranked first with an aggregated mean of 3.6 point. In the same Bony Local Government Area Dema community, recorded 3.0 aggregate mean to come ninth in the state, while Abbey community emerged 10 with an aggregate mean of 2.82.

In Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of Rivers State, the survey revealed positive impact in all the three communities sampled, with Omoku community which is the head quarter of the Local Government Area, with an aggregate mean of 3.55 point to emerge second in the state, it was followed by Ogba community which emerge eight with an aggregate of 3.1 point, in Egbema community although the impact in terms of health benefit was positive the result was not as impressive as that of the other two communities Omoku and Ogba as it emerged 12th position with an aggregate of 2.73 mean.

In summary, the area in which tremendous impact was recorded throughout Rivers state provision of health service as well the 15 communities surveyed across five Local Government Area of the state revealed positive impact albeit variation in magutitude.

5.3b Impact of the Agitaion For Minority rights on the Road Component of Livelihood in the Niger-Delta Communities of Rivers State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	1	7.1	2	14.3	5	42.9	3	21.4	2	14.3	14	100
2	Alode	0	0	1	10	2	20	6	60	1	10	10	100
3	Alesa	0	0	1	11.1	2	22.2	4	44.4	2	22.2	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	0	0	1	8.33	2	16.7	3	25	6	50	12	100
5	Atagba	1	10	1	10	1	10	2	20	5	50	10	100
6	Ikuku	1	9.1	1	9.1	2	18.2	3	27.3	4	36.4	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	6	40	3	50	4	26.7	2	13.3	0	0	15	100
8	Elekahia	2	18.2	5	45.5	3	27.3	1	9.1	0	0	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	1	11.1	4	44.4	3	33.3	1	11.1	0	0	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	0	0	0	0	1	10	3	30	6	60	10	100

11	Dema	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	3	37.5	4	50	8	100
12	Abbey	0	0	0	0	2	18.2	3	27.3	6	54.5	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	0	0	1	9.1	2	18.2	5	45.5	3	27.3	11	100
14	Ogba	0	0	1	10	3	30	4	40	2	20	10	100
15	Egbema	0	0	0	0	2	18.2	6	54.5	3	27.3	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 5.3b above respondents were asked to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of the Niger-Delta communities of River State using road component as parameter. The survey revealed that in Eleme Local Government Area of River State, the agitations had impacted positively though not impressive in all communities. In Nchia community which is the headquarters of the local government, 42.9% of the total respondents which constitute the majority, were of the view that the agitation had impacted good on the road component 21.4% believes that the impact was fair while 14.3% said it was very good and poor respectively. Based on the majority decision rule therefore the impact could be said to be good, on the provision of road in Nchia community of Eleme Local Government Area of Rier State

In Alode community of Eleme Local Government Area 60% of the respondents which constitutes majority are of the view that the impact was fair, 20% believes that it was good, while 10% of the respondents are of the opinion that the agitations had both very good and poor impact on the road components. Based on this therefore, it is concluded that the impact of the agitations on Alode community was fair. The situations was similar in Alesa community in Eleme Local Government Area the survey reveled that the impact was fair, as 44.4% of the total respondents uphold the view that the impact was fair, 22.2% said it was good and poor respectively. While the remaining 11.1% said it was very good. It is therefore concluded that the impact on the agitations of Eleme Local Government Area River State was not fair.

In Andoni Local Government Area of River State, the situation was entirely different as the impact of the agitations on the provision of road was negatively inclined in all the sampled communities namely: Ngo Atagba and IKuku communities. In NGO community specifically 50%of the total respondents believes that the impact was poor, 25% maintained that it was fair, where as 16.7% and 8.3% of the respondents rated the impact as good and very good respectively on the community. Therefore since majority of the respondents are of the opinion that the impact was poor, it is concluded that the impact on Ngo Community in terms of road provision was poor.

In Atagba community of Eleme Local Government Area of state the result was similar to what is Obtainable in Ngo community as the agitation had impacted negatively in the area of road provision as 50% of the total respondent agreed that the impact ws

poor, 20% said it was fair while 10% are of the view that the impact was very good excellent and good at the same time, on this note therefore it is discernable that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the road component of livelihood in Atagba community of Eleme Local Government Area of River State was poor and negatively inclined.

In Ikuku community of the same Eleme local government are, the story was not much different albeit, the severity of the impact on the community varies. In the sense that 36.4% of the total respondent are of the view that the impact was poor, 27.3% said it was fair, but 18.2% believes that it was good, only 9.1% viewed the impact as excellent and very good respectively. It is therefore, concluded that the agitation for Minority rights in the IKuku community did not impacted positively.

In Port-Harcourt Local Government Area, the result was a mixed one although in term of positive impact. In Port-Harcourt community in particular it was positive as 44.5% of the respondents which constitute the majority believed that the impact was very good, however, 18.2% of the respondents are of the view that the impact was even excellent on the community. Only 9.1% of the respondents are of the view that the impact was poor. Based on this therefore it is discernable that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the provision of road was positive in Port Harcourt community in Port Harcourt Local Government Area. In Elekahia community of Port-Harcourt Local Government Area, the survey revealed that 45.5% of the respondents believes that the impact was very good, 27.3% affirm that it was good. However 18.2% and 9.1% of the respondent respectively admitted that the impact was excellent and fair respectively.

Similarly the situation in Amadi Ama community of the same Part-Harcourt Local Government Area was not different as majority are of the opinion that the impact of the agitation on the community in terms of road provision was very good, 33.3% said it was good, while 11.1% rated the impact as both excellent and poor respectively. On this note it is discernable that the impact of the agitation on road provision in Amadi – Ama community of Port-Harcourt Local Government Area River State was positive.

Looking at the situation in Bony Local Government Area, the impact was not positive as majority of respondents in all community surveyed rated the impact as poor. In Bony community which is the headquarter of the local government, 60% the respondents which constitute majority believes that the impact was poor on the community. In Dema community of the same Bony Local Government Area, 50% of the total respondents are of the view that the impact was poor 37% said it was fair whereas only 8.3% said it was good. This implies negative impact on the provision or road. The same situation is obtained in Abbey community where 54.5% of the respondents are of the view that the agitation did not have any positive impact on their respective communities taking road as a parameter for measuring livelihood. However, 27.3% and

18.2% of the respondents respectively maintained that the impact was good and very good respectively.

In the case of Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area, the survey revealed that the agitation had fair impact on all the sampled communities (Omoku, Ogba and Egbema). Specifically speaking in Omoku community which is the headquarters of the Local Government Area, 45.5% of the total respondents are of the view that the impact was fair on the communities, 27.30% said it was poor, 18.2% are of the view that the impact was good, while only 9.1% said it was very good. In summary since majority hold the view that the impact of the agitation on the community in terms of road on Omoku community was fair. The situation was not much different in Ogba community in the same local government as 40% of the respondents believes that the impact was fair, 30% said it was good, 20% are of the opinion that the impact was poor in the community, while the remaining 10% believes that it was even had very good impact. This signifies that the impact of the agitation on road component in Ogba community of Ogbema/Ndoni Local Government Area was fair.

In Egbema community the survey revealed that 54.5% of the respondents which is clear cut majority believes that the impact was fair, however 27.3% are of the view that the impact was even poor, where as only 18.2% said it was good. In summary, the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on Egbema community in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni local government area could be said to be fair.

5.4b Impact of the agitaion for Minority rights on the Education component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of Rivers State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	1	7.1	3	21.4	6	42.9	2	14.3	2	14.3	14	100
2	Alode	1	10	2	20	4	40	2	20	1	10	10	100
3	Alesa	-	0	2	22.2	3	33.3	4	44.4	-	0	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	-	0	2	16.7	6	50	3	25	1	8.33	12	100
5	Atagba	-	0	1	10	2	20	2	20	5	50	10	100
6	Ikuku	-	0	-	0	3	27.3	2	18.2	6	54.5	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	3	20	4	26.7	5	33.3	2	13.3	1	6.7	15	100
8	Elekahia	2	18.2	3	27.3	6	54.5	-	0	-	0	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	1	11.1	2	22.2	4	44.4	-	0	2	22.2	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	1	10	3	30	4	40	1	10	1	10	10	100

11	Dema	-	0	1	12.5	2	25	2	25	3	37.5	8	100
12	Abbey	-	0	-	0	2	18.2	3	27.3	6	54.5	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	2	18.2	-	0	6	54.3	2	18.2	1	9.1	11	100
14	Ogba	1	10	2	20	2	20	5	50	-	0	10	100
15	Egbema	1	9.1	1	9.1	2	18.2	4	36.4	3	27.3	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 5.4b contain respondents views on the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the education component of livelihood in their respective communities in river state. The result of the survey in 15 communities from the five Local Government Areas selected across the state shows a disaggregated result, especially with regard to the magnitude of the impact.

Findings from the Eleme local Government Areas, of River State indicate that in Nchia autonomous community which is the head quarter of the Local Government council the agitation had positive impact on the educational development, majority of the respondents give positive response in aggregate term to the issue in question 42.9% of the total respondents believes that the impact on the community was good, 21.14% are of the view that the impact was even very good 7.1% stated that it was excellent only 14.3% hold the view that it was either fair or poor in impact. In aggregate term therefore over 80% of the total respondents hold the view that the impact on their community was positive it is thus concluded that the impact was positive.

Similarly result from Alode community in the same Local Government Area was not much different from the initial one as 40% of the total respondent it was even very good in impact while 10% said was excellent and poor at the same time based on this therefore, it is crystal that the agitation had indeed impacted positively on Alode community of theme Local Government Area of River State since that is the dominant view of test dependent in the area. In Alesa community in the same Local Government Area although the responds indicated positive impact on the whole but the magnitude was not as the case in the two communities of Nchia and alode as majority of the respondents behaves that the impact was fair. In summary the impact of the agitation on educational component as a parameter for measuring livelihood was positive as indicated by finding from the three communities: Nchia, Alode and Aleba .

Concerning the issue in Andoni Local Government Area of River State, except for the Ngo community which is the head quarter of the local Government where result indicated positive impact in the proportion of 50% of the respondents believing that the impact was good, 25% hold that it was fairs, 16.7% said it was very good only 8.33% were of the view that the impact was poor.

In Atagba and Ikuku Autonomous communities however the survey revealed a negative impact with majority of the respondent giving it very low rating in terms of impacting in real time benefits. In Atagba community 50% of the total respondents hold the view that the impact was poor on the community, 20% said it was fair and good respectively while only 10 rated the situation was not much different as 54.4% of the total respondents are of the opinion that the situation hold poor impact on the community, 27.3% said it was good whereas the remaining 18.2% lord the view that it was fair.

The survey in port Harcourt Local Government Area, all the communities surveyed indicate that the agitation had impacted positively on the communities as majority of the responde3nts hold positive views on the impact. In PortHarcourt city for instance 33.3% of the respondents are of the opinion that the impact was good on the community, 26.7% said it was even very good, 20% are of the opinion that it was excellent, whereas the remaining 13.3% and 6.7% rated the impact as fair and poor respectively.

In Elekahia community the out come was similar with what is in existence in port Harcourt as 54.5% of the total respondent believes that the impact was good, 27.3% said it was very good where as the remaining 18.2% rated it as even excellent on the same issue in Amadi: Ama autonomous communities of Port Harcourt Local Government Area where 44.4% of the respondent hold the view that the impact was good, 22.2% believes that it was even very good. Where as 11.1% said the impact was excellent on the community while the remaining 22.2% rated the impact as poor. In aggregated terms therefore, it is concluded that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the education provision was positive.

Looking at the situation in Bony Local Government Area of rivers state, the result of the survey was a mixed one. In Bony community which is the head quarter of the Local Government Area the agitation had impacted positively as indicated in the table where 40% of the total respondents believes that the impact was good on the community, 30% hold the view that it was even very good, where as 10% believes that the impact was either excellent, fair or poor based on this therefore it is concluded that the impact of the agitation was positive on the community in the area of provision of education however, in Dema community of Bony Local Government Area, the impact was poor 37.5% which constitute the majority holds the view that the impact was poor 25% of the respondents rated the impact as good and fair respectively while the remaining 12.5 said the impact was very good.

In Abbey community of Bony Local Government Area 54.5 which is the majority are of the area 54.5% which is the majority are of the view that the agitation did not impacted proactively on the community, 27.5% rated it as fair while the remaining 18.2% hold that the impact was even good. In essence the impact of the agitation on the abbey community was poor.

In Ogba/Egbe/Ndoni the result revealed that in Omoku community which is the head quarter of the local Government 54.5% of the respondents are of the view that the agitation impacted good on the community in the area of provision of education, while 18.2% of the respondent hold that the impact is either excellent or fair where as the remaining 9.1% of the respondent are of the opinion that the impact was poor.

The outcome in Ogba community of Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni, Local Government was slightly different, as 50% of the respondent are of the view that the impact of the agitation on the provision of education facilitation in the community was fair 18.2% believes that it impacted good 9.1.7 said that the impact was to the excellent and very good-while the remaining 27.3% hold that the impact was poor as far as educational facilities are concerned in the community. In summery while the agitation impact good in terms of provision of education in Omokon community, the impact on both Ogba Egbema communities was fair.

5.5b Impact of the agitaion for Minority rights on the electricity component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities in Rivers State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
1	Eleme LGA Nchia HQ	2	14.3	3	21.4	6	42.9	2	14.3	1	7.1	14	100
2	Alode	2	20	2	20	4	40	2	20	-	0	10	100
3	Alesa	-	0	2	22.2	1	11.1	5	55.6	1	11.1	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	1	8.33	3	25	5	41.7	2	16.7	1	8.33	12	100
5	Atagba	-	0	2	20	4	40	2	20	2	20	10	100
6	Ikuku	-	0	1	9.1	2	18.2	3	27.3	5	45.5	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	2	13.3	4	26.7	6	40	2	13.3	1	6.7	15	100
8	Elekahia	2	18.2	3	27.3	4	36.4	1	9.1	1	9.1	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	1	11.1	3	33.3	4	44.4	1	11.1	0	0	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	3	30	2	20	3	30	1	10	1	10	10	100
11	Dema	1	12.5	2	25	0	0	4	50	1	12.5	8	100
12	Abbey	-	0	-	0	2	18.2	3	27.3	6	54.5	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	2	18.2	2	18.2	4	36.4	1	9.1	1	9.1	11	100
14	Ogba	1	10	2	20	3	30	4	40	-	0	10	100
15	Egbema	-	0	3	27.3	2	18.2	5	45.5	1	9.1	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The 5.5b containing respondent views on the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of Niger-delta communities in rivers state using electricity as a parameter for measuring livelihood, begging with communities in Ellu Local Government Area of river state, the outcome of the survey indicated that the agitation had impacted positively on the lives of residents in the various communities even through the presence of the impact varies from one community to the other.

In Nchia community which is the headquarter of Eleme Local Government Area, 42.9% of the total respondents holds the views that the agitation indeed had good impact on the community when it comes to electricity 21.4 % said that the impact was even very good on the levels of the agitation as both excellent and fair respectively while the remaining 7.1% which is an insignificant preparation believes that the impact was poor. On this note therefore it is concluded that the impact of the agitation on the community was good.

In Alode community in the same Oleme Local Government Area, area, 40% of the respondents hold that the impact of the agitation on the community was good, while each rated the impact of the agitation on the community as excellent every good and fair respectively on this note it is clear what the impact of the agitation on the community was not only positive but even good

Similarly the situation in Alesa community was lightly different as 55.6% of the total respondents which constituted the majority hold that the impact of the agitation on the livelihood of the citizenry was fair, 22.2% state that the impact was very good on the community whereas impact was both good and poor respectively. In summary while the impact on the livelihood electricity component on the Local Government was good using Nchia and Alode as rallying point it was fair in Alesa community

Coming out of the Ndoni Local Government Area of River State, Ngo community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area, reveal that the impact of the agitation on the lives of the community was good with an average of 4.17% of the total respondent, 25% argue that impact was even very good, 8.3% each said it was either excellent of poor while 16.7 said it was fair.

The impact of the agitation on the livelihood of the community in aggregate term therefore could be concluded as good.

In Atagba community in the same local Government area in River State the outcome was not much different as 40% of the total respondents which constituted the majority hold the impact of the agitation on the live of the community resident using electricity as a parameter was good 20% each believes teat the impact was even very good, fair and poor respectively. In short it is concluded that based on the majority decision rule the impact of the agitation on Atagba community in terms of Electricity was good in Ikuku community, the same Local Government the out come was a sharp difference as 45.5% of the total respondents which is a clear majority hold the view that

the agitation impacted poorly on the community in the are of electricity. 27.3% believes that the impact was fair on the community, where as only 9.1 and 18.2% opines that the impact of that the impact was fair on the community was very good and good respectively passed the scenario in port Harcourt Local Government but area of River State the out come of the survey revealed impressive impact on the communities in the area of electricity generation and distribution as all the three communities sampled viz. Port Harcout city, Elekahire and Amadi Ama shows positive impact.

In port Harcourt city which the head quarter of the Local Government to be specific 40% of the total respondent hold the view that the agitation had impacted good on the lives of the in habitants in the area of Electricity. Where as 26.7% opines that the impact was very good while 13.3% said the impact was even excellent only 6.7% remaining respondents whose member is insignificant hold the view that the impact was poor in Ekerehia community of Port Harcourt Local Government Area River State the out come of the survey was similar but slightly varied in propensity of panting as 36. 4% of the respondent hold the vied that the impact of the agitation was good on the community, 27.3% rate it as very good 18.2% believes that it was even excellent. In real term benefits whereas 9.1% each opines that the impact was fair and poor respectively.

The result in Amadi-Ama community in the same Port Harcourt Local Government Area, was even much impressive with 44.40% of the total respondent believes with 44.4 of the total respondent believes that the impact of the agitation on the live of the community resident in the area of Electricity provision was good 33.3% said it was even every good where 11.1%each hold the view that the impact was excellent and poor respectively, on the general not therefore, the impact of the agitation on the Amdi-Ama community could said to be positive and impressive,

Looking at the situation in Bony Local Government Area of River State the result of the survey was mixed. In the sense that in Bony community which is the Head quarter of the Local Government Area Majority of the respondents with 30% each hold the view that the impact of the agitation on the community in the area of electricity provision was excellent and good respectively 20% of the respondents opines the impact as very good. Whereas 10% of the respondents each are of the opinion that the agitation had fair and poor impact on the community respectively.

In aggregate term the impact of the agitation on the lives of the residents of Bony community could say to be positive and impressive equaling from then proportion of the respondents that supported that view.

The result in Dema community of the same Bony Local Government are of River State was not encouraging as 50% of the total respondents that constituted the majority hold the view that the impact was fair on the live of the community members. Out 25% believes that the impact was very good, where as 12.5% of the respondent each hold that the impact of the agitation on the community was excellent and poor respectively.

Discernable therefore from the above that the impact of the agitation on the livelihood (election) component of the Dema community was fair.

Looking at the situation in Abbey community of Bony Local Government Area of River State, the survey revealed that 54.5% of the respondents which constituted that majority believe that the impact of the agitation on the livelihood of the community in terms of election provision and negatively. In summary, the impact of the agitation on the lives of communities in Bony Local Government Area was mixed in Bony community it was good and impressive, in Dema community the impact was fair, whereas in Abbey community it was poor and negative in chive

The impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the provision of Electricity in the communities of Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area was also slightly dis aggregated as it revealed that in the two communities Ogba and Egbema communities the impact was fair on the lives of the community members, in Omokun community which is the head quarter of the Local Government the impact was good and impressive.

Looking at it community specific, in Omoku community which is the Head quarters of the Local government 36.4% of the total respondents are of the view that the agitation had good impact on the community 18.2% each hold that the impact was excellent and very good respectively where as 9.1% each said the impact was fair and poor respectively

In Ogba community in the same local government 40% of the respondents hold that the impact was fair on the community 30% believes that it had good impact 20% believes that it had good impact 20% said the impact was even very good on the community where as the remaining 10% said it was excellent. In summary the impact on Ogba community was fair in the area of provision of electricity as a component of livelihood.

Lastly in Egbama community 45.5% of the total respondents which constitute the majority hold that the agitation had fair impact on the lives of the community members in the area of Electricity provision, 2.7% opines that the impact as good and poor respectively. In aggregated term the impact of the agitation on the Egbema community of Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area was fair.

5.6b Impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the employment component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of River State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
1	Nchia HQ	3	21.4	2	14.3	6	42.9	2	14.3	1	7.1	14	100
2	Alode	-	0	-	0	2	20	5	50	3	30	10	100
3	Alesa	0	0	2	22.2	2	22.2	1	11.1	4	44.4	9	100

	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	0	0	0	0	3	25	66	50	3	25	12	100
5	Atagba	0	0	1	10	2	20	3	30	4	40	10	100
6	Ikuku	0	0	2	18.2	5	45.5	3	27.3	1	9.1	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	3	20	3	20	5	33.3	2	13.3	2	13.3	15	100
8	Elekahia	2	18.2	3	27.3	4	36.4	2	18.2	-	0	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	0	0	3	33.3	2	22.2	3	33.3	1	11.1	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	2	20	3	30	4	40	1	10	-	0	10	100
11	Dema	-	0	-	0	2	25	4	50	2	25	8	100
12	Abbey	-	0	1	9.1	2	27.3	5	45.5	2	18.2	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	0	0	2	18.2	3	27.3	5	45.5	1	9.1	11	100
14	Ogba	0	0	-	0	3	30	2	20	5	50	10	100
15	Egbema	1	9.1	2	18.2	2	18.2	5	45.5	1	9.1	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 6.6b contains respondents examination of the impact of the agitation for minority for Minority rights on the socio-Economic development of niger Delta communities in River State. Here employment was used as a parameter for measuring socio-economic development . The result of the survey in Eleme Local Government Area of rivers of the indicates that the impact varies from one community to the other expect in some instances where the outcome is identical in Nchia community w3hich is the head quarter of the local government. It was clear that the impact of the agitation on the community was good, 21.4% opinies that it was even excellent, where as 14.3% each believes that the impact was very good, and fair respectively while the remaining 7.1% rated the impact as poor.

In Alode community however, 50% of the total respondents which constitutes the majority are of the opinion that the impact of the agitation on employment in the community was fair 20% said it was even good whereas the remaining 30%hold that the impact way poor. The situation in alesa community in the same Eleme Local Government the outcome indicate that he impact on employment was poor as 44.4% of the respondents opines that the impact was poor, 22.2% of the respondents each hold that the agitation had very good and good impact respectively which 11.1% said the impact was fair. In summary, impact of the agitation of the lives of inhabitants was mixed in Nchia the impact was good and positive, in Alode it was fair I Alade it was poor.

Looking at the situation in Andoni Local Government Area of River state, the out come shows disagreed result on the issue of the agitation on the provision of employment to the member of the respective communities selected. For instance, in Ngo community

which is the headquarter of Andoni Local Government Area of River State the impact of the agitation on the said community was fair. Specifically speaking 50% of the respondents which constitute the majority hold that the impact was good and poor respectively.

In Atagba community, 40% the total respondents hold the view that the impact of the agitation on the employment provision on the community was poor, 30% opine that the impact was fair, where as, 20% believe that the impact was good while the remaining 10% hold that the impact was poor. In sum it is concluded that the impact of the agitation on employment generation. In Atagba community of the Andomi Local government area of River State was fair.

The situation in Ikuku community in Ndoni Local Government Area of River State was different as 45.5% of the total respondent hold the view that the impact of the agitation o the community good, where as 27.3% believes that the impact was fair 18.2% opines that the impact was even very good on the community while the remaining 9.1% rated impact as poor. In aggregate term the impact of the agitation on communities in Andoni Local government in the area of provision of employment was mixed with NGO community having fair impact Atagba community negative and poor impact while Ikuku community had good impact.

Examining the scenario in port Harcourt Local Government Area of River State 33.3% of the total respondents are of the view that the agitation had good impact on the lives of the community members in terms of employment provision 20% the respondents each rated the impact even very good and excellent where 13.3% such believes that the impact was fair and poor respectively. Base on the majority decision rule it s concluded that the impact of the agitation on the Port Harcourt city community was good and positive.

The situation in Elekahia community of port Harcourt Local Government Area was similar to what is obtained in port Harcourt city as 36.4% of the respondents hold the view that the agitation had the impact was even very good where as 18.2% of the respondent each rated the impact as excellent and fair respectively. it s thus concluded that the impact of the agitation for minority on employment provision in Elkahia was good and positive inclined.

The result in Amadi-Ama community in the same Port Harcourt Local Government Area was clearly different from the other two communities Port Harcourt and Elekahia as 33.3% of the total respondent while constitute the majority believe that the impact of the agitation on the community in the area of employment provision was very good and fair respectively 22.2% opines that the impact was good where as 11.1% remaining rated the impact as poor based on their there it is concluded that the impact of the agitation was positive and impressive. In summary the impact of the agitation on

employment in Local Government was thus port Harcourt community Good. Elkanhia community good while Amadi Ama community both excellent fair.

The survey in Bony Local Government Area of Rivers state was not much distinct from what was toned in port Harcourt city since the result in both the Local Government Areas shows desegregation outcome. In Bony community in particular the impact of the agitation was fair on the community in terms of employment was positives, with 40% of the respondents rating the impact as good, 30% as very good where as 20% as even excellent thus the impact on this community was impressive in Dema. Bony Local Government Area 50% of the total respondent which constituted the larger proportion of the respondent are of the view that the was fair on the community, where as, 25% each of the respondent holds that the impact was good and poor respectively.

In Abbey community of the same Local Government Area, 45.5% of the respondent rated the impact of the agitation on employment provision in as fair 27.3% said it was it was good 18.2% are of the view that the impact was poor while the remaining 9.1% believed that the impact was very good. Thus in summary the impact of the agitation for Minority rights in the community of Bony Local Government Area was mixed.

Looking as the situation in Ogba/Egbama/Ndoni Local Government Area the aggregation result was fair in two community but poor in the other community. In Omoku community 45.5% of the total respondents hold the view that the impact of the agitation on employment provision in their community was fair 27.3% believes that the impact was good, 18.2% rated it as very good while the remaining 9.1% said it was poor.

In Ogba community in the same Local Government Area however 50% of the total respondent which constituted majority hold the view that the impact of he agitation on the community was poor 20% rated the impact as fair while the remaining 30% believes that it was good. On this note it is therefore concluded that the impact on Ogba community was poor and Negative in Egbama community the result was similar to what is found in Omoku as 45% of the respondents believes that the agitation had fair impact on the community 18.2% each rated the impact as very and good respondent whereas 9.1% each opines that the impact was excellent and poor respectively. In summary the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the provision of employment was fair in Omoku and Egbama community while Negative in Ogba communities

Table 5.7b Impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the Trade and Skills components of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of River State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	3	21.4	2	14.3	6	42.9	3	21.4	2	14.3	14	100
2	Alode	1	10	0	0	2	20	5	50	2	20	10	100
3	Alesa	0	0	0	0	2	22.2	2	22.2	5	55.6	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	2	16.7	2	16.7	5	41.7	2	16.7	1	8.33	12	100
5	Atagba	0	0	0	0	2	20	3	30	5	50	10	100
6	Ikuku	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	27.3	8	72.7	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	4	26.7	5	33.3	3	20	2	13.3	1	6.7	15	100
8	Elekahia	3	27.3	2	18.2	4	36.4	3	27.3	0	0	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	2	22.2	4	44.4	2	22.2	1	11.1	0	0	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	0	0	3	30	2	20	4	40	1	10	10	100
11	Dema	0	0	1	12.5	2	25	0	0	5	62.5	8	100
12	Abbey	0	0	0	0	2	18.2	2	18.2	7	63.6	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	2	18.2	2	18.2	5	45.5	2	18.2	0	0	11	100
14	Ogba	0	0	0	0	2	20	3	30	5	50	10	100
15	Egbema	0	0	0	0	2	18.2	6	54.5	3	27.3	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 5.7b respondents were asked to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on trade and skills components of livelihood in their various communities.

The survey in Eleme Local Government Area of River State shows variant outcome. In Nchia community which is the headquarter of Eleme Local Government Area, the result indicate that the impact of the agitation on the community in the area of trade and skills was positive, as 42.9% of the total respondents hold the view that the impact was good on the community, 21.4% each rated the impact as excellent and fair respectively, whereas 14.3% each of the respondent believe that the impact was very good and poor respectively. In Alode community of Eleme Local Government Area, the impact of the agitation was fair as 50% of the total respondents believe that the impact was fair, 20% each rated the impact as good and poor respectively, while the remaining 10% believe that the impact was even excellent. In aggregate term the impact is said to be fair on the Alode community.

In Alesa community in the same Eleme Local Government, 55.6% of the respondents which constituted absolute majority hold the view that the impact of the agitation on their community in terms of trade and skills was poor and negatively inclined, while 22.2% each are of the opinion that the impact was good and fair respectively in Eleme Local Government Area of River State. In summary, the survey in Eleme revealed the impact on the communities: Eleme community good impact, Alode community fair impact, while Alesa community poor and negative impact.

In Andoni Local Government Area of River State, the result of the survey revealed different impact on the various communities selected across the local government. In NGO community for instances, majority of the respondent hold the view that the agitation had impacted positively on the community in the area of trade and skills component. This is confirmed by 41.7% of the respondents which uphold that the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta had impacted good on the community, similarly 16.7% each of the respondents rated the impact of the agitation as excellent, very good and fair respective on the promotion of trade and skills in the community.

In addition, majority of respondents in the other two communities of Atagba and Ikuku both in Andoni Local Government Area of River State confirmed that the impact of the agitation on the members of their respective communities in the area promotion of trader and skills acquisition as a component of livelihood as poor and negatively inclined. For instance in Atagba community 50% of the respondents which constituted the majority believe that the impact of the agitation was poor, 30% said it was fair whereas the remaining 20% saw that the impact as good. In a similar development in Ikuku community in the same Andoni Local Government Area, 72.7% of the total respondents hold the view that the agitation impacted poorly on the promotion of trade and skills acquisition as a component of livelihood, white the remaining 27.3% believe that the agitation impacted fairly on the community.

In summary, while the impact of the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta community of NGO was positive and good it was poor and negative in both Atagba and Ikuku communities as supported by majority of the respondents.

The survey revealed positive result on communities in Port-Harcourt city Local Government area of River State. In Port-Harcourt community, 33.3% of the total respondents uphold the view that the agitation impacted very good on the community in the area of trade and skills acquisition, 26.7% said it was even excellent in terms of impact, 20% rated it as good, whereas, 13.3% and 6.7% respectively rated the impact of the Agitation as fair and poor respectively.

The situation in Elekahire community in the same Port-Harcourt Local Government Area was similar though slightly different in maguititude, as 36.4% of the total respondents are of the view that the agitation have indeed impacted good on the community, 27.3% each of the respondents rated the impact as excellent and fair

respectively while the remaining 13.3% which is negligible proportion said the impact was poor.

In Amadi-Ama community of Port Harcourt Local Government Area 44.4% of the respondents confirmed that the impact of the agitation on trade and skills acquisition in the community was very good, 22.2% each of the respondents believe that the impact was excellent and good respectively, while the remaining 11.1% are of the view that the agitation had impacted poorly on the community in the said area on trade and skills acquisition. On aggregate note therefore, the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the trade and skills acquisition component on livelihood on communities in Port Harcourt Local Government Area was positive and impressive as confirmed by majority of the respondents.

Looking at the situation in Bony Local Government Area of River State, the agitation did impact positively on the communities. This is evident in the dominant views hold by majority of the respondents. In Bony headquarter for instance 40% of the respondents rated the impact of the agitation as fair, 30% said it was very good whereas 20% and 10% of the remaining respondents rated the impact of the agitation on the component of trade and skills acquisition as good and poor, based on this it is discernable therefore, that the impact of the agitation on Bony communities was fair.

In Dema community in the same Bony Local Government Area of Rivers State, the impact was poor and negatively inclined, as confirmed by the views of the majority of the respondents in the following proportion: 62.5% which institute majority hold that the impact was poor, 25% said it was good, while the remaining 12.5% hold the view that the impact was even very good. Based on the majority decision rule, it is concluded that the impact on the Dema community was poor. The situation in Abbey community of Bony Local Government Area was not much different as 63.6% of the respondents confirmed that the agitation had actually impacted negatively on the community in the area of trade and skills acquisition component, where as the remaining 18.2% each of the remaining respondents believe that the agitation really impacted good and fair respectively on the community.

Comparatively in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of River State; the survey revealed different result from across the selected communities while the impact was positive and good on Omoku community which is the Local Government headquarter as supported by 45.5% of the total respondents which constituted the majority, 18.2% each of the remaining respondents rated the impact of the agitation on the community in the area of trade and skills acquisition as excellent, very good and fair respectively.

In the case of Ogba community in the same Local Government Area, 50% of the total respondents rated the impact as poor and negative, 30% hold the view that the impact was fair, while the remaining 20% believe that it was good. It is thus concluded

that the impact of the agitation on trade and skills acquisition was poor, and negative. Similarly, in Egbema community in the same Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area 54.5% rated the impact as fair, 27.3% said it was poor, while the remaining 78.2% hold that the impact was even good. In summary the impact of the agitation on the communities in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government is disaggregated: Omokun headquarter had good impact, Ogba poor, while Egbema fair.

Table 5.8b Impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the Income components of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of River State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	0	0	3	21.4	6	42.9	3	21.4	2	14.3	14	100
2	Alode	0	0	0	0	2	20	6	60	2	20	10	100
3	Alesa	0	0	1	11.1	3	33.3	0	0	5	55.5	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	0	0	4	33.3	6	50	2	16.7	0	0	12	100
5	Atagba	0	0	0	0	2	20	6	60	2	20	10	100
6	Ikuku	0	0	0	0	1	9.1	7	63.6	3	27.3	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	6	40	3	20	3	20	2	13.3	1	6.7	15	100
8	Elekahia	3	27.3	2	18.2	4	36.4	2	18.2	0	0	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	2	22.2	4	44.2	2	22.2	1	11.1	1	11.1	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	1	10	3	30	5	50	1	10	0	0	10	100
11	Dema	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	4	50	3	37.5	8	100
12	Abbey	1	9.1	2	18.2	6	54.5	1	9.1	1	9.1	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	0	0	3	27.3	5	45.5	2	18.2	1	9.1	11	100
14	Ogba	0	0	0	0	1	10	6	60	3	30	10	100
15	Egbema	0	0	1	9.1	2	18.2	7	63.6	1	9.1	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 5.8b contained respondents views on the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of Niger-Delta communities in River State using income component as parameter.

The results of the survey from Eleme Local Government Area across the selected communities did not show harmonious impact. Specifically, speaking in Nchia community which is the headquarter of the local government, majority of the respondents

confirmed that the agitation had indeed impacted on the lives of the community members positively, as 42.9% of the total respondents which constituted the majority confirmed that the impact was good and positive, 21.4% each of the respondents holds that the impact was very good and fair respectively while only the remaining 14.3% believe that the impact was poor and negative on the community.

In Alode community of the same Local Government Area 60% of the respondents which is the majority confirm that the agitation had impacted fairly on the community in the area of income advancement. Whereas the remaining 20% each hold that the impact was good and poor respectively.

In Alesa community of the same Local Government area however, 55.5% of the total respondents which constituted majority confirm that the agitation had negative and poor impact on the livelihood of members of the community using income as a parameters, 33.3% rated the impact as good, whereas the remaining 11.1% hold that the impact was very good.

In summary, the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of communities in Eleme Local Government Area of River State was disaggregated, as Nchia community has recorded positive impact Alode community had fair impact, while Alesa community recorded poor and negative impact.

The next communities surveyed after those of Eleme Local Government Area of River State are NGO, Atagba and Ikuku communities all in Andoni Local Government area of River State, like the situation in most communities, the outcome from the said communities were never uniform. In NGO community which is the headquarter of Andoni Local Government Area, the result indicated. That the agitation had impacted positively on the community in the area of income advancement as a components of livelihood. This was affirmed by response from majority of the respondents. For clarity sake, 50% of the total respondents hold that the agitation for Minority rights had impacted good on the income of the members of NGO communities, 33.3% of the respondents are even of the view that the impact was very good. Whereas the remaining 16.7% said it was fair.

Relatively, the situation in Atagba community was distinct as the agitation had only impacted fairly on the income of the community members. This was confirmed by 60% of the total respondents which hold that the impact was fair, whereas, the remaining 20% each rated it as good and poor respectively. The outcome in Ikuku community was almost identical with what exist in Atagba although slightly differentiated, as 63.6% of the total respondents hold that the impact of the agitation in the area of income advancement was fair, whereas, 27.3% rated it as poor, only 9.1% remaining respondents said it was good.

Looking at the situation in Port- Harcourt city Local Government Area and environs the survey revealed positive and impressive impact on the income of the selected

communities. In Port-Harcourt community which is the headquarter of Port Harcourt city Local Government Area, 40% of the total respondents confirmed that the agitation had impacted excellently on the income of the members of its community, whereas 20% of the respondents each rated the impact as very good and good all pointing to the positive impact, while the remaining 13.3% and 6.7% remaining respondents rated the impact as fair and poor respectively.

In Amadi-Ama community of Port Harcourt Local Government Area the outcome had close resemblance as 44.4% of the total respondents hold that the agitation had very good impact on their income, 22.2% respondents each stated that the impact was excellent and good respectively, whereas the remaining 11.1% each hold that the impact was fair and poor respectively.

However, in Elekahia community of the same Local Government, 36.4% of the total respondents which constituted the majority are of the opinion that the agitation, had impacted good on the income of the community members. Whereas 27.3% of the respondents believe that the impact was even excellent on the community, while the remaining 18.2% each of the respondents hold that the impact was very good and fair respectively.

The table revealed that in Bony Local Government Area the impact was good and positive. Specifically, in Bony community 50% of the respondents hold that the agitation. Indeed had good impact in terms of income advancement, 30% said the impact was even very good, while the remaining 10% each hold that the impact was excellent and fair. Similarly in Abbey community of Bony Local Government Area, 54.5% of the total respondents opine that the agitation had good impact on the income of the community members, 18.2% rated it as even very good; whereas 9.1% each hold that the agitation had impacted excellent, fair and poor respectively.

In Dema community in the same Local Government Area majority of the respondents support the view that the agitation had impacted fairly on the income of the community members as 50% of the total respondents affirmed this view, 37.5% to the contrary believe that the impact was poor, whereas the remaining 12.5% believe that the impact was good.

In the case of Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area the result in aggregate term reveals that the agitation had impacted poorly and negative on the income of members of the selected communities. This was upholding by the views of majority of the respondents. For instance, in Omoku community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area 54.5% of the total respondent which constituted the majority had that the impact on the agitation on the community in term of income advancement was poor and negative, 27.3% rated it as fair, whereas the remaining 18.2% believe that it was good.

The situation was similar in both Ogba and Egbemna communities in the same Local Government. In Ogba community 50% of the total respondents which constituted the majority holds that the impact of the agitation on their income as a component of livelihood was poor and negative. 30% believe that the agitation had good impact, while the remaining 20% are of the view that the impact was fair. In Egbema community of the same Local Government the survey revealed that 45.5% of the total respondents hold that the agitation had poor and negative impact on the community, whereas 36.4% rate it as fair the remaining 18.2% said it was good.

Table 5.9b Impact of the agitaion for Minority rights on the Sanitation components of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of River State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	2	14.3	1	7.1	3	21.4	3	21.4	5	35.7	14	100
2	Alode	0	0	1	10	2	20	2	20	5	50	10	100
3	Alesa	0	0	0	0	3	33.3	1	11.1	5	55.6	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	0	0	0	0	2	16.7	3	25	7	58.3	12	100
5	Atagba	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	9	90	10	100
6	Ikuku	1	9.1	2	18.2	0	0	1	9.1	7	63.6	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	3	20	2	13.3	6	40	3	20	1	6.7	15	100
8	Elekahia	2	18.2	0	0	4	36.4	4	36.4	1	9.1	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	0	0	4	44.4	2	22.2	2	22.2	1	11.1	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	2	20	1	10	0	0	4	40	3	30	10	100
11	Dema	1	12.5	1	12.5	0	0	2	25	4	50	8	100
12	Abbey	0	0	0	0	1	9.1	4	36.4	6	54.5	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	0	0	0	0	2	18.2	3	27.3	6	54.5	11	100
14	Ogba	0	0	0	0	3	30	2	20	5	50	10	100
15	Egbema	0	0	0	0	2	18.2	4	36.4	5	45.5	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The task of respondent in table 5.9b above is to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the lively hood of the Niger – Delta communities of Rivers State using sanitation component as a parameter.

In aggregate term the table revealed negative impact on the communities as far as sanitation is concern. Specifically, in Nchia community of Eleme local government area of River State, 14.3% and 7.1% of the total respondents hold that the impact was excellent and very good respectively. 21.4% maintain that it was good where as 35.7% hold that it was poor, however only the remaining 21.4% saw the impact as fair. On this note it is clear that the impact of the agitation on the Nchia community was poor.

In a Alode community of the same Eleme local government area only 20% and 10% of the respondent rated the impact of the agitation on their communities as good and very good respectively, where as 20% said it was a fair impact, while 50% of the respondent which constituted the majority said it was poor. Thus; the impact of the agitation for Minority rights was poor and negative on Alode community of Eleme local government area of Rivers state.

The situation in Alesa local government area of Rivers State was not different as it indicate negative impact on the community specifically, 33.3% of the respondent maintain that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on their community was good, only 11.1% hold the view that the impact was fair. However 55.6% of the respondent which constituted the majority said the impact was poor.

In summary the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the Niger Delta communities of Rivers State was poor and negative.

Looking at the Andoni local government area of Rivers State the situation was not much different from what was obtained from Eleme local government area in aggregate term, as it revealed poor impact across all the selected communities. In Ngo community which is the headquarter of Andoni local government area of River State, only 16.7% of the total respondent maintain that the agitation has resulted in good impact on the community in the area of environmental sanitation, 25% believe that the impact was fair, whereas the remaining 58.3% of the respondent maintain that the impact was poor. It is therefore concluded that the impact was poor and negative on Ngo community.

Similarly in Atagba community of the same Andoni local government area 90% of the total respondents hold that the agitation had impacted poorly on the community in the area of sanitation, where as only 10% rated the impact of the agitation as good. Based on the majority decision rule therefore, it is concluded that the impact of the agitation on

Atagba community of Andoni local government area in terms of sanitation was poor and negatively skewed.

In Ikuku community of themselves local government area, only 9.1% of the respondents are of the view that the impact of the agitation on their community was excellent, 18.2% said that it was very good. However, 9.1% and 63.6% affirm that the impact was fair and poor respectively. On this note it is obvious that agitation has impacted negatively on the community.

Looking at the situation in Port Harcourt local government area, the outcome of the survey was mixed impact. In Port Harcourt city only 20% and 13.3% of the respondent hold the view that the agitation had impacted excellent and very good on the community, 40% said the impact was good, where as 20% and 6.7% maintain that the impact was fair and poor respectively. On this note it is concluded that the agitation had impacted positively on Port Harcourt community in the area of sanitation.

In the case of Elekahia community of the same local area, the result was not much different as only 18.2% of the respondents believes that the impact was excellent 36.4% maintain that it was good, whereas only 9.1% of the respondents saw the impact as poor, while the other 36.4% said the impact was fair. On this note, it is concluded that the agitation had impacted positively on the community in the area of sanitation.

In Amadi-Ama community of the same local government 44.4% of the total respondent are of the view that the impact of the agitation was good on their community 22.2 of maintain that the impact was very good only 11.1% saw the impact as poor, whereas the other 22.2% said it was fair impact; it is concluded therefore that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on Amadi-Ama community in the area of sanitation was very good.

However, in Bony local government area of Rivers State the result in aggregate term was negatively inclined. For instant in Bony community, 20% and 10% of the respondent maintain that the impact was excellent and very good respectively, 40% said it was fair, whereas the remaining 30% said it was poor.

In Dema community of the same Bony local government area of Rivers State, 12.5% of the total respondents rated the impact of the agitation on the community as excellent, another 12.5% said it was very good However 25% of the respondent maintain that it was

fair, whereas, 50% which is the majority said it was poor. Based on this, it is concluded that the impact of the agitation on Dema community was negative. In Abbey community of the same Bony local government area only 9.1% of the respondents said the impact of the agitation on their community was good, 36.4% maintain that it was fair where as 54.5% of the respondent believe that the impact was poor. Based on the majority decision rule it is concluded that the agitation for munity night have impacted negatively on Abbey community in the area of sanitation. From the fore going it is obvious that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on Bony community was negative.

However in Ogba/Egbema/Ndani local government area of Rivers State, the result of the survey revealed negative impact on their selected communities specifically in Omoku community which is the headquarters of Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni local government area of Rivers State, only 18.20% of the total respondents maintain that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the sanitation component of livelihood was good, 27.3% said it was fair, whereas the remaining 54.5% of the respondents which constituted the bulk believe that the impact was poor and negative. In aggregate term therefore, the agitation had impacted negatively on the sanitary condition in Omoku community. In Ogba community on the other hand, the survey revealed that 30% of the total respondents hold the view that the agitation had good impact of the sanitation components of livelihood in the community whereas 20% and 50% rated the impact as fair and poor respectively. This implies that the agitation for Minority rights has negative influence on the environmental sanitation in Ogba community.

In Egbema community, the outcome was not much different as only 18.2% of the total respondents hold the view that the agitation had good impact on the community in the area of sanitation. However, 36.4% of the respondents opine that the impact was fair, whereas the remaining 45.5% maintain that the impact was poor. Based on the majority decision the impact of the agitation on sanitation components of livelihood in Egbema community was negative.

Table 5.10b Impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the Peace and Security component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of River State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	0	0	0	0	3	21.4	6	42.9	5	35.7	14	100
2	Alode	1	10	3	30	1	10	4	40	1	10	10	100
3	Alesa	0	0	0	0	2	22.2	0	0	7	77.8	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	0	0	1	8.33	2	16.7	8	66.7	1	8.33	12	100
5	Atagba	1	10	0	0	2	20	1	10	7	70	10	100
6	Ikuku	0	0	0	0	2	18.2	8	72.7	1	9.1	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	2	13.3	1	6.7	7	46.7	3	20	2	13.3	15	100
8	Elekahia	3	27.3	2	18.2	5	45.5	1	9.1	0	0	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	1	11.1	1	11.1	0	0	6	66.7	1	11.1	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	0	0	0	0	2	20	1	10	7	70	10	100
11	Dema	0	0	0	0	3	37.5	1	12.5	4	50	8	100
12	Abbey	0	0	1	9.1	2	18.2	3	27.3	5	45.5	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	0	0	1	9.1	2	18.2	2	18.2	6	54.5	11	100
14	Ogba	1	10	1	10	3	30	0	0	5	50	10	100
15	Egbema	0	0	0	0	3	27.3	1	9.1	6	54.5	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 5.10b reveals respondents conception of the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on their livelihood using peace and security as a parameter.

Across the communities surveyed in Eleme Local Government Area, the result indicated that the agitation had poorly and negatively impacted on peace and security in the area. This was confirmed by views of dominant respondent albeit with variation in magnitude.

In Nchia community 42.9% of the total respondents rated the impact as fair, 35.7% holds the view that it had impacted poorly and negative, while the remaining 21.4% believe that the impact was good. It could be deduced therefore that the impact of the agitation on peace and security was fair.

Majority of the respondents in Alode community of the same local area are of the view that the impact of the agitation was fair on the community, with 40% of the total respondents affirming to this position. 30% rated the impact as very good, while 10% each of the respondent believe that the impact was excellent, good and fair respectively.

In Alesa community 77.8% of the total respondent hold the view that the agitation had impacted poorly on the community in the area of peace and security, where as the remaining 22.2% affirmed that it had good impact. To this end therefore, the impact of the agitation on Alesa community could be discerned as poor and negatively inclined.

Examining the situation in Andoni Local Government Area of River State, the survey revealed mixed findings. In NGO community for instance majority of the respondents holds the view that the impact of the agitation on their livelihood was fair, with 66.7% of the total respondents confirming this. 16.7% opines that the impact was good. However, 8.3% each of the remaining respondents believe that the impact was very good and poor respectively. In Atagba community in the same Local Government Area, it was revealed that the agitation had negative impact on the community in the area peace and security. This was confirmed by 70% of the total respondents which believe that the impact was poor, whereas 20% and 10% believe that the impact was good and excellent respectively.

In Ikuku community of the same Andoni Local Government Area of River State the survey revealed that the impact was fair, as 72.7% of the total respondents confirm that the impact was fair. Only 18.2% rated the impact as good, the remaining 9.1% hold the view that the impact was poor.

Looking at the situation in Port Harcourt city Local Government Area of River State, the survey revealed that the agitation had positive impact on Port Harcourt community in particular, as 46.7% confirmed the impact as good, 20% saw it as having fair impact; only 6.7% view the impact as very good. While 13.3% each of the remaining respondents believe that the impact was excellent and poor respectively.

The outcome in Elekahia community in the same Local Government, was not much different as 45.5% of the respondents are of the view that the impact on the community in the area of peace and security was good. 27.3% saw the impact as excellent, only 18.2% believe that the impact was very good. While the remaining 9.1% said the impact of the agitation was fair on peace and security in the area.

The survey in Amadi-Ama community of Port Harcourt city Local Government Area of River State revealed that the agitation for Minority rights had fair impact on peace and security component in the area. This was confirmed by 66.7% of the total respondents which saw the impact as fair on the community. Where as 11.1% each of the remaining respondents hold the views that the impact was excellent, very good and poor respectively.

Looking at the impact on communities in Bony Local Government Area of River State, the survey revealed a poor and negative impact on all the sampled communities in Bony Local Government: Bony, Dema and Abbey communities. In Bony community 70% of the total respondents believe that the impact was poor on the community in the

area of peace and security, 20% saw it as good. While only 10% hold the view that the impact was fair in the area of peace and security.

In Dema community of the same Bony Local Government Area 50% of the total respondents which constitute the majority confirm that the agitation had poor impact on the community, 37.5% saw the impact as good. However, the remaining 12.5% are of the opinion that the impact was fair. Similarly 45.5% of the total respondents confirm the impact of the agitation on Abbey community as poor, only 27.3% said it impacted fairly on the community. Whereas 18.2% and 9.1% rated the impact of the agitation on the peace and security of the community as good and very good respectively. In aggregate term therefore it is discernable that the impact of the agitation on peace and security component of livelihood in the selected communities in Bony Local Government Area: Bony, Dema and Abbey communities were poor and negative in magnitude.

On the survey in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of River State, the out come was close to what was found in Bony Local Government Area as all the three selected communities revealed that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on peace and security of their respective communities was poor and negative in dimension. For instance 54.5% of the total respondents confirm that the agitation impacted poorly on Omoku community. Whereas 18.2% each saw the impact as good and fair respectively. However, only 9.1% believe that the impact was very good on the community. It could be deduced therefore, that the agitation have impacted poor and negatively on the community.

In Ogba community in the same Local Government Area, 50% of the respondents confirm the impact of the agitation as poor, only 30% said the impact was fair. While 10% each of the remaining respondents believe that the impact was excellent and very good respectively. The development in Egbema community was not much different, as the survey revealed that 54.5% of the respondents believe that the impact of the agitation was poor and negative. 27.3% saw the agitation as having good impact on the community in the area of peace and security, whereas the remaining 9.1% said the impact was fair on the community.

On the whole, it is arguable that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of the selected communities in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of River State was poor and negative in dimension.

SECTION C

5.1.3 The Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Livelihood of Niger-Delta Communities in Delta State

This section contains the analysis of the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of Niger-Delta communities in Delta State. In order to achieve this fifteen communities were selected across five Local Government areas of Delta State. Aniocha South, Warri South, Sapele, Isoko North and Urwie Local Government Area.

5.1c: Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the water component of livelihood in the Niger – Delta Communities of Delta State

		A(5) Excellent	B(4) V. Good	C(3) Good	D(2) Fair	E(1) Poor	$\frac{\sum fx}{N}$	\bar{x}	Rank	Result
	Aniocha South									Accepted
1	Ogwashi Uku	3(15)	4(16)	2(6)	2(4)	0(0)	$\frac{42}{12}$	3.5	6	√
2	Adonte	1(10)	2(8)	4(12)	2(2)	0(0)	$\frac{32}{9}$	3.56	5	√
3	Ewalu	1(5)	2(8)	3(9)	1(2)	1(1)	$\frac{25}{8}$	3.13	11	√
	Warri South									
4	Warri HQ	4(20)	4(16)	2(6)	2(4)	2(2)	$\frac{48}{14}$	3.43	8	√
5	Obodo	2(10)	3(12)	4(12)	2(4)	0(0)	$\frac{38}{11}$	3.45	7	√
6	Gbene-Matu	2(10)	3(15)	4(12)	(6)	0(0)	$\frac{43}{12}$	3.58	4	√
	Sapele									
7	Sapele HQ	3(15)	3(12)	4(12)	3(4)	1(1)	$\frac{44}{13}$	3.38	8	√
8	Amukpe	1(10)	3(12)	2(6)	0(0)	2(2)	$\frac{30}{9}$	3.33	10	√
9	Ellume	3(15)	4(16)	0(0)	1(2)	2(2)	$\frac{35}{10}$	3.5	6	√
	Isoko-North									
10	Ozoro HQ	3(15)	4(16)	2(6)	2(4)	1(1)	$\frac{42}{12}$	3.5	6	√
11	Ofagbe	1(5)	4(16)	3(9)	1(2)	0(0)	$\frac{32}{9}$	3.56	5	√
12	Ellu	2(10)	4(16)	2(6)	0(0)	0(0)	$\frac{32}{8}$	4.0	1	√
	Urwie									
13	Effurun HQ	4(20)	4(16)	3(6)	2(4)	1(1)	$\frac{47}{14}$	3.36	9	√

							14			
14	Ekpan	2(10)	2(8)	3(9)	1(2)	0(0)	$\frac{29}{8}$	3.63	3	√
15	Jeddo	2(10)	3(12)	2(6)	1(2)	0(0)	$\frac{30}{8}$	3.75	2	√
	Total							158		

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 5.1c above, the objective was to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of Niger – Delta communities in Delta State using water as a parameter.

Result from Aniocha Local Government Area, reveals that the agitation had impacted positively on all the four communities surveyed, even though with slight variation in magnitude. In Ogwashi –Uku community which is the headquarter of the Local Government, the impact was positive with aggregate mean point of 3.5 which place the community sixth in rank in the entire state in terms of benefit. Adonte community recorded 3.56 point to emerge fifth, while Ewalu community recorded 3.13 to come eleventh position. In aggregate term, all the communities surveyed in Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State have scored above the minimum benchmark required to establish positive impact. Therefore the impact of the agitation on Aniocha Local Government Area of Delta State in the area of water provision is impressive.

Examining the situation in Warri South, the result was not much different from the scenario in Aniocha South as all the three communities surveyed indicated positive impact, with Wari headquarter recording an aggregate mean of 3.43 to emerge 8 in the sequence in the state, Obodo community recorded 3.45 to emerge seventh in the state, while Gbene-matu community came fourth with aggregate mean of 3.58.

Taking Isoko North Local Government Area as the next constituent, the result in aggregate term shows positive and impressive out come altogether, Ellu community recorded the highest aggregate mean to rank first in the area of water impact in the state. In Ofagbe community, it recorded 3.56 aggregate mean to emerge fifth, while Ozoro community which is the headquarter of the Local Government recorded an aggregate of 3.5 mean points to emerge sixth.

In Sapele Local Government Area, the agitation for Minority rights had also impacted positively on the provision of water in all the communities surveyed. Sapele community recorded 3.38 aggregate mean to emerge eight position in the state, Amukpe community recorded an aggregate of 3.33 mean to rank 10th place in the state on the area of provision of water. Whereas Ellume community in Sapele Local Government Area recorded 3.5 mean to rank sixth position.

In Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State, the result was not much different from what is found in the other Local Government areas as all the communities have recorded positive impact although with slight variation in the quantum of benefit. Effurun

community which is the headquarter of the Local Government recorded an aggregate of 3.36 to rank ninth position in the state. Similarly, Ekpan community recorded 3.63 aggregate mean to emerge third, whereas Jeddo community obtained an aggregate of 3.75 mean to come second in ranking in terms of water impact in the state.

From the foregoing it is a general conclusion that Delta state among all the three state surveyed in the Niger – Delta have recorded significant impact in terms of water benefits to its constituent units.

5.2c: Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Health component of livelihood in the Niger – Delta Communities of Delta State

		A(5) Excellent	B(4) V. Good	C(3) Good	D(2) Fair	E(1) Poor	$\frac{\sum fx}{N}$	\bar{x}	Rank	Result
	Aniocha South									
1	Ogwashi Uku	4(20)	6(24)	2(6)	0(0)	0(0)	$\frac{50}{12}$	4.17	1	Accepted
2	Adonte	1(5)	1(4)	2(6)	3(6)	2(2)	$\frac{23}{9}$	2.56	9	Accepted
3	Ewalu	2(10)	1(4)	3(9)	2(4)	0(0)	$\frac{27}{8}$	3.38	6	Accepted
	Warri South									Accepted
4	Wari HQ	5(25)	4(16)	3(9)	2(4)	0(0)	$\frac{54}{14}$	3.86	2	Accepted
5	Obodo	1(5)	2(8)	2(6)	3(6)	3(3)	$\frac{28}{11}$	2.55	10	Accepted
6	Gbene-Matu	2(10)	1(4)	2(6)	4(8)	3(3)	$\frac{31}{12}$	2.58	8	Accepted
	Sapele									Accepted
7	Sapele HQ	4(20)	4(16)	2(6)	1(2)	2(2)	$\frac{46}{13}$	3.54	5	Accepted
8	Amukpe	0(0)	1(4)	3(9)	2(4)	3(3)	$\frac{20}{9}$	2.22	12	Rejected
9	Eleme	0(0)	2(8)	3(9)	4(8)	1(1)	$\frac{26}{10}$	2.6	7	Accepted
	Isoko-North									Accepted
10	Ozoro HQ	3(15)	4(16)	4(12)	1(2)	0(0)	$\frac{45}{12}$	3.75	4	Accepted
11	Ofagbe	0(0)	1(4)	3(9)	2(8)	3(3)	$\frac{20}{9}$	2.22	12	Rejected
12	Ellu	2(10)	3(12)	1(3)	0(0)	2(2)	$\frac{27}{8}$	3.38	6	Accepted
	Urwie									Accepted
13	Effurun HQ	4(20)	4(16)	5(15)	1(2)	0(0)	$\frac{53}{14}$	3.79	3	Accepted

							14			
14	Ekpan	1(5)	0(0)	2(6)	3(6)	2(2)	$\frac{19}{8}$	2.38	11	Rejected
15	Jeddo	0(0)	1(4)	2(6)	2(4)	3(3)	$\frac{17}{8}$	2.13	13	Accepted
	Total							158		Accepted

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 5.2c respondents were asked to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of their communities using health components as a parameter.

The survey in Aniocha Local Government Area of Delta State, indicates positive impact especially in all the three communities sampled: Ogwashi Uku, Adonte and Ewalu. This out come is corroborated by views of majority of respondents in these areas. Despite this consensus, there is however, variation in the magnitude of the benefit in each community. For instance Oguashi Uku community which is the headquarter of Aniocha Local Government Area, recorded the highest impact in the area of Health and clinical services with an aggregate mean of 4.17 point which placed the community top of the raking through out the state.

In Adonte community although the impact was positive the quantum of benefit is not at par with the other communities for instance Adonte community recorded an aggregate mean of 2.56 point to clinch ninth position in the state. The situation in Ewalu community is not different as the community recorded an aggregate mean of 3.38 points to emerge sixth in rank in the entire state in the area of health and clinical services. In Warri south Local Government Area of Delta State the agitation had positive impact on the communities in the area of health and clinical service. The result in Warri community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area, recorded an aggregate mean of 3.86 to emerge second on the rank. Similarly, Obodo community in the same Local Government Area, had also recorded an aggregate mean of 2.55 points to come tenth in the rank in the entire state. The result in Gbene-matu community was not much different as it also recorded a positive impact in the area of health and clinical services with an aggregate mean of 2.58 point to rank eight.

The survey in Sapele community which is the headquarter of the Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State, revealed that the agitation had positive impact on the provision of health and clinical service with aggregate mean of 3.54. In Amukpe community in the same Local Government Area the result indicate negative impact as the community recorded an aggregate mean below the minimum required standard. However, the result in Ellume revealed that the agitation had impacted positively on the lives of the members of the community in the area of health and clinical services as majority of the respondents with aggregate mean of 2.6 supporting the view.

The survey in Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State revealed mixed result with two of the three communities sampled showing positive impact, where as the other one showing negative impact. Specifically, Ozoro community the headquarter of Isoko north recorded positive impact with majority of the respondents supporting the above position with an aggregate mean of 3.75 point which place the community fourth in rank in the state in terms of benefit. In a similar development Ellu community in the same Local Government Area also recorded positive impact with an aggregate mean of 3.38 point, placing the community sixth in the rank in terms of health and clinical services benefits. However the agitation did not recorded positive impact on health and clinical services in Ofagbe community which recorded an aggregate mean of 2.22 point which is below minimum bench mark.

Looking at the situation in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State, only one community recorded positive impact in the area of health and clinical service while the remaining two communities recorded negative impact. Specifically speaking only Effurun community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area maintained that the agitation for Minority rights has impacted positively on provision of health and clinical service with an aggregate mean of 3.79 points. The other two communities not ably Ekpan and Jeddo reveals that the agitation had impacted poorly on the health and clinical services with an aggregate mean of Ekpan 2.38 and Jeddo community 2.13 both of which are below minimum standard.

In summary, the agitation for Minority rights have impacted positively on the livelihood of the Niger- Delta communities of Delta State in the area of health and clinical service. This is corroborated with the fact that out of the fifteen communities sampled eleven communities have supported that the agitation had impacted positively on the health and clinical services across the state, where as only four (4) communities recorded negative impact namely: Amukpe community in Sapele Local Government, Ofagbe community in Isoko north, and Ekpan and Jeddo communities both in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

5.3c: Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Road component of livelihood in the Niger – Delta Communities of Delta State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
1	Ogwashi Uku	3	25	1	8.3	4	33.3	1	8.3	1	8.3	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	2	22.2	5	55.6	-	-	2	22.2	9	100
3	Ewalu	1	12.5	-	-	2	25	2	25	3	37.5	8	100

	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	3	21.5	2	14.3	6	42.9	2	14.3	1	7.1	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	3	27.3	2	18.2	4	36.4	2	18.2	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	2	16.7	1	8.3	6	50	2	16.7	1	8.3	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	3	23.1	2	15.4	6	46.2	-	-	2	15.4	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	2	22.2	2	22.2	1	11.1	4	44.4	9	100
9	Eleme	-	-	3	30	5	50	2	20	-	-	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	-	-	2	16.7	1	8.33	7	58.3	2	16.7	12	100
11	Ofagbe	0	0	1	11.1	2	22.1	5	55.6	1	11.1	9	100
12	Ellume	0	0	0	0	2	25	2	25	4	50	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	4	28.6	2	14.5	6	42.9	2	14.3	0	0	14	100
14	Ekpan	2	25	3	37.5	3	37.5	-	-	-	-	8	100
15	Jeddo	1	12.5	0	0	2	25	5	62.5	-	-	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The main objective of table 5.3c is to assess the impact of the agitation for the Minority rights on the livelihood of the Niger-Delta communities of Delta State using road component as a parameter.

The survey in Aniocha Local Government Area of Delta State, revealed that the agitation had mixed impacted across Niger-Delta communities. While in some communities the impact was positive, it was negative in other communities. For instance the result from Ogwashi Uku community indicated that the agitation had impact positively on the community, this was supported by majority of the respondents as 33.3% of the respondents believe that the impact was good, 25% said it was even excellent, whereas 8.3% each of the respondents hold a divergent view by rating the impact as, very good, fair and poor on the community.

On this note, it is concluded therefore, that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the road construction in these communities was positive. In Adonte community of the same Aniocha Local Government the impact was positive and impressive as supported by majority of the respondents, as 55.6% of the total Area respondents hold the view that the impact was good, where as 22.2% each of the remaining respondents rated the impact as very good and poor respectively. In aggregate term the agitation had impacted positively on the lives of the community in the area of road construction. However, the impact of the agitation on road construction in Ewalu community was not impressive as 37.5% of the respondents which constituted the majority hold the view that the impact was poor. Only 12.5% rated the impacted excellent, where as the remaining 25% each of the respondent said the impact was both

very good and fair. In summary the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the provision of road network as a component of livelihood was positive and impressive in Aniocha Local Government Area of Delta State.

The result in Warri South Local Government Area reveals that the agitation had impacted positively on the livelihood of their communities although there is still variation in quantum and magnitude. For instance 42.9% of the total respondents in Warri community rated the impact of the agitation as good, 21.4% said the impact was even excellent, only 7.1% rated the impact as poor, where as 14.3% each opines that the impact of the agitation was both very good and fair.

The situation was similar in Obodo community in the same Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State as 36.4% of the respondents believe that the impact of the agitation on the community was fair, 27.3% saw the impact as very good. Where as 18.2% each believe that the impact was good and poor respectively. The outcome of the survey in Gbene-matu community in Warri South Local Government Area shows positive impact. This was supported by majority of the respondents as 50% of the respondents as in agreement that the agitation had impacted good on road constructions in the community, 18.7% of the respondents each saw the impact as excellent and fair, whereas 8.3% each believe that the agitation had impacted very good and fair. On this note, it is concluded that the agitation had impacted positively on the livelihood of the members of the communities.

In Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State, the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on road construction was positive in aggregate terms. Although, not in all the communities as some communities still indicate negative impact. In Sapele community for instance, 46.2% of the respondents hold the view that the agitation had impacted positively on the community, 23.1% of the respondent saw the impact of the agitation on road construction as positive and even excellent, where as 15.4% each of the respondents saw the impact of the agitation as very good and poor respectively. It is concluded therefore that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on road construction was positive in Sapele community, Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State.

In Amupke community, of Sapele Local Government Area majority of the respondents saw the impact of the agitation as poor and negative as 44.4% of the total respondents agreed that the impact was poor. Only 11.1% believe that the impact was fair on the community. Where as 22.2% each of the remaining respondent saw the impact as very good and good respectively. However, the situation in Ellume community in the same Local Government area was positive. Since 50% of the total respondents are of the view that the agitation had impacted good. 30% said the impact was even very good, while the remaining 20% rated the impact as fair from the foregoing therefore, it is

concluded that the impact of the agitation on roads constructions. In Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State was positive.

Similarly, 58.3% of the respondents in Ozoro community, of Isoko north Local Government Area, saw the impact of the agitation on the construction of roads in the community as fair, only 8.3% believe that the agitation had impacted good. Where as 16.7% each of the total respondents hold that the impact was very good and poor respectively. It is thus concluded that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on road construction in Ozoro community in Isoko north Local Government Area was fair.

Similarly the result was not much different in Ofagbe community of the same Local Government Area, as 55.6% respondents which is the majority supported the view that the impact of the agitation was fair on the community, only 22.2% stated that the impact was good one, while 11.1% each, opine that the agitation had impacted both very good and poor on the community. However, majority of respondents in Ellu endorsed the fact that the agitation had negative impact on the community as far as road construction is concerned, 50% of the respondents believe that the impact was poor. Whereas 25% each hold the view that the impact was good and fair respectively.

Examining the situation in Urwie Local Government Area, the survey revealed that the impact of the agitation in the communities of Effurun and Ekpan was good and impressive which it was poor in Jeddo community all of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State in Effurun specifically 42.9% of the respondents said the impact was good, 28.6% hold the view that it was even excellent, where as 14.3% each rated the impact as very good and poor respectively.

The situation in Ekpan community was not much different as 37.5% each of the respondents rated the impact of the agitation as both good and very good, the remaining 25% rated it even as excellent. However the outcome of the survey in Jeddo community reveals that 62.5% of the respondents rated the impact as fair, 25% said it was good. While the remaining 12.5% hold the view that the impact was excellent. It is concluded therefore, that the impact of the agitation in Effurun and Ekpan communities was positive and good where as in Jeddo community the impact was fair.

5.4c: Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Education component of livelihood in Delta State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
1	Ogwashi Uku	2	16.7	-	-	7	58.3	2	16.7	1	8.3	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	-	-	3	33.3	4	44.4	2	22.2	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	-	-	2	25	6	75	-	-	8	100

	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	-	-	-	-	7	50	4	28.6	3	21.4	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	3	27.3	6	54.5	2	18.2	-	-	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	-	-	3	25	7	58.3	2	16.7	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	2	15.4	8	61.5	3	23.1	-	-	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	-	-	4	44.4	5	55.6	-	-	9	100
9	Ellume	-	-	3	30	7	70	-	-	-	-	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	-	-	3	25	6	50	3	25	-	-	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	4	44.4	5	55.6	-	-	-	-	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	25	6	75	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	-	-	-	-	9	64.3	3	21.4	2	14.3	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	62.5	3	37.5	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	12.5	7	87.5	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

In table 5.4c respondents were asked to examine the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of their various communities using education as a parameter.

The overall outcome revealed that the distribution of the impact across the state was not uniform depending on the peculiarity of the area and quantum of benefit derived by the community.

Beginning with Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State, it was clear that the impact varies among the three communities sampled. For instance in Ogwashi Uku community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area the agitation had positive impact as supported by the majority of respondents, as 58.3% of the total respondents hold the view that the agitation had impacted good on the community in the area of education facilities. Only 8.3% said the impact was poor. Where as 16.7% each of the respondents hold that the impact was both excellent and fair. Based on this it is therefore, acknowledged that the impact of the agitation on the Ogwashi Uku community was positive.

However, in Adonte community in the same Local Government Area, majority of the respondents maintained that the impact was fair. To demonstrate this, 44.4% of the respondents believe that the impact was fair. However, 33.3% are of the opinion that the agitation had indeed impacted good on the community, where as the remaining 22.2% rated the impact as poor. In the light of the above it is concluded that the agitation for Minority rights had impacted fairly on the community in the area of provision of education as a component of livelihood.

However, in Ewalu community of the same Aniocha South Local Government Area the outcome indicate fair impact, as 75% of the respondents maintained that the agitation has resulted in fair impact of the provision of education as a component of livelihood in the community. Where as the remaining 25% of the respondents maintained that the impact was good. In essence the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the provision of education as a component of livelihood in Ewalu community of Aniocha Local Government Area of Delta State was positive and impressive.

Furthermore, in Warri South Local Government Area, the outcome of the survey revealed positive impact of the agitation in aggregate term across the selected communities in the area although there is variation in terms of quantum and magnitude. For instance in Warri community of Warri South Local Government Area, the outcome indicate that 50% and 28.6% of the respondents admits that the impact of the agitation on education as good and fair respective. Where as the remaining 21.4% said it was poor. The implication of this result is that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the provision of education as a component of livelihood was positive and good in Warri community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Similarly, in Obodo community of the same Local Government Area, 54.5% and 27.3% of the respondents maintain that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the provision education was good and very good respectively in their community, where as only 18.2% of the remaining respondents affirm that the impact was fair. This signifies positive impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the education component of livelihood in Obodo community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

However, the outcome of the survey in Gbene-matu community of Warri South Local Government Area on the other hand revealed that 25% of the respondents maintained that the agitation had impacted good on the education component of livelihood in the community. However, 58.3% of the respondents maintain that the agitation had impacted fair on the provision of education, facilities, while 16.7% said the impact was poor. In essence the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the provision of education in Gbene-matu community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State was fair.

Furthermore, in Sapele community of Sapele Local Government Area, the outcome indicate that 61.5% and 15.4% of the respondents affirm that the impact of the agitation on the provision of education in the community was good and very good respectively. Where as 23.1% maintained that the impact was fair. This implies that the impact of the agitation on provision of education in Sapele community of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State was good and positive.

Similarly, in Amukpe community of the same Local Government Area, 44.4% of the respondents maintained that the impact was good, while 55.6% were of the view that the impact was fair on the provision of education facilities in the community.

In Ellume community on the other hand, it was clear that 70% of the total respondents were of the view that the impact of the agitation on the provision of education was good, while the remaining 30% of the respondents affirm that the impact was very good. This implies that the impact of the agitation on the provision of education was good and positive, in Ellume community of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State.

Looking at the situation in Ozoro community of Isoko North Local Government Area, 25% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation had impacted very good on the education component of livelihood, 50% rated the impact as good. Where as the remaining 25% of the respondents maintain that the impact was fair on the community in the area of provision of education facilities. This signifies that the impact of the agitation on the provision of education in Ozoro community of Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State was good and positive.

In Ofagbe community of the same Local Government Area, on the other hand 44.4% of the respondents believe that the impact was very good. Where as the remaining 56.7% of the respondents affirm that the impact was good and positive. This implies that the agitation for Minority rights had impacted positively on the provision of education facilities in Ofagbe community of Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State.

In the case of Ellu community of the same Local Government Area, only 25% of the respondents rated the impact of the agitation as fair, where as the remaining 75% maintained that the impact was poor. Based on the majority decision rule, it is concluded that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights was poor and negative in Ellu community of Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State in the area of provision of education facilities as a component of livelihood.

Furthermore, the outcome of the survey in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State, revealed mixed impact. In Effurun community for instance the result indicate that 64.3% of the respondents which constituted the majority admitted that the agitation had impacted good on the community in the education component of livelihood. 21.4% maintained that the impact was fair, where as the remaining 14.3% saw the impact as poor. On this note, it is clear that the agitation had impacted good and positive on the provision of education facilities in Effurun community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

In Ekpan community of the same Local Government Area on the other hand however, only 37.5% of the respondents saw the impact of the agitation on the provision of education facilities as poor, as against the remaining 62.5% of the respondents who admitted that the agitation had impacted fairly on the provision of education facilities in Ekpan community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

Finally, the result in Jeddo community of Urwie Local Government Area revealed that only 12.5% of the respondents believe that the agitation had impacted fairly on the

education component of livelihood in the community, against 87.5% of the remaining respondents who saw the impact as poor. This signifies negative impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the provision of education facilities in Jeddo community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

5.5c: Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Electricity component of livelihood in the Niger – Delta Communities in Delta State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Aniocha South												
1	Ogwashi Uku	-	-	2	16.7	7	58.3	2	16.7	1	8.3	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	-	-	3	33.3	5	55.6	1	11.1	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	-	-	1	12.5	5	62.5	2	2.5	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	3	21.4	2	14.3	6	42.9	2	14.3	1	7.1	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	-	-	3	27.3	5	45.5	3	27.3	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	-	-	4	33.3	5	41.7	3	25	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	2	15.4	6	41.2	3	23.1	2	15.4	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	-	-	3	33.3	5	55.6	1	11.1	9	100
9	Ellume	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	30	7	70	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	2	16.7	1	8.3	3	25	5	41.7	1	8.3	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	4	44.4	3	33.3	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	25	6	75	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	2	14.3	4	28.6	6	42.9	2	14.3	-	-	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	2	-	4	50	1	12.5	1	12.5	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	-	-	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 5.5c examines the impact of the agitation for the Minority rights on the electricity component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of Delta state.

The table shows that in Ogwashi Uku community of Anochia south Local Government Area, 58.3% and 16.7% of the respondents ascribed to good and very good impact respectively of the agitation electricity supply, thus affecting the livelihood of the inhabitants. However, in Adonte and Ewalu communities of the same local government, the agitation has not yielded success in the electricity component on the livelihood of the people of the area, thereby having a negative impact on their livelihood. Analysis of the

table shows that the agitation for Minority rights in Anochia south has not positively impacted on the livelihood of the people.

The table equally, show that in Warri south Local Government area of the state. Only in Warri HQ has the agitation positively impacted on the livelihood of the people with the response rate of 2 1.4%, 14.3% and 42.9% as excellent, very good and good respectively. However, in Obodo and Gbene-Matu community the agitation for Minority rights did not yielded positive impact on the livelihood of the people. In Obodo the response rate is skewed towards the negative with 45.5% and 25% as fair and poor respectively. Analysis of the table shows that the agitation in warn south has not yielded a positive impact on the livelihood of the people in terms of electricity.

Furthermore, the table shows that the agitation for the Minority rights did not impacted positively on the electricity component of livelihood in Sapele Local Government Area. The table shows that it is only in Sapele HQ with 15.4% and 46.2% response as very good and good respectively, that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the electricity component of livelihood has been successful. In Amukpe and Ellume community on the other hand, the table reveal a negative impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the electricity component of the their livelihood. In Obodo the table indicate that 45.5% and 27.3% of the respondent rate the impact as fair and poor respectively. In Ellume community the response is 30% and 70% as fair and poor respectively. Inference from the table show a negative impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the electricity component of the livelihood in Sapele Local Government Area.

Similarly, the table shows the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on electricity component of the livelihood in Isoko-North Local Government area. It indicate that the agitation has not positively impacted the livelihood of the people of the Local Government area. The result shows that 41.7%, 44.4% and 25% of Ozoro HQ, Ofagbe and Ellu respectively as fair and 8.3%, 3 3.3% and 75% of the same places as poor. Analysis of the table shows that in Isoko North the agitation for Minority rights on the electricity component has not impacted positively on the livelihood of the people.

Finally, the table shows the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the electricity component of livelihood in the Urwie Local Government of Delta state. The result indicate that in Effurun and Ekpan the impact of the agitation was positive. Specifically in Effurun 14.3%, 28.6%, and 42.9% of the response as excellent, very good and good respectively. In Ekpan the result shows that 25% and 50% of the respondents indicate as very good and good respectively. The result in Jeddo community shows that 62.5% and 12.5% of the respondents rate the impact as fair and poor respectively. Analysis of the table shows that in Urwie Local Government area of Delta state, the agitation for Minority rights on the electricity component has a positive impact on the livelihood of the people.

On the final analysis, inference of the table shows that it is only in the headquarters of the local governments selected in the state that the agitation for Minority rights has impacted positively on the electricity component of the livelihood, while in the other localities the impact is negative.

5.6c: Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Employment component of livelihood in the Niger – Delta Communities in Delta State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Aniocha South												
1	Ogwashi Uku	2	16.7	3	25	5	41.7	2	16.7	-	-	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	3	33.3	4	44.4	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	-	-	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	-	-	3	21.4	7	50	2	14.3	1	7.1	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	-	-	3	27.3	6	54.5	2	18.2	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	-	-	2	16.7	3	25	7	58.3	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	-	0	3	23.1	8	61.5	2	15.4	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	2	22.2	6	66.7	9	100
9	Ellume	-	-	-	-	3	30	2	20	5	50	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	-	-	-	-	2	16.7	7	58.3	3	25	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	-	-	3	33.3	1	11.1	5	55.6	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	-	-	1	12.5	1	12.5	6	70	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	-	-	2	14.3	7	50	2	14.3	3	21.4	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	-	-	2	25	2	25	4	50	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	25	6	75	8	100
	Total											150	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The table 5.6c above indicates respondent examination of the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the employment component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities of Delta State.

The outcome of the survey from Aniocha South Local Government Area indicate different impact across the sampled communities. In Ogwashi Uku community for instance, 41.7% of the respondent hold the view that the agitation has positive impact on employment component of their livelihood. However 16.7% and 25% of the respondent view the impact as very good and excellent respectively, where as the remaining 16.7% maintained it has fair impact. On this note, it is concluded therefore that the agitation for

Minority rights has led to positive impact on the employment level in Ogwashi Uku community of Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Similarly, respondents from Adonte community of the same Local Government Area maintain that impact was negative on their community in the area of employment generation. 22.2% of the respondent maintained that the impact of the agitation was good, 33.3% saw the impact as fair. However, 44.4% of the respondents which constituted the majority believe that the impact was poor. In essence the impact of the agitation on Adonte community in the area of employment generation could say to be negative.

The result from Ewalu community of the same Local Government Area show distinct impact from the other two communities above as 25% of the respondents maintain that the impact was good. However 62.5% maintain that the impact was fair where as the remaining 12.2% saw it as poor. Therefore, the overall examination of the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the employment component of livelihood in Ewalu community of Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State was fair.

Survey from Warri South Local Government Area revealed different impact across the selected communities. In Warri community, for instance 50% of the respondent affirm that the impact was good, 21.4% maintain that it was even very good. Where as, 14.3% and 7.1% believe that the impact was fair and poor respectively. This implies that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on employment generation in Warri community was positive.

However, Obodo community of the same Local Government Area examine the situation differently. Here 27.3% of the respondent examine the impact as good, 54.5% rated it as fair, while the remaining 18.2% said the impact was poor impliedly the impact of the agitation on Obodo community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State in the area of employment was fair.

In Gbene-matu community of the same Warri South Local Government Area the result is entirely different as 58.3% of the respondent believe that the impact was poor, 16.7% said the impact was good, where as the remaining 25% rated it as fair. On general note the impact of the agitation on employment in Gbene-matu community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State was poor.

Moreover, the result of examination from Sapele Local Government Area show disaggregated impact across the selected community. In Sapele community, specifically 23.1% of the respondent believes that the impact of the agitation on the employment component was bad. However, 61% of the respondent rated the impact as fair, whereas the remaining 15.1% said it was poor. This implies that, the impact of the agitation on employment component in Sapele community was fair.

Analysis from Amukpe community on the other hand, show that only 11.1% of the respondent consider the impact as good, 22.2% hold the view that it was fair where as 66.7% of the respondent which constituted the majority maintain that the impact was

poor. This signifies that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on employment generation in Amukpe community of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State was poor and negative.

In Ellume community of the same Sapele Local Government Area, available response indicate that 30% of the respondent rated the impact as good, only 20% believe that it was fair. However, 50% of the rated the impact of the agitation on Ellume community of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State in the area of employment generation is negative inclined.

Furthermore, survey from Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State, show that in Ozoro community which is the headquarter, 58.3% and 16.7% of the respondents rated the impact of the agitation on employment in the community as fair and good. However, the remaining 25% of the respondent rated it as poor. This signifies that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the employment generation of Ozoro community of Isoko Local Government Area of Delta State was fair.

Similarly, in Ofagbe community of the same Local Government Area only 33.3% and 11.1% of the respondents examine the impact of the agitation as good and fair respectively. However, 55.6% of the respondent believe that it was poor. This implies negative implication of the agitation on the employment component of livelihood in Ofagbe community of Isoko-North Local Government Area of Delta State. Looking at the situation in Ellu community of the same Local Government Area, 70% of the respondent maintained that the impact was poor. However, 12.5% each of the respondent saw the impact as fair and good respectively. This clearly demonstrate negative impact of the agitation on the Ellu community of Isoko North Local Government Area in the area of employment generation.

Examining the situation in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State, the result revealed that the agitation has impacted positively on Effurun community in the area of employment as affirm by 50% of the respondents. However, only 14.3% saw the impact as fair and very good respectively, where as the remaining 21.4% said the impact was poor. It is concluded therefore that the impact in Effurun community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State was positive. In a similar development 50% and 25% of respondents in Ekpan community in Urwie Local Government Area rated the impact of the agitation on the community as poor and fair respectively. Where as the remaining 25% maintain that it was good. Based on majority decision rule, it is therefore concluded that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the livelihood of the community in the area of employment generation is negative.

However, the survey in Jeddo community in the same Local Government Area indicate that the impact was negative as 75% of the respondents maintained that the impact was poor, against only 25% who believe that the impact was fair. From the foregoing analysis it is clear that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the

employment component of livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities in Delta State to a large extent proved to be negative as demonstrated by majority of respondents across the communities in the state.

5.7c: Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Trade and Skills component of livelihood in the Niger – Delta Communities of Delta State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
		No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%	No of rep	%		
	Aniocha South												
1	Ogwashi Uku	-	-	-	-	2	16.7	9	75	1	8.3	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	-	-	3	33.3	6	66.7	-	-	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	-	-	2	25	2	25	4	50	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	4	28.6	7	50	3	21.4	-	-	-	-	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	-	-	3	27.3	2	18.1	6	54.5	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	2	16.7	4	33.3	6	50	-	-	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	-	-	5	46.3	3	23.1	4	30.8	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	2	22.2	2	22.2	5	55.6	-	-	9	100
9	Ellume	-	-	-	-	2	20	1	10	7	70	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	-	-	0	-	3	25	8	66.7	1	8.3	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	55.6	4	44.4	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	-	-	2	25	1	12.5	5	62.5	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	2	14.3	3	3	7	50	2	14.3	-	-	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	2	2	-	-	6	75	-	-	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	-	-	2	25	-	-	6	75	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The main objective of table 5.7c above is to examine how agitation for Minority rights impact on the livelihood of the Niger-Delta communities in Delta State using trade and skills as the parameter for measuring such impact. From the survey of fifteen communities across five selected Local Government Area in Delta State the following result emerges.

In Ogwashi Uku community in Aniocha Local Government Area, the survey revealed that the agitation had fair impact on the community in the area of trade and skills. This result was confirmed by the views of the majority of the respondents which supported this. For instance 75% of the total respondents maintained that the agitation had

fair impact on the community, only 16.7% saw the impact as good. While the remaining 8.3% argues that the impact was poor.

The result in Adonte community in the same Local Government Area was not much different as majority of the respondents with 66.7% affirmed that the agitation had fair impact on the community, where as the remaining 33.3% opines that the impact was good. It is discernable therefore, that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the provision of trade and skills was fair in Adonte community.

However, the result in Ewalu community in the same Local Government Area was different as 50% of the total respondents confirmed that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the community was poor. While 25% each of the remaining respondents saw the impact as good and fair respectively. In summary the impact of the agitation on Ogwashi Uku and Adonte communities was fair while in Ewalu community it was poor.

Examining the situation in Warri South Local Government Area, the impact varies on individual communities in quantum and magnitude. The result from Warri community shows that 50% of the respondents support the view that the impact was very good on the community, 28.6% maintained that the impact was excellent, where as 21.4% saw the impact good. In a nutshell the impact of the agitation on Warri community in the area of trade and skills was good and impressive signifying positive benefits.

In Obodo community of the same Local Government Area 54.5% hold the view that the impact was poor and negative. 27.3% said the impact was good where as the remaining 18.1% rated the impact as poor. In essence the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the provision of trade and skills was poor and negative in Obodo community. The result in Gbene-matu community shows that 50% of the respondents which constituted the majority contends that the agitation had impacted fair on the community. Where as 33.3% of the respondents saw the impact as good, while the remaining 16.7% are of the view that the agitation for Minority rights had impacted negatively on the community. It is therefore concluded that the agitation for Minority rights had impacted negatively on the community.

Furthermore, the survey in Sapele Local Government Area shows mixed impact across the various communities. In Sapele headquarter majority of the respondents maintained that the agitation had positive impact on trade and skills as component of livelihood in the community. This development was confirmed by 46.2% respondents which support that the agitation had positive and good impact on the community. Only 23.1% said the impact was fair, where as the remaining 30.8% rated the impact as poor. It is clear therefore, that the agitation for minority had good impact on trade and skills in Sapele community.

However, the result in Amukpe community in the same Sapele Local Government Area shows that 53.6% of the total respondents which constituted the minority maintains

that the agitation had positive impact on the community. Where as 22.2% each of the remaining respondents saw the impact of the agitation as both very good and good respectively. It is thus concluded that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on trade and skills in Amukpe community was fair.

Moreover, in Ellu community the survey show that 62.5% of the respondent affirms that the agitation had impacted negative on the community. Only 25% said the impact was good, where as the remaining 12.5% rated the impact as fair. Therefore it is concluded that the agitation has impacted poorly and negatively on the Ellu community.

In addition, the impact of the agitation on communities in Urwie Local Government Area was not uniform as the impact varies from one community to the other. The result from Effurun community indicated that the agitation for Minority rights had impacted good on the community in the area of trade and skills acquisition. 21.4% saw the impact as very good, while the remaining 14.3% each rated the impact as excellent and fair.

Comparatively in Ekpan community of the same Local Government area of Delta State it was clearly revealed that the agitation for Minority rights had impacted fairly on the community as 75% of the respondents maintain that the impact was fair on the community, while the remaining 25% saw it as very good. This signifies that the agitation for Minority rights had fair impact on the Ekpan community in the area of trade and skills.

However, 75% of the respondents show that the agitation had impacted poorly and negative on the Jeddo community where as the remaining 25% believe that the impact was good. On this note it is concluded that the agitation had impacted negatively on Jeddo community in the area of trade and skills. From the foregoing analysis it is discernable that the agitation for Minority rights had impacted differently on communities, in some communities the impact was poor and negatively inclined. Where as in other communities it was good and positively inclined. However majority of the communities has benefited positively in the area of trade and skills acquisition.

5.8c: Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Income component of livelihood in the Niger – Delta Communities of Delta State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
			%		%		%		%		%		
	Aniocha South												
1	Ogwashu Uku	-	-	2	16.7	6	50	3	25	1	8.3	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	-	-	1	12.5	3	37.5	4	50	8	
3	Ewalu	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	2	22.2	5	55.6	9	
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	3	21.4	2	14.3	7	50	2	14.3	-	-	14	
5	Obodo	-	-	-	-	2	18.2	6	54.5	3	27.3	11	

6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	-	-	3	25	2	16.7	7	58.3	12	
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	7	3	23	5	38.5	2	15.4	3	23	13	
8	Amukpe	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	3	33.3	4	44.4	9	
9	Ellume	-	-	-	-	1	10	2	20	7	70	10	
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	0	0	1	8.3	4	33.3	5	41.7	2	16.7	12	
11	Ofagbe	0	0	0	0	2	22.2	2	22.2	5	55.6	9	
12	Ellu	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	37.5	5	62.5	8	
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	2	14.3	4	28.6	6	42.9	-	-	2	14.3	14	
14	Ekpan	-	-	1	12.5	3	37.5	4	50	-	-	8	
15	Jeddo	-	-	-	-	2	25	2	25	4	50	8	
	Total											158	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 5.8c above contain the views of respondents on the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the income components of community members across the Niger – Delta communities in Delta State.

The result revealed that the agitation had impacted negatively on the livelihood of members in Aniocha South Local Government Area of the state. This is owing to the facts that majority of respondents in two of the selected communities maintained that the agitation had negative impact on their income whereas one of the communities had benefited positively, from the agitation. In specific terms in Ogwashi Uku community of Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State, 50% of the total respondents which constituted majority believe that the agitation had good impact on their income. 25% hold the view that the impact was fair, 16.7% said it was even very good. However the remaining 8.3% which is a negligible proportion are of the view that the impact was poor. Based on this, it is clear that the agitation had impacted positively on the income of members in Ogwashi Uku community.

In the two other sampled communities of Adonte and Ewalu the result revealed negative impact on the income of the communities. In Adonte community for instance 50% of the respondents opine that the agitation had poorly impacted on their income, 37.5% saw the impact as fair, while the remaining 12.5% rated the impact as even good. In the light of the above it is concluded that the agitation had impacted negatively on the livelihood of the community using income as a variable. The situation in Ewalu community was similar as 55.6% of the respondents maintain that the agitation had actually produced negative impact on the income of its members. Where as 22.2% each of the remaining respondents claimed that the agitation had good and fair impact respectively.

In Warri South Local Government Area the communities have recorded mixed impact. For instance in Warri headquarter it was clear that majority of the respondents supported that the agitation had impacted positively on the community. This is confirmed by the fact that 50% of the total respondents rated the impact as good, 21.4% believe that it was even excellent, while the remaining 14.3% each maintained that the impact was both very good and fair.

In addition 54.5% of the respondents in Obodo communities believe to the contrary that the agitation had impacted fairly on their income. Only 27.3% saw the impact as poor, while the remaining 18.2% rated the impact of the agitation on Obodo community in Warri South as good. It is thus concluded that the impact of the agitation on income of indigenes of Obodo community in Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State was fair.

In Gbene-matu community, the impact was negative as 58.3% of the respondents hold the view that it was poor. Only 25% rated it as good, where as the remaining 16.7% believe that the impact was fair. On general note the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on Warri headquarter was positive and good, in Obodo it was fair, while in Gbene – matu it was negative and poor.

Looking at the issue in Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State, 38.5% of the respondent supported that the impact was good. Only 15.4% believe that the impact was fair. However the remaining 23% each maintains that the impact was very good and poor respectively. Therefore, the impact on the community was good. In Amukpe community the impact of the agitation for Minority rights in the community is negative on the income component as 44.4% of the total respondents saw the impact as negative, 33.3% rated it as fair. While the remaining 22.2% are of the opinion that the impact was good. Comparatively the result of the survey in Ellume community in Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State was negative, as 70% supported the view that the agitation had negative impact on the income of the community. Where as 20% and 10% rated the impact as fair and good respectively, in aggregate term the impact could say to be negative in Ellume community.

Furthermore, the survey in Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State did not show any difference as the result indicated disaggregated findings due to lack of uniformity in the impact of the agitation on the income of the respondents. While 41.7% of the respondents acknowledge the fact that the agitation had impacted fairly on the Ozoro community in the area of income, 33.3% said the impact was good, only 8.3% believe that the impact was even very good as the remaining 16.7% rated the impact as poor. It is clear therefore, that the agitation had actually impacted fairly on the community. The result in Ofagbe community was not impressive as 56.6% of the total respondents acknowledge that the impact of the agitation was poor, 22.2% each of the respondents believe that the impact was good and fair.

In a similarly view the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta community of Ellu had impacted negatively on the community as 62.5% ranked the impact as poor, the remaining 37.5% holds that the impact was fair.

Looking at the issue in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State, it was established that the impact of the agitation across the various communities was not monolithic, majority of the respondents in Effurun community support that view that the agitation had impacted positively on the lives of the community as 42.9% of the respondents hold that the impact was good, 28.6% rated the impact as even very good, where as 14.3% each of the respondents said the impact was excellent and poor together respectively. The story was not the same in Ekpan community in the same local government. Here 50% of the respondents believe that the agitation had impacted fair on the community, 37.5% said the impact was good. While the remaining 12.5% saw the impact as even very good. It is concluded therefore, that the impact of the agitation on this community was fair. Last but not the least the survey in Jeddo community had recorded negative impact in the area of income. This is so as 50% of the respondents hold the view that the impact was poor. However 25% each of the respondent said either the agitation had impacted good or fair respectively. In summary the survey in Urwie Local Government Area seems to be mixed. Effurun positive and good, Ekpan fair, whereas Jeddo negative.

5.9c: Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the sanitation component of livelihood in the Niger – Delta Communities of Delta State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
	Aniocha South		%		%		%		%		%		
1	Ogwashi Uku	-	-	-	-	2	16.7	3	25	7	58.3	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	7	77.8	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	25	6	75	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	-	-	-	-	3	21.4	2	14.3	8	57.1	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	-	-	1	9.1	3	27.3	7	63.6	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	25	9	75	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	-	-	2	15.4	4	30.8	7	53.8	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	33.3	4	44.4	9	100
9	Ellume	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	20	8	80	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	16.7	10	83.3	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	33.3	6	66.7	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	-	-	2	25	1	12.5	5	62.5	8	100
	Urwie												

13	Effurun HQ	-	-	-	-	2	14.3	4	28.6	8	57.1	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	37.5	5	62.5	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	25	6	75	8	100
	Total		-	-	-							158	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 5.9c contain information on the examination of whether the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger- Delta communities of Delta State have impacted positively on the livelihood of the community members using environmental sanitation as a variable or otherwise. The result in general seem to depicts that the agitation did not impacted impressively on most of the communities in the selected Local Government areas across the state.

Looking at it Local Government by Local Government and community specific in Aniocha Local Government the impact was negative in all the selected communities across the Local Government as supported by majority of the respondents. For instance in Ogwashi Uku community 58.3% of the total respondents maintained that the agitation had impacted poorly on sanitation in the community. 25% rated the impact as fair, while only 16.7% saw the impact as good.

Similar result emerged from the survey in Adonte community in the same Aniocha Local Government Area, 77.2% of the respondents supported that the agitation had negative impact on sanitation. Where as the remaining 22.2% which is negligible saw the impact as fair. In a similar development, 75% of respondents in Ewalu community in the same Local Government opine that the agitation did indeed impacted poorly on the community in the area of sanitation, where as the remaining 25% rated it as fair. On the aggregate it could be deduced that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the sanitation in the Niger-Delta communities of Aniocha Local Government Area of Delta State was poor and negatively inclined.

The result of the survey in Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State was not much different as majority of the respondents in all the communities maintained that the agitation did indeed impacted poorly on sanitation across their communities. Specifically speaking, in Warri community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area 57.1% of the total respondents rated the impact of the agitation on sanitation as poor and negative. Only 21.4% saw the impact as good, while the remaining 14.3% believe that the impact was fair.

Similarly 63.6% in Obodo community hold the view that the impact of the agitation on sanitation in the community was poor, 27.3% saw it as having fair impact, while the remaining 9.1% of the respondents believe that the impact was good. On this note it is concluded that the impact of the agitation on the sanitary component of livelihood in Obodo community was negative.

The case in Gbene-matu community in the same Local Government Area was even worse as 75% of the total respondent affirm that the agitation indeed had impacted bad on the sanitary condition of their community signifying negative impact. Where as the remaining 25% saw the impact as fair. The scenario in Sapele Local Government area in Delta State was not different as the only difference is in quantum of the impact for instance in Sapele community, the headquarter of Sapele Local Government 53.8% of the respondents confirm that the impact of the agitation in terms of sanitation on their community was bad. Only 30.8% saw the impact as fair, while the remaining 15.4% contend that it was good.

In the case of Amukpe community in the same Sapele Local Government Area, majority of the respondents lend their voice to the view that the agitation deed indeed impacted poorly on the sanitary condition of their community as 44.4% of the respondents affirmed to this. However, 33.3% and 22.2% rated the impact as fair and good respectively. Furthermore, 80% of the respondents in Eleme community saw the impact as negative on their community, while the remaining 20% argues that it was fair.

The picture of the event in Isoko North Local Government Area seem more gravious in terms of the quantum of support received from respondents. For instance in Ozoro community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area majority of the respondents above 83.3% saw the impact of the agitation in the area of sanitation as poor, while the remaining 20% maintained that the impact was fair. The result in Ofagbe community in the same Local Government revealed negative impact as supported by majority of respondents. As 66.7% of the total respondents argues that the impact was poor on the community, where as the remaining 33.3% said it was fair. The outcome of the survey in Ellu community is much similar as 62.5% of the respondents hold the view that the impact was indeed poor. Only 25% rated it as good. While the remaining 12.5% indicate that the impact was fair.

Looking at the situation in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State. the result is quite similar to what was found in other Local Government Area across the state as the impact indicated negative result all through. Looking at it community specific. In Effurun community 57.1% of the total respondent which constituted majority affirm that the agitation had impacted poorly on the sanitary condition of the community. Only 28.6% rated the impact as fair where as the remaining 14.3% saw it as good. Added to this in Ekpan community, 62.5% of the respondent maintains that the agitation had impacted poorly on the sanitary condition of their community as it did not improve anything. While the remaining 37.5% said it was fair. Finally in Jeddo community in the same Urwie Local Government Area the outcome revealed that 75% of the total respondents affirms that the impact was poor, while the remaining 25% saw it as fair.

In summary it is clear that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on sanitation component of livelihood in the Niger – Delta communities of Delta State was

negative, except for variation in quantum and magnitude which arise from the peculiarity of the specific constituent units surveyed.

5.10c: Impact of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Peace and Security component of livelihood in the Niger – Delta Communities of Delta State

		Excellent		Very Good		Good		Fair		Poor		Total	%
	Aniocha South		%		%		%		%		%		
1	Ogwashi Uku	-	-	-	-	2	16.7	2	16.7	8	66.7	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	5	55.6	2	22.2	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	50	4	50	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	-	-	-	-	8	57.1	3	21.4	3	21.4	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	0	0	2	18.2	4	36.4	5	45.5	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	-	-	1	8.2	2	16.7	9	75	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	-	-	2	15.4	3	23	8	61.5	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	7	77.8	9	100
9	Ellume	-	-	-	-	2	20	1	10	7	70	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	-	-	-	-	3	25	3	25	6	50	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	3	33.3	4	44.4	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	-	-	2	25	2	25	4	50	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	28.6	10	71.4	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	-	-	2	25	-	-	6	75	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	-	-	1	12.5	2	25	5	62.5	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The task of respondents in table 5.10c was to examine the impact of the agitation for minority on the livelihood of Niger-Delta communities in Delta State using peace and security as one of its component or parameter.

The examination begins with the survey of communities in Aniocha Local Government Area of Delta State, where the outcome revealed disaggregated findings. For instance in Ogwashi Uku community the impact was negative. This was confirmed by the opinion of the majority of the respondents in the community. Statistically 66.7% of the respondent supported this view, where as the remaining 16.7% each rated the impact as good and fair respectively. It is thus concluded that Ogwashi Uku community did not positively benefited from the agitation for Minority rights in the area of peace and security build as the agitation rather jeopardize peace and security in the community.

In Adonte community of same Local Government Area, 55.6% of the respondents affirm that the agitation had fairly impacted on their community peace and security. Although the remaining 22.2% each believe that the impact good and poor respectively. The result from Ewalu community is not much different from what was found in Ogwashi Uku community as 50% each of the respondents saw the impact of the agitation on the peace and security of the community, as both fair and poor.

Examining the situation in Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State, the agitation had impacted positively only on the Warri community as 57.1% of the respondents agree to that where as 21.4% each of the remaining respondent saw the impact as fair and poor respectively. Thus the impact of the agitation on Warri community in the area of peace and security is positive and good. However, in the other two communities Obodo and Gbene –matu the result was clearly distinct as 45.5% of the respondents in Obodo maintains that the impact was poor on the community, where as 36.4% saw the impact as fair. While only 18.2% hold the view that the impact was good. This signifies that the agitation for Minority rights had indeed impacted negatively on the peace and security in Obodo community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State. Similarly, in Gbene-matu 75% of the respondents argues that the agitation has impacted poorly on peace and security of their community. Only 16.7% rated the impact as fair, while the remaining 8.3% believe that the impact was good. It is discernable therefore, that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights did not impact positively on peace and security of the Gbene-matu community.

In Sapele Local Government Area majority of the respondents across the sampled community indicated lack of positive impact of the agitation on the communities. specifically in Sapele town 61.5% of the respondent represent this population as they believed that the agitation had impacted poorly on peace and security. Where as 23% and 15.4% respectively rated the impact as fair and good. The situation in Amukpe community was even more as 77.8% of the total respondents affirm that the impact was poor on peace and security, while the remaining 22.2% said it was fair. It is thus clear that the impact was poor on Amukpe community.

Similarly 70% of the respondents in Eleme community of the same Sapele Local Government Area maintained that the impact of the agitation was poor on the community. Where as 20% and 10% respectively rated the impact as good and fair. In summary, the impact of the agitation on communities in Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State was poor and negative. The situation in Ozoro community revealed that the impact was negative. This was confirmed by 50% of the respondents who maintained that the impact was poor, where as 25% each of the remaining respondents rated the impact as fair and good respectively.

Similarly, the survey in Ofagbe community shows that 44.4% of the respondents argues that the agitation had impacted negatively on the community. 33.3% maintained

that the impact was fair, where as the remaining 22.2% rated the impact as good. Based on the above result it is clear that the impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the community was poor. Looking at the survey in Ellu community, the result indicates that majority of the respondents hold the view that the agitation had impacted negatively on the community in the area of peace and security as 50% admitted this. However the remaining 25% each maintains that the impact was good and fair respectively.

The result in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State show negative impact of the agitation for Minority rights on the peace and security of its communities. To confirm this 71.4% of the respondents in Effurun community maintain that the impact was poor, where as the remaining 28.6% saw the impact as fair. In short the impact of the agitation on peace and security in Effurun community of Urwie Local Government was negative. The situation in Ekpan community of the same Local Government Area, reveals that 75% of the respondents affirms that the agitation had impacted poorly on the community in terms of peace and security. While the remaining 25% saw the impact as good. It is clear from the above that the agitation had impacted negatively on the community. In Jeddo community of the same Local Government Area 62.5% of the respondents affirmed that the agitation had impacted negatively on the community. 25% of the respondents saw the impact as fair, while the remaining 12.5% said the impact was good. Based on the above it is concluded that the impact was poor.

5.2 Interview and Focused Group Discussions

In order to acquire more information that could complement and corroborate the results from questionnaire and documentary sources. Interviews, focused groups discussion and personal observations were conducted across selected communities in the Niger-Delta area. Questions were structured to reflect the objectives of the study and research questions. The composition of those involved in the interview include: community leaders, youths, politicians, N.D.D.C officials, oil workers and women group.

Before presenting the analysis of the interviews, Focused Group Discussion and personal observation of the research, this segment will present the views of the other stakeholders in the study specifically officials of the multinational oil companies particular Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC), Nigeria Liquidity Natural Gas (NLNG) in addition to those of the intervention agencies in the Niger-Delta Development project: the Niger-Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and the Delta State Oil Producing Areas Development Commission (DESOPADEC).

The position of these stakeholders in generic sense has indicated massive efforts by them in individuals and collective capacity to ensure the improvement in the general wellbeing of the oil producing communities in the areas of Health, Education, Road, Water supply, Electricity among others.

Looking at the contribution of the Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) the officials revealed that the Shell Petroleum Development Company is committed to their corporate social responsibilities to their host communities in the various areas of the community needs. According to them in the health care provision for instance Shell in partnership with other joint ventures have introduced a lot of initiatives and provided support to the existing health institutions and facilities in the Niger-Delta area. According to Dr. Babatunde Fakunle, Shell regional community manager, the (SDPC) has build and upgraded over 35hospitals in the Niger-Delta. In addition the SPDC has also supported another 27 health facilities in the Niger-Delta with the capacity of 880 government employed community health workers at those facilities. The officials cited as examples the construction of world class Hospital facility in Warri and Port Harcourt and the construction of Obio Cottage hospital in just five years through funding from SPDC and NNPC joint venture which has become the most visited health facility in the Niger Delta,

to fast track this achievement was the initiation of Obio Community Health Insurance Scheme.

The first community run health insurance scheme in Nigeria which has thousands of people in the Niger-Delta access to maternity care, vaccination and range of treatment. According to official statement by the end of 2014 more than 45,000 people had enrolled on the program with over 10,000 babies safely delivered.

Similarly, they maintained that over 113 communities through the Shell Petroleum Development Company Community service which include the provision of: Logistic for boats and road transportation, cold chain storage system in 15 communities strengthen through installation of solar vaccine equipment's.

They maintained that in 2009 alone the SPDC has treated more than 265,000 people and helped to deliver more than 2000 babies. In addition it had reached out to more than 114,000 people through outreach programmes which include, Vaccination, Eye testing, treatment of Malaria and Minor ailment, the distribution of free mosquito nets, HIV screening and deworming of school children.

Furthermore, the official records maintained that the SPDC has also introduced the comprehensive community based HIV/AIDS core treatment and support programme, the Niger-Delta Aids Resposed (NIDAR). In addition, to strengthened health care delivery in Bayelsa State. The SPDC initiated the multi-media strategic health communication project (Bayelsa Silhouettes) and the malaria health integration projects. The officials also maintained that over 41 health outreaches were carried out in 87 communities as part of the SPDC initiated health in motion programme. Through this programme community members in the Niger-Delta were directly reached with a health packages consisting treatment of minor ailments health screening for hypertension, HIV, Diabities optometry service and deworming of children.

However, in March 2010 the SPDC and the Rivers State Government launched the first community based health insurance programme that involves the private sector government and the community in which thousands of people had benefited.

The management of the SPDC maintained that apart from the health care, the SPDC joint venture also support education, skills acquisitions by the youths, economic empowerment through micro-credit and business training in the Niger-Delta. According to them on the

average the annual spending of SPDC and its joint venture partners amount to \$57.7millions on community development projects. Specifically since 2010 SPDC has been supporting scholarship for one year postgraduate degree for candidates from Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers State only. In this particular scheme 10 beneficiaries are awarded in partnership with internationally recognized universities in United Kingdom: Imperial College London, University College London and University of Leeds.

Similarly, in 2014 alone more than \$14.8 million was invested in scholarship by SPDC in collaboration with Shell Nigerian Exploration and Production Company (SNEPCO). In 2015 grant were awarded to 1356 secondary school students and 925 University Undergraduates. In addition 20 internship appointment with approximately N50million naira annually for the purpose of transfer of practical knowledge, graduate awareness programme comprising of campus fairs, knowledge sharing, career talks and interview skills workshop with focus on top Academic performers, pen ultimate and final year classes.

Furthermore, the SPDC has a number of professorial chairs in the universities with the objective of promoting teaching and research providing research grants for the academia, enhancing the quality of graduates in the selected discipline and promoting technological development in Nigeria.

Another intervention agency which played significant role in the development of the oil producing communities in Niger-Delta though its operation is limited to the oil producing communities of Delta State is the Delta State Oil Producing Area Development Commission (DESOPADEC) set up in July, 2007 to exercise a clear and critical mandate to rehabilitate, rejuvenate and resuscitate the people and communities of the oil producing areas of Delta State. The mandate as stated in the section 13(i) of the enabling law which set up the DESOPADEC states that the commission shall “receive and administer exclusively the 50% of the 13% oil derivation fund.

According to Delta State Government for:

- a. the rehabilitation and development of the oil producing areas in the state, and
- b. other development mandate as may be determined by the commission.

In line with its established mandate the DESOPADEC has recorded tremendous impact in uplifting the wellbeing of the people of the oil producing communities in the area of:

Health services, Education, Road construction, Electrification among others. according to the officials of the DESOPADEC the commission have achieved so much since inception. The DESOPADEC has executed over 434 projects which include 26 water projects, 72 Housing project, 28 health facilities, 18 energy projects, 194 Education projects, 88 transport among others. among some of the achievement of the DESOPADEC are the upgrading and construction of model primary and secondary schools, creation of six (6) skills acquisition centres in each of the (3) three senatorial district each with 22 work station cybercafé with 150KVA electricity generating sets with well-equipped library as well as conditional grant scheme. In addition to the upgrading of the health facilities the DESOPADEC have also procured essential obstetrics care equipment's in (4) public health centres in each of the 25 LGA as well as procurement of teaching Aids to the school of midwetney Sapele.

Furthermore, interaction with the officials of the Niger-Delta Development Commission (NDDC) has revealed that the commission had done wonderfully to improve the lots of the people of the Niger-Delta. The officials maintained that the commission has in terms of project achieved tremendously in the area of health care delivery, water, Education and roads construction among others.

The officials revealed that in Rivers State alone the NDDC had executed over 864 projects cutting across, water, health, education, electricity among others. there are also several projects in the same areas executed by the NDDC in Bayelsa and Delta State Oil Producing Communities detail of which are highlighted in the main analysis for the avoidance of duplication.

The first issue raised is related to the impact of the agitation for minority rights on the livelihood of the Niger-Delta communities using parameter, such as, water, health, education, roads, electricity employment, income, sanitation, and peace and stability.

In response to the first question which bordered on the impact of the agitation on the provision of water, the responses varied in Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State for instance the focused group discussions and interview revealed that while it is true that the agitation have resulted in improvement in the provision of water in Yenagoa township as a result of the upgrading of the Yenagoa water supply scheme by the Niger-Delta Development Community (NDDC). In addition to the efforts made by the Federal

Government to provide additional sources of water through the various Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) projects. That even with these efforts the provision of water to the Yenagoa community is still insufficient as a result of population explosion and in some cases due to lack of stable power. This result was verified through personal observation by the researcher. The other three (3) communities in Yenagoa Local Government Area. However, did not seem to have benefited from water projects. Although there was efforts by shell in partnership with Nigerian liquidity natural gas (NGNG) to provide water for the Tombia Community the supply of the water is not regular.

The common consensus on the reason for this lack of normal adequate flow of water is due to lack of political will. In the other two communities: Ikibiri and Agudama/Epe Communities of Yenagoa Local Government clear record indicate the community did not benefit from the water scheme and have to rely on streams water for consumption and domestic chores. This implied that the agitation did result in the improvement in provision of water as a component of livelihood in Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.

In Southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State which made up of: Oporoma, Ogobiri, Ammassoma and Angiama. There is consensus among the discussants on the impact of the agitation on the provision of water. Result from the interview Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) and personal observation revealed that the agitation did not result in improvement in the quality of life of the communities in the area of provision of water as only Ogobiri community benefit from water scheme which was provided as Corporate Social Responsibility by Shell Petroleum Development Company. Even in Ogobiri community where there is regular flow of water, their common stand points among discussants was that the water is contaminated and not healthy for consumption. But even with this since there is no other alternative source they have to drink the water despite its glaring health implication.

There is however, common agreement between the findings from the perception survey interview, Focused Group Discussion and personal observation that the three other communities Oporoma, which is the headquarter of the Local Government, Angiama and Ammosoma did not benefit from any water scheme as they all rely on the water from the

sea for consumption and other domestic users. As one of the senior chiefs in Oporoma lament “if you look around you see a lot of oil rigs in this community pumping crude oil to the flow station across the river owned by Shell Petroleum Development Company, But despite the contribution of this oil producing community to the nation’s economy, we are completely neglected, we have no water to drink, no electricity, no scholarship for our children, no hospital for our women and children, we are suffering”. In essence the level of government and multi-national companies commitment is decimal. The conclusion is that the agitation did not impact positively on the provision of water to the communities in Southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, despite their contribution simply because they do not have a voice.

In Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, findings from interviews, Focused Group Discussion and verifiable observation indicated that of all the four (4) communities surveyed: Ekeremoh, Toru-Ndoru, Aliebiri and Peretorugbene none has recorded positive impact in the area of provision of water. Empirical evidence abound that all these communities still depend on sea water for drinking and other domestic uses. In Brass Local Government Area on the other hand there is indication of improvement in the provision of water following the long period of agitation. This was confirmed by personal observation, interview, and Focused Group Discussion as all the Communities selected Bras town, Okpoama Brass, Ewo ama Brass and Odiema Brass have benefited from water scheme although not from the government but as corporate social responsibility from the Nigerian Liquidity Natural Gas and Agip Oil Company to their host communities.

From the above analysis it is clear that out of the 16 communities surveyed only Yenagoa and the four (4) Brass communities have recorded positive impact in the area of provision of water following the years of agitation for minority rights by the Niger-Delta communities. It is concluded therefore, that the agitation did not make any meaningful impact on Bayelsa State in the area of water provision. That does not however mean that there is absence entirely in the area of water provision except that the number of communities that benefited is negligible.

The outcome of the survey in Eleme Local Government Area of River State revealed that the agitation for minority right had indeed impacted on the provision of water positively

in the Local Government Area as two(2) out of the three communities selected. Nchia and Alesa have indicated positive impact as against Alade which did not benefit. This findings was confirmed by interviews, focused group discussion, personal observation and documentary evidence. The dominant view of most of the discussant is that the agitation has yielded positive impact, some of the verifiable and documented evidence include among others; the various projects executed by the Niger-Delta Development Commission to compliment Local and State efforts in the area, these include: the completion of solar powered water project at Eleme, solar powered water project in Alesa, Execution of water project scheme at Alabonchia, the rehabilitation of existing rural community water scheme (Ekporo) At Eleme and the Compilation of ONNE water supply projects. In addition to the other water project executed by the State, Local Government and other Federal Government Interventions such as Millemum Development Goals (M.D.Gs).

The conclusion here, therefore is that the agitation for the minority rights has impacted positively in Eleme Local Government Area of River State.

In Andoni Local Government Area the perception study revealed that the impact in term of provision of water was not impressive. This finding was confirmed by documentary source, Focused group discussion, interviews and personal observation among the few water project executed by the NDDC: The execution of water project at Asamara Andoni, rehabilitation of water project at Agwu, Bolo and Andoni as well as the construction of the Andoni solar powered water projects.

In Portharcourt Local Government Area of Rivers state, there is general agreement among the respondents that there is significant improvement in the selected community: Portharcourt, Elekahia and Amadiama; some of the project provided by the NDDC to support the various existing state waters scheme particularly the WASH (Water, Sanitation and Hygiene) are the drilling of boreholes and associates work at NDDC headquarters, the upgrading and rehabilitation of the trans-Amadi mother cart water scheme, rehabilitation of two (2) broken Boreholes at Mopol 19 communities. Construction of 20,000 gallon solar powered water scheme at Mopol 19 communities among others.

This in addition to several water project as corporate social responsibility to the host community by shell petroleum development company, MTN and AIRTEL Companies all combined together has improved the provision of water supply in Portharcourt Local Government Area.

To buttress the finding from the questionnaire, interviews, focused group discussions, personal observation and records revealed similar but slightly different result. While in actual sense results from Ogba in Ogba/Egbema/Andoni Local Government Area indicate negative result as a result of lack of functional water scheme. There is consensus among discussants that Omuka and Egbema communities have benefited tremendously in terms of water provision owing to the quantum of water scheme executed in the area, some of the water projects executed by the Niger-Delta development commission within the period of study are: solar power water project at Obrikom, the Okposi water project, the Aggah water project, the Ndoni water project, the rehabilitation of existing rural water project at Kriegani, the completion of Agwe Obodo water project scheme, the rehabilitation of Olabagi community water project, Mgbede water project and above all the Omoku municipal water project these and other water project initiated by the River State Government and the Federal Government through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) water scheme have in no small way impacted on the lives of the inhabitants in those two communities of Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Areas of River State.

The result from the interview, focused group discussions, documentary source and personal observation have therefore authenticated the perception of the respondents that the agitation has resulted in the improvement, in the area of provision of water in the Nigeria Delta communities of Rivers State. Still on the impact of the agitation on the provision of water In Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta States, findings from the selected communities Ogwashi Uku, Adonte and Ewalu Communities. The outcome from interview, focused group discussion, personal observation and documented records sharply contrast with the result from the perception study. While the perceptions study indicate general improvement in the provision of water in the selected communities. The reality on the ground confirmed by personal observation, focused group discussion and interview was glaring that these communities do not only have bad

roads, lack water and electricity but perpetually backwards documented sources however, confirmed that while it is on record that a dam and water treatment plant was awarded which if completed would cater for the water needs of selected communities and beyond the contract was abandoned. As one of the community leader chief A.C. Okacha noted “the water treatment plant if completed would have go a long way in solving water problem in Ogwashi Uku and other neighbouring communities but the project died with the end of the Jonathan Administration. He lamented that the blockade of the water which hindered it from flow is more of a curse than blessing. He however blamed the failure of the project on the Former Minister of Finance and Coordinating Minister under the past administration for failing to show the will and commitment towards the completion of the project despite being from the community.

According to him “when your child is in-charge of money and your project is not working who will fight for you. on this note, it is clear therefore, that the agitation did not yield positive impact on the provision of water in Anioch South Local Government Area of Delta State.

In Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State, result from the interview, Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) and personal observation has confirmed the perception study in the area of water provision as there is general agreement among the discussants that the agitations had indeed yielded positive impact on the selected communities: Warri Obodo and Gbenematu in the area of water provision. To Buttress this available records revealed tremendous effort made by the State Government in partnership with the intervening agencies such as the NDDC, the ADB, the Chevron, the Shell Petroleum Development Company Nigeria and the Federal Government Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as well as the Delta State oil producing Area Development Commission (DESOPADEC) some of the achievement recorded are the re-activation of the Warri-Effurum urban water scheme with the capacity to provide water for Warri, Effurum and Ekpan Communities. Similarly the Delta State Government has entered into partnership with NDDC for the drilling of more boreholes to supplement the area. The state also in partnership with NLNG has constructed over 85 solar powered and motorized boreholes. It is clear therefore, that the agitation for minority rights has impacted positively in the area of provision of water in the Warri-South Local Government Area of Delta.

In Isoko North Local Government, the General Consensus among the discussant some have agreed with the initial result from the perception study.

There is however variation in the extent of the impact on individual community with Ozoro where the state government in collaboration with the Niger-Delta Development commission has upgraded the Ozoro urban water scheme having better impact than the other two communities Obodo and Gbenematu.

In Sapele Local Government area the general agreement among the discussants confirmed the results from the perception study as all the community selected have benefited from various form of water project schemes provides by the state urban water scheme and intervention agencies such as the Federal Government (M.D.Gs). Solar and Motorised boreholes to the ones provided by N.D.D.C and the Delta State Oil Producing Area Development commission for instance verifiable data revealed the construction of 10,000 gallon capacity of solar powered water with 1km distribution project at Adagbrassa – Ouware area in Amukpe district and another 10,000 gallon water scheme at Jakpa – Elume in Sapele Local Government Area. as Ouware Development Association president Comr. Harrison Ekeleme noted that “despite contribution of their community which have over 8 pumping oil to flow station, their community has been for more than 10 years with out water.

The situation in Urwie Local Government area was also impressive as the early result was confirmed by personal observation, interview and Focused Group Discussion. The general agreement among the discussant was that the agitation had indeed impacted their community positively in the provision of water the major intervention is the upgrade of the Warri Effurun urban water scheme.

The State Government in partnership with cheveron to provide water for 8 communities in the Warri Effurun urban centre, the investment of over 1.6billion in the African Development Bank (ADF) regional water scheme which way abandoned long ago. Thus in addition to the over 82 solar boreholes and motorized borehole provided by the M.D.G. In all the 25 Local Government Areas with over 20 scattered in Urwie Local Government. This result was confirmed by trio of Hon. Godfrey Efe Oforburuku member representing Urwie constituency in Delta State House of Assembly, Mr. Friday Odeme of Markro Street and Angela Okodi of the water resaviour area who could not hide their

gratitude to the State Government and other intervention agencies for making water to these in the public tap.

From the foregoing it is clear therefore that with the exception of Aniocha South Local Government Area and the other Local Government surveyed have revealed positive impact in the area of water supply. Even in the Aniocha South Local Government Area their main challenge was the abandon of the agwashi uku mega urban water treatment plant by the Federal Government which has the capacity of solving the water problem of the entire Local Government and surrounding communities. In essence it is clear that the agitation has indeed improved the provision of water to the Delta State Communities.

In order to ascertain findings from the survey based on perception of the respondent the outcome of the survey as contained in table 6.2a was subjected to interrogation using personal observation, interview and Focused Group Discussion by community leaders and their subjects. With regards to the impact of the agitation on the provision of health services, personal observation in concord with the general consensus among the discussants revealed that while it is true to some extent that the agitation has resulted in improvement in medical and health care service in Yenagoa which could be as a result of the existence of functional health facilities, made up of six (6) General Hospitals and one Federal Medical (Centres). These hospitals and health centres have also benefited from the Niger Delta Development Commission in the area of health service support such as provision drugs and logistics. In addition there is agreement among the discussants that they have also benefited from the shell petroleum development company community on community service which include building of new and upgrading existing health care facilities. This contribution of shell petroleum development company to health service delivery in Bayelsa State in General and Yenagoa Community in particular has confirmed the position The shell Regional community health manager Dr. Babatunde Fakuye who maintained that the shell petroleum development company have build and upgraded a total of 35 hospital in Bayelsa state in addition to other health care programmes and initiatives such as the comprehensive community based HIV/AIDS care treatment and support programme (The Niger-Delta Aids Response NIDAR). The Multi-Media Strategic Health communication intervention project (Bayelsan silhouettes) and the malaria Health integration projects. In addition over 41 health out reaches were carried

out in 87 communities as part of the SPDC initiated health in motion programme through this programmes community members were directly reached out to with health packages consisting treatment of minor ailment, health screening for hypertension/HIV, Diabetes optometry service and deworming of children.

These programme which predominantly benefited the urban based in collaboration with the existing health facilities and skilled manpowers that prefer to stay in the urban centre could probably be responsible for improvement in health care service delivery in Yenagoa.

In Ikibiri community of Bayelsa state however personal observation and interview revealed that there exist no single health care facility therefore contrary to the results of the survey based on perception which revealed that it has improved their health condition the reality has left much to be desired.

In Agudema/Epe and Tombia communities empirical evidence abound that although there exist sketehy health facilities, but the service provided by such facilities are patchy due lack of equipment and poor personnel and since most of the facilities are runned by the local government, their salaries are not paid as at due.

In southern Ijaw Local Government area, empirical findings and interview contradict the results based on perception study. In oporoma community which is the headquarter of the Southern Ijaw although there exist two (2) health facilities made up of one General hospital with 60 bed capacity constructed by the state government and one primary health care clinic, the general hospital was turned into ghost town as it was never put into use. The primary health care clinic on the other hand is confronted with array of problems such as lack of logistics, lack of skilled personnel and lack of drugs among others. The consensus among the community therefore, is that they are suffering because of lack of voice in the government. In Ogobiri community there is no even primary health care centre, the situation in argiama was also pathetic as only one primary health care, Clinic exist which as poorly funded. However the only community that enjoys better health care service in southern Ijaw is Ammassom where functional General hospital exists. The general consensus among discussant, on the improvement in health facilities in Ammasoma is because of its proximity to Yenagoa and being the home of former civilian Governor of Bayelsa State DSP Alamyasigha.

In Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State personal observation and focused group discussion revealed that while, it is true that the agitation did not lead to improvement in the health status of the communities due to the fact that Peretorugbene and Aleibiri remain without a single health post, the case in Toru-nduro and Ekeremor town revealed a case of non-functional facility and abandoned project. In Ekeremor town for instance although there was an attempt by the Federal government through the M.D.G to upgrade the existing health facility but the project was abandoned and the existing health facility has no qualified personnel, drugs and logistics.

In summary, it is concluded that empirical evidence revealed that while, the agitation for the minority right has impacted positively in the health care service delivery in Yenegoa community, it has not by any means had a meaningful impact on the health care provision in the other selected communities in the state. That does not however mean that the communities did not benefit save that the level of the benefit is negligible.

Looking at the impact of the agitation on the promotion of health status of the communities in Eleme Local Government area of River State. The general agreement among the discussants was that the agitation did not impact positively on the health service provision in the selected communities: Nchia, Alode and Alesa. Personal observation and documentary evidence indicate that although there exists a hospital and health post in Nchia the facilities faced problems such as lack of adequate equipment, personnel's and drugs in Alesa community although there is a newly constructed General hospital but the dearth of skilled medical personnel, poverty and lack of adequate facilities have hindered the smooth provision of health service. This implies that although the result from the perception study indicated that the agitation for minority right has led to a positive impact on the health status of the communities, but verifiable facts and consensus among the discussants point to the fact that it did not in real sense positively impact on the lives of the people. This does not however, mean that the people did not benefit from the intervention agencies. Some of the respondents noted that although they have benefited from the state government collaboration with the Niger Delta Development Commission to provide 7 days free medical care to the people of Eleme Local Government which to a large extent touched the lives of the poor people

predominantly the farmers and fishermen who could not afford high cost of medical service, the service is not routinely done.

In Andoni Local Government Area of Rivers State the general consensus was that the Agitation did not impact positively on the health status of the members of the community as the health and medical facilities are patchy and it lacked drugs, adequate medical and health personnel and above all state of the art equipment that would have turn the fortune of the inhabitants health wise.

The situation in Bonny Local Government and Egba/Egbeme /Ndoni Local Government areas are not different. The general complain of the respondents was that in most case the health care facilities are nonexistent and in situations where such facilities existed they are poorly funded, and lacked qualified health and medical personnel's that would address the health challenges of the community as some of the respondents noted their communities despite being oil producing communities are neglected, although the government and intervention agencies such as the NDDC claimed to have introduced free medical and health service such service are urban based. They further lament that the cost of medical service in the private hospitals in their communities are unaffordable because the operators regards them as people from oil producing community. They appealed to Government and other related intervention agencies to expedite action on the provision of water because most of the ailment them suffer are water born and also to expedite action on the establishment of River State Oil Producing Community Development Commission to fast track the development of the area.

However, the situation in the Porthacourt Local Government area of River State was different as the response revealed that the agitation for minority rights has impacted positively on the health status of their communities. Although the views of the discussants are divergent but there is consensus among the overwhelming majority that the agitation has actual improved the health status of their communities as it attracted a lot of facilities and initiatives from the state such as the first medical care service to those that registered with the scheme, donation of drugs and logistics by the intervening agencies such as the NDDC and above all the construction new ultra-modern specialist hospitals and upgrading of the existing ones to meet global standard well furnished with state of the art equipment some of the facilities constructed are: The ultra-modern Kelsey

Harrison Hospital Porthacourt managed by the International Trauma Critical Care Limited (ITCC) the General hospital Porthacourt, the University of Port-Harcourt Teaching Hospital and the River State University of Science and Technology Teaching Hospital. Similarly the introduction of free medical care service by both the state and the intervention agencies have also gone a long way in improving the health status of the Port-Harcourt Local Government communities.

It is concluded therefore, that while the agitation for minority right proved to have yielded decimal outcome in the other selected Local Government Areas and their communities, in Rivers State. The situation in Port-Harcourt Local Government Area, communities of: Port-Harcourt elekahia and Amadi-Ama was quite impressive.

On the same issue of the impact of the agitation for minority on the provision of health and medical care service in Delta State. Many of the respondent maintained that agitation has improved the health care service in Aniocha South Local Government area of the Delta State Government in collaboration with Intervention Agencies such as the Delta State Oil Producing Area Development Commission (DESOPADEC), The Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and the Mellimum Development Goals (MDGs) offices through the conditional grant has built rehabilitated and furnished care facilities in the selected area notably: Ogwashi Uku, Adonte and Iwalu. There is also the provision of free medical health care in all the Aniocha South Local Government area which has benefited nine (9) clinics and 32 primary health care clinics with 120 bed capacity: on this note, it is concluded that the agitation has indeed impacted on the health needs of the communities in Aniocha Local Government Area.

In Warri South Local Government area of the Delta State the agreement among the discussant was that the agitation has resulted in the improvement in the health care delivery system. Documentary source indicated that the Delta State Government through several health initiatives and collaboration with other intervention institutions has turned the fortune of the health service, some of the interventions include the construction of a world class specialist hospital by shell petroleum development company in Warri, the renovation and upgrading of facilities in Ekpan General hospital as well as the construction, renovation and refurbishment of about 42 Hospitals including General Hospitals and Cottage Hospitals. In addition the state and its intervention agencies have

also build and renovated about 61 primary health care clinic to complements the existing secondary and tertiary hospitals with the view of making service accessible at affordable cost to the community members. The Delta State Government has also enter partnership with the intervention agencies to provide free medical service to the less privileges in the community. In essence the intervention has improved the health and medical care service in Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State, following the years of agitation.

On the impact of the agitation on the provision of health and medical services the dominant position of the discussant agrees with the result from the perception study. The consensus among the discussant was that the Agitation has indeed led to improvement in medical and health services. This result was confirmed by personal observation and documentary evidence. This reality stems from the quantum of health service facilities benefited by the communities from both state, federal government and the intervention agencies. The state for instance was able to introduce some initiatives that touches the lives of the people living in these communities. In addition it has created an enabling environment for corporate institutions who inturn intervenes in form of corporate social responsibility. The state adoption of the conditional grant scheme has for instance enhance the health facilities not only in Sapale but Delta State in general. For instance, it is on record that the conditional Grant Scheme within the short period of time was able to achieve by 2013 construction of 50 primary health care-clinics, 50 maternities, 50 staff quarters, four solar boreholes and toilets in the five facilities distribution of 40,000 delivery packs, provision of 25 Gender friendly squat toilets, distribution of 400,000 LLINS, 666,732 doses of sulfadoxine/pyremethamine (SP) and Artemisinin Combination Therapy (ACTs) for the treatment of pregnant women and supply 171 Essential Care (EOC) equipment.

The Delta State Government in collaboration with other intervention institutions have succeeded in supporting 16 hospitals and 23 primary health care clinics with 150 bed capacities across the Local Government. There are also series of interventions in the health sector for instance documentary source and personal observation revealed that the SEPLAT/NDDC joint venture an oil company Oml 428 and 41 has upgraded and equipt the female and children ward at the Sapale General Hospital with equipment worth millions of Naira including: Hospital beds with matress and Macintosh Accussions

Sphygmomanometer, dekamet, suction machines, wheel chairs, Xray view boxes, complete oxygen therapy sets, Nebulizer, suction nozzles, operating tables and a dedicated 15KVA generator. Others include pulse oximeter operating height anaesthetic machine, oxygen gauges laryngoscopes as corporate social responsibility to the host community. Similarly the Delta State Oil Producing Area Development Commission (DESOPADEC) as an intervention had constructed health care centre at Ibadan Elume community, supplied medical equipment to Sapele Central hospital as well as the completion of emergency Department at the Sapele Central Hospital. It should be noted that all these state and intervention agencies efforts in the health care service delivery is a testimony that the agitation has indeed impacted on the provision of Health and medical services in Sapele Local Government area of Delta State. Similarly in Isoko North Local Government Area findings from the interviews, focused group discussion and personal observation of the researcher revealed that the agitation to some extent has resulted in fair impact in the area of Health especially in Ozoro community. The only issue is that in terms of intervention agencies contribution despite being an oil producing community the proportion of what is received by the Local Government in terms of facilities and logistic support is minimal. Some of the documentary indicators are construction and equipping of four (4) hospitals and 22 primary health care clinics with 100 bed capacity in the area, there are also periodic intervention like the free medical care intervention in eight communities including Ozoro where it was kicked off and Ofagbe community which have touched the lives of the common men. As some of the discussants noted with elation free medical service was the best thing that has ever happened to the people at the grass-root to reap the benefit of the dividend of democracy.

On this note, it is therefore, concluded that the agitation has indeed impacted on the health and medical service in Isoko North Local Government area.

The situation in Urwie Local Government area of Delta State is significant as the general consensus among the discussants were that the Agitation has indeed improved the health care service delivery in Urwie Local Government area of Delta State as about 35 hospital and 50 primary health care clinics with 60 bed capacity was constructed through collaboration between government and intervention agencies. This no doubt has enhanced the health care provision in Urwie Local Government area of Delta States.

From the foregoing it is imperative to conclude, that of the states surveyed in the Niger-Delta: Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers State, Delta stand out to be the most impacted in the area of Health care service judging from the consensus between perception survey, interview, focused group discussion and documentary records.

In order to ascertain the findings from the perception study on the impact of the agitation for minority rights on road constructions in the communities of Bayelsa State. The result was subjected to empiricism test using documentary source, personal observation, interview and Focused Group Discussion. Starting with Yenagoa Local Government area of Bayelsa State results from interview, Focused Group Discussion and personal observation was in agreement with what was established through perception study in Yenagoa and Ikibiri communities while there is sharp difference with what is obtainable in Agudama Epe and Tombia.

The consensus was while the agitation has resulted in positive impact on the Yenagoa community, it was negative on Ikibiri and Agudama/Epe communities, invariably it was fair in Tombia community. Verifiable evidence revealed that while only few kilometers of concrete roads were constructed by NDDC and the State Government in Ikibiri and Agudama Epe with no link to the state capital, few road network were constructed while others rehabilitated in Tombia Community. The general agreement on Yenagoa community however, was that the agitation had impacted positively. Some the road projects attracted from the NDDC as a result the agitation include: The construction of the New bypass with 150m bridge that provide alternative route to Yenagoa the Bayelsa State Capital; the construction of the Akirta Baram bridge, Ambassador Lawrence Ekpbu rigid pavement road at Akirtu, Ikun concrete famgbe –Obirogo Access link road in Yenagoa, Road, Drainage Construction on Ogoloma Yenegoa among others.

From the above therefore it is concluded that the agitation did not yield meaningful impact in the area of road construction in Yenagoa Local Government area with the exception of Yenagoa community.

While result from perception study revealed that the agitation for minority right has resulted in improvement in the provision of road in southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, when the result was subjected to interview, Focus Group Discussion; personal observation and documented source the outcome was disappointing

as it contradict the findings from perception study. The consensus among the discussant was that in all the four communities selected for survey in southern Ijaw Local Government area; Oporoma, Ammosoma, Ogobiri and Agiama only Ammasoma has few road network but the other three has only concrete roads, documented source revealed that while Oporoma which is the headquarter of the Local Government can only boast 1.8km concrete road constructed by NDDC, Agiama only have a record of 1km of such concrete road, while ogobiri has less than one kilometer concrete road. It is only Ammasma that has about approximate 5.6km internal road network. Based on this therefore, it could be concluded that the agitation for minority rights in all practical sense did not impacted on the lives of the people of the Southern Ijaw Local Government area of the Bayelsa State in the area road construction.

Having examine the impact of the agitation for minority rights on the provision of road in Bayelsa state, it is imperative to subjects the findings from the perception study from River State to empirical test with view of validating the outcome or otherwise. Starting with the scenario in Eleme Local Government area, findings from the perception survey revealed that the impact of the Agitation on the provision of road is fair on the selected communities namely; Nchia, Alesa and Alode communities. Findings from documentary sources, Focused Group Discussion, interview and personal observation however confirmed the findings from the perception study. Some the empirical evidence to butress this finding is the span of works executed by the Niger Delta Development Commission to complement the ones done by the state. Some of the key project are; construction of Alesa Community Internal roads, the eleme ring road, Ikun Eta road Eleme, construction of Calvamy Drive, Rehabilitation of Alode/Bishop Katty Accens road Eleme, construction of Ebelu Internal road, other roads constructed are Okentu Road, Oka Nkpala road eleme, Ogale, road, Okeja obo Navalle road Eleme Egber Akara road with culverts and drains, Addo new town internal road Aleto Eleme, Odido Internal roads, Akpajo internal roads eleme as well as construction of phase I and II internal roads at River State University of Science and Technology Onne. It is on the strength of this that it is concluded therefore, that the agitation has indeed impacted fairly on communities in Eleme Local Government area of River State in the area of roads constructions.

The result of the interview, focused group discussion, personal observation and documentary source have confirmed in consensus that the agitation did not actually made much impact on the road component in Andoni Local government Area. That does not however mean that the communities in Anodoni did not benefit from intervention in terms of road provision from the NDDC and other federal government agencies except that the level of the benefit is small compared to the other communities, some of the intervention in Andoni communities by the NDDC are; the construction of landing jetty at Atagba, the construction of Kaa, Atagba road and Bridges, the construction of the 2.139km multiple rural internal road network within ward (10) ten area in Atagba as well as the construction of the Elebam urnand Ekede road all in Andoni Local Government Area.

Furthermore, the General consensus among discussants on Bonny Local Government Area as it relate to provision of roads is negative although the NDDC was also able to provide some few roads in Bonny despite the challenging nature of the terrain these roads constructed include; the Bonny ring road as well as the contract for the Kala Iriama shone protection and reclamation still on that issues of fat impact of the agitation for minority rights on the provision of road in Portharcourt Local Government area was positive going by the perception of the respondents. This result was confirmed by the outcomes of the interviews, focused group discussions, documentary sources and personal observation by the researcher. The general agreement among the discussant is that the agitation has indeed impacted on the provision of road in the area to butress this finding documentary evidence from NDDC has further confirmed the impact was positive judging by the quantum of projects executed in the area notable among these projects are; construction of 6km Elekahia internal roads, construction of Elekahiar link/internal roads, Ewhalodom street Elekahia, Ada-Ariobu road by FGGC Abuloma, 1km road at Ndashi Street off Olusegun Obasanjo road D/line, Unity road with Spur off woman avenue Abuloma, Nkemka/adjoining street, Bright/Hunwo Street off ADC road Ewrim close off total gospel road Abuloma.

- Engineering Adola Street, Damute Drive/Lucky Avenue off Odili Road.
- Link road through Uyo street (Rumu Omase) to Stadium road.

- Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of Nwachukwu street mile II Doibu portharcout.
- Construction of 1000m Elenwa internal roads Grace Avenue.
- Construction of Ohiamini Street Elekahia Portharcout.
- Construction Road from olari Ghiali Drive-Deineyi close Abuloma, off Peter Odili Road.
- Rehabilitation Mopol 19 Internal roads.
- Reconstruction of Hon. Dickson Chinda Woke Avaneue Mopol, off Cherubim road Port-Harcourt.
- Construction chuf Alanba street by Assemblies of God Church Eagle Cement Road, Iwofe Rumu-Odumini.
- Repairs of Pummum Kalagbor Rehisi Link Road.
- Construction of Owudo road Abulama
- Construction Link road though A.P. Ambrose Ogbonna Avenue (off stadium road) to mini Igbogo stree with spur.
- Day spring lane off total gospel road Esuan Abuloma.
- Ogbunabali internal roads.
- Salam close with spurs through express road, Rumuo Damayil.
- Owhuonu Obuchi (Phase III) Road.
- Reconstruction of road/drains at Owo Street through to Ekwulosia street off UST backgate Azikwe street Nkpolu.
- Atugbo stree Elekahia
- Iriebe industrial layout road portharcout.
- Philip/Timothy Eliwy circular road and resurfacing at Orochiri new layout in Rummu Kahagbor.
- Reconstruction and Asphalting of 1000metres road at transit officers' quarters Bori Camp Portharcout.
- Eligboko Eliozu road Portharcout
- Chida Street ofe Ade Geoge road kni
- Reconstruction of Rumu Okalegbo-Elekahian link road and drain NDDC host community.

- Rehabilitation of Mopol 19 link roads portharcourt
- Construction of Elder Lazary Avenue and elder Eminike Gbekee street Rumu Kalagbo
- UST Abuja GRA Phase III
- Okeh/Ordu layout
- Road 1 off Ebony raod with spurs at Chief Marcus Ejekwu Lane Orazi, Portharcourt.
- Agwu Street Road Mile 1 Porthartcut.
- Easy Avenue/Lucky Street at Rumu Eme Housing Estate Port-Harcourt.
- Extension of Oro Chiri/Rumu Kalagbor link road portharcourt.
- Federal housing Anex II/Joe Alagoa Drive road Abulema Port.
- Cast. Contrite Drainage and cover slabs on federal housing Aneiex II Joe Alagoa Drive Abuloma (NDDC host community).
- Eluoparanwu Road from Ada Geoge road to chibank Avenue Junction.
- Ogbohor-egberu Raod (off Mgbuosimini Rumu Olumeny road)
- Reconstruction of Road, culverts precast concrete kerbs and desilting of drains at close B Road, off 2nd Avenue Road Agip Estate Port-Harcourt.
- Tombia Link Road through Bimko/GREU OGBEIFUN Avenue Phase II.
- Roads Drains Resurfacing and extension work at Arise House link Road GRA Phase III.
- Construction/Rehabilitation of Okpuama/Eneka Street, Government Housing Estate Abuloma Portharcourt.
- Chief Ntagbu Street Elekahia Ribijis
- King GBOM Avenue with spur at FSP Estate Road.
- Rehabilitation Internal Road owo street.
- Reconstruction of Faith Mission Avenue Road, INU Community Trans Amadi Industrial Layout Area Abuloma Portharcourt.
- Circular road Goodluck mark Olabonda road.
- Okuru Raod Abulana
- Gas junction link road off Abuloma Road PHC.
- Adahwa Internal Road Phase II.

- Ohani Street Atalli off Igwuruta Rumu Kwrushe.
- Resurfacing of Herbert Marculay/Atako/Nzimiru Street GRA
- Construction of 1km road project at Sunday Duck St. Elekahia
- Mgbu Osimini New layout internal road.
- Wechie-Okokwu Road 1.1km
- Dive Street Elekahia
- Rehabilitation Total Gospel Road off Odili Road Phase II
- Tere-Ama New Layout internal roads with spur at Ozu Biko Portharcourt.
- Jabro Z Road (as port of Rumu Olumen Internal Roads)
- Rehabilitation/repairs/of roads/drains at Oke Street off Esther bypass.
- Civil Close at GRA
- Construction Road/Drains at King Jesus Street off Peace Drive Abuloma Portharcourt.
- Repair construction of Aluu Amokve Road Port.
- Construction of Road at Abonnema Layout.
- Okworo Rivers access road and Erosion control Rumu Dunnewere
- Asu Jumbo Lane/Azikiwe Lane Off UST School road Nkpolu
- Obulane, Abuloma
- Williams/Hunwo/Bennetheke layout portharcourt.
- Estate/Golden Street Birokiri layout
- New road Borokiri Portharcourt
- Assemblies of God Church Road/Chief Ochoma Road off Eagle Cement Road Rumu Lumem.
- Chinwo crescent, off Okporo Port-Harcourt.
- Tende Avenue off Senator Sekibo road Abuloma Port-Harcourt
- Construction of Oworchukwu street with spur and drains at Rumurlum
- Rehabilitation and construction of Church/Masa road crescent, Abuloma.
- Mending of Road and Resurfacing work at Evo crescent/Tombia Street Port-Harcourt.
- Construction/Road/Drains at Ogele street off road behind Shecc R.A.

- Construction of Ebener Close off Righteousness Ministry Avenue off Okuru Road Trans Amadi Industrial Layout.
- Chida presidential Estate link Raod.
- Eastern bypass Road
- Internal road at Jabez street linking Rumuolum Eni Olabogoro road Port-Harcourt.
- Drains at Federal Government Anex Link road to NDDC flat 16 Road Abuloma Portharcourt.
- Panama road with spurs at Abuloma.
- 6th Avenue Internal Roads Egbelu Ozoda, Ogbogoro.
- Construction of Chikwu Street Rumuolum in Port-Harcourt.
- Adama Roads and Drains Iwofe Port-Harcourt Phase One.
- 1km road at Soleme Sekimo Street; Minapu Polo pere Ama, Upe ama Phase III Boro Kiri.
- Side line drain at oro Ekpo link road to Eli Oparan Won Ada Geoge Road.
- Dr Las Eke street Port-Harcourt.
- Rebesi street through wokogoloma and the Rehabilitation and resurfacing of Workky/Eleber junction and Kpalakwu through wamiu street at oroworuk.
- 1km road at Nadshi street off Olusegun Obasanjo road D/line Port-Harcourt.
- Ikom/National street miliz.
- Extension of oro chiri link road to rebisi gardin junction at Rumuka Lagbon.
- Construction of peace drink peace lane road off okporo road Portharcourt.
- Redestrain concrete bridge for Rumugrainwo/Wogolo New layout, off East West Raod Rumukurisi Port-Harcourt.
- Chinwo street off okpokoro road Portharcourt.
- Holiness street Rumu Odara Portharcourt.
- Rumu Oke road at Rumu ibbo Portharcourt.
- Rehabilitation of Wobasi close road and Wobasi Agu Street (Rumuolumeni) at Orazi/Ebara road NDDC hos community.
- Construction of Day Spring lane/Drain and 1km Drains along total Gospel Road Abuloma.

- Reconstruction of landing jetty at Abdnema Waarf, Port.
- Rehabilitation/Construction of woku-ota-avenue off Rumuaglolu.
- Rehabilitation of Ozoroko Internal Roads off Abuloma
- Panama/Hansom Phase II
- Ovu Close and Environs off N.T.A – Chora Road
- Construction of Drainage at Road 26 at Woji Housing Estate in Port-Harcourt.
- Construction of Wanuwa Road off Ohakwe Street, Obiwali Link Road MGBuoba Port-Harcourt.
- Elder Adoku Street Port-Harcourt.
- Sand filling, Land-scaping and the construction of pavement concrete Roads/drains and culverts at mopol 19 Barracks extension site for 50 No of flats
- Construction of Usikun Internal roads relocated to Chief S. O. Wilson Street Nupolu rumugbo.
- Construction of Kalagbor/Annon lodge road, Drains, Rumuokal Agbor.
- Construction Road Drains and Desilting work at Bimkol Crescent GRA Phase III
- Construction of Chief MGRA street with spur to regal avenue off Woji Road
- Construction of Heineken Lokpobori Street off Sani Abacha Road GRA Phase III
- Extension of Church road at Tere Ama Abiluma Port-Harcourt.
- Construction of T. Y. Danjuma Drive through to Abuloma Express link road.
- Construction of Mummy B. Ezingbo link road Federal Housing Estate-Odili Road – Community Primary School Road.
- Construction of Ichenwo Total child (Oro-Ekpo street off iwofe road by Gas Station, Rumu Epiri Kon and Okilton and Okania Layout road Rumu Okwuta.
- Construction of Dike/Ebenom street, Ogingba twon Port-Harcourt.
- Construction of Oluozo/Church link Road and Resurfacing Work at Ogingba in Port-Harcourt.
- Construction of Kpakani OAD/Obiwali link Road Rumu Igbo.
- Construction of Woluchem Layout/Assoroel Road, Ahiamakara, off Trans Amadi Industrial layout.
- Construction of Okunagu Internal Road Behind Zoo Port-Harcourt L.G.A.

- Ad/hgeoge Close through (wuruche street) by Okilton Drive with spurs to G.G.S.S. Rumuokwuta Port-Harcourt.
- Gbe-Royal Avenue and Adjoining street.
- Timothy lane off total Gospel Road Abuloma.
- Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of west end road in Amadi Ama.
- Construction Ring/Internal Roads at Amadi Ama

The major agreement among the various discussants on the impact of the agitation for minority rights in the Niger-Delta on the provision of road in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni community revealed positive impacts. This position was confirmed by personal observation of the researcher and documentary sources. Some of the road project carried out by the NDDC in this area include: 17km Ogbogu internal roads 10km, Obasanjo-Elegbo water side, Erema through Obukelu Akabuka road, 10.8km Akabuka to Ubarama through Oboburu to Ibu Taylor creek road/Bridgen (240m), the construction of phase I Ogbogu community Internal Roads and drainages, the construction of Obreko internal roads phase I. others are: Ubukeyi-Ahiahu-Ogbu GV Roads/Drains, Elele-Egeda-Ubiniwi-Ikiki Omoku Roads/Bridges, Internal Roads Phase II and III at Omoku community. The NDDC has also constructed the Okoroma/Ifeanyi Link road omoku and also the construction of 20.34km/(15m&30m) Naomi-Ase Asaga road,as well as the construction of Obite-Ede bypass Eleme. The quantum of the road projects carried out by the NADC in Ogba/Egbena/Ndoni Local Government Area of Rives State is therefore an elevat testimony that the agitation had impacted positively in the area of road construction in the area.

Just like in the case of Bayelsa and River States. The results from perception study in Delta state communities were also subjected to empirical validation using tools such as interview, focused group discussion, personal observation and documentary sources.

Beginning with Anwcha South Local Government area of Delta State where three (3) communities were selected namely; Ogwash Uku, Adonte and Ewala the consensus was contrary to the perception that the agitation did impacted on road condition in reality did not impact in any way or the selected communities in the area of road provision, the discussants are of the view that the last road constructed in the area are of the ones by the Old Bendel State of the defunct second republic and even these roads have now became

dilapidated as Mr. John Nwakete the Secretary General of the Ogwashi Uku lamented the community has been neglected and treated as if they are not part of Nigeria. Mr. A.C. Okocha of Okocha Motors maintain that Ogwashi is one of the oldest headquarter that existed for more than 10years when only three of such headquarters exist in the midwest the two others Warri and Benin are faring well while the community is retrogressing daily. He mentioned that during the return to democracy the indigenes of Ogwashi Uku and other communities were high with more that they will experience dividends of democracy but today while Warri and Benin are benefiting the dividends of Democracy Ogwashi Uku is not witnessing anything despite having indigenes that have international reputation, the community remain with bad roads, no water and no electricity.

From the foregoing therefore it is concluded that the agitation for minority right did not make any meaningful impact on road construction in Anicha South Local Government Area.

In Warri South Local Government area the common stand point among majority of the discussant was that the agitation has resulted in the improvement in road construction in the area. This position was confirmed by personal observation and available document some of the roads constructed in the Warri South by State and NDDC are: 7.2km Oti Street, through Mellie street Okumagba Avenue linked to first marine Gate road, construction of petro chemical link to Ita Community, construction and rehabilitation of College of Education road DDPD Estate. Similarly is the construction of 66km owdiono-okereokoko escavos Road, construction internal road in Jeddo and the construction of internal road network town access road among others.

All these are glearing fact that the agitation for minority rights had indeed impacted fairly on the provision of road in Ozoro and Ofegbe communities of Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State. In Urwie Local Government area of Delta State, the outcome of the perception study was confirmed by the general position of those interviewed and engaged in focused group discussion as well as personal observation. While it was a consensus that the agitation had impacted positively on road construction in Effurun and Ekpan communities it was only fair in Jeddo community. This result was confirmed by the quantum of roads constructed by Government of Delta State through Delta State Oil Producing Area Development Commission, Nigerian National Petroleum

Corporation and the Niger Delta Development Commission. These roads include among other; the construction of Effurun to Ofor Ughelli road/bridges, construction of refinery road construction of the NNPC Estate road Ekpan, construction of the West road, construction of internal roads in Jeddo Community, construction of the Jappa road, other roads constructed are; the Kotoro street, Ogboro Effurun, Emmedate street off Alagbo street Effurun, Solwurome street off ojabagble street, Dsen Etibite road Effurun.

From the above impacted on this note, it is concluded that the agitation for minority rights have impacted positively on road constructions in Warri South Local Government area.

In Supele Local Government Area the position of the teeming majority and personal observation have confirmed the earlier result from perception study which indicated positive impact in Ellume and Sapele communities. Emperical data and available document indicated some of the roads benefited in the area to include; the construction of 2.5km internal road in Sapele, the construction of Ikoyo road in Sapele and the 3km DDPA Internal road in Sapele.

In Isoko North Local Government area of Delta State the dominant view of the discussant was in concord with what was revealed in the early survey through perception study. The outcome revealed that the impact of the agitation was fair in Ozoro and Ofagbe communities of Isoko North in the area of road construction whereas the scenario in Ellu remained the same. Empirical evidence to back the result in the two communities include; the construction of the Ozoro township road, the otozola 1km road in Isukwuo, Ozoro, the Oghogho 1km road in Ozoro, the 5km College road Iwride to Alagbe Iyede, the construction of the 7km Ofagbe to brede road and the construction of the Ozoro Polytechnic Internal road payed off in the area of road construction. In Urwie Local Government area of Delta State as confirmed by personal observation and documentary source.

On the question of the impact of the agitation for minority rights on the education as a component of livelihood the position of the discussant varied from one another depending on the practical realities in the said communities and developmental efforts put in place by the state and the intervention agencies. Beginning with the Yenagoa Local Government area; the general consensus was that the agitation has led to improvement in

the education development of the area especially judging by the quantum of resource invested by the state government in physical infrastructure in collaboration with other intervention agencies such as the Universal Basic Education, the tertiary education fund, the Nigeri-Delta Development commission and the shell petroleum development company as they have not only invested in infrastructural development but scholarship for both undergraduate and graduate study most specifically the shell petroleum has been awarding scholarship for 10 application in partnership with internationally recognized universities in United Kingdom specifically. The imperial College London, University college London and the University of Leads. In addition the shell petroleum development company also have professorial chair in universities with the cardinal objective of promoting teaching and research, providing research grant for acadamia as well as enhancing the quality of graduates in the selected discipline and promoting technological development in Nigeria to buttress this documented record indicate that in 2014 ownera total of \$14.8million was invested in scholarship by Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) and Shell Nigeria Exploration and Production Company (SNEPCO). In 2015 grants were awarded to 1350 secondary school students and 925 university undergraduates. Similar the sum of N50million is expended annually on the appointment of 20 intership for the purpose of transfer of practical knowledge.

This and many other evidence has confirmed that the agitation had indeed impacted positively on the educational development of Yenogoa Local Government area of Bayelsa State.

The scenario in Southern Ijaw seems to tilt towards positive impact as there is consensus among majority of the discussants that the agitation has led to positive impact. This was confirmed by personal observation which revealed a tremendous work done in collaborative efforts by the state and the intervention agency judged by the structures and facilities constructed and furnished on oporoma secondary school, Angiama technical college and the other communities point to the fact that there is improvement in the education facilities in the area. However majority of the respondent maintain that the major problem of their communities is lack of incentive inform of scholarship; they noted that although there are intervention by agencies and transnational oil companies to award scholarship in order to encourage learning but the scholarships are restricted to the urban

areas. This ugly trend notwithstanding it is still concluded that the agitation had impacted in the area of Educational development.

In Ekeremor Local Government area the dominant view among majority of the discussant was that the agitation has indeed impacted positively on the educational development of the area personal observation confirmed that there is adequate structure and instructional material even though like in other rural riverine communities their youths are not accommodated in the award of scholarship. The group are therefore, appealing to the government and other intervention agencies to extend the scholarship to the interior for the benefit of the poor rural child.

The general consensus with regards to the impact of the agitation on the provision of educational facilities was that the agitation has yielded positive result in Brass Local government area despite the obvious challenge. To this note it is established therefore that the agitation has led to improvement on the educational provision in one selected communities.

In conclusion going by all the result revealed by the interview, focused group discussion and personal observation it is bent that the agitation for minority right has indeed impacted positively on the communities of Bayelsa State.

The scenario in Rivers State deutes entirely different picture. In Eleme Local Government area of Rivers State there is general agreement among the discussant that the agitation had impacted positively in the area of Education Development. This position was confirmed by personal observation and documented source some of the project executed as interventions programmes in Eleme Local Government area are, the construction of the NDDC model six class room block with offices toilets at Ebuba Eleme, construction of NDDC model six class room block at Alersa, construction of NDDC model six class room block at Eleme construction of NDDC model at community primary school Alode, NNDC model six at Ebabu, NDDC made six class room block at Eteo Eleme and construction of NDDC Model six class room block at Arpajo in Eleme community – construction of internal roads in River State University of Science and Technology Onne, construction of student hostels. Based on this therefore, it is concluded that the agitation for minority rights has resulted in the improvement of education facilities in Eleme Local Government area of River State.

Furthermore, in Andoni Local Government Area of Rivers State were exist consensus among the discussant that the agitation for minority rights has actually impacted on the Educational facilities provision in the area, there is however departure in the result obtain from the various selected communities Ngo, Atgba and Ikuku communities as documented sources reveal that only in Ngo community which the headquarter of the Local Government area that in addition to the efforts made by the Rivers State Government in the provision of Classrooms and other instructional materials, the intervention agencies particularly the NDDC has contributed immensely in the area of support in infrastructural development some of the interventions include: the construction of the NDDC model six Block of classroom well-furnished in Ngo, six the comparatively in the other two communities, Ikuku and Atagba there was no serious efforts made toward the improvement in the education sector. In addition most of the respondents complained about lack of scholarship for the youths in the community who though are willing to go to school but cannot afford due to their precarious condition.

It is concluded therefore fact the agitation for minority rights has only partially impacted on the NGO community in Andoni Local Government area alone.

In Port-Harcourt Local Government of Rivers State, However the general believe was that the agitation has indeed resulted in impressive improvement in the provision of education facilities in all the three (3) selected communities; Port-Harcourt, Elekahia and Amadi-Ama. Apart from the efforts made by the River State Government in collaboration with the State Universal Basic Education. There are also series of initiative by the multinational oil companies in the area of construction of schools provision of scholarship most particularly the shell petroleum development company. There are also a lot of intervention by NDDC. These revelations were confirmed by personal observation and examination of documentary source they include among others: the construction of 522 bed capacity hostel by the NDDC at the River State University, support programmes for the River State School of science and health technology, complete primary school model with 10 standard classrooms common room and toilet, wash room and water tank to replace the old Agbesi memorial state school build in 1957, provision of rootype hostel at the university of Port-Harcourt, renovation of classroom block and construction of access road to the community primary school it Elekehia, construction of NDDC model

six class room block with toilets, washroom and common room at Bundu Port-Harcourt. In addition the Shell petroleum Development Company Annually provide scholarship in Graduate studies to 10 best students, among others. All the above mentioned is a pointer to the fact that the agitation for minority rights has indeed impacted in the area of education development in Port-Harcourt Local Government Areas of Rivers State.

Furthermore, in Bonny Local Government Area of River State the general agreement among the discussant was that the agitation for minority has to a larger extent improved the quality of education and education facilities in Bonny Local Government area and environs. This position has been confirmed by personal observation and documentary evidence. In addition to the efforts made by the River State Ministry of Education in collaboration with the State Universal Basic education interm of creating conducive learning environment for the pupils and students. There are established cases of intervention such as the constructions of NDDC model six classroom blocks with common room, toilet and washing room each in Community Secondary School Bonny, Community Secondary School Burukiri, Government Girls Secondary School Fenima and Bonny National Grammer School. There are also other initiatives by the Nigerian Liquidity Natural Gas with the view to improve the quality of Education in the Bonny Island they include; the introduction of the integrated top up scheme formerly known as the Bonny Education Endowment fund which started in 1998 as an intervention to stem mass movement of Bonny Based teachers in post primary schools from the classroom to the construction site. The integrated top up scheme involves the payment of quarterly top up advances to: principlas, Academic and non-academic staff in government post primary schools on Bonny Island, the scheme has an average of 190 Academic Staff yearly from Community Secondary School Bonny, Community Secondary School Burukiri, Government Girls College Finima and Bonny National Grammar School. So far a total of over N122million has been spent on the programme. There is also the establishment of Bonny Vocational Centre by the joint investment company accredited by the UK city and guild as well as the National Board for Technical Education (NABTEB) assuring the quality of teaching and instructions that are delivered at the centre. The NLGN/SPDC and Bonny Community has also sign a memorandum for the establishment of Bonny Kingdom Development Foundation (BKDF) where the two companies will provide the

Bonny Island annually with 1 billion for maintenance of Education institutions and facilities. Another one (1) billion for other identified community project and one (1) billion as bonus for creating enabling environment for their operation.

Similarly in addition to several scholarships such as the cadet scholarship which has a record of more than 11 benefices annually, there is undergraduate scholarship scheme in which over 2500 people benefited from NLNG. The NLNG in collaboration with the River State Government introduce the NLNG science quiz competition to encourage science education in the host communities, initially but later extended to the 23 Local Government Areas of River State.

All these and other relevant interventions not mention are indicators that the agitation has indeed enhanced education development in Bonny Local Government Area of Rivers State.

In Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government area of Rivers State, the general consensus among the majority of the discussant reveals that the agitation has led to fair impact on the Educational Development of the selected communities in the area.

This was confirmed by personal observation and documented sources. The respondents are of the view that apart from the routine Government role in collaboration with the State Universal Basic Education Board, there are other intervention agencies whose intervention ranges from the provision of scholarship to both undergraduate, and graduate studies, donation of instructional material and furniture's as well as construction of classroom. Some of the empirical evidence include among others; the construction of NDDC model six classroom block with common room, toilets and washing room at Community Primary School Ogba, NDDC Model six classroom block at Community Secondary School Obirikom, NNDC Model Six Classroom Block at Erema II, NDDC Model Six Classroom Block at Ede and Osiakpu, NDDC Model six classroom Block at Ndoni and St. Mary Primary Schools among others. In essence the agitation has impacted positively on the provision of Education in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Communities.

From the Foregoing Empirical Evidence from the Communities surveyed in Rivers State revealed that the agitation for minority rights has indeed resulted in the improvement in Education facilities in the State.

In Delta State in general, the agitation for minority right had resulted in the improvement in the Education sector. This result was confirmed by the position of most the discussants who admitted that prior to 2009 the Education sector was in shambles in both tertiary and Basic Education as the class rooms were dilapidated and begging for attention; there were no incentives and facilities in the schools in short both teaching and learning was boredom to both the teachers and the students. However they admitted that with the coming of Dr. Emmanuel Uduaghan into office as the executive Governor of Delta State, the Governor was able to reverse the Education fortune from bad to excellent through partnership with other intervention Agencies and corporate organizations. Specifically there is general consensus among the respondents that the Uduaghan three (3) point agenda had significantly improved the quality of Education in Delta State. As some of the respondents admitted that the Governor deserve commendation for the accomplishment of his (3) three point agenda saying that the education sector has been vastly improved except that there is still need for motivation for teachers in terms of promotion and payment of their salaries as and when due. For the realization of his dream of making education the primary priority of the state the Governor introduce certain initiatives such: The whole school concept, the school remodeling initiative and the Edu Marshal. The whole school concept initiative simply means transformation process in the building and renovation of structures in our education system and the provision of infrastructure, teaching and learning tools in the basic education.

Similarly, to demonstrate that education is not only the way forward but certainly the key to liberate men out of ignorance as well as a vast tool for the socio-economic development of the society, the Governor adopted the school remodeling programme in which new schools were opened, existing one were renovated and upgraded. For instance in 2009 a total of 487 classrooms were constructed in 2010 and 2011, 657 and 204 classrooms were equally constructed and renovated in 2012 a total of 112 classrooms were built.

In addition, the introduction of Edu Marshal to get children of school age out of street and put an end to all forms of fees in the pre-primary, primary and post primary schools had also help in accelerating the pace of Education Development. Similarly the Government pay for the West African Senior School Examination (WASSCE), National

Business and Technical Education Examination conducted by the National Business and Technical Examination Board (NABTEB).

In another development, through the Government part of the Universal Basic Education counter funding of N1billion a total of 3,123 text books in core subject areas of English studies, Mathematics, Basic Science and Social Studies were procured and distributed to primary and Junior Secondary Schools across the state. Furthermore, in order to improve teaching and provide qualitative education over 1000 professional qualified teachers were recruited in 2010 for Public Secondary Schools in the State bringing the total number of teaching staff to 14,745 with the development the teacher/pupils ratio on the average is 1:21 in primary schools and 1:15 in secondary schools which by far exceeds the UNESCO Standard.

In addition, special needs centres were established to accelerate the education of physically challenged. The government has also spent the total sum of over N22.6billion on infrastructural development in schools across the state and about N59.5billion allocated to the sector for capital project. Similarly at least 26,070 student desks, 53,143 pupils desk, 3,720 teachers table and chairs were distributed.

In generic term despite, the tremendous improvement in the Education sectors by state and intervention agencies such as the: Universal Basic Education Board (UBEC) the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), the Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC), the Tertiary Education Fund (TETFund) and the Delta State Oil Producing Areas Development Commission (DESOPADEC) following years of agitation by the Oil Producing Communities in the Niger-Delta. There are still challenges that need to be surmounted; as children in the riverine area of Warri South like Ikibiri and still some upland area do not have easy access to education. Similarly teachers deployed to riverine/rural areas bend the rule to stay away in some cases there is no water to operate the toilets nor is there electricity.

Some of the respondents also raised security concern as criminals and street urchins have unfiltered access to the schools just stroll in burgle and vandalize them. Some of the teachers admit that they do not keep valuable in the office as buglers consistently break into the offices looking for valuables to steal including the remodeled schools.

Having presented the impact in generic form it is imperative to examine it community specific

Assessing the impact of the agitation for minority rights on the Education Development in Delta State, interview, focused group discussion and personal observation as well as documentary sources were utilized in selected communities in the five Local Government Areas chosen, the purpose for this is to authenticate or otherwise the already finding from the perception study on the issue. Starting with Aniocha South Local Government where (3) three communities were selected notably; Ogwashi Uku, Adonte and Ewalu, the general consensus contradict the findings from the perception study which indicated improvement in the educational facilities. The dominant view of the majority of the respondents was that the agitation did not impact on the Educational development of the Aniocha South Local Government area of Delta State especially considering the background of the three communities selected: Ogwashi Uku, Adonte and Ewalu. Although personal observation revealed the existence of Educational Institutions both higher institutions and Basic particularly in Ogwashi Uku which host the Delta State Polytechnic and two secondary schools; comprehensive secondary schools Ogwashi Uku and Adalgbo Secondary School, the level of intervention in these schools were never impressive, in the other two communities, Adonte and Ewalu there are also no sufficient classrooms as well as teachers and instructional materials. In essence although there are intervention but the quantum of the interventions do no warrant any positive impact. It is concluded therefore, that the agitation for minority rights did not positively change the fortunes of Aniocha South Local Government Area in the Education Sector.

The situation in Andoni Local Government Area of Rivers State particularly the selected communities is not impressive. The general consensus among the respondents was that despite the efforts made by the Uduaghan Administration to revolutionaries education through sevel measure the Andoni Communities.

Were not lucky as the Education Institution remain patchy and the youths of the community did not enjoy the Bussary. The conclusion therefore, is that the agitation for minority right did not impacted positively on the education development of Aniocha South and Andoni Local Government Areas.

However, the result in Sapele indicate impressive impact as the Local Government not only benefited from the state education policies and programme but that the communities have received several morale booster. Some of the institution that benefited from the interventions by the intervention agencies include; the technical college Sapale, Okosie Eboh Grammar School Sapele.

Chude Girls Grammar School Sapele, International high school Sapele, Technical College Sapele, School of Nursing Sapele and the Nigerian Naval Engineering College Sapele. This fact was confirmed by the personal observation of the researcher. The reality of the level of work and facilities provided to this schools for conducive learning by invention agencies is an indication that the agitation for minority rights had impacted positively on Education Development in the Sapele Local Government area of Delta State. To further boost technical Education in the area, the Government has established production centres for biogas and concrete electric poles at Sapele and Ogor Technical Colleges at the cost of N164million to reposition the colleges for nurturing a generation of technically motivated citizens that do not depend on white collar job. In essence with the quantum of Emperical evidence highlighted above, it is concluded that the impact of the agitation for minority right was positive in Sapele Local Government area of Delta State.

In Warri South and Urwie Local Government Areas the general agreement among most of the respondents indicate positive impact of the agitation on the development of the educational sector. This position was confirmed through personal observation and documentary sources. Quantum of evidence abound to support this for instance the remodeling of the Nana Model College Warri, a massive two storey building with 24 classrooms, laboratory, air conditioned library, sports pavilion with shaded VIP section, staff office, and power plant to ensure the smooth operation of the laboratory equipment in spectacllilar.

As the principal of the school summarized:

The positive impact of the upgrading is too glearing for all to see. It is a better more conducive environment entirely and the students and teachers commitment to studies and duties is no doubt boosted.

Similarly some of the students of the college interacted with atested to the fact that Nana College is now the best in Nigeria as they have not seen a better school anywhere else.

There exist also a similar development at the remodeled Alders Town Primary School Warri which host regular students with separate facilities for physically challenged pupils. As the head teacher academic of the school Mr. Godwin Orize summarized the new environment and facilities have been most gainful for the physical challenge students according to him.

To the best of my knowledge the upgraded facilities are helping a great deal in for example for those children with intellectual disability, we have been able to handle them. They no longer spit on themselves and those that cannot walk are gradually walking too with mix of many machines we teach the visual impaired how to write with the type writer because with the brain machine and type writer whatever they write they are able to read. We also have a teacher who is also visual impaired and she teaches them well so they are well treated and they are learning as well.

Invariably most of the respondents commended the governor Uduaghan for accomplishing his three (3) point agenda saying that the Education sectors has been greatly improved. In addition some of the respondents maintained that the other intervening agencies such as NDDC, DESOPADEC and Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) are doing well in the provision of grants and scholarship to the youth of the host community which to a large extent supplement the Special Student Allowance (SSA) provided by the state. They however appeal to the intervening agencies to double their effort in that direction as the proportion of the students who benefit are small compared to those in need. Other schools in Warri South and Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State that benefited from these intervention are: University of Petroleum Effurun, Petroleum Training School Effurun, School of Nursing Warri and the Nigerian Maritime University Warri.

Based on the above, it is concluded that that agitation for minority rights have impacted positively on Educational development in Warri South and Urwie Local Government Areas of Delta State.

In Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State the general consensus among the respondent is that the agitation had impacted positively on the Education as a component of Livelihood in the selected communities. The peculiarity of the case in Isoko North is that the interventions mostly impacted on the Primary schools and tertiary institutions as most of the secondary schools in the selected communities are among the over 40 missionary schools handed over to their original owners by the Uduaghan Administration and seems not to benefit much from the interventions. There is however tremendous efforts by Government of the state in collaboration with other intervention agencies. For instance the establishment of special needs learning centre in Ozoro for children of primary school age and the provision of learning facilities as well as construction of classes in some school as well as springing facilities in the Delta State Polytechnic Ozoro.

In Ozoro Community and environs which is the headquarter of Isoko North Local Government Area opinion of the majority of the respondents revealed that: Staff and Students were happy with the Governor's evident pace in Education. The respondents maintained that the structures and facilities were wonderful adding that the atmosphere encourage the staff to teach and the students to learn.

According to Mr. Daniel Idogor a head teacher in one of the schools in Isoko North Local Government Area.

The structures entice pupils to come to school and that the Governor had done far above expectation in the Education sector.

In similar view Mr. Josep Armenayeri an assistant headmaster recounting his experience stated that when he came to the school newly the structure were nothing to write home about but as from 2011 the upgrading of the structures began to attract many pupils to the school. He maintained that students enrollment has increased from the initial 400 to 600 pupils. In his words:

The classes are well ventilated and there are good toilet facilities even the people that come from the villages come with vans provided by the government so Governor Uduaghan has really done very well.

Personal observations has indeed confirmed the position of the respondents which revealed that the agitation had impacted positively on the Educational development of the

Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State, though there is still room for improvement. On the General note it is concluded, that the agitation for minority right has impacted positively on the education as a component of livelihood in Delta State.

Assess the impact of the agitation on the provision of electricity it must be acknowledged from the onset that Electricity remains bedrock and live wire for the socio economic development of any society.

Its need has remained indispensable for any human collectivity to live a meaningful and decent live as most of the social and economic activities relied on power. Especially in this 21st centuries when technological advancement and information technology has made the need for power to increase on daily basis.

It is against the forgoing background, that this particular segment of the research was conducted to find out how the agitation by the minorities in the oil producing communities in the Niger-Delta area was commissioned. The study in generic sense in Bayelsa State revealed awkward result although being the major contributor not only to the power sector but the entire economy.

Looking at the situation in Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State where four (4) communities were selected: Yenagoa, Ikibiri and Ogudama/Epe and Tombia. The result from focused group discussion and interview as well as personal observation did not revealed impressive result. The dominant view of the discussant was that while in the case of Yenagoa community of Yenagoa Local Government which doubled as the Local Government and State Capital the agitation has resulted in improvement in electricity facilities in combine effort of the Federal Government, State and other intervention agencies such as the Niger-Delta Development Commission (NDDC). The riverine communities of Yenagoa specifically Ikibiri and Tombia did not recorded any meaningful improvement in the area of electricity.

In Southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayesal State, personal observation, interview and focused group discussion revealed that in actual sense the agitation for minority rights did not lead to an improvement in the provision of electricity. This position is evident in the fact that in all the communities of Southern Ijaw Local Government area of Bayelsa State including Oporoma which is the headquarter of the Local Government there is no single community that is connected to national grid and

ensuring constant light. Most of the respondents maintain that Ammassoma is lack because it is assessable by land, its proximity to the state capital and being the home town of the former governor of the state DSP Alamyeseigha.

They maintained that a lot of factors have contributed to the woeful state of electricity in some of the communities in Southern Ijaw.

First and foremost, the communities are mostly across the sea which made it difficult to be connected with the national grids. In addition most of the communities do not have a voice to press their demand to the agenda setting.

Furthermore, the respondents admitted that although there is effort by some of the oil companies and NDDC to provide some communities with generator in order to provide them with the light, the generators most of the time do not have sufficient fuel to power it.

For instance in both Oporoma and Angiama communities of Southern Ijaw they were provided with generating sets by Shell Petroleum Development company but still do not have light. One of the Local Chiefs and Clan head lamented in Oporoma wonder why an oil producing community cannot have fuel to power the community generators more surprising to him was that the Shell facilities and flow station which is a stone throw away from the communities always have light.

The situation in Ekeremoh Local Government is disheartening as the entire communities including the Ekeremor town has no electricity although there is effort by the Service Dickson administration to provide electricity to the community but the contract is abandoned.

In Brass Local Government Area however the situation is much better as a joint effort between Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) and Nigeria Liquidify Natural Gas (NLNG) and mobile are providing all the communities selected; Brass town, Odieama Brass and Ewoama Brass with electricity.

Based on the foregoing, it is concluded that the agitation for minority has left much to be desired in the area of provision of electricity as only Yenagoa community, in Yenagoa Local Government Area, Ammassoma in Southern Ijaw Local Government Area, Brass town, Odieama Brass and Ewoama Brass are benefiting from power. In the case of Brass however the power is provided as Corporate Social Responsibility by Shell Petroleum

Development Company in Partnership with the Nigerian Liquefied Natural Gas Brass and the Mobil Oil Company.

In responses to the question of the impact of the agitation for minority rights on the provision of electricity as a component of livelihood in Rivers State there exist General Consensus and overwhelming documented evidence that Rivers State communities have had tremendous benefited from the agitation. This is because in response to the agitation the Rivers State Government had upgraded the Former Electricity board which was an offshoot of the River State utility board to River State ministry of power. This development made Rivers state to become the first state in Nigeria to establish a full-fledged ministry with electricity as its major aim.

The tremendous impact recorded in the area of electrification in River States communities could vividly said to be a brain child of the River State ministry of work.

Some of the achievement recorded by the ministry includes; The rehabilitation of 1 x 20mw Eleme Gas turbine, 1.3 x 12 MW Trans Amadi Gas turbine power station, 1.4 x 25mw Omoku Gas turbine power station, 1.132kv(210km) state grid transmission line, introduction of state independent power projects (IPPs) overhead 2 x 12mw 100 solar gas turbine at Trans Amadi Power Station Portharcourt, completed and commissioned 4 x 25mw (100mw) ms 5001 Gas Turbine at Omoku power station increased from 50mw to 150mw, installation of 1x132/33kv60mva Transformers at PHCN/TNC Portharcourt main station, 7Nos 132/33/kv injection substitution, 5Nos. 33/11/kv injection substations in Portharcourt.

Similarly in the area interventions, in order to boost electricity generation and provision to the Rivers State Communities the ministry had installed 12 x 1275kva Caterpillar Generating set at the River State University of Science and technology, 1.2 x 1275kva Caterpillar generating sets at Podium block state secretariat complex, 1.2 x 2000 caterpillar generating set at Rivers State University of Science and Technology, 1.2 x 1500KVA Caterpillar generating sets at Block A,B,C State secretariat complex Portharcourt, 1 x 1500KVA Caterpillar generating sets at point block state secretariat Portharcourt, 1.1 x 350 KVA caterpillar generating set at point block state secretariat complex PortHarcourt.

In the area of rural electrification scheme, the ministry had installed and commissioned 6 x 2MVA caterpillar generating sets, 3NOS 2.5MVA step up transformers installed, 3Nos, 3.5MVA/11kv sf6 Ring Mater RMU, 4nos. 500KVA Distribution Transformer, 6Nos 300KVA Distribution transformers at ancient towns of Buguma, Abonnema and Opobo.

In addition, the ministry has commissioned 3 x 2.5MVA injection Substation and Sub Injection transformers and 11 Distribution transformer/TDN in Abuja Central environs in Abua/Odua Local Government Area which has subsequently given electricity to the nine (9) communities through National grid. While under the integrated electrification projects the Ngor town and eight (8) adjoining communities have been provided with 2 x 2000KVA generating sets, 2.5MVA step up transformer with H.T lines and L.T. lines.

In Khana Local Government Area, about twenty one (21) communities are currently being electrified and about 400 town are about to be completed.

In order to boost power distribution about 1000 distribution transformers of 300 and 500 KVA of both 11 and 33 KVA network has been deployed to various part of the state.

In addition 408 distribution transformers of which 350 are 500KVA and 58 are 300KVA have also been deployed.

These and many more including intervention agencies and transnational oil companies intervention like the case in the kingdom of Bonny are the effort put in place by Rivers State Government in conjunction with oil companies and NDDC to improve the electrification and electricity distribution as a component of livelihood in Rivers State Communities.

Therefore, looking at these efforts communities and local government area specific, it is discernable that the agitation for minority rights had fairly impacted in the area of provision of electricity in Eleme and Andoni in Local Government Area of Rivers State this has been confirmed from interview and focused group discussion as well as personal observation by the researcher.

In Bony Local Government Area of River State the impact of the agitation on power and electricity generation was positive. The general agreement among the respondents as well as personal observation revealed that Although the Bonny Kingdom is not connected to National grid because of its Isolation from the mainland they admitted that it has constant power supply from the oil companies as a Corporate Social Responsibility for instance

the signing of joint venture agreement between the Shell Petroleum Development company the Nigerian Liquidity Natural Gas and the Ancient kingdom of Bonny metamorphosed in the establishment of Bonny utility company which provide the area with reliable power supply. As a booster the Bonny Kingdom recently signed memorandum of understanding for the establishment of Bony kingdom development fund in which shell petroleum development company in a joint venture with Nigeria Liquidity Natural Gas will annually provide ₦3b for the communities in the proportion of ₦1billion for maintenance of existing education facilities, another ₦1billion for other infrastructure including electricity and another ₦1billion as a bonus for peace and protection of their installations. It is concluded therefore, that the agitation for minority rights has resulted in improvement of electricity as a component of livelihood in Bonny Local Government Area of River State.

On the issue of the impact of the agitation on the provision of Electricity in Portharcourt Local Government area of Rivers State, the outcome of the interviews, focused Group discussion as well as personal observation and documentary sources confirmed that the agitation for minority right has to some extent improve the condition of the inhabitant in the area of electricity. The documentary records has empirically indicated the effort of NDDC in this Area. Some of which include: the installation of solar powered street light at Atako/Herbert Marculay road old GRA Portharcot, construction of 1X2.5 MVA 33/11KV injection substation, installation of 500KVA 33/415KV Transformer, Rehabilitation of high tension wire and supply line in ORO Worukuro, construction of 33KV that line for NDDC office, installation of /Nos of 750KVA/0415 Transformer, installation of solar street light at Ohiamini Road Elekahia, installation of solar street light at Etitin No/Booan street , installation of solar street light at Rumu Olumeni, supply of concrete poles for NDDC electricity project. This efforts made by NDDC if combine with others made by the River State Government and multi-National oil companies in forms of corporate social responsibility would no doubt improved the wellbeing of the people of the Portharcourt Local Government communities.

In Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government area of Rivers State there is consensus concretizes among the discussants that the impact of the agitation on the provision of electricity was fair, similarly personal observation and documentary sources have also

confirmed this especially the efforts made by NDDC: These include, award of contract for Ndoni-Agwe Ochehiri Electrification project Agah-Epe Agah electricity project power improvement project, 2x7.5 MVA injection substation, power improvement project Eleme, and the installation of solar street light in Ndoni Community.

Based on perception studies, interviews, Focused group discussion and personal observation as well as documented source, it is clear that the agitation for minority rights had indeed result in the improvement in Electricity provision in the community of River State.

On the Assessment of the impact of the agitation for minority right on the provision of electricity as a component of socio-Economic development in Aniocha South Local Government area of Delta State the result indicate negative impact as there is consensus among the respondents in, Ogwashi Uku, Adonte and Ewalu communities that not just electricity but the communities are generally in deplorable condition in terms of infrastructure, has bad roads, no water and electricity. They maintained that although there was efforts by the Jonathan Goodluck Administration to solve the problem through the construction of Dam, hydro-electric power substation and provision of six feeder but the contract was abandoned. They further maintained that everybody is providing light to himself at exorbitant cost because of the high cost of electricity. Personal observation confirmed that there is dam and hydro-electric power substation project which was abandoned as most of the electric poles conveying high tension wire are down and the wires were probably vandalized by criminals. In essence the agitation did not impacted in Aniocha south Local Government area of Delta State. However in Warri South and Urwie Local Government Areas of Delta State, the result revealed mixed feeling among the respondents as they maintained that in some communities the impact was gleaming, while in some communities the State of affairs remained as they were before the agitation. Personal observation revealed that while in real sense there was improvement in the area of provision of electricity especially in Warri and Effurun. Some of the electrification projects are: the Electrification from Jakpa to express road, the NNPC housing external electrification in Ekpan, the completion of the Delta Riverine communities project initiated by the State Government but later taken over and completed by the Niger-Delta Development Commission (NDDC) this project comprises 33KV over

head power transmission line and 415V distribution line covering a total of 100Km across 5 Local Government area; Warri south, Warri north, Burutu, Ugheli north and south Local Government area respectively. From the forgoing presentation, it is concluded that the agitation had impacted in the provision of electricity in Warri south and Urwie Local Government area of Delta State.

In Sapece Local Government area, the observation was that the agitation has improved the provision of electricity as a component of social-economic development. The respondents are of the view that the agitation has to some extent enhance electrification of rural communities through state Government electrification projects and interventions from Agencies such as the Niger-Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and the Delta State Oil Producing Areas Development Commission (DESOPADEC). Some of the power project that support the above position are the initiation the completion Sapele 450Mw Turbine power plant by the federal Government of Nigeria, the completion of 133KV transmission line and two (30MVA-132/KV substation in Ogara which in turn connect to Sapele 1020MV internal power station comprising 4X75MV Gas turbine units and 6X125MV steam turbine units.

The above over wheeming Evidence no doubt is a pointer to fact that the agitation has indeed improve the provision of electricity in Sapece Local Government area of Delta State.

In Isoko North Local Government area on the others hand the outcome of the interview and focused group discussion revealed that while the respondents are not pleased with the Erectic nature of power supply in the area they maintained it could not be said that the agitation did not impact as there are communities that benefited from electrification project during the period. These communities are; Okpe-Isoko and Ozoro which is the head quarter of the Local Government.

Based on the above presentation it is incumbent to conclude that the agitation for minority rights had impacted to a large extent in the area of provision of electricity in Delta State; (there are a lot of communities that are still grumbling about the lack of electricity in some cases due to collapse of electricity poles and vandalization of cable by criminals, abandonment of already initiated electrification projects and shading due to ageing nature of the installations.

Furthermore in response to the question of the impact of the agitation on the employment component of livelihood Although the result from perception study indicate positive impact on most of the communities, the finding from the respondents through interview, focused group discussion indicate negative impact. The consensus among the respondents in all the three (3) state selected Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers revealed that although there are efforts by the intervention agencies to provide scour for the oil producing communities the amount of chances provided are not few but are hijacked by the urban elites making issues even more complicated for the rural dwellers.

Some of the respondents also maintained that the exploration of oil have destroyed their main economic activities, farming and fishing. They maintained that communities that live around fresh water sea are the most affected as there are no fish anymore in the rivers.

Personal observation by the researchers attest to the above position as most of the youths in the communities are jobless with the exception few that engage in Okada and boat driving.

In essence practical reality abound that the agitation for minority rights did little in the area of employment in the Niger-Delta communities of Bayelsa, Delta and River State as revealed from the 14 Local Government Areas selected for the study. It should be noted however that there is variation in employment opportunities among these communities especially those that dwell in the urban centers and those that reside in rural and riverine areas.

On the question of the impact of the agitation can income as a component of livelihood while individually there are group of people that benefited from the agitation but in aggregate term the agitation did not do much in improving the income of the communities. Some of the respondents believes that the oil in their communities are more of curse than blessing because it give negative impression about them because most people look at those from oil communities as rich which add to their cost of living while in true sense, these communities are in perpetual poverty. The respondents admits that these are efforts by government, oil companies and intervention agencies to improve their income but most often than not such effort are captured by politicians, local elites and traditional rulers. Based on these therefore, it is concluded that the agitation did not

impact positively on the income level of the inhabitants of the Niger-Delta communities in Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers in aggregate term.

On the question of the impact of the agitation on sanitation, there is general consensus among the respondents that no-genuine effort was made towards improving the sanitation condition of the communities as their environment remain polluted, there air saturated and their water contaminated. As some of the respondents maintained, despite the continues appeal to the Federal Government, Oil producing companies and even United Nations. Nothing has been done by those concern to enhance the environmental sanitation condition of their host communities. They argued that most of the diseases in the Niger-Delta are related to either pollution of water or respiratory among others.

On the question of the impact of the agitation on peace and security, there is common agreement that following the Amnesty programme by late Umaru Yaradua.

There was relative peace and security as a result of the acceptance by the militants to toe the way of peace. In addition some of the respondents admitted that the emergence of Goodluck Ebele Jonathan has further sustained the tempo of peace and stability as most of the leadership of the militants were rewarded with either appointment or juicy contracts, they cited Tompolo, Asari Dokubo, and the host of others as example.

In addition some of the respondents maintained that such trends are rearing their ugly heads once more again with the exit of the Jonathan Administration. Some of the respondents maintained that since most of the youth especially those in the Greek are jobless the relay on Bunkery as the main source of survival, the proceeds of which they shared among their community members but with the on slaught on the oil thieves and Bunkery and the destruction of illegal refineries some of the youth have no option but to return to the evil of kidnapping for ransom and sea piracy to make ends met.

5.3 Test of Hypotheses

For the purpose of this study, four hypotheses were formulated and tested using specific economic and social variables.

Hypothesis I

There is no significant correlation between oil production and the agitation for minority rights in the Niger - Delta communities.

Variables	x ₁	x ₂	x ₃	x ₁ ²	x ₂ ²	x ₃ ²
Strongly agreed	26	27	40	676	729	1600
Agreed	102	81	43	10404	6561	1849
Disagreed	20	29	33	400	841	1089
Strongly disagreed	10	14	15	100	196	225
No answer	0	12	8	0	144	64
Total	158	163	139	11580	8471	4827

$$T.S.S = \sum X^2 - \frac{(\sum xt)^2}{Nt}$$

$$T.S.S = 24.878 - \frac{(460)^2}{15}$$

$$T.S.S = 24.878 - \frac{(211600)^2}{15}$$

$$T.S.S = 24.878 - 14$$

$$T.S.S = 10.771$$

Degree of freedom

Between group variance DF = K - I = 5-1 = 4

Within group variance DF = N-K = 15-5 = 10

Sums of squares for each variance

$$\text{Within group} = \frac{1070.2}{10} = 1070.7$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Between group} &= \frac{63.8}{10} = 15.95 \\ F = \text{BWMSS} &= \frac{115.95}{1070.7} = 0.0148 \\ \text{WMSS} &= 1070.7 \end{aligned}$$

Decision: The calculated F statistics 0.0148 is less than the table 4.96. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and it is concluded that significant correlation exist between oil production and agitation for minority right in the Niger-Delta oil producing area of Nigeria.

Hypothesis II

The agitation for minority rights have not significantly improved the livelihood of the Niger - Delta communities.

Variables	X	Y	X _R	Y _R	D	D ²
Provision of water	442	18	1	10	-9	81
Hospital and clinics	432	28	3	8	-5	25
Roads	405	55	7	4	3	9
Peace and security	410	50	6	5	1	1
Electricity	428	32	4	7	-3	9
Community relations	377	83	9	2	7	49
Trade and skills	437	23	2	9	-7	49
Income	396	64	8	3	5	25
Sanitation	331	129	10	1	9	81
Employment	414	46	5	6	-1	1

$$\sum d^2 = 330$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1 - \frac{6 \sum D^2}{N(N^2 - 1)}$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1 - \frac{6(330)}{10(100 - 1)}$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1 - \frac{1980}{10(99)}$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1 - \frac{1980}{990}$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1 - 2$$

$$\text{Rho} = -1$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1$$

$$\text{DF} = N - 1$$

$$10 - 1$$

$$\text{DF} = 9$$

Decision: The calculated Rho value 1 is greater than the table value 0.70 Df 9 at 0.05 - L,S. Therefore the null hypothesis is rejected and it is established that the agitation for minority rights have significantly improved the livelihood of the Niger - Delta communities. This finding is corroborated with the views of respondents in tables (5.1-10) a, b and c where overwhelming majority agreed that the impact of the agitation on their livelihood was quite impressive.

Hypothesis III

The agitation for minority rights did not significantly increased the level of local people's participation in decision making and sharing of oil wealth.

Variables/categories	X	Y	X%	Y%	X _R	Y _r	D	D ²
Elite and political office holders	395	65	85.9	14.1	1	5	-4	16
Community leaders	392	68	85.2	14.8	2	4	-2	4
Youths	383	77	83.3	16.7	3	3	0	0
Women and children	237	223	51.5	48.5	4	2	2	4
Weak and aged	156	304	33.9	66.1	5	1	4	16
								40

Active

Partial

Non – active

No- response

$$Ed^2 = 40$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1 - \frac{6Ed^2}{N(N^2 - 1)}$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1 - \frac{6(40)}{5(5^2 - 1)}$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1 - \frac{240}{5(25 - 1)}$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1 - \frac{240}{5(24)}$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1 - \frac{240}{100}$$

$$\text{Rho} = 1 - 2.4$$

$$\text{Rho} = -1.4$$

$$\text{DF} = N - 1$$

$$\text{DF} = 6 - 1$$

$$\text{DF} = 5$$

Decision: The calculated Rho value -1.4 is less than the table value 0.7 Df 5 at 0.05 Level of Significance. Therefore the null hypothesis is rejected and it is established that the agitation for minority rights have significantly increase the level of local people participation in decision making and sharing of national wealth in the Niger - Delta communities. This is true especially among the vulnerable groups

CHAPTER SIX

IMPLICATION OF AGITATION FOR MINORITY RIGHTS ON THE LEVEL OF COMMUNITIES PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING AND SHARING OF NATIONAL WEALTH IN THE NIGER-DELTA AREA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that participation in decision making process and sharing of commonwealth for the common good of individual members of the community is central to politics in general and politics of oil in the Niger-Delta communities in particular. Since it is those who control the position of authority that determines the quantum and magnitude of allocation of vital societal resource and values, it became obvious therefore that state components and constituent units have to struggle to tilt this benefit towards their direction. The politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta oil producing area is therefore to a large extent influenced by the need of community members to effectively participate in decision making process directly or indirectly to enable them have access to the distribution of the National wealth.

One of the objectives of this research therefore is to examine the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of communities participation in decision making process, be it in the electioneering process by electing those that represent them at the agenda setting institution. Be it through violent demonstration and propaganda to compel those in decision making arena: parliament, executive or judiciary to tilt decision and policy benefit towards their individuals and community needs.

It is against the foregoing background that this chapter examines the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of community participation in decision making and sharing of the National wealth in the Niger-Delta oil producing area. The members of the communities for the sake of clarity were divided in to segment such as political office holders and public officials, community leaders. (traditional, political and religion leaders), the youths and the vulnerable group consisting of: (women poor and weak). The findings from the perception study was complemented with interview and focused group discussion with these stakeholders mentioned above.

However, although these communities under investigation have a lot of things in common especially the terrain and some cultural affinity, they are to a larger extent heterogeneous. It is as a result of this that the chapter is divided into three segment with the view of clearly showing the disaggregated nature of data in terms of challenges and policy benefits enjoy by each community. The first section dwelt on the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of group involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth across communities in Bayelsa State. The second segment

dwelt on same issue but in the communities across River State and finally in communities of Delta State.

SECTION A

6.1.1 Implication of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Communities Involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Bayelsa State

This section deals with the level of individual, groups involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth. In order to accomplish this objective the groups here referred to are broken it to, political office holders and public officials, community leaders, youths and the vulnerable group. Each of these groups is hereby presented graphically with their level of participation.

6.1a: Level of Public Officials and Political Office holders Involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Bayelsa State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
	Yenagoa		%		%		%		%		%		
1	Yenagoa HQ	2	22.2	6	66.7	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	4	40	6	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	3	30	6	60	1	10	-	-	-	-	10	100
4	Tombia	-	-	7	87.5	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	3	37.5	4	50	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	8	100
6	Ammassoma	6	75	2	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	100
7	Ogobiri	4	44.4	5	55.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	100
8	Angiama	1	10	8	80	1	10	-	-	-	-	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	4	44.4	5	55.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	-	-	8	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	100
11	Aleibiri	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	3	30	7	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	2	25	5	62.5	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	2	28.5	5	71.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	2	22.2	6	66.7	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	1	11.1	7	77.8	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The objective of table 6.1a above is to examine the level of political office holders and public officials involvement in decision making and sharing of the National wealth in their respective communities. Arising from the analyses of data generated from the

survey conducted across the selected communities in Batelsa State. It was obvious that the political office holders and public officials do not only dominate the decision making process but also gain more access to the national cake. This position is confirmed by the views of majority of the respondents across the selected communities which show overwhelming support in this direction.

Specifically speaking, the table shows that in Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State political office holders and public officials have actively participated in decision making and sharing of National wealth than any other groups. In Yenagoa community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area for instance 66.6% and 22.2% of the respondents which constitute the majority affirms that the groups participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth is active and very active respectively. However, the remaining 11.1% saw their participation as partial. On this note, it is therefore concluded that the participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth is effective in Yenagoa community of Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.

In Ikibi community of the same Yenagoa Local Government Area, the result was even more impression with regard to participation of political office holders in distribution National wealth as all the respondents affirm that their participation is active, in the proportion of 60% said it was active, the remaining 40% opine that it was even very active. Inference from this therefore indicate that the participation is active. Similarly, the outcome in Agudama/Epe community of the same Yenagoa Local Government Area was not different as 60% and 30% of the total respondents maintained that the level of participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active and very active respectively. However, the remaining 10% did not respond on the issue. Based on this, it is clear therefore that the participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Agudama/Epe was active.

Looking at the situation in Tombia community of the same Local Government Area, 87.5% of the respondents which constituted overwhelming majority confirm that the participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active, where as only 12.5% said it was partial. It is concluded therefore that their participation in Tombia community Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State was active. In summary, the level of participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Yenagoa Local Government was active as confirmed by majority of respondents across the Local Government Area.

The next Local Government Area is Southern Ijaw. Here the result across all the surveyed communities indicate positive level of participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth. Speaking

community specific in Oporoma community majority of the respondents confirm the activeness of their participation, as 50% said it was active, 37.5% maintained that it was even very active. Only 12.5% of the respondents believe that their participation was partial. This number is however, too small and insignificant to warrant any change in decision. It is thus concluded that the level of participation of political office holders and public officials was active in Oporoma community of Southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.

In Ammassoma community, the result was not different although there is variation in quantum of responses and benefit as all the respondents confirm the participation of the group as positively inclined, with 75% affirm that it is very active, while the remaining 25% saw it as active. Looking at the scenario in Ogobiri community in the same Southern Ijaw Local Government Area majority of the responses confirm active participation by the group in decision making and sharing of National wealth as 55.6% opines that their participation was active, where as the remaining 44.4% said it was even very active. This signifies that the level of involvement of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ogobiri community in Southern Ijaw Local Government was positive.

In Angiama community the same Local Government Area, the outcome is identical as 80% of the total respondents which constituted the majority are of the opinion that their participation is active, 10% saw it even as very active, while the remaining 10% of the respondents remained silent on the issue. This signifies active participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Angiama community of Southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. In aggregate term, it is concluded that the political office holders and public officials indeed do participate actively in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.

Furthermore, the outcome of the survey on Ekeremor Local Government was not different as majority of the respondents in the state rated the participation of this particular group as active or very active. For instance in Ekeremor community 55.6% of the respondent saw the level of their participation as active, where as 44.4% said it was even very active. This implies that the participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National Cake was active.

In Toru-Ndoro community, the result was much more glearing as all the respondents in proportion of 100% confirm that the level of participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active. Similarly, in Aleibiri community 62.5% of the respondents opine that the participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of oil was active. 25% said it was even very active, where as the remaining 12.5% did not participate.

The outcome from Peretorugbene community in the same Ekeremor Local Government Area on the other hand was not much different as 70% and 30% of the respondents confirm that the level of participation of this group in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active and very active respectively. Inferences from the above indicate that the level of participation of elites (political office holders and public official) in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active in Ekeremor Local Government, Area of Bayelsa State.

Furthermore, on the issue of participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth, the out come of the survey in Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State was positive indicating active participation of the group. Specifically, for instance in Town-Brass community 62.5% and 25% of the respondents saw their participation as active and very active respectively against the remaining 12.5% that did not respond on the issue. In Okpama Brass 71.5% said they participated actively in decision making and sharing of National wealth, where as 28.5% affirm that their participation was even very active. Similarly, 66.7% and 22.2% saw the participation as active and very active respectively as far as political office holders and public officials are concerned. While the remaining 11.1% said it was partial in Ewoama community of Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. Finally in Odieama Brass 77.8% of the respondents which constituted the majority examine the level of involvement of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth as active, 11.1% as very active, where as the remaining 11.1% said it was partial.

Based on the foregoing it is clear, that the level of participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth is active in Bayelsa State, implying that since political office holders both elected and appointed have more influence on agenda setting institution, they had to dominate not only the process of decision making where key decisions are taken on the way and manner in which the vital resource are shared, they therefore benefit from the large chunk of the share of their community resources. The above position represent the views of the overwhelming proportion of the respondents from across the various selected communities in the state.

6.2a: Level of Community Leaders Involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Bayelsa State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
			%		%		%		%		%		
	Yenagoa												
1	Yenagoa HQ	1	11.1	6	66.7	2	22.2	-	-	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	3	30	6	60	-	-	1	10	-	-	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	4	40	6	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	100

4	Tombia	4	50	3	37.5	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	-	-	6	75	-	-	2	25	-	-	8	100
6	Ammassoma	6	75	2	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	100
7	Ogobiri	3	37.5	5	62.5	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	9	100
8	Angiama	2	20	7	70	-	-	1	10	-	-	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	3	33.3	5	55.6	1	11.1	-	-	-	-	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	4	50	4	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	100
11	Aleibiri	1	12.5	7	87.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	6	60	4	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	-	-	6	75	-	-	2	25	-	-	8	100
14	Okop Ama Brass	2	28.6	4	57.1	1	14.3	-	-	-	-	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	2	22.2	7	77.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	4	44.4	5	55.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The task of respondents in table 6.2a is to examine the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level community leaders involvement in making decision and sharing of the National wealth, in their respective communities in Bayelsa State. From the survey across the selected communities in Bayelsa State, the outcome indicate that the community leaders are much involved in the process of decision making and sharing of National wealth in their respective communities. This view was confirmed by larger proportion of the respondents across the selected communities. Their only area of departure is on the magnititude and quantum of benefit derived from the participation as this varies from one community to the other.

Beginning with Yenagoa Local Government Area, it was clear that most of the responses favoured of the active participation of community leaders in decision related to oil and benefit derived there from. For instance in Yenagoa community, 66.7% of the total respondents confirmed that their level of participation was active, 11.1% said it was even very active. However the remaining 22.2% did not respond on the issue. In Ikibiri community, 60% and 30% of the respondents are of the view that the participation of the community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active and very active respectively, where as the remaining 10% said it was partial. The conclusion therefore, is that the participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active in Ikibiri community.

Similarly, in Agudama/Epe community the outcome was positive as 60% of the respondents affirm that the participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active. Where as the remaining 40% said their

participation was even very active. However, in Tombia community of Yenagoa Local Government their participation was active as confirmed by majority of the respondents, where 50% said it was very active, 37.5% hold that it was active where as the remaining 12.5% did not respond on the issue. In summary, the participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State proved to be active as confirmed by larger proportion of the respondents.

Furthermore, the result in Soutehrnrn Ijaw community indicates active participation of community was confirmed by majority of respondents. Specifically in Oporoma community 75% of the respondents said their participation was active. However the remaining 25% maintains that it was partial, which indicate the active participation of community leaders. In addition the outcome of the survey in Ammassoma community of the same Local Government Area, indicate that 75% of the total respondents hold the view that the participation of community leaders with regards to decision making and sharing of National wealth was very active, however, the remaining 25% said it was active. This implies that the participation of community leaders in respect of the above is very active.

In Ogobiri community 62.5% and 37.5% of the respondents saw the participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth as active and very active respectively, where as 12.5% remain silent on the issue. Similarly, in Angiama community, those who said the participation of the leadership is active constituted 70%, 20% maintained that it was very active, where as the remaining 10% said it was partial. This implies active participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Angiama community. In summary, the level of participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State was active. The next Local Government Area is the Ekeremor Local Government. In this particular Local Government the result indicated that the participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active. For instance in Ekeremor community it was clear that 55.6% of the respondents believe it was active, 33.3% said it was even very active where as the remaining 11.1% did not respond on the issue.

In Toru-Ndoro community the result indicate that 50% of the respondents saw their participation as active, while the remaining 50% said it was even very active. This implies that the participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Toru-Ndoro community of Ekeremor Local Government Area was active. The situation in Aleibiri community was not much different as 87.5% of the respondents said their participation was active, while the remaining 12.5% maintain that it was even very active. This implies that the level of participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active in Alebiri community.

In Peretorugbene community however, 60% of the respondents which constituted the majority are of the view that the community leaders participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth was very active while the remaining 40% said it was active. In summary the outcome of the survey in Ekeremor community indicate positive result, as confirmed by majority of the respondents.

The next Local Government Area is Brass. The result from Brass Local Government was similar to what was obtained In the other Local Government Areas, as it indicate active participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth. In specific term, the result in Town Brass indicate that, 75% of the respondents rated the participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth as active against 25% who saw it as partial.

Furthermore, the outcome in Okpama Brass shows that 57.1% and 28.6% of the respondent are of the view that the participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active and very active respectively where as, 14.3% did not respond on the issue. In Ewoama Brass community the situation was not different as 77.8% and 22.2% of the total respondents maintain that the participation of community leaders with respect to decision making and sharing of National wealth was active and very active respectively. Lastly in Odiema Brass the result was positive inclined as, 44.4% of the respondents affirms that their participation was very active while those who said it was active constitute 55.6%. This implies that the level of community leaders participation in decision making was active, in Brass Local Government Area as indicated by larger proportion of the respondents from across the communities.

From the foregoing it become clear that the level of participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active as indicated by the majority of the respondents in Bayelsa State. This could be due to the fact that community leaders occupy central place in the management of their local communities they are often incorporated into the decision making area because of their influence over their followers.

6.3a: Implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the Level of Youths Involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Bayelsa State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
			%		%		%		%		%		
	Yenagoa												
1	Yenagoa HQ	2	22.2	5	55.6	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	9	100
2	Ikibiri	-	-	6	60	2	20	2	20	-	-	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	3	30	5	50	2	20	-	-	-	-	10	100
4	Tombia	-	-	2	25	-	-	4	50	2	25	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	4	50	3	37.5	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	8	100

6	Ammassoma	3	37.5	5	62.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	100
7	Ogobiri	-	-	6	66.7	-	-	3	33.3	-	-	9	100
8	Angiama	5	50	3	30	-	-	2	20	-	-	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	-	-	4	44.4	2	22.2	3	33.3	-	-	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	2	22.2	5	55.6	1	11.1	-	-	5	62.5	8	100
11	Aleibiri	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	2	25	-	-	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	-	-	3	30	2	20	5	50	-	-	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	-	-	2	25	-	-	7	75	-	-	8	100
14	Okpama Brass	-	-	5	-	-	-	2	28.6	5	71.4	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	-	-	7	77.8	2	22.2	-	-	-	-	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	2	22.2	4	44.4	1	12.5	2	22.5	-	-	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The youths constitute the most vibrant and productive segment of any society. This is because the bulk of community expectation and productive base reside on the shoulders of this golden population. For any society to advance therefore, it must take the business of transforming its youth category into productive force seriously. However, despite this invaluable contribution of youth toward the development of their respective community, they are often the most neglected population and vulnerable for that matter. There is however, new emerging trend in the developing countries including Nigeria in which the youths are challenging their various government and corporate wealth to integrate and give them role in the running of the affairs of their communities. Therefore Niger – Delta youths are not exception. But the question is to what extent did the Nigerian State integrated the youths into the areas of decision making and sharing of National wealth? It is in the light of the above that this particular table analyse the level of involvement of youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Bayelsa State.

In table 7.3a respondents were asked to examine the level of involvement of youth in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the Niger-Delta communities of Bayelsa State. The result in the table revealed mixed feeling among the respondents although in most communities the dominant view is that the youths were actively involved in decision making and sharing of the National wealth. This however does not portray a situation of absolute involvement, as there are other communities in which the youths were not actively involved.

Specifically speaking, the result in Yenagoa Local Government Area, indicated that the youths were actively involved in decision making and sharing of National wealth. This view was confirmed by majority of the respondents. For instance in Yenagoa community, 55.6% and 22.2% of the respondents affirm the participation of youth was

active and very active respectively. While the remaining 22.2% said it was partial. This implies that their participation in decision making and sharing of oil was indeed active in Yenagoa community.

In Ikibiri community on the other hand, 60% of the respondents believe that youth participation was active, 20% did not respond, while the remaining 20% saw their involvement as partial. This implies that the level of involvement of youth in decision making was active in Ikeberg community. In the case of Agudama/Epe, 50% and 30% maintained that the level of involvement of youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth were active and very active respectively. However 20% remain silent on the issue. This implies that youths participation in Agudama/Epe community was active.

However, the result in Tombia community of Yenagoa Local Government Area was distinct, as only 25% of the respondents affirms that the level of youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active against (50% and 25%) who view their participation as partial and non-active respectively. In summary while it is clear that the level of youth involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active in (Yenagoa, Ikibiri and Agudama/Epe) communities, in Tombia community it was not active as indicated by the large proportion of the respondents.

The next Local Government Area is Southern Ijaw. Here the result indicates active involvement of youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth as demonstrated by majority of the respondents. For instance in Oporoma community 50% of the respondents shows that their participation was very active, 37.5% active, while 12.5% did not respond on the issue. In Ammassoma community on the other hand, 62.5% maintained that the participation was active. Similarly the remaining 37.5% saw it even as very active participation.

Looking at the situation in Ogobiri it indicates that 66.7% of respondent agreed that the level of youth participation was active, against 33.3% who maintained that it was partial, which implies active participation of youth in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ogobiri community Southern Ijaw Local Government Area. However, the outcome was similar in Angiama community in the same Local Government Area as 50% saw their participation as very active, 30% said it was active, the remaining 20% on the other hand believes that it was partial. In summary the outcome of the survey in Southern Ijaw Local Government Area was active participation as presented by the large proportion of the respondents.

Furthermore, in Ekeremor Local Government Area, the result was similar but slightly different. For instance in Ekeremor community, it show that the level of participation of youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active as 44.4% of the respondents supported the view. However, 33.3% hold the view that their participation was partial, while the remaining 22.2% remained silent on the issue.

In Toru-Ndoro community, the result was similar, as 55.6% and 22.2% of the respondents believe that the participation of youth from that community in decision making was active and very active respectively. Where as the remaining 11.1% did not respond on the issue.

The outcome from Aleibiri in the same Ekeremor Local Government Area is quite distinct as it indicate non active involvement of youths from that area in decision making and sharing of National wealth. To confirm this, only 12.5% of the respondents saw their participation as active, against 25% who believe that the participation is partial and 62.5% that saw such participation as non-active. In Peretorugbene the situation is close to that of Aleibiri as only 30% of the respondents maintained that the level of youths participation in this respect was active, 20% remained silent on the issue, where as 50% which constituted proportion said it was a partial participation. In summary, it is clear that the level of youth participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth was mixed one, in Ekeremor Local Government with Ekeremor community and Toru-Ndoro having active participation, Aleibiri non active while in Peretongbene community it was partial.

Moreover in Brass Local Government Area, of Bayelsa State the outcome with regard to level of youths participation in Decision making and sharing of National wealth was a mixed reaction. This was demonstrated by nature of responses across the selected communities where views varied. For instance in Town-Brass the youths were not actively involved, as 75% of the respodnets which constituted the majority affirm to this. Where as the remaining 25% said their participation was activmuch different in Oporoma Brass as 71% and 28.6% view their participation as non-active and partial respectively. This implies that the level of youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth was not active.

In Ewoama Brass in the same Brass Local Government Area the result was active participation. This was confirmed by 77.8% of the respondents, however, 22.2% did not respond on the issue. Looking at the situation in Odieama Brass community however, it was clear that the level of youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth was active as demonstrated by the majority. 44.4% of the respondents indicate that it was active, 22.2% view it as very active. However, 22.2% said it was partial while the remaining 12.5% did not respond.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the level of youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth is mixed. In some communities in Bayelsa State the outcome indicate that the level of youth involvement were active, partial and in some cases non-active.

6.4a: Involvement of vulnerable group (Women/Children Aged) in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Bayelsa State

		Very effective		Effective		No response		Bad		Worse		Total	%
			%		%		%		%		%		
	Yenagoa												
1	Yenagoa HQ	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	2	22.2	5	55.6	9	100
2	Ikibiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	30	7	70	10	100
3	Agudama/Epe	-	-	-	-	1	10	1	10	8	80	10	100
4	Tombia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	100	8	100
	Southern Ijaw												
5	Oporoma HQ	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	37.5	5	62.5	8	100
6	Ammassoma	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	12.5	7	87.5	8	100
7	Ogobiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	8	88.9	9	100
8	Angiama	-	-	-	-	3	30	-	-	7	70	10	100
	Ekeremor												
9	Ekeremor HQ	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	3	33.3	6	66.7	9	100
10	Toru-Ndoro	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	25	6	75	8	100
11	Aleibiri	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	50	4	50	8	100
12	Peretorugbene	-	-	-	-	2	20	2	20	6	60	10	100
	Brass												
13	Town Brass	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	37.5	5	62.5	8	100
14	Okopo Ama Brass	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	14.3	6	85.7	9	100
15	Ewoama Brass	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	44.4	5	55.6	9	100
16	Odieama Brass	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	3	33.3	4	44.4	9	100
	Total												

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The task before respondents in table 6.4a was to examine implication of agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of vulnerable groups in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Bayelsa State. Vulnerable groups are those that are easily exposed to any form of danger or difficulties this group include: women, children and the aged.

The table revealed extreme negative outcome regarding the level of participation of this group in Bayelsa State. This was demonstrated by large proportion of the respondent across the selected communities. To be specific, in Yenagoa Local Government Area, the result indicates that their involvement across the Local Government was not active, implying elements of marginalization of the group in the area. For instance in Yenagoa community 56.6% and 22.2% of the respondents hold the view that the participation of this group in decision making and sharing of National wealth was non-active and partial respectively. However the remaining 22.2% did not respond on the issue.

Similarly, in Ikibiri community in the same Local Government Area, the result was not different as 70% of the respondents saw their participation as non – active, while the remaining 30% said it is partial. In essence there is non active participation by the vulnerable group in the decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ikibiri community. The result in Agudama/Epe community indicated that 80% of the respondents are of the view that their involvement was non-active, 10% maintained that it was partial, where as those that did not respond on the issue constitute the remaining 10%. This implies that the level of participation of vulnerable groups in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Agudama/Epe was not encouraging as it indicate non-active participation. Added to this, in Tombia community of the same Yenagoa Local Government Area, it was near zero participation by the vulnerable groups in decision making and sharing of National wealth as demonstrated by the majority. Specifically all the respondents 100% hold the view that the participation of this group was passive.

Next is the analysis of Southern Ijaw Local Government Area, where the result indicates negative participation by the group as confirmed by majority of respondents across its various communities. For instance, in Oporoma community, all the respondents saw either partial or non-active participation by the group, as 62.5% maintained that their level of participation was non-active, 37.5% were of the view that it was partial. The result in Ammassoma community shows that 87.5% of the total respondents believe that the level of participation of the groups was non-active, against 12.5% who saw it as partial indicating negative participation by the vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of the National wealth in Ammassoma.

Looking at the situation in Ogobiri community, 88.9%, said the level of their participation was in active, where as the remaining 11.1% maintained that it was partial. This indicate absolute negative participation by the vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ogobiri community in the same Local Government Area. In the case of Angiama community on the other hand, 30% of the respondent did not respond to the issue, while 70% said it was active. This signifies that the participation of vulnerable groups in decision making and sharing of National wealth was not active. In summary, it is clear that the level of participation of women and the weak in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State was not encouraging.

In Ekeremor Local Government Area on the other hand, the result indicated that their involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth was poor and in active as demonstrated by majority of respondents across the various communities. Looking at it community specific, in Ekeremor community 66.7% and 33.3% maintains that the level of participation of the vulnerable groups in decision making and sharing of National wealth was non-active and partial respectively. Where as 11.1% of the respondent did not respond on the issue.

Similarly in Toru-Ndoro community of the same Ekeremor Local Government Area it was clear that the groups participation was inactive as demonstrated by larger proportion of respondents across the selected communities. In practical term 75% of the total respondents saw their level of involvement as non-active, where as the remaining 25% said that it was partial. In essence the level of participation of vulnerable groups in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Toru-Ndoro community of Ekeremor Local Government Area, was poor and non active. The table also show the level of involvement of the vulnerable groups in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Aleibiri community in the same Ekeremor Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. The result indicate that 50% of the respondents views the participation of this group as partial, while the remaining 50% said that it was non-active. On the whole their participation in Aleibiri to a large extent is not active.

In a similar development, the outcome in Peretorugbene community reveals that 60% of the respondents affirms that the group participation is non-active. However, 20% saw it as partial while the remaining 20% did not respond on the matter. This signifies non-active involvement of vulnerable groups in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Peretorugbene. In summary the extent of involvement of the vulnerable group: women and the weak in decision making and sharing of National wealth proved to be docile indicating marginalization of the group in the sphere of issues.

Furthermore the table also examine the situation in Brass Local Government Area where it was proved that the level of participation of vulnerable groups in decision making and sharing of National wealth was pathetic. This was demonstrated by the views of the majority of the respondents. For instance in Town Brass and Okpama Brass the result indicate that 62.5% and 85.5% saw the participation of this group as non-active. However, the remaining 37.5% and 14.3% as partial involvement respectively. Implying non-active participation of vulnerable groups in decision making and sharing of National wealth in these communities.

In Ewoama Brass and Odieama Brass, however, the outcome was not much different as 55.6% and 44.4% confirm non-active participation by the group against 44.4% and 33.3% who believe that it was partial respectively. The overall outcome with regard to the issue of involvement of the vulnerable group: women, children and the aged, it was vividly clear that their involvement is non-active in Brass Local Government Area of Bayelsa State.

From the foregoing analysis it is clear that the level of involvement of the vulnerable group comprising of women, children, the aged in the decision making and sharing of National wealth in Bayelsa State in general was docile as demonstrated by majority of the respondents across the selected communities. This development implies the exclusion and marginalization of the group in the real political economy of their communities due to their disadvantaged position which negates the principle of

distributive justice in the sharing of the common wealth that is supposed to reflect the ideal dream of every state as the custodian of its citizenry.

SECTION B

6.1.2 The Implication of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Level of Community Involvement in Decision Making and Sharing of National wealth in Rivers State

The focus of this section is on the level of individual, groups involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Rivers state. In order to accomplish this objective the groups here referred to are broken it to, political office holders and public officials, community leaders, youths and the vulnerable group. Each of this groups is hereby presented graphically with their level of participation and benefit thereof.

6.1b: Participation of Political Office holders and Public Officials in decision making and National wealth distribution in River State

		Very active		Active		No response		Partial		Non active		Total	%
		No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	-	-	7	50	-	-	4	28.6	3	21.4	14	100
2	Alode	2	20	6	60	-	-	2	20	-	-	10	100
3	Alesa	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	5	55.6	3	33.3	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	6	50	4	33.3	-	-	2	16.7	-	-	12	100
5	Atagba	-	-	3	30	-	-	6	60	1	10	10	100
6	Ikuku	3	27.3	6	54.5	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	6	40	7	46.7	-	-	2	13.3	-	-	15	100
8	Elekahia	5	45.5	4	36.4	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	11	100
9	Amadi Ama	-	-	5	55.6	2	22.2	-	-	2	22.2	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	0	0	6	60	2	20	2	20	-	-	10	100
11	Dema	-	-	2	25	-	-	4	50	2	25	8	100
12	Abbey	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	72.3	3	27.3	11	100
	Ogba/Egbe ma/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	-	8	8	72.7	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	11	100
14	Ogba	-	2	2	20	-	-	6	60	2	20	10	100
15	Egbema	-	6	6	54.5	2	18.2	3	27.3	-	-	11	100

Total												162	100
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Source: Field Survey, 2012

The main objective of table 6.1b is to examine the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and distribution of National wealth in River State. The outcome of the survey across the selected communities in the state indicate a mixed feeling as supported by majority of the respondents.

Specifically, in Eleme Local Government Area it was clear that the agitation has led to improvement in the participation of political office holders and public officials in Nchia and Alode communities against the Alesa community where the participation of the group was partial. This was corroborated statistically by majority of the respondents. For instance in Nchia community of Eleme Local Government Area, 50% of the respondents affirm that the agitation had led to active participation of the group. However, 28.6% maintain that the agitation really did lead to partial participation by political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of the National wealth where as the remaining 21.4% were of the view that despite the agitation, the level of the participation was still non-active, in the community.

Similarly, in Alode community of the same Local Government Area, 60% and 20% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to active and very active participation respectively. Where as the remaining 20% saw the implication of the agitation as partial participation by the political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the community. The outcome in Alesa however, is distinct as 55.6% of the respondents believe that the agitation has lead to only partial participation by the group, 33.3% affirmed that the participation by political office holders and public officials remain non-active, despite the agitation. This implies negative impact of the agitation on the participation of this group in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the community. However, the remaining 22.2% remain silent on the issue.

Next is Andoni Local Government Area, where the issue of the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the participation of political office holders and public officials was a mixed feeling, in Ngo community, the result indicates that 50% of the respondents saw the implication as very active participation, 33.3% affirmed that it led to active participation among the group. Where as, only 16.7% saw the implication as partial participation. On this note, it is clear therefore, that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of political office holders and public officials in Ngo community was active.

However, in Atagba community of the same Local Government Area, it was revealed that the level of participation of political office holders and public officials remained partial in the community, despite the tempo of the agitation for Minority rights.

This was confirmed by 60% of the total respondents who are affirmative to this view, only 30% saw the implication of the agitation as active participation. Whereas, the remaining 10% saw the level of participation still at its lowest ebb, despite the agitation. In essence the agitation for Minority rights did not indeed led to increase in the participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and distribution of National wealth in Atagba community of Andoni Local Government Area of River State.

Furthermore, in Ikuku community of the same Andoni Local Government Area, the survey revealed active and very active result respectively. For instance, 54.5% and 27.3% saw the implication on their level of participation as active and very active respectively. While the remaining 18.2% said it had partial implication on the participation of political office holders and public officials in the community. This signifies that the agitation for Minority rights have led to improvement in the level of participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ikuku community.

Examining the issue in Port Harcourt Local Government Area, the result in aggregate term indicate improvement in the level of participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth as demonstrated by most of respondents across all the selected communities in the Local Government Area. For instance, in Port Harcourt community the result indicates that 46.7% saw the implication as active participation, 40% even said it led to very active participation, whereas only 13.3% of the respondent believe that the implication was partial participation by this political office holders and public officials in Port Harcourt community.

Similarly, in Elekahia community of the same Local Government Area it was clear that the agitation has led to positive participation by political office holders and public officials in decision making and distribution of the state resources in Elekahia community. To confirm this, 45.5% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to very active participation by the group, 36.4% maintain that it led to active participation, where as 27.3% saw the implication as leading to partial participation. In essence the agitation for Minority rights has opened room for more participation by political office holders and public officials in decision making and distribution of state resource in Elekahia community of Port Harcourt Local Government Area of River State.

Moreover, in Amadi Ama community in the same Port Harcourt Local Government Area, the table revealed that 55.6% of the respondents which constituted the larger proportion hold the view that the agitation had lead to more space for political office holders and public officials to participate in decision making and sharing of the state resources. 22.2% remained silent on the issue, where as the other 22.2% believe that nothing has changed in terms of participation, despite the agitation for Minority rights in

Amadi-Ama community. This signifies that the agitation in real sense have improved the level of this group's participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Amadi Ama- community.

However, in Bony Local Government Area on the other hand, the agitation did not produce impressive result as far as participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth is concerned, judging by the views of most of the respondents. For instance only in (Bony) community did the agitation had positive result as against the other two communities (Dema and Abbey). In specific term from Bony community, 60% of the respondents saw the implication of the agitation as active, 20% did not respond on the issue, while the other 20% maintains that nothing has really changed in the area of the agitation. Implying positive implication of the agitation on the participation of political office holders and public official in Bony community.

In Dema community, of the same Bony Local Government Area on the other hand, only 25% of the respondents saw the agitation as having positive implication on the level of participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of the state resources, against 50% and 25% who saw the participation still as partial and non active despite agitation. Meaning the implication of the agitation on the participation of political office holders and public official is negative in the area of decision making and sharing of resource in Dema community. The result was not much distinct in Abbey community in the same Local Government Area as all the respondents maintain that the agitation for Minority rights did not change anything, since 72.3% of the respondents saw their level of participation as partial, while the remaining 27.3% said it was non active. Impliedly the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the participation of political office holders and public official was negative inclined.

The situation in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of River State, was similar to what is tenable in Bony Local Government Area. Here in Omoku community which is the headquarters of the Local Government Area, the table shows that 72.7% of the respondents believe that the agitation had positive impact on the participation of the political office holders and public officials. However, only 27.3% saw the level of participation as still partial despite the agitation. In essence the agitation for Minority rights in Omoku community has positive implication for the participation of this group.

However, in Ogba community in the same Local Government Area only 20% of the respondents saw the implication of the agitation on the participation of the group in decision making and sharing of National wealth as active. Where as 60% and the other 20% maintained that the level of participation of the political office holders and public official still remained partial and non-active respectively in the community despite the agitation. Hence having negative implication on the community. Finally, in Egbama community of the same Local Government Area 54.5% of the respondents saw the agitation as having positive implication on the level of participation of the group 18.2%

remained silent on the issue, while the remaining 27.3% maintain that the level of participation by the political office holders and public officials remain partial despite the agitation.

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that the outcome of the survey on the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the participation of the political office holders and public official in decision making and sharing of National wealth in River State has a mixed feeling as it proved to be positive in some communities, where as in other community it did not have any positive implication as the level of participation still remained partial or non-active. This result could be due to the peculiar nature of each community and the policy advantage derived by such community in relation to access to decision making institution and National wealth.

6.2b: Level of Involvement of Community Leaders in decision making and National wealth distribution in River State

		Very active		Active		No response		Partial		Non active		Total	%
		No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	2	14.3	8	57.1	-	-	4	28.6	-	-	14	100
2	Alode	-	-	3	30	-	-	2	20	5	50	10	100
3	Alesa	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	6	66.7	1	11.1	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	4	33.3	6	50	-	-	2	16.7	-	-	12	100
5	Atagba	-	-	7	70	-	-	3	50	-	-	10	100
6	Ikuku	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	3	27.3	6	54.5	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	6	40	5	33.3	-	-	2	13.3	2	13.3	15	100
8	Elekahia	4	36.4	5	45.5	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	-	-	6	66.7	-	-	3	33.3	-	-	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	-	-	8	80	-	-	2	20	-	-	10	100
11	Dema	-	-	2	25	-	-	4	50	2	25	8	100
12	Abbey	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	3	27.3	5	45.5	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	5	45.5	4	36.4	-	-	2	18.2	1	9.1	11	100
14	Ogba	-	-	6	60	-	-	3	30	-	-	10	100
15	Egbema	4	36.4	5	45.5	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

Table 6.2b contain the analyses of the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of community leaders involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth in River State. In other words the table want to establish whether the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities have resulted in improvement of community leaders participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in River State or otherwise.

Beginning with Eleme Local Government Area of River State, where the outcome show mixed results. This was confirmed by the views of most of the respondents from across the selected communities. In Nchia community of Eleme Local Government Area for instance, 57.1% and 14.3% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation had led to active and very active participation of the community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth respectively. Where as only 28.6% saw the level of participation as partial despite the agitation. This implies that the agitation for Minority rights had indeed positive implication on the participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Nchia community of Eleme Local Government Area of River State.

Similarly, in Alode community in the same Eleme Local Government Area, it was established that the agitation for Minority rights did not lead to increase in the community leaders participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth. This was demonstrated by majority of respondents who affirmed to this position. For instance, only 30% of the total respondents believe that the agitation has led to active participation by the community leaders. However, 20% maintained that their participation remain partial, while the remaining 50% which constituted the larger proportion confirm that the level of participation of the community leaders in decision making and sharing of the National wealth remained non-active, despite the agitation in Alode community. The implication of this finding is that the agitation for Minority rights did not led to positive implication on the level of participation of the community leaders in the community.

Furthermore, the result in Alesa community was much similar to that of Alode community, in the same Eleme Local Government Area, as only 22.2% of the respondent were of the view that the agitation has led to active participation by the community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth. However, 66.7% and 11.1% maintains that the level of participation of community leaders remained partial and non-active respectively. In summary, the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the community leaders participation in decision making and distribution of National wealth revealed a mixed result. In Eleme Local Government Area. In the sense that the result show negative implication in Alode and Alesa communities while positive implication in Nchia community which is the headquarters of the Local Government Area.

Looking at the scenario in Andoni Local Government Area, the result was similar but slightly differentiated. In the sense that while in (Ngo and Atagba) communities the agitation has led to improvement of the community leaders involvement in decision making in Ikuku community, it was disappointing as the result remain non active. For instance in Ngo community 50% and 33.3% of the respondents believe that the agitation had positive implication on the level of involvement of community leaders in decision making and sharing of the National wealth against only 16.7% who maintained that the level of participation remained partial in Ngo community despite the agitation. Similarly, in Atagba community, 70% of the total respondents believe that the agitation has resulted in active participation on the side of the community leaders in decision making and sharing of the National wealth, against 30% who argue that the level of participation still remained partial inspite of the agitation for Minority rights in the community.

However, in Ikuku community in the same Andoni Local Government Area, only 18.2% of the respondents maintained that the agitation for Minority rights has resulted in active participation by community leaders in decision making and sharing of the National wealth. Whereas 54.5% and 27.3% of the respondents which constituted the larger proportion opine that level of participation of the community leaders remain non active and partial respectively in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ikuku community, Andoni Local Government Area of River State.

The situation in Port Harcourt Local Government Area on the other proved to be distinct as indicate positive implication on all the communities selected in the area. Specifically, in Port Harcourt community 40% and 33.3% of the respondents who constituted the larger proportion confirm that the agitation for Minority rights has led to active and very active participation of the community leader in decision making and sharing of the state resources. However, only 13.3% each of the total respondents saw the level of participation of the community leaders as partial and non-active respectively.

In Elekahia community, in the same Local Government Area, the table indicates positive implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the community, as 45.5% of the respondents believe that the agitation for Minority rights has led to active participation. Where as, 36.4% maintained that the agitation has indeed result in very active participation. However, the remaining 18.2% hold the view that the level of the participation of community leaders remains partial, despite the agitation for Minority rights in the area. In essence the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth was positive in Elekahia community, in Port Harcourt Local Government Area. In Amadi Ama community of the same Local Government Area, 66.7% of the respondents confirm that the implication of the agitation has led to active participation of the community leaders in decision making and sharing of the National wealth. However, the

remaining 33.3% believe that the level of participation of this group remained partial inspite of the tempo of the agitation in the community.

Examining the situation in Bony Local Government Area. It reveal that in Bony community, 80% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation has led to active participation by the community leaders in decision making and sharing of the National wealth against, 20% who still saw their participation as partial indicating lack of positive implication on the level of participation of the community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth.

However, in Dema community, of the same Bony Local Government Area, it was clear that only 25% of the respondents believe that the agitation had led to active participation by the group against 50% and 25% of the respondents who saw the level of community leaders participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth still remain partial and non active despite the agitation. The result from Abbey community is similar to what was obtained in Dema, as only 27.3% hold the view that the agitation had really led to active participation by the group, however, 45.5% and 27.3% affirmed that the level of participation of community leaders remained partial and non-active, despite the agitation in the community. This signifies that the implication of the agitation on community leaders participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth was negative as supported by the most of respondents across the selected communities.

Furthermore, in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area of River State, the table reveal that the agitation had positive implication on the level of participation of the community leaders in decision making and distribution of National wealth across all the selected communities in the Local Government Area, as demonstrated by larger proportion of the respondents.

To buttress this position, 45.5% and 36.4% of respondents in Omoku community, which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area, affirmed that the agitation for Minority rights have resulted in very active and active level of participation respectively by the community leaders in decision making and sharing of the National wealth. However, the remaining 18.2% believe that the agitation has no positive implication on the level of participation of this group, since their participation still remain partial. This implies that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of community leadership in decision making and distribution of resource was positive in Omoku community.

Similarly, in Ogba community, of the same Local Government Area, it was clear that 60% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation for Minority rights has led to active participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth, only 30% of the respondents maintain that the level of participation of this community leaders remain partial, therefore the agitation has no positive implication on this. Where as, the remaining 10% did not respond on the issue. It is concluded

therefore, that the agitation for Minority rights have resulted in active participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ogba community as demonstrated by larger proportion of respondents across the community.

Lastly in Egbema community of the same Local Government Area, the survey revealed that the agitation for Minority rights has led to active participation of the community leaders in decision making and distribution of the national wealth. This was demonstrated by majority of the respondents across the community. Specifically, 44.5% and 36.4% of the respondents which constituted the majority confirmed that the agitation for Minority rights has led to active and very active participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Egbema community. However, the remaining 18.2% were of the view that their level of participation remains partial despite the agitation. Meaning the agitation has no positive implication on the level of participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of the National wealth.

In summary, it is clear from the above, that the agitation for Minority rights has indeed improve the level of involvement of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Egbema community. Based on the above analysis therefore, it could be inferred that, although the result from across the selected communities indicate mixed findings, but the major consensus was that the agitation had positive implication on the involvement of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth where as in some cases it did not.

6.3b: Youths Participation in decision making and distribution of National Wealth in River State

		Very active		Active		No response		Partial		Non active		Total	%
		No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%		
	Eleme LGA												
1	Nchia HQ	-	-	9	64.3	-	-	6	21.4	2	14.3	14	100
2	Alode	-	-	3	30	1	10	-	-	6	60	10	100
3	Alesa	-	-	3	33.3	-	-	4	44.4	2	22.2	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	2	16.7	7	58.3	-	-	3	25	-	-	12	100
5	Atagba	-	-	2	20	1	10	-	-	7	70	10	100
6	Ikuku	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	5	45.5	4	36.4	11	100
	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	3	20	8	53.3	-	-	4	26.7	-	-	15	100
8	Elekahia	-	-	7	63.6	2	18.2	-	-	2	18.2	11	100
9	Amadi – Ama	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	5	55.6	2	22.2	9	100
	Bony LGA												

10	Bony HQ	-	-	6	60	1	10	3	30	-	-	10	100
11	Dema	-	-	3	37.5	-	-	-	-	5	62.5	8	100
12	Abbey	-	-	-	-	2	18.2	6	54.5	4	36.4	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/ Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	8	72.7	-	-	11	100
14	Ogba	-		2	20	-	-	6	60	2	20	10	100
15	Egbema	-		3	27.3	-	-	4	36.4	4	36.4	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

It is an axiom that demand for local people participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth constituted a major impetus to the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta communities. The youths group no doubt constitute the major component of the local community, the objective of respondents in this table 6.3b. therefore, is to examine the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of these youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth in their respective communities across River State.

The outcome of the survey from Eleme Local Government Area of River State, indicate variation in communities perspectives on the implication of the agitation on the involvement of their youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth. In some communities, for instance, Nchia community, which is the headquarter of the Local Government, it indicate that the agitation had positive implication on the youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth. To demonstrate this position 64.3% of the total respondents maintained that the agitation indeed has led to active participation of youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth. However, 21.4% and 14.3% of the respondent respectively, maintain that the level of youths participation remained partial and non active despite the agitation. Meaning the agitation has no positive implication on the level of youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Nchia community of Eleme Local Government Area of River State.

In (Alode and Alesa) communities in the same Eleme Local Government however, it was clear that the agitation has no positive implication on the level of youths involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth as demonstrated by the larger proportion of respondents across these communities. To be specific, in Alode community, only 30% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to active participation of youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the community. however 60% confirm that there is non-active participation by the youth despite the agitation, where as the remaining 10% did not respond on the issue.

Similarly, in Alesa community of the same Eleme Local Government Area, the situation was similar, as 44.4% and 22.2% of the respondents respectively hold the view

that the level of participation by the youth remain partial and non-active, despite the agitation for Minority rights. Where as, only 33.3% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to active participation of youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the community.

Furthermore, the situation in Andoni Local Government Area, was not impressive as it indicate mixed outcome. While the agitation proved to be of positive implication on youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ngo community, as demonstrated by 58.3% and 16.7% respectively, against 25% who saw the implication as negative.

However, the result in Atagba and Ikuku indicate negative implication of the agitation on the involvement of youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth. In Atagba community for instance only 20% of the respondents said the agitation has led to active participation on the side of the group, 10% did not respond on the issue where as the remaining 70% which constituted the majority maintains that there was non-active participation on the side of the community leaders. In the area of decision making and sharing of National wealth in the community. Similarly, in Ikuku community, the outcome was similar as 45.5% and 36.4% of the respondents respectively, were of the view that the level of participation of the youths remain partial and non-active in decision making and sharing of National wealth, signifying negative implication as against 27.3% only which maintained that the agitation has led to improvement in the level of participation of youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth.

Furthermore, in Port Harcourt Local Government Area, the result indicate negative implication of the agitation on youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth across the selected communities, this was confirmed by majority of the respondents. Statistically, 53.3% and 20% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation has opened space for youths participation in an active and very active manner respectively, in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the community. However, the remaining 26.7% maintained that the implication of the agitation on youth participation was negative as their level of participation remain partial. This signifies that the agitation for Minority rights has positive implication on youths participation in the Port Harcourt community.

However, in Elekahia community in the same Port Harcourt Local Government Area, the result indicate that the agitation has positive implication on the level of youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth, as it open space for their participation in the community. Statistically, 63.6% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation has led to active participation of the youths. Where as, 18.2% did not respond on the issue, while only 18.2% maintained that the implication was negative. The implication of the above is that the agitation for Minority rights has positive implication

on the level of youths involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the Elekahia community.

In Amadi Ama community on the other hand, the result indicates negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth. This was demonstrated by majority of respondents across the community. For instance, only 22.2% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to active participation by the youths. However, 55.6% and 22.2% maintained that the agitation has negative implication on youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth.

Looking at the scenario in Bony Local Government Area, the outcome indicates mixed result. In Bony headquarter for instance, 60% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to active participation by the youths, 10% of the respondents did not respond on the issue, where as the remaining 30% affirm that the agitation did not led to positive result as their participation remained partial, despite the agitation. This implies that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on youth participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Bony community was positive.

However, the outcome from Dema community in the same Bony Local Government Area, indicate negative implication of the agitation on the level of youth participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth. This was confirmed by larger proportion of respondents across the community. Specifically, only 37.5% of the total respondents affirms that the agitation for Minority rights has led to active participation of youths in the community in decision making and sharing of National wealth s. However, 62.5% of the respondents which constituted majority maintained that the agitation did not result in positive implication on youth participation in Dema community. This signifies that the level of involvement of youths in decision making and allocation of National wealth remain non active despite the agitation for Minority rights in the community

In a similar development, the outcome in Abbey community, of the same Bony Local Government Area, indicate that 54.5% and 36.4% of the total respondents hold the view that the level of participation of youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth remains partial and non active respectively, despite the agitation. In essence the agitation has led to negative implication on youth participation in the community. Where as 18.2% of the respondents remain silent on the issue.

Furthermore, the outcome of the survey in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area, seems to indicate negative implication of the agitation on the level of youth participation in decision making and distribution of National wealth s. For instance only 27.3% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation has opened space for active participation by the youths in the community in the area of decision making and sharing of National wealth s. However, the remaining 72.7% maintained that youth

participation has remained unchanged (partial) in Omoku community, despite the agitation. This implies that the agitation for Minority rights did not improve the level of youths involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Omoku community.

In Ogba community, the outcome indicate that only 20% of the respondents hold the view that the agitation has resulted in active participation by the youths. Whereas 60% and the other 20% saw implication of the agitation youth involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the community, as partial and non active respectively.

However, in Egbema community of the same Local Government area, the result indicate negative implication of the agitation on youth participation in decision making as demonstrated by majority of the respondents across the community. For instance 36.4% of the respondents maintain that the level of youth participation remains partial, 27.3% on the other hand said it became active due to the agitation, whereas, 36.5% said it led to the non active participation despite the agitation. This signifies that the agitation for Minority rights has resulted in negative implication on youth participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Egbema community.

In summary, it became clear that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on youths involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area in Rivers State portray negative result as demonstrated by majority of the respondents across the selected communities in the Local Government. From the foregoing analysis, it can be deduce that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights by the Niger-Delta communities in Rivers State has revealed disaggregated results. Since in some communities the results indicate negative implication whereas, in others it portray positive implication. This could be due to the variation in peculiarity of the individual communities that made up the state.

6.4b: Level of Involvement of Vulnerable group: Women and Aged in decision making and National wealth in River State

	Eleme LGA	Very active		Active		No response		Partial		Non active		Total	%
		No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%		
1	Nchia HQ	-	-	-	-	2	14.3	7	50	5	35.7	14	100
2	Alode	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	20	8	80	10	100
3	Alesa	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	3	33.3	4	44.4	9	100
	Andoni LGA												
4	Ngo HQ	-	-	4	33.3	2	16.7	6	50	-	-	12	100
5	Atagba	-	-	-	-	2	20	4	40	4	40	10	100
6	Ikuku	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	2	18.2	6	54.5	11	100

	Port-Harcourt												
7	Port Harcourt HQ	-	-	2	13.3	3	20	7	46.7	3	20	15	100
8	Elekahia	2	18.2	3	27.3	-	-	6	54.5	-	-	11	100
9	Amadi Ama	-	-	3	33.3	-	-	-	-	6	66.7	9	100
	Bony LGA												
10	Bony HQ	-	-	2	20	-	-	3	30	5	50	10	100
11	Dema	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	62.5	3	37.5	8	100
12	Abbey	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	72.7	3	27.3	11	100
	Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni												
13	Omoku HQ	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	6	54.5	3	27.3	11	100
14	Ogba	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	30	7	70	10	100
15	Egbema	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	6	54.5	3	27.3	11	100
	Total											162	100

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The objective of respondents in table 6.4b is to examine the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the involvement of vulnerable group: women and weak in decision making and sharing of the National wealth in Rivers State. In other words to examine whether or not the agitation for Minority rights has improved the level of participation of vulnerable group in decision making and distribution of National wealth in the state.

From communities in Eleme Local Government Area, the outcome in aggregate term indicate the agitation did not yield any positive result as demonstrated by the most of respondents across the various communities in the area. Specifically in Nchia community, which is the headquarter of the Local Government, 14.3% of the respondents did not respond on the issue. However, 50% and 35.7% of the respondents said the implication of the agitation on the participation of vulnerable groups was partial and non active respectively. This implies negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the involvement of vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Nchia local community of Eleme Local Government Area.

In the same vein, the result from the Alode community of the same Local Government indicate consensus on the negativity of the implication. Here 80% of the respondents were of the view that the implication of the agitation was non active participation by the group. Whereas, the remaining 20% maintain that it led to partial participation on the side of the vulnerable group. This signifies that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights in Alode community on the participation of the group is negative, as it result in non active and partial participation of the group in decision

making and sharing of National wealth benefits. Similarly, in Alesa community of the same Eleme Local Government Area, only 22.2% of the respondents affirm that the agitation has led to active participation of the group. However, the remaining 44.4% and 33.3% of the respondents respectively, opine that the agitation results in non active and partial participation by vulnerable groups in Alesa community.

Examining the situation in Andoni Local Government, it was clear that the agitation did not seem to have favoured the participation of the vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of the oil benefit. This position was amply demonstrated by majority of the respondents across the constituent units of the Local Government.

In most specific term, the survey in Ngo community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area happened to be the first point to this view. This is because only 33.3% of the respondents saw the agitation as leading to active participation by the vulnerable group, 16.7% of the respondents remain silent on the issue, whereas the remaining 50% of the respondents which constituted the majority affirm that the agitation has resulted in partial participation by women, and the weak in decision making and sharing of the National wealth benefits in Ngo community.

However, in Atagba community of the same Local Government Area, with the exception of 20% of the respondents which choose to remain silent, the remaining 80% of the respondents opine that the implication of the agitation on the participation of vulnerable group is negative. Moreover, in Ikuku community of the same Adoni Local Government Area, the result is not much different as only 27.3% of the respondents affirm that the agitation has led to active participation of women, and weak in decision making and distribution of resources in the community. whereas 54.5% and 18.2% of the respondents respectively, stated that despite the agitation, the involvement of vulnerable group did not appreciate as it remain non active and partial respectively thereby symbolizing negative implication.

Furthermore, the outcome of the survey across selected communities in Port Harcourt Local Government Area, in aggregate term show negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the involvement of vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of the National wealth in their respective communities. This view was confirmed by majority of respondents across the sampled communities. In Port Harcourt community for instance the outcome indicate negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of the vulnerable group, as only 13.3% of the respondents believe that the agitation has indeed led to active participation in the area, 20% remain silent, whereas the remaining 46.7% and 20% respectively, maintain that the implication of the agitation was negative.

In Elekahia community on the other hand, 18.2% saw their participation as very active, 27.3% said it was active. However, 54.5% of the respondents affirm that the implication of the agitation is negative as their level of participation in decision making

and sharing of National wealth remain partial in the community. This implies that the agitation for Minority rights has negative implication on the vulnerable group participation in decision making and distribution of National wealth in the community. In Amadi –Ama community, the result indicate that 33.3% of the respondents affirm that the agitation has led to active participation by the vulnerable group. However, 66.7% of the respondents opine that the level of the group participation remain non-active, despite the agitation, this implies that the agitation has negative implication on their participation. In summary it is clear that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation by women and the weak in Port Harcourt Local Government was negative.

Furthermore, the survey in Bony Local Government Area, revealed that the agitation for Minority rights has negatively affected the participation of vulnerable group in decision making. This was demonstrated by majority of respondents across the communities. In Bony community for instance only 20% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation has improved their level of participation to be active. However 50% and 30% of the respondents respectively maintain that their participation has remained non active and partial in the community despite the agitation. This suggest that the agitation has impacted negatively on the level of participation of the vulnerable group in decision making and resource distribution in Bony community.

Similarly in Dema community, of the same Local Government Area, the result indicate that 62.5% of the respondents believe that the agitation has resulted in partial participation by the group, whereas, the remaining 37.5% affirm that it remain non active despite the agitation. The results was not different in Abbey community, as 72.7% rated the level of participation of the vulnerable group as partial, while the remaining 27.3% maintain that it was non active inspite of the agitation, implying negative implication.

Looking at the situation in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area. The result indicate similar but slightly different. In Omoku community, only 18.2% of the respondents saw the effects of the agitation on the participation of vulnerable group in decision making and resource distribution as active against 54.5% and 27.3% which maintain that the participation remain partial and non active irrespective of the agitation. Similarly, in Ogba community all the respondents confirmed the implication of the agitation on the involvement of vulnerable group as negative. To butress this, 70% of the respondents affirm that the participation remain non active, while the remaining 30% saw the participation as partial. On this note, it is even clearer that the agitation for Minority rights did not led to impressive result in the area of the participation of women and the weak respectively.

In another development the survey in Egbema community revealed that only 18.2% believe that the agitation has led to active participation. Whereas 54.5% and 27.3% all maintain that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights did not impact negatively on the participation of vulnerable group in Egbema community. In sum the

agitation for Minority rights has negative implication on the level of participation of women, and the weak in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government Area, in River State.

From the foregoing presentation, it is clear that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of the vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of the National wealth in the Niger Delta oil producing communities in Rivers State prove abortive, as demonstrated by the most of respondents in all the Local Government Area, selected in Rivers State. This does not however, mean that there is complete absence of improvement in their level of participation in all the communities but the quantum of the improvement is insignificant to warrant any change in the implication.

SECTION C

6.1.3 The implication of the Agitation for Minority rights on the Level of Community Participation in Decision Making and Sharing of National wealth in Delta State

One of the key factor identified as the major causes of the agitation for Minority rights by the Niger Delta oil producing communities is the perceived marginalization of host communities in the area of decision making and the distribution of National wealth. It is against this background that these communities began to clamour for adequate inclusion into the mainstream of decision making and distribution of vital resource.

This section therefore examine whether or not the agitation for Minority rights has led to improvement in the level of participation of community members in general in Delta State. However for the purpose of clarity the community members are divided into: political office holders/public officials, community leaders which include (traditional and religious leaders), youth group and the vulnerable group made up of women and the aged as components of the community. The section analyzed the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of each of these components in specific constituent units across selected Local Government Area in Delta State.

6.1c: Political Office holders/Public Officials participation in decision making and distribution of National wealth in Delta State

		Very active		Active		No response		Partial		Non active		Total	%
		No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%		
1	Ogwashi Uku	2	16.7	8	66.7	-	-	2	16.7	-	-	12	100
2	Adonte	4	44.4	3	33.3	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	9	100

3	Ewalu	-	-	4	50	-	-	3	37.5	1	12.5	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	2	14.3	7	50	-	-	2	14.3	4	28.7	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	5	45.5	2	18.2	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	2	16.7	6	50	-	-	4	33.3	-	-	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	6	46.2	2	15.4	-	-	5	38.5	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	3	33.3	2	22.2	-	-	4	44.4	9	100
9	Ellume	-	-	2	20	5	50	5	50	-	-	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	3	25	7	58.3	-	-	2	16.7	-	-	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	-	-	2	22.2	7	77.8	-	-	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	2	25	-	-	4	50	2	25	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	3	21.4	6	42.9	-	-	5	35.7	-	-	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	5	62.5	1	12.5	2	25	-	-	8	100
15	Jeddo	2	25	2	25	-	-	-	-	5	50	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The objective of table 6.1c is to examine the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of political office holders/public officials in decision making and distribution of National wealth benefits in Delta State. The outcome of the survey in aggregate term, indicate that the agitation for Minority rights has significantly increase the level of participation of this group in most of the communities across the various Local Government Areas of Delta State. This does not however, mean that not all communities benefited from this development. This was supported by majority of the respondents who confirmed this.

Beginning with Anoicha South Local Government Area, of Delta State, the outcome of the survey indicate positive implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of political office holders/public officials. To confirm this further, in Ogwashi Uku community, which is the headquarter of the Local Government, only 16.7% of the total respondents believe that their level of participation remain partial. However, 66.7% and 16.7% maintain that the agitation has indeed led to active and very active involvement of the political office holders/public officials in decision making and distribution of resources. This implies that, the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of political office holders/public officials was positively inclined.

Similarly in Adonte community in Anoicha South Local Government Area it was clear that, the implication of the agitation on the participation of political office holders/public officials is impressive. To confirm this, 44.4% and 33.3% of the

respondents respectively, rated the implication as very active and active participation respectively, as against only 22.2% of the respondents who maintain that their level of participation remain non active despite the agitation. This signifies that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of this group in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Adonte community, of Anoicha South Local Government Area of Delta State was positive.

In another vein, the outcome of the survey in Ewalu community of the same Local Government area, implied positive implication on the involvement of political office holders/public officials in decision making and distribution of resource benefit as confirmed by larger proportion of respondents across the community. For instance 50% of the respondents affirm that the agitation has resulted in active participation on the side of the group as against 37.5% and 12.5% respectively, which maintain that the level of participation of political office holders/public officials remain partial and non active respectively, in Ewalu community of Anoicha South Local Government Area.

Looking at the situation in Warri South Local Government Area, the outcome was disaggregating implication. Specifically, in Warri community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area the result indicate positive implication of the agitation on the involvement of the said group. For instance, 50% and 14.3% of the respondents rated the implication as active and very active participation respectively, against 14.3% who said it was partial and 28.7% of the respondents which believe it was non active participation. This signifies positive implication of the agitation on the participation of political office holders/public officials in decision making and distribution of National wealth in Warri community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Furthermore, the outcome of the survey in Obodo community of the same Warri South Local Government Area was similar but slightly different as most of the respondents demonstrate that the agitation has negative implication on the level of involvement of political office holders/public officials in decision making and distribution of resources in Obodo community of Warri South Local Government. To confirm this, 27.3% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation has led to active participation by the said group. However 45.5% and 18.2% of the respondents affirm that the level of participation of the political office holders/public officials remain partial and non active respectively. This signifies that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of political office holders/public officials was negative in Obodo community.

Invariably, the outcome of the survey in Gbene-matu community, of the same Local Government Area indicate impressive implication of the agitation on the participation of the political office holders/public officials in the community, as 50% of the respondents affirmed that the agitation has led to active participation, 16.7% said the participation has even increase to very active level against the remaining 33.3% of the

respondents who rated it as partial participation. This implies that, the implication of the agitation is positive on the involvement of political office holders/public officials in Gbene-matu community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

In summary, it is clear that the agitation for Minority rights has produce variant outcome in Warri South, Local Government Area of Delta State. While the result of the survey indicated that the implication of the agitation on the said group in Warri and Gbene-matu communities was positive, it proves to be negative in the Obodo community of the same Local Government Area, as demonstrated by most of responses across the selected communities.

By and large, in Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State, the outcome was not much different from what is tenable in Warri South as it also indicated disaggregated implication of the agitation. In some communities it was positive, whereas in others it prove to be negative. Specifically, in Sapele community the result indicate that 42.2% of the total respondents believe that the agitation has led to active participation in the community, 15.4% remain silent on the issue. Whereas the remaining 38.5% affirm that the involvement remain non active despite the agitation. Meaning the agitation has affected the level of participation of political office holders/public officials positively in Sapele community of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State.

However, there was slight departure in the outcome from Amukpe community, where the result indicate negative implication. Here only 13.3% of the respondents affirm that the agitation has led to active participation of the group in decision making and distribution of National wealth s. However, 44.4% believe that it led to non active participation on the side of the group, whereas, the remaining 22.2% did not respond on the issue. This implies negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of political office holders/public officials in Amukpe community of Sapele Local Government Area.

In Elume, community on the other hand, only 20% of the respondents believe that the agitation for Minority rights has led to active participation by political office holders/public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth, 30% remain silent on the issue. Whereas, 50% which constituted majority of the respondents maintain that the level of participation remain partial despite the agitation. This signifies negative implication of the agitation on level of involvement of political office holders/public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Elume community of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State. In sum, the agitation for Minority rights has produced negative implication on Amukpe and Elume communities while in Sapele community, it was positive implication with regard to participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Delta State.

Looking at the scenario in Isoko North Local Government Area, the outcome was not much different from what exist in Sapele Local Government Area, as it indicate

mixed implication. For instance in Ozoro community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area, 58.3% and 235% of the respondents respectively maintain that the agitation has resulted to active and very active participation of the group in decision making and sharing of National wealth. However the remaining 16.7% affirm that the level of participation remain partial inspite of the agitation in Ozoro community. In a similar vein, the result in Ofagbe community of the same Local Government Area revealed that the level of participation remain partial notwithstanding the agitation, a situation that implies lack of positive implication. To confirm this position, 77.8% of the respondents maintain that the agitation resulted in partial involvement of political office holders/public officials in decision making and distribution of National wealth. Whereas the remaining 22.2% did not even respond on the issue.

In Ellu community of the same Isoko North Local Government Area, it was clear that the agitation has result in partial participation by the political office holders/public officials. In the sense that most of the respondents confirmed this. As only, 25% of the respondents believe that the outcome was active participation. However, 50% of the respondents saw the implication as partial participation, whereas, the other 25% believe that the result in non active participation. This implies that the agitation has negative implication on the level of involvement of political office holders/public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ellu community of Isoko North Local Government Area, of Delta State.

Moreover, the outcome of the survey in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State, shows similar but distinct result as it indicate positive implication in two communities against negative in the remaining one community as demonstrated by majority of the respondents across the Local Government Area. For instance, in Effurun community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area, it was clear that the agitation for Minority rights has paved way for improvement in the level of involvement of political office holders/public officials in decision making and sharing of National wealth. To prove this further only 35.7% of the respondents were of the view that their level of participation remain partial inspite of the agitation, as against 42.9% and 21.4% of the respondents who affirm that the agitation has indeed resulted in active and very active participation by the said group in decision making and distribution of National wealth in Effurun community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Similarly, the outcome from Ekpan community of the same Warri South Local Government Area, was impressive. It revealed that 62.5% of the respondents maintained that the agitation has led to active participation by the group in decision making and sharing National wealth. However 12.5% did not respond on the issue, whereas the remaining 25% said their participation remain partial, notwithstanding, the long period of agitation for improvement. This implies positive implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of political office holders/public

officials in decision making and distribution of resources in Ekpan community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

Last but not the least, the outcome in Jeddo community of the same Urwie Local Government Area indicate that the agitation for Minority rights has resulted in lack of clear cut implication, as the outcome indicate half positive and half negative implication. To demonstrate this, 50% of the respondents shows that the agitation has resulted in active and very active participation by the said group in decision making and sharing of National wealth benefits respectively. However, the other 50% saw the agitation as resulting in partial participation by the group.

Based on the foregoing analysis, it is clear that the agitation for Minority rights has no doubt improve the level of involvement of political office holders/public officials in decision making and access to National wealth in Delta State judging by the views of the majority of the respondents across the selected communities in the state. This does not however, mean that there are no communities that have not benefited from this gesture, save that those communities that benefited have out numbered those that did no benefit, hence the conclusion.

6.2c: Level of Involvement of Community Leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Delta State

		Very active		Active		No response		Partial		Non active		Total	%
		No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%		
1	Aniocha South Ogwashi Uku	-	-	6	50	2	16.7	4	33.3	-	-	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	4	44.4	2	22.2	-	-	3	33.3	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	37.5	5	62.5	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	-	-	7	50	2	14.3	-	-	5	35.7	14	100
5	Obodo	2	18.2	-	-	3	27.3	-	-	6	54.5	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	3	25	-	-	4	33.3	5	41.7	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	8	61.5	-	-	3	23.1	2	15.2	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	6	66.7	-	-	2	22.2	1	12.5	9	100
9	Ellume	2	20	3	30	-	-	-	-	5	50	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	3	25	5	41.7	1	12.5	3	25	-	-	12	100

11	Ofagbe	-	-	2	22.2	-	-	5	55.6	2	22.2	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	4	50	-	-	2	25	2	25	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	2	14.3	7	50	-	-	5	35.7	-	-	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	3	37.5	-	-	-	-	5	62.5	8	100
15	Jeddo	2	25	-	-	-	-	6	75	-	-	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The main task of respondents in table 6.2c was to examine the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the Niger-Delta communities of Delta State on the level of involvement of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth across the various communities in Delta State. Arising from the general analysis, it was clear that the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger – Delta oil producing communities in Delta State has enhance the level of participation of the community leaders in most communities in the state in decision making and sharing of National wealth. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents in the sampled communities across the state. In Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State, the survey revealed that the agitation had positive implication on the participation of this group in Ogwashi Uku and Adonte communities, where as the implication was negative in Ewalu community of the same Local Government Area. In Ogwashi – Uku community for instance, 50% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to active participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth . However, 33.3% of the respondents maintained that their participation remain partial inspite of the agitation, where as the remaining 16.7% did not respond on the issue.

The result was similar in Adnote community of the same Local Government Area, as 44.4% believe that the agitation has led to active participation by community leaders in decision making and national wealth distribution. However, 33.3% of the respondents maintain that the agitation has resulted in non-active participation, while the remaining 22.2% remain silent on the issue. However, in Ewalu community all the respondents maintain that the agitation has negative implication on their participation, as 37.5% affirmed the implication was partial participation, the remaining 62.8% believe that the participation remain non –active inspite of the agitation. This signifies negative implication on the participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ewalu community of Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Looking at the situation in Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State, the result revealed that in Warri community, which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area, the agitation has led to active participation of the community leaders in decision making and resources allocation. Statistically, 50% of the respondents affirm

that the agitation has led to active participation by the group. However 14.3% remain silent on the issue, while the remaining 35.7% said the participation remained non-active despite the agitation.

However, in Obodo community, of the same Local Government Area, the result was distinct as only 18.2% of the respondents maintain that the agitation has led to active participation on the side of the community leaders, 27.3% did not respond on the issue, where as those that believe that the participation of the group remain non-active, inspite of the agitation constitute 54.5%. In essence the agitation for Minority rights did not led to active participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Obodo community, of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State. Similarly, in Gbene-matu community of the same Local Government, the implication was negative as only 25% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to active participation by the community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the community, as against 41.7% and 33.3% of respondents who affirmed that the level of participation of the community leaders remain non-active and partial respectively in Gbene-matu community of Warri South Local Government Area.

Furthermore, in Sapele Local Government Area, the survey revealed that in Sapele and Amukpe communities the implication was positive, whereas in Ellume community on the other hand however, the outcome is neutral as 50% of the respondents saw the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of community leaders as active and non-active respectively, as against the other 50% of the respondent who believe that, the effect was non-active participation. Specifically, in Sapele community, 61.5% of the respondents believe that the agitation has resulted in active participation by the community leaders in decision making and national wealth distribution. However, 23.1% and 15.2% of the respondents respectively affirmed that their participation remain partial and non-active respectively. This signifies positive implication of the agitation on the level of involvement of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Warri community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Similarly, 66.7% of the respondents in Amukpe community of the same Sapele Local Government Area maintained that the implication of the agitation is active participation by the community leaders in decision making and sharing of national wealth. Whereas, 22.2% and 12.5% of the respondents affirmed the implication of the agitation as partial and non-active participation. Therefore, since most of the respondents are of the view that agitation has led to active participation by the group. It is concluded that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of community leaders in decision making and resource distribution was positive in Amukpe community of Sapele Local Government.

Examining the implication of the agitation for Minority rights in Isoko North Local Government Area on the other hand revealed that, while the implication is positive in Ozoro community, it was negative and neutral, in (Ofagbe and Ellu) communities respectively.

Statistically, 41.7% and 25% of the respondents in Ozoro community affirms that the agitation has resulted in active and very active participation by the community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth respectively, 12.5% remain silent on the issue, where as the remaining 25% saw the implication as partial participation. In Ofagbe community in the same Local Government Area, only 22.2% of the respondents saw the implication of the agitation as active participation by the community leaders. However, 55.6% and 22.2% of the respondents maintain that the implication on the community was (negative) partial and non-active participation by community leaders in decision making and sharing of national wealth in Ofagbe community of Isoko-North Local Government Area of Delta State.

In Ellu community of the same Local Government Area, 50% of the respondents saw the implication of the agitation for Minority rights as active participation by the community leaders, where as the remaining 50% affirmed that their participation remain partial and non-active, despite the agitation in Ellu community of Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State.

In addition, the outcome of the survey for Urwie Local Government Area, show disaggregated implication of the agitation on community leaders participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth . For instance in Effurun community which is the headquarter of the Local Government Area, it was clear that, (50% and 14.4%) of the respondents rated the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth as active and very active participation respectively, against the remaining 35.7% who saw it as partial in Effurun community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

The outcome in Ekpan community, of the same Urwie Local Government Area, was distinct as only 37.5% of the respondents affirms that the agitation has resulted in active participation by the community leaders in decision making and national wealth distribution. However, the remaining 62.5% of the respondents maintain that despite the agitation their level of participation remain non-active as far as decision making and sharing of National wealth is concerned in Ekpan community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State. Lastly, the outcome in Jeddo community indicated negative implication on the level of participation of community leaders in decision making and distribution of National wealth. To confirm this, only 25% of the respondents believe that the agitation has resulted in active participation by the group against 75% of the respondents who rated the implication as partial participation by the community

leaders in decision making and National wealth allocation in Jeddo community of Urwie Local Government Area of delta State.

6.3c: Level of Youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Delta State

		Very active		Active		No response		Partial		Non active		Total	%
		No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%		
1	Aniocha South Ogwashi Uku	3	25	6	50	-	-	3	25	-	-	12	100
2	Adonte	3	33.3	-	-	1	11.1	5	55.6	-	-	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	2	25	-	-	2	25	4	50	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	4	28.7	7	50	-	-	-	-	2	14.3	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	2	18.2	-	-	3	27.3	5	54.5	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	4	33.3	-	-	2	16.7	6	50	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	5	38.5	2	15.4	2	15.4	4	30.8	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	3	33.4	-	-	-	-	6	66.7	9	100
9	Ellume	-	-	2	20	-	-	3	30	5	50	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	2	16.7	6	50	-	-	4	33.3	-	-	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	3	33.3	2	22.2	-	-	4	44.4	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	3	37.5	-	-	5	62.5	-	-	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	-	-	8	57.1	2	14.3	4	28.7	-	-	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	5	62.5	-	-	3	37.5	-	-	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	2	25	3	37.5	3	37.5	-	-	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The objective of respondents in table 6.3c was to examine the implication of the agitation for Minority rights in the oil producing communities of Delta State on the level of youths involvement in decision making and distribution of National wealth since youths as a group constitute one of the major components of the community at large. The outcome of the survey in the 15 selected communities across the five sampled Local Government Areas in Delta State shows disaggregated implication, as it proved to be positive in some communities and negative in the other communities depending on the peculiarity of the terrain of individuals communities and their access to policy benefits.

The above outcome was confirmed by most of the respondents across the sampled communities.

In Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State, the survey revealed that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of youth involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth was positive in Ogwashi-Uku community. Whereas, in (Adonte and Ewalu) communities all of Aniocha South, Delta State it was negative respectively. To demonstrate this further, it was clear in Ogwashi-Uku, that 50% and 25% of the respondents, maintain that the implication of the agitation on youth participation was active and very active respectively. Whereas, the remaining 25% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation has led to partial participation by youths in Ogwashi – Uku community. This signifies positive implication of the agitation on youth participation in decision making and sharing of national wealth in Ogwashi-Uku community of Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State.

However, the result was distinct in Adonte community, where only 33.3% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation has resulted in very active participation by the group in the area. However, 55.6% of the respondents maintain that the participation by the youth group in Adonte community has remain partial despite the agitation. Whereas the remaining 11.1% did not respond on the issue. In essence it is concluded that the agitation for Minority rights has negative implication on youth involvement in decision making and access to National wealth in Adonte community of Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Similarly, in Ewalu community the outcome indicated that 50% and 25% of the respondents were of the view that the implication of the agitation was non-active and partial participation by youths in the community. Whereas, only 25% believe that the agitation has led to active participation by the youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth. The implication of the above findings is that the agitation for Minority rights on youth participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth was negative in Ewalu community of Aniocha South Local Government of Delta State.

Furthermore, the outcome of the survey in Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State was not much different from what existed in Aniocha South Local Government Area. Here, the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of youth participation in decision making and distribution of National wealth was found to be positive in Warri community, whereas negative in Obodo and Gbene-matu communities of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Specifically, in Warri community 50% and 28.7% of the respondents maintained that the agitation has resulted in active and very active involvement of youth in decision making and sharing of National wealth respectively. Whereas the remaining 14.3% said the participation by the group remain partial despite the agitation for Minority rights in the community. On this note, it could be inferred that the agitation has resulted in active

involvement of youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Warri community of Warri South Local Government Area of delta State.

In a contra-distinction, the outcome in Obodo community of the same Local Government Area. Only 18.2% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation has led to active participation by the youths in the community, against 54.5% and 27.3% who affirmed that the level of the youths involvement in decision making and distribution of national wealth has remain non active and partial in Obodo community. This signifies that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on youth participation in Obodo community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State was negative.

In a similar development, the situation in Gbene-matu community of the same Local Government area was not quite distinct from what exists in Obodo community as only 33.3% of the respondents maintained that the implication of the agitation on youth participation was active participation. However, 50% and 16.7% of the respondents collectively saw the implication as non active and partial participation. In essence the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on youth participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Gbene-matu community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State was negative.

Regarding the issue, in Sapele Local Government Area, of Delta State. The survey revealed fair result in Sapele community and negative outcome in both Amukpe and Elume communities of Sapele Local Government Area, of Delta State on the issue of the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on youth involvement in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State. In Sapele community for instance, 38.5% of the respondents maintained that the agitation has led to active involvement of youth in decision making and sharing of national wealth the community. However, 15.4% of the respondents remain silent on the issue, whereas, 30.8% and the other 15.4% maintain that the level of participation of youths remain non active and partial, despite the agitation. This result indicates closed tie between those in support of the positive implication of the agitation and those against it irrespectively.

Furthermore, in Amukpe community of the same Local Government only 33.4% of the respondents saw the implication of the agitation on youth participation as positive against 66.7% of the respondents which constituted the larger proportion of the respondents who maintained that the implication is non active participation and negative for that reason. Similarly, in Elume community only 20% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to active involvement of youths in decision-making and resource distribution in the community. Whereas, the remaining 50% and 30% of the respondents collectively saw the implication as non active and partial participation respectively.

Looking at the situation in Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State, the survey revealed a disaggregated implication suggesting variation in community peculiarities in terms of terrain and access to policy benefit. In Ozoro community, which

is the headquarter of the Local Government for instance, 50% and 16.7% of the respondents which constituted the majority affirmed that the implication of the agitation on youth participation as active and very active respectively against the remaining 33.3% who maintained that their level of participation remain partial, notwithstanding, the momentum of the agitation in the community.

Similarly, in Ofagbe community of the same Isoko North Local Government Area, 33.3% of the respondents maintained that the agitation has led to positive implication on youth participation, 22.2% remain silent on the issue, whereas 44.4% who constituted the majority maintain that the implication of the agitation was non active participation suggesting negative implication on youth involvement in decision making and sharing of vital National wealth in Ofagbe community of Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State. In Ellu community, the result clearly indicate negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of the youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth as negative. To confirm this, only 37.5% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation has resulted in active participation on the side of the youth, against 62.5% of the respondents who view otherwise. This implies negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of youth participation in decision-making and distribution of national wealth in Ellu community of Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State.

In addition, the outcome of the survey on the implication of agitation for Minority rights on the level of youths involvement in decision making and access to National wealth show that the implication was positive in (Effuru and Ekpan) communities of Urwie Local Government Area, against Jeddo community in the same Local Government where the implication is negative. In Effurun for instance, 57.1% of the respondents maintained that the agitation has led to active involvement of youths in the community, 14.3% remain silent on the issue, while, only 28.7% of the respondents maintain that the level of youth involvement in decision making and distribution of resource remain partial despite the agitation. In essence the agitation for Minority rights has led to positive implication on the level of youth participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Effurun community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

Similarly, the survey in Ekpan community of the same Local Government Area, revealed that 62.5% of the respondents maintained that the agitation has led to active participation against 37.5% who affirmed that the level of participation remain partial despite the agitation. This signifies that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights was positive on youths involvement in decision-making and distribution of national wealth in Ekpan community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State. Last but not the least in Jeddo community of the same Local Government Area, the survey revealed that only 25% of the respondents maintained that the agitation has led to active participation by the youths in the community. 37.5% remain silent on the issue,

whereas, the other 37.5% maintain that the implication of the agitation was partial participation and negative for that matter.

Based on the foregoing analysis, it is clear that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights by the Niger Delta oil producing communities in Delta State has revealed disaggregated results with respect to the implication of the agitation on the level of involvement of the youths in decision making and sharing of National wealth in their respective communities across the state which varies in quantum and dimension owing to peculiar nature of the communities involved.

6.4c: Involvement of Vulnerable group: Women and the weak in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Delta State

		Very active		Active		No response		Partial		Non active		Total	%
		No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%	No of resp	%		
	Aniocha South												
1	Ogwashi Uku	-	-	5	41.7	3	25	2	16.7	2	16.7	12	100
2	Adonte	-	-	3	33.3	-	-	2	22.2	4	44.4	9	100
3	Ewalu	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	75	2	25	8	100
	Warri South												
4	Wari HQ	-	-	3	21.4	2	14.3	7	50	2	14.3	14	100
5	Obodo	-	-	6	54.5	2	18.2	3	27.3	-	-	11	100
6	Gbene-Matu	-	-	2	16.7	-	-	4	33.3	6	50	12	100
	Sapele												
7	Sapele HQ	-	-	4	30.8	2	15.4	7	53.8	-	-	13	100
8	Amukpe	-	-	2	22.2	3	33.3	-	-	4	44.4	9	100
9	Ellume	-	-	3	30	2	20	-	-	5	50	10	100
	Isoko-North												
10	Ozoro HQ	-	-	4	33.3	-	-	5	41.7	3	25	12	100
11	Ofagbe	-	-	3	33.3	-	-	-	-	6	66.7	9	100
12	Ellu	-	-	3	37.5	-	-	5	62.5	-	-	8	100
	Urwie												
13	Effurun HQ	-	-	3	21.4	2	14.3	9	64.3	-	-	14	100
14	Ekpan	-	-	2	25	-	-	6	75	-	-	8	100
15	Jeddo	-	-	2	25	1	12.5	-	-	5	62.5	8	100
	Total											158	

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The task before respondents in table 6.4c was to examine the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of the vulnerable group: women and the weak in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the Niger Delta oil

producing communities of Delta State. The outcome of the survey in aggregate term reveals that the implication of the agitation on the participation of vulnerable group in decision-making and distribution of national wealth as negative was demonstrated by majority of the respondents.

In Aniocha South Local Government Area, it was clear that the implication was a mixed one. For instance, in Ogwashi Uku community which is the headquarters of the Local Government Area, the outcome revealed that 41.7% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to active participation by the group in decision making and sharing of national wealth, 25% of the respondents did not respond on the issue. Whereas 16.7% of the respondent each maintained that the level of participation of the group remain partial and non-active despite the agitation. This implies positive implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of the vulnerable group in Ogwashi Uku community of Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Similarly, in Adonte community in the same Local Government Area, the result indicated negative implication of the agitation on the level of involvement of vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of National wealth. This was demonstrated by majority of the respondents, as only 33.3% of the respondents maintained that the agitation has led to active participation by the group in decision making and distribution of resources in the community. However, 44.4% and 22.2% of the respondents respectively maintain that the level of participation of the group remain non-active and partial, despite the agitation signifying negative implication on the group in Adonte community of Aniocha South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Similarly, in Ewalu community all the respondents affirmed negative implication of the agitation on the level of involvement of the vulnerable group in decision making and distribution of national wealth as 75% rated the implication as partial, whereas the remaining 25% said it was non-active participation. In essence the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of vulnerable group: women and the weak in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ewalu community of Aniocha Local Government Area of Delta State was negative.

Looking at the situation in Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State, it was revealed that the implication of the agitation on vulnerable group was negative, in (Warri and Gbene-matu) communities of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State respectively, as against Obodo community of the same Local Government, where it proved to be positive. Specifically, in Warri community which is the headquarters of Warri South Local Government Area, only 21.4% of the respondents affirm that the implication of the agitation in the community was active. Whereas, 14.3% did not respond on the issue, while 50% and the other 14.3% believe that the implication of the agitation on the vulnerable group was partial and non-active participation respectively, in Warri community, in Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

However, in Obodo community of the same Local Government Area, the outcome indicated positive implication of the agitation on the level of vulnerable group participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the community. To demonstrate this 54.5% of the respondents affirmed that the agitation has led to active participation of the group in the community where as 18.2% of the respondents remain silent on the issue, while 27.3% maintained that it was partial participation. This signifies negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of local people (vulnerable group) in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Obodo community, of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

However, in Gbene-matu community, the implication of the agitation was negative in the area of involvement of vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the community. This was confirmed by majority of the respondents. For instance, only 16.7% of the respondents saw the agitation as resulting in active participation by the group. However, 50% and 37.5% respectively opines that their participation remain non active and partial all together, despite the tempo of the agitation in the community which signifies negative implication of the agitation on the participation of the vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Gbene-matu community of Warri South Local Government Area of Delta State.

Furthermore, the outcome of the survey in Sapele Local Government Area, show negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of vulnerable groups in decision making and sharing of National wealth in all the selected communities in the Local Government Area. For instance, in Sapele community only 30.8% of the respondents maintained that the agitation has resulted in active participation by the vulnerable group in decision-making and distribution of national wealth in the community, 15.4% of the respondents remain silent on the issue. Where as the remaining 53.8% of the respondents saw the implication of the agitation as partial participation by the group. This signifies negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of the vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Sapele community, of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State.

The outcome of the survey in Amukpe community, was similar but slightly different from what exist in Sapele community. Here, only 22.2% of the respondents saw the implication of the agitation as active participation, 33.3% did not respond on the issue, where as the remaining 44.4% maintained that their level of participation remain non-active despite the agitation. This signifies negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of women and the weak in decision making and accessibility to vital resource benefit in Amukpe community of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State.

Similarly, the result in Elume community of the same Local Government Area, indicate that only 30% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to active

participation by the group, 20% remain silent on the issue, where as the remaining 50% of the respondents which constituted the majority maintained that the agitation has resulted in negative implication on the level of participation of the vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Elume community of Sapele Local Government Area of Delta State.

Invariably, the outcome of the survey in Isoko North Local Government Area revealed that the implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the community was negative in all the selected communities viz (Ozoro, Ofagbe and Ellu) communities respectively. Specifically in Ozoro community 33.3% of the respondents affirmed that the agitation has led to active participation by the group, whereas 41.7% and 25% of the respondents respectively affirm that the implication of the agitation on the level of participation of the vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of National wealth was partial and non active respectively, implying negative implication.

In Ofagbe community of the same Local Government Area on the other hand only 33.3% of the respondents maintained that the agitation has led to active participation by the vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of national wealth in the community as against 66.7% of the respondent which saw the implication as negative. This signifies negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of involvement of the vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ofagbe community of Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State.

In Ellu community of Isoko North Local Government Area, on the other hand the outcome was not much distinct as it indicated negative implication of the agitation for Minority rights on the level of participation of the vulnerable group in decision making and distribution of National wealth benefit. Statistically, only 37.5% of the respondents were of the view that the agitation has resulted in active participation of the group on issue related decision making and sharing of the state resource, where as the remaining 62.5% of the respondents which constituted the majority maintained that the implication of the agitation on the level of participation of the vulnerable in the community is negative. Since their level of involvement, remain partial despite the momentum for the agitation across the community.

Examining the scenario in Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State, the result revealed negative implication in all the selected communities across the Local Government Area. This position was also confirmed by majority of the respondent across these communities. Specifically, the result in Effurun community revealed that only 21.4% of the respondents affirmed that the agitation has led to active participation by the group. Where as 64.3% of the respondents maintained that the implication of the agitation was negative on the involvement of the group in the community. While the remaining 14.3% of the respondents remain silent; on the issue. This signifies that the agitation for Minority rights has negative implication on the participation of the women

and the weak in decision making and sharing of National wealth in the Effurun community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

Similarly, in Ekpan community of the same Urwie Local Government Area, the outcome indicate only 25% of the respondents were of the view that the implication of the agitation was active participation, on the side of the vulnerable group in the community, as against 75% of the respondents who believe that the agitation indeed had negative implication on the level of involvement of vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Ekpan community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

Furthermore, the result of the survey was not distinct in Jeddo community of the same Local Government Area, as only 25% of the respondents believe that the agitation has led to active participation of the vulnerable group in decision making and sharing of resources in the community, against 62.5% of the remaining respondents who saw the implication as negative on the involvement of women, children and the aged in the decision making process and sharing of National wealth in Jeddo community of Urwie Local Government Area of Delta State.

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that despite the disaggregated nature of the result drawn from the survey, it is obvious that the dominant view of the respondents from the selected communities across the state was tilted toward negative implication. On the strength of this, it is therefore, concluded that the agitation for Minority rights in the oil producing, communities of Delta State has not led to appreciable level of participation by the vulnerable group: women the weak among others in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Delta State.

6.2 SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS

One of the objectives of this study is to examine the impact of the agitation for minority rights on the livelihood of the Niger-Delta communities across three selected states of the Niger Delta namely; Bayelsa, Rivers and Delta. The study utilized certain parameters for measuring livelihood such as (water Health, Road, Education, Employment, income and electricity). Beginning with the impact of the agitation for minority rights on the water component of livelihood the following result became eminent.

In Bayelsa state it was revealed that the agitation did not result in impressive impact in the area of provision water to its citizenry since out of the 16 communities surveyed across the four local Government areas sampled only five communities benefits, while the remaining eleven communities did not benefit. Comparatively, at local Government

level it was revealed that only Brass Local Government area of all the four selected in Bayelsa state has recorded highest positive impact in the provision of water with all the four communities sampled recording above the minimum bench mark. The reason for this could be due to the fact Brass local Government and environs have benefited not only from the state and federal Government water project but intervention as social corporate responsibility from Brass liquidify natural gas and Agip oil company.

In River state, the study revealed that of all the 15 communities studied, across the five sampled local Government areas only nine communities as against six recorded positive impact in the area of provision of water; these nine communities area; (Nichia and Alesa) in Eleme local Government area, (Port Harcourt, Elkahia and Amadi Ama) communities in portharcourt Local Government area, (Ngo) in Andoni Local Government area, (Bony community) in Bony Local Government area as well as (Omoku and Egbema communities) in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni local Government areas of River state as against those that recorded negative impact. (Alode community,) in Eleme local Government area, (Atagba and Ikuku) both in Andoni local Government area, Dema and Abbey in Bony Local Government area and lastly (ogba community) in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government areas of River state.

Some of the verifiable and documented evidence include among others; the various projects executed by the Niger-Delta Development Commission to compliment Local and State efforts in the area, these include: the completion of solar powered water project at Eleme, solar powered water project in Alesa, Execution of water project scheme at Alabonchia, the rehabilitation of existing rural community water scheme (Ekporo) At Eleme and the Compelation of ONNE water supply projects. In addition to the other water projects executed by the State, Local Government and other Federal Government Interventions such as Millennium Development Goals (M.D.Gs) is the execution of water project at Asamara Andoni, rehabilitation of water project at Agwu, Bolo and Andoni as well as the construction of the Andoni solar powered water projects.

Some of the project provided by the NDDC to support the various existing state waters scheme particularly the WASH (Water, Sanitation and Hygiene) are the drilling of boreholes and associates work at NDDC headquarters, the upgrading and rehabilitation of the trans-Amadi mother cart water scheme, rehabilitation of two (2) broken Boreholes at

Mopol 19 communities. Construction of 20,000 gallon solar powered water scheme at Mopol 19 communities among others.

This is in addition to several water projects as corporate social responsibility to the host community by shell petroleum development company, MTN and AIRTEL Companies all combined together has improved the provision of water supply in Portharcourt Local Government Area.

other water projects executed by the Niger-Delta development commission within the period of study are: solar power water project at Obrikom, the Okposi water project, the Aggah water project, the Ndoni water project, the rehabilitation of existing rural water project at Kriegani, the completion of Agwe Obodo water project scheme, the rehabilitation of Olabagi community water project, Mgbede water project and above all the Omoku municipal water project these and other water project initiated by the River State Government and the Federal Government through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) water scheme have in no small way impacted on the lives of the inhabitant in those two communities of Ogba/Egbemal/Ndoni Local Government Areas of River State.

This implies that there is significant improvement in the provision of water in Rivers state following the agitation.

In Delta state on the other hand the result revealed even more impressive impact on the provision of water as a component of livelihood, to buttress this, all the 15 communities surveyed across the five local Government areas sampled have recorded above minimum bench mark.

Empirically available records revealed tremendous effort made by the State Government in partnership with the intervening agencies such as the NDDC, the ADB, the Chevron, the Shell Petroleum Development Company Nigeria and the Federal Government Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) high as well as the Delta State oil producing Area Development Commission (DESOPADEC) some of the achievement recorded are the re-activation of the Warri-Effurum urban water scheme with the capacity to provide water for Warri, Effurum and Ekpan Communities. Similarly the Delta State Government has entered into partnership with NDDC for the drilling of more boreholes to supplement

the area. The state also in partnership with NLNG has constructed over 85 solar powered and motorized boreholes.

There is however variation in the extent of the impact on individual community with Ozoro where the state government in collaboration with the Niger-Delta Development commission has upgraded the Ozoro urban water scheme having better impact than the other two communities Obodo and Gbenematu.

all the community selected have benefited from various form of water project schemes provides by the state urban water scheme and intervention agencies such as the Federal Government (M.D.Gs). Solar and Motorised boreholes to the ones provided by N.D.D.C and the Delta State Oil Producing Area Development commission for instance verifiable data revealed the construction of 10,000 gallon capacity of solar powered water with 1km distribution project at Adagbrassa – Oware area in Amukpe district and another 10,000 gallon water scheme at Jakpa – Elume in Sapele Local Government Area. Other major intervention is the upgrade of the Warri Effurun urban water scheme. Similarly, the State Government in partnership with cheveron provide water for 8 communities in the Warri Effurun urban centre, the investment of over 1.6billion in the African Development Bank (ADF) regional water scheme which way abandoned long ago. Thus in addition to the over 82 solar boreholes and motorized borehole provided by the M.D.G. In all the 25 Local Government Areas with over 20 scattered in Urwie Local Government.

It is therefore conclude, that of all the three state studies, Delta stand outstanding in term of impact in the area of water prevision.

Similarly, looking at the Health component of livelihood, the result from Bayelsa state, established that the agitation has significantly improved the provision of health and clinical services. In specific term at the community level 11 out of the 16 communities examined recorded positive impact as against the remaining five communities. To Butress the above position, (Ammassoma community) is rated to have recorded the highest impact which could be due to the existence of a functional hospital in the community; other communities that followed are (Ekeremor community) in Ekeremor local Government area, (Yenagoa, Tombia, Ikibiri and Agudama Epe) communities of Yanagoa local Government area, (Twon Brass and Okpoma Brass in Brass) Local Government area, as well as well as Angiama community in Ekeremor local Government.

The remaining five communities however did not meet the minimum Bench mark for positive impact. In Yenagoa which could be as a result of the existence of functional health facilities, made up of six (6) General Hospitals and one Federal Medical (Centres). These hospitals and health centres have also benefited from the Niger Delta Development Commission in the area of health service support such as provision drugs and logistics. In addition there is agreement among the discussants that they have also benefited from the shell petroleum development company community on community service which include building of new and upgrading existing health care facilities. This contribution of shell petroleum development company to health service delivery in Bayelsa State in General and Yenagoa Community in particular has confirmed the position The shell Regional community health manager Dr. Babatunde Fakuye who maintained that the shell petroleum development company have build and upgraded a total of 35 hospital in Bayelsa state in addition to other health care programmes and initiatives such as the comprehensive community based HIV/AIDS care treatment and support programme (The Niger-Delta Aids Response NIDAR). The Multi-Media Strategic Health communication intervention project (Bayelsan silhouettes) and the malaria Health integration projects. In addition over 41 health out reaches were carried out in 87 communities as part of the SPDC initiated health in motion programme through this programmes community members were directly reached out to with health packages consisting treatment of minor ailment, health screening for hypertension/HIV, Diabetes optometry service and deworming of children.

In oporoma community which is the headquarter of the Southern Ijaw although there exist two (2) health facilities made up of one General hospital with 60 bed capacity constructed by the state government and one primary health care clinic, the general hospital was turned into ghost town as it was never put into use. The primary health care clinic on the other hand is confronted with array of problems such as lack of logistics, lack of skilled personnel and lack of drugs among others.

it is true that the agitation did not led to improvement in the health status of the communities due to the fact that peretorugbene and Aleibiri remain without a single health post, the case in Toru-nduro and Ekeremor town revealed a case of non-functional facility and abandoned project. In Ekeremor town for instance although there was attempt

by the Federal government through the M.D.G to upgrade the existing health facility but the project was abandoned and the existing health facility has no qualified personnels drugs and logistics.

Documentary evidence indicate that although there exists a hospital and health post in Nchia the facilities faced problems such as lack of adequate equipment personnel's and drugs in Alesa community although there is newly constructed General hospital but the dearth of skilled medical personnel, poverty and lack of adequate facilities have hindered the smooth provision of health service. Therefore, the conclusion is that in aggregate term Bayelsa state generally speaking had recorded tremendous improvement in health care benefit although with a list of room for improvement.

In Rivers state on the other hand, the study revealed that there is impressive impact in the area of health service. This was corroborated by the fact that all the 15 communities surveyed across the five sampled local Government areas, had shown tremendous improvement in health care, delivery system. The agitation has actual improved the health status of their communities as it attracted a lot of facilities and initiatives from the state such as the first medical care service to those that registered with the scheme, donation of drugs and logistics by the intervening agencies such as the NDDC and above all the construction new ultra-modern specialist hospitals and upgrading of the existing ones to meet global standard well furnished with state of the art equipment some of the facilities constructed are: The ultra-modern Kelsey Harrison Hospital Porthacourt managed by the International Trauma Critical Care Limited (ITCC) the General hospital Porthacourt, the University of Port-Harcourt Teaching Hospital and the River State University of Science and Technology Teaching Hospital. Similarly the introduction of free medical care service by both the state and the intervention agencies have also gone a long way in improving the health status of the Port-Harcourt Local Government communities. There is however, variation in the quality and quantity of health care. Infrastrure and manpower as some communities tends to benefit more than others.

Similarly, the out come from Delta state, is not much different from the other two state as there is indication that the agitation has impacted positively on the health and clinical component of the livelihood. To prove this 11 out of the 15 communities as against only four have recorded tremendous improvement. Thus the only four

communities that perform below minimum bench mark for positive impact are; (Amukpe) in Sapele local Government area (Oragbe) in Isoko north local Government area as well as (Ekpan and Jeddo) communities both of urwie local Government area of Detal State.

Empirical data indicate that Delta State Government in collaboration with Intervention Agencies such as the Delta State Oil Producing Area Development Commission (DESOPADEC), The Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) offices through the conditional grant has built rehabilitated and furnished care facilities in the selected area notably: Ogwashi Uku, Adonte and Iwalu. There is also the provision of free medical health care in all the Aniocha South Local Government area which has benefited nine (9) clinics and 32 primary health care clinics with 120 bed capacity: on this note, it is concluded that the agitation has indeed impacted on the health needs of the communities in Aniocha Local Government Area.

Documentary source indicated that the Delta State Government through several health initiatives and collaboration with other intervention institutions has turned the fortune of the health service, some of the interventions include the construction of a world class specialist hospital by shell petroleum development company in Warri, the renovation and upgrading of facilities in Ekpan General hospital as well as the construction, renovation and refurbishment of about 42 Hospitals including General Hospitals and Cottage Hospitals. In addition the state and its intervention agencies have also build and renovated about 61 primary health care clinic to complements the existing secondary and tertiary hospitals with the view of making service accessible at affordable cost to the community members. The Delta State Government has also entered partnership with the intervention agencies to provide free medical service to the less privileges in the community.

It is also on record that the conditional Grant Scheme within the short period of time was able to achieve by 2013 construction of 50 primary health care-clinics, 50 maternities, 50 staff quarters, four solar boreholes and toilets in the five facilities distribution of 40,000 delivery packs, provision of 25 Gender friendly squat toilets, distribution of 400,000 LLINS, 666,732 doses of sulfadoxine/pyremethamine (SP) and Artemisinin

Combination Therapy (ACTs) for the treatment of pregnant women and supply 171 Essential Care (EOC) equipment.

Documentary source and personal observation revealed that the SEPLAT/NDDC joint venture an oil company Oml 428 and 41 has upgraded and equipt the female and children ward at the Sapale General Hospital with equipment worth millions of Naira including: Hospital beds with matress and Macintosh Accussions Sphygmomanometer, dekamet, sunction machines, wheel chairs, Xray view boxes, complete oxygen therapy sets, Nebulizer, sunction nozzles, operating tables and a dedicated 15KVA general. Others include pulte oximetre operating height anestevetree machine, oxygen gauges larynnoscopes as corporate social responsibility to the host community. Similarly the Delta State Oil Producing Area Development Commission (DESOPADEC) as an intervention had constructed health care centre at Ibadan Elume community, supplied medical equipment to Sapele Central hospital as well as the completion of emergency Department at the Sapelle Centrel Hospital. It should be noted that all these state and intervention agencies efforts in the health care service delivery is a testimony that the agitation has indeed impacted on the provision of Health and medical services in Sapele Local Government area of Delta State.

Highlighting the situation in the case of Road construction, as the component of livelihood, the study revealed lack of harmonious impact as the result shows disaggregated out come. In Bayelsa State for instance, the impact of the agitation in aggregate term have resulted in significant improvement in road construction. Though certainly, there are communities that did not in any way benefited from the gesture. However, the number of the communities compared to those that benefited is insignificant to warrant any change in the result.

Comparatively, while Yenagoa and southern Ijaw Local Government areas appears to be the most favoured in the provision of road with three out of four communities surveyed each recorded positive impact: (Tombia, Agudama/Epe, and Yenagra) communities in Yenagwa Local Government, (Ammassoma, Angiama, and Ogobiri) communities in southern Ijaw local government area of Bayelsa state. However, Ekeremor local Government area of the same Bayelsa state happened to be the worst in

the area of road impact as all the four communities surveyed recorded lack of performance in road construction hence the negative impact.

Some the road projects attracted from the NDDC as a result the agitation include: The construction of the New bypass with 150m bridge that provide alternative route to Yenagoa the Bayelsa State Capital; the construction of the Akirta Baram bridge, Ambassador Lawrence Ekpbu rigid pavement road at Akirtu, Ikun concrete famgbe – Obirogo Access link road in Yenagoa, Road, Drainage Construction on Ogoloma Yenegoa among others.

While Oporoma which is the headquarter of the Local Government can only boast 1.8km concrete road constructed by NDDC, Agiama only have a record of 1km of such concrete road, while ogobiri has less than one kilometer concrete road. It is only Ammasma that has about approximate 5.6km internal road network. Based on this therefore, it could be concluded that the agitation for minority rights in all practical sense did not impacted on the lives of the people of the Southern Ijaw Local Government area of the Bayelsa State in the area road construction.

The situation in Rivers state was not much different as the impact in aggregate term, revealed lack of uniform impact across the state. In comparative term the impact in portharcourt local Government area was impressive judging by the number of communities that benefited. In Eleme and Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Local Government areas on the other hand the impact was fair interms of road construction across the communities. However, the situation in Bony and Andoni Local Government areas portray negative impact in all the selected communities.

Span of works executed by the Niger Delta Development Commission to complement the ones done by the state. Some of the key project are; construction of Alesa Community Internal roads, the eleme ring road, Ikun Eta road Eleme, construction of Calvamy Drive, Rehabilitation of Alode/Bishop Katty Accens road Eleme, construction of Ebelu Internal road, other roads constructed are Okentu Road, Oka Nkpala road eleme, Ogale, road, Okeja obo Navalle road Eleme Egber Akara road with culverts and drains, Addo new town internal road Aleto Eleme, Odido Internal roads, Akpajo internal roads eleme as well as construction of phase I and II internal roads at River State University of Science and Technology Onne.

Some of the intervention in Andoni communities by the NDDC are; the construction of landing jetty at Atagba, the construction of Kaa, Atagba road and Bridges, the construction of the 2.139km multiple rural internal road network within ward (10) ten area in Atagba as well as the construction of the Elebam urnand Ekede road all in Andoni Local Government Area.

Documentary evidence from NDDC has further confirmed the impact was positive judging by the quantum of projects executed in the area notable among these projects are; construction of 6km Elekahia internal roads, construction of Elekahiar link/internal roads, Ewhalodom street Elekahia, Ada-Ariobu road by FGGC Abuloma, 1km road at Ndashi Street off Olusegun Obasanjo road D/line, Unity road with Spur off woman avenue Abuloma, Nkemka/adjoining street, Bright/Hunwo Street off ADC road Ewrim close off total gospel road Abuloma.

- Engineering Adola Street, Damute Drive/Lucky Avenue off Odili Road.
- Link road through Uyo street (Rumu Omase) to Stadium road.
- Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of Nwachukwu street mile II Doibu portharcout.

Some of the road project carried out by the NDDC in this area include: 17km Ogbogu internal roads 10km, Obasanjo-Elegbo water side, Erema through Obukelu Akabuka road, 10.8km Akabuka to Ubarama through Oboburu to Ibu Taylor creek road/Bridgen (240m), the construction of phase I Ogbogu community Internal Roads and drainages, the construction of Obreko internal roads phase I. others are: Ubukegi-Ahiahu-Ogbu GV Roads/Drains, Elele-Egeda-Ubiniwi-Ikiki Omoku Roads/Bridges, Internal Roads Phase II and III at Omoku community. The NDDC has also constructed the Okoroma/Ifeanyi Liuk road omoku and also the construction of 20.34km/(15m&30m) Naomi-Ase Asaga road,as well as the construction of Obite-Ede bypass Eleme. The quantum of the road projects carried out by the NADC in Ogba/Egbena/Ndoni Local Government Area of Rives State. In conclusion, it could be said that the impact was impressive in the area of road provision in River state.

The scenario in Delta state, in the area of road construction was positive inclined as indicated by most of the communities surveyed. This does not mean however, that there are no communities that did not benefit from the road provision, as there is evidence that

(Amukpe community) in Sapele local Government area, and (Ellu community) in Isoko north local government area had recorded negative impact except that their number is insignificant to affect the overall benefit.

Some of the roads constructed in the Warri South by State and NDDC are: 7.2km Oti Street, through Mellie street Okumagba Avenue linked to first marine Gate road, construction of petro chemical link to Ita Community, construction and rehabilitation of College of Education road DDPD Estate. Similarly is the construction of 66km owdiono-okereokoko escavos Road, construction internal road in Jeddo and the construction of internal road network town access road among others.

The quantum of roads constructed by Government of Delta State through Delta State Oil Producing Area Development Commission, Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation and the Niger Delta Development Commission. These roads include among other; the construction of Effurun to Ofor Ughelli road/bridges, construction of refinery road construction of the NNPC Estate road Ekpan, construction of the West road, construction of internal roads in Jeddo Community, construction of the Jappa road, other roads constructed are; the Kotoro street, Ogboro Effurun, Emmedate street off Alagbo street Effurun, Solwurome street off ojabagble street, Dsen Etibite road Effurun.

Empirical data and available document indicated some of the roads benefited in the area to include; the construction of 2.5km internal road in Sapele, the construction of Ikoyo road in Sapele and the 3km DDPA Internal road in Sapele.

Empirical evidence to back the result in the two communities include; the construction of the Ozoro township road, the otozola 1km road in Isukwuo, Ozoro, the Oghogho 1km road in Ozoro, the 5km College road Iwride to Alagbe Iyede, the construction of the 7km Ofagbe to brede road and the construction of the Ozoro Polytechnic Internal road payed off in the area of road construction.

In the area of education as a component of livelihood the result from Bayelsa state indicate positive impact in aggregate term. At local Government level, southern Ijaw and Ekeremor local Government areas and their respective communities recorded more positive impact compared to Yenagoa and Brass local Government area, all of Bayelsa state. Improvement in the education development of the area especially judging by the quantum of resource invested by the state government in physical infrastructure in

collaboration with other intervention agencies such as the Universal Basic Education, the tertiary education fund, the Nigeri-Delta Development commission and the shell petroleum development company as they have not only invested in infrastructural development but scholarship for both undergraduate and graduate study most specifically the shell petroleum has been awarding scholarship for 10 application in partnership with internationally recognized universities in United Kingdom specifically.

In addition the shell petroleum development company also have professorial chair in universities with the cardinal objective of promoting teaching and research, providing research grant for academia as well as enhancing the quality of graduates in the selected discipline and promoting technological development in Nigeria to buttress this documented record indicate that in 2014 ownera total of \$14.8million was invested in scholarship by Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) and Shell Nigeria Exploration and Production Company (SNEPCO). In 2015 grants were awarded to 1350 secondary school students and 925 university undergraduates. Similar the sum of N50million is expended annually on the appointment of 20 intership for the purpose of transfer of practical knowledge.

Personal observation which revealed a tremendous work done in collaborative efforts by the state and the intervention agency judged by the structures and facilities constructed and furnished on oporoma secondary school, Angiama technical college.

This discrepancy could be due to the number of Education institutions and instructional facilities; primary secondary and tertiary found in each community.

In River state, the out come revealed disaggregated impact across the state in the area, of education component of livelihood. This depends to a large extent on the peculiarity of the area and the quantity and quality of benefit it derive. In essence while Portharcourt, Eleme and Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni local government areas have recorded tremendous improvement in the quantity and quality of educational infrastructure manpower and instructional facilities. The situation in Bony and Andoni local Government areas was not impressive, with the exception (Ngo, and Bony) communities in Andoni and Bony Local Government areas respectively, which recorded positive impact.

This position was confirmed by personal observation and documented source some of the project executed as interventions programmes in Eleme Local Government area are, the

construction of the NDDC model six class room block with offices toilets at Ebuba Eleme, construction of NDDC model six class room block at Alersa, construction of NDDC model six class room block at Eleme construction of NDDC model at community primary school Alode, NNDC model six at Ebabu, NDDC made six class room block at Eteo Eleme and construction of NDDC Model six class room block at Arpajo in Eleme community – construction of internal roads in River State University of Science and Technology Onne, construction of student hostels.

Documented sources reveal that only in Ngo community which the headquarter of the Local Government area that in addition to the efforts made by the Rivers State Government in the provision of Classrooms and other instructional materials, the intervention agencies particularly the NDDC has contributed immensely in the area of support in infrastructural development some of the interventions include: the construction of the NDDC model six Block of classroom well-furnished in Ngo, six the comparatively in the other two communities, Ikuku and Atagba there was no serious efforts made toward the improvement in the education sector.

River State Government in collaboration with the State Universal Basic Education. There are also series of initiative by the multinational oil companies in the area of construction of schools provision of scholarship most particularly the shell petroleum development company. There are also a lot of intervention by NDDC. These revelations were confirmed by personal observation and examination of documentary source they include among others: the construction of 522 bed capacity hostel by the NDDC at the River State University, support programmes for the River State School of science and health technology, complete primary school model with 10 standard classrooms common room and toilet, wash room and water tank to replace the old Agbesi memorial state school build in 1957, provision of rootype hostel at the university of Port-Harcourt, renovation of classroom block and construction of access road to the community primary school it Elekehia, construction of NDDC model six class room block with toilets, washroom and common room at Bundu Port-Harcourt. In addition the Shell petroleum Development Company Annually provide scholarship in Graduate studies to 10 best students, among others. All the above mentioned is a pointer to the fact that the agitation for minority

rights has indeed impacted in the area of education development in Port-Harcourt Local Government Areas of Rivers State.

There are established cases of intervention such as the constructions of NDDC model six classroom blocks with common room, toilet and washing room each in Community Secondary School Bonny, Community Secondary School Burukiri, Government Girls Secondary School Fenima and Bonny National Grammar School. There are also other initiatives by the Nigerian Liquidity Natural Gas with the view to improve the quality of Education in the Bonny Island they include; the introduction of the integrated top up scheme formerly known as the Bonny Education Endowment fund which started in 1998 as an intervention to stem mass movement of Bonny Based teachers in post primary schools from the classroom to the construction site.

Some of the empirical evidence include among others; the construction of NDDC model six classroom block with common room, toilets and washing room at Community Primary School Ogba, NDDC Model six classroom block at Community Secondary School Obirikom, NNDC Model Six Classroom Block at Erema II, NDDC Model Six Classroom Block at Ede and Osiakpu, NDDC Model six classroom Block at Ndoni and St. Mary Primary Schools among others. In essence the agitation has impacted positively on the provision of Education in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni Communities.

Similarly, the distribution of impact in Delta state, in the area of educational Development as a component of livelihood prove to be more impressive than what exist in Bayelsa and Rivers state respectively. There is however, some few communities which recorded negative impact: (Ellu community) in Isoko north local Government area and (Jeddo community) in Urwie Local Government areas. However, even in these two communities mentioned not that than did not benefit in any way, except that their benefit is too insignificant to warrant positive impact.

For the realization of his dream of making education the primary priority of the state the Governor introduce certain initiatives such: The whole school concept, the school remodeling initiative and the Edu Marshal. The whole school concept initiative simply means transformation process in the building and renovation of structures in our education system and the provision of infrastructure, teaching and learning tools in the basic education.

For instance in 2009 a total of 487 classrooms were constructed in 2010 and 2011, 657 and 204 classrooms were equally constructed and renovated in 2012 a total of 112 classrooms were built.

In addition, the introduction of Edu Marshal to get children of school age out of street and put an end to all forms of fees in the pre-primary, primary and post primary schools had also help in accelerating the pace of Education Development. Similarly the Government pay for the West African Senior School Examination (WASSCE), National Business and Technical Education Examination conducted by the National Business and Technical Examination Board (NABTEB).

The government has also spent the total sum of over N22.6billion on infrastructural development in schools across the state and about N59.5billion allocated to the sector for capital project. Similarly at least 26,070 student desks, 53,143 pupils desk, 3,720 teachers table and chairs were distributed.

To further boost technical Education in the area, the Government has established production centres for biogas and concrete electric poles at Sapele and Ogor Technical Colleges at the cost of N164million to reposition the colleges for nurturing a generation of technically motivated citizens that do not depend on white collar job. In essence with the quantum of Emperical evidence highlighted above, it is concluded that the impact of the agitation for minority right was positive in Sapele Local Government area of Delta State.

This position was confirmed through personal observation and documentary sources. Quantum of evidence abound to support this for instance the remodeling of the Nana Model College Warri, a massive two storey building with 24 classrooms, laboratory, air conditioned library, sports pavilion with shaded VIP section, staff office, and power plant to ensure the smooth operation of the laboratory equipment in spectacular.

In the area of income, as a parameter for measuring livelihood in the Niger-Delta communities, findings from Bayelsa state revealed positive impact in agaregate term. This is evident in the fact that 12 out of the 16 communities surveyed indicate improvement in their level of income as against the only remaining four communities: (Aleibiri and Toru-Ndorru) in Ekeremor local government area, (Ogobiri in southern

Ijaw) and I(kibiri) in Yenagoa local government areas of Bayelsa state which recorded negative impact.

Furthermore, findings from Rivers state indicate significant improvement, in Portharcourt and Bony local government areas. The situation in Eleme, Andoni and Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni local Government areas revealed worst result except for two communities that indicate fair impact.

In Delta state, finding on the impact of the agitation for minority on the income levels of Niger-Delta communities is negatively swerved. This is because eight out of the 15 communities surveyed indicate negative impact as against only (4) communities that indicate positive impact: (Ogwashi uku,) in Aniocha south (Sapele) in Sapele and (Effurun) in urwie local Government area of Delta state. Invariably, (Obodo) community in Warri south local Government area, (Ozoro) in Isoko North and (Ekpan) in urwie local government areas of Delta state indicate fair impact.

Looking at the impact of the Agitation on employment as a component of livelihood. The result revealed lack of uniform impact among the various communities surveyed across the selected states. In Bayelsa state specifically, the findings revealed positive impact on employment as demenstrated in all the 16 selected communities. There is however sharp difference in the area of magnititude of benefits accrued to individual community as there are some communities where impact was fair, others good. While some excellent and highly impressive impact. For instance Brass local government happened to be the must successful among all the local government surveyed with all its sampled community showing higher positive impact.

In River state; the findings reveled positive impact on the employment component, with Portharcourt local government area toping the chart as all the three communities selected under the local government area indicate significant improvement the other communities across the other three local government areas surveyed shows fair performance. Except for (Egbema community) in Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni local government area which reveled negative impact.

Finally, in Delta state , impact of the agitation for minority rights on the employment component of livelihood proved to be negative, as demonstrated by most of the communities surveyed across the selected local government areas of the state; where

eight out of the 15 communities indicate negative, four revealed fair impact where as only (Ogwashi uku, Warri and Effurun) communities indicate positive impact.

On the implication of the agitation for minority rights on the level of local people participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth, the following findings became eminent.

That in the case of community leaders there is significant increase in their level of participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth in Bayelsa state. This could be due to the fact that, these community leaders occupy strategic place in the management of their local communities and exact significant influence among the subject. They are mostly therefore, incorporated into the arena of decision making and process of sharing of the National wealth despite the clear lack of constitutional role for them.

In River state, the result indicate disproportional findings, as there is tremendous increase in some communities, whereas none in the others. For instance in Eleme and Andoni local government areas, the agitation resulted in lack of involvement of community leaders in decision making and distribution of National wealth improvement in the participation of community leaders in Porharcourt and Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni local government areas of River state. The conclusion arising from the above therefore, is although the findings in River state indicate mixed result but the main consensus is that the agitation has led to active involvement of community leader in decision making and sharing of National wealth.

In Delta state, the result of the findings in aggregate term, indicate enhanced level of participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth except that there are some communities; (Ewalu) in Aniocha soute, (Obodo and Gbene-matu) in Warri south Oregbu in Sapele as well as (Jeddo) in urwie local government areas of Delta state which revealed negative presentation despite the agitation. Despite this variation in findings and implication, however the dominant consensus is that the agitation has indeed increased the level of participation of community leaders in decision making and sharing of National wealth.

On the implication of the agitation for minority rights on Youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth findings from Bayelsa state revealed that

it had resulted in significant level of youths participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth. This is because the result from all the 16 communities surveyed across the four local government areas sampled indicate upward mobility in the level of youths involvement, although with slight variation in magnitude.

However, findings from Rivers state indicate disaggregated implication on the level of youth participation, while in some communities it led to significant improvement in their involvement (Portharcourt and Bony). In other communities the situation is in a state of draw back (Eleme, Bony and Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni) local government areas of Rivers state.

In variably, the situation in Delta state proved to be similar to what is obtainable in River state. Except that, in the case of Delta the situation is negatively skewed unlike in the River state where it was on the positive side. This however, does not mean that there are no communities that indicate significant improvement in the level of youth participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth (Ogwashi uku) in Anicha south, (Warri) in Warri south, (Sapele) in Sapele as well as (Effurun and Ekpan) in urwie) local government areas of Delta state.

In a contradistinction, the participation of the vulnerable group particularly women and the weak in decision making and sharing of National wealth had prove to be identical across communities in all the three states (Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers) of the Niger-Delta. This is because findings from across all these communities surveyed revealed negative implication on the groups participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth This proved further that this group is the most neglected and marginalized in the area of decision making and distribution of resource not only in the Niger-Delta communities, but throughout the Nigerian polity.

Last but not the least, is the implication of the agitation for minority right on the participation of political office holders and public officials. In Bayelsa state, it was established that the agitation for minority right have significantly enhanced the level of participation of political office holders and public officials in decision making and sharing of the National wealth This implies that, since political office holders both elected and appointed have more influence or agenda setting institution, they are better placed in the decision making process where key decisions are taken about the

distribution of vital resources and value, there by giving them the privilege of breasting from the chunk of their community share of the National wealth.

In River state, the finding is disaggregated in nature. Since the agitation had resulted in increase in the level of participation of this group, in some communities whereas in other communities it remain passive. This could be due to the peculiar nature of each community and policy benefit derived by such community as a result of proximity to decision making institutions and National wealth.

In Delta state, the situation is not different from what is obtained in Bayelsa state, as the agitation had indeed resulted in enhanced participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth This by no means however, meant that there are no communities that did not benefit from this gesture, except that those communities that benefited have out numbered those that did not hence the conclusion.

In addition, the study identified: Theaters of violence and violence, constitutional and legalistic approach institutional measures, diversionary tactic as well as divide and rule as the major state response to the Niger-Delta agitation for minority right.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 SUMMARY

Since the attainment of independence on 1st October 1960 to date, the postcolonial Nigerian state has been grappling with crisis of National development despite the huge amount of human and natural resources the country is blessed with. These plethora of developmental challenges facing Nigeria is attributed to the interplay of forces both exogenous and endogenous of particular relevance is the way and manner in which the very foundation of colonialism was laid. In addition was the roles played by the post colonial state and its consumerate indigenous elites in shaping the developmental orientation of the nation which found vivid expression in the resurgence of the National question with heavy burden on the nations developmental prospect.

This study focuses on the politics of oil and Minority rights in the Niger Delta oil producing communities of Nigeria. The study is made up of eight broad chapters. The first chapter which deals with foundation of the study highlighted background information on the politics of oil, its origin, dynamics and complexity. The second chapter dwelt on literature review and theoretical framework of the study. the review revealed that oil occupies a strategic place in the global political economy being the dominant and cheapest source of energy, it also revealed that there is strong linkage between oil and violence whether in form of old wars: between global superpowers struggling for the dominance of oil fields and control its distribution or the new war in which superpowers and oil firms instigate conflict weakened the central government of the oil producing state to enable them dominate, regulate and loot the rich National wealth of these states through sharp practices.

In the course of the study, survey method and use of available document were utilized. The study identified; the straggle for ownership and control of land, mineral, rent and royalties, the desire to influence the principle of revenue allocation based on derivation and special funds, the struggle for the political restructuring of the federation in other to accommodate their demands as well as the need, the environmental and ecological degradation that affect their communities as a result of oil exploration and

exploitation as the major socio-economic and political factors that influence the tempo of the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta community.

In addition the study revealed that the agitation for Minority rights has resulted in the increase of local people participation in decision making and sharing of National income especially among political office holders and community leaders. The study also established that the advent of democratic governance after prolonged era of military rule did not only increase the velocity of conflict but also opened democratic space for indigenes of the Niger Delta to participate in the political and economic sectors of the states. It also revealed that the agitations for Minority rights in the Niger Delta have resulted in massive improvement in infrastructure such as water, road network, electricity and empowerment due to commitment by government and multinational oil companies in form of corporate social responsibility. The study further established that the agitation for Minority rights in the Niger – Delta has resulted in increase in the level of local people involvement in the sharing of oil rent and patronage; although the elites, political office holders, community leaders and the youths benefited more than women and other vulnerable groups.

Furthermore, the persistent but violent agitation for Minority rights by Niger Delta Oil producing area had opened up both political and economic space for the Niger-Delta elites (political officer holders public officials). For one, the conspiracy theorist had it in their off the hook theory that it was the pressure from these militants that forced the then president Obasanjo to impose a sick Yar'adua on the nation in order to pave way for the emergence of Jonathan from the Niger-Delta sub-region. In addition, is the appointment of some Niger-Delta elites into key sensitive position such as the National Security Adviser, the Chief of Army Staff, and the Minister for Petroleum and the Presidential Spokesman among others. In addition, there is tremendous improvement in the allocation of resources for infrastructural development to the Niger-Delta area.

Furthermore, the study identified, violence or threat of force, institutional and constitutional mechanism, divide and rule and diversionary tactics as the major ploys employed by government both civilian and military to pacify the tempo of politics of oil and agitation for Minority rights in the Niger-Delta area which found expression in the resources control agenda. However, of all these approaches only institutional measures

such as the establishment of OMPADEC, NNDC, Ministry for Niger- Delta and the amnesty measures recorded impressive effect in addressing the Niger-Delta crises.

7.2 CONCLUSION

Based on the foregoing presentation and analysis the following conclusions became eminent.

That although the Nigerian state and its institutions have adopted several strategies: (violence/threat of violence, constitutional and legal approach, institutional measure diversionary tactics as well as divided and rule) as a solutions to the lingering crisis in the Niger-Delta oil producing communities, rather than mitigating the problem the measures in themselves have degenerated into more complex issues with the exception of the institutional measure that produce temporary solution to the problem. Thus the strategy have left much to be desired.

It is further concluded that the agitation for Minority rights have no doubt to some extent improved the livelihood. (water, health, education, road, income, employment sanitation) of the Niger-Delta oil producing communities, but the improvement is not proportionate to the quantum of resource expended in the area thereby rising the doubt in the minds of many on the genuinity at the struggle.

It is also concluded that the agitation for Minority rights have significantly increased the level of Niger-Delta people; (political office holders and public official(s) community leaders, and youths) participation in decision making and sharing of National wealth. This evident in the number of Niger-Delta indigenes such as Chief Edwin Clerk, Asari Dukubo, Tompolo, Godday Orubebe, Dezinne Allison Maduake, Ngozi Okonjo Iwela all raise to prominence and exert influence in government cycle following the agitation. Similarly the agitation has resulted in the establishment of the Ministry of Niger-Delta, Niger-Delta Development Commision in addition to 13% derivation and the armnesty programme enjoyed by the indigenes of the Niger-Delta Areas. However, the outcome seems to benefit political office holders and public officials as well as community leaders due to their influence in community and access to agenda setting institution.

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APPENDIX I

Bayero University Kano,
Faculty of Social Science,
Department of Political Science.

QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE FOR RESPONDENTS (COMMUNITY LEADERS AND MULTINATIONAL OIL COMPANIES).

Topic: politics of oil and Minority rights in the Niger Delta region

Dear Respondent,

I am a PhD student of the above Institution and Department conducting a research on the above topic. I would be grateful if you would provide me with the following information as it affects your community. Be assured that this information is required purely for academic purpose and will not be use for any purpose than the research.

Please tick the appropriate option.

SPS/07/SMS0276

Yours Faithfully

SECTION A: SOCIO ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

1. SEX

(a) Male (b) Female

2. AGE CATEGORY

(a) 18-27 []

(b) 28-37 []

(c) 3- 47 []

(d) 48-57 []

(e) 57 above []

3. EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION

(a) O' Level

(b) Diploma! NCE

(c) First Degree! HND

(d) Master and above

(e) Others specify

4. SOURCE OF LIVELIHOOD

(a) Civil Servant []

(b) Business Man []

(c) Farmer/fishing []

(d) Artisan []

(e) House Wife []

(f) Community Leader []

5. MARITAL STATUS

(a) Single []

(b) Married []

(c) Divorce []

(d) Separated []

(e) Widow []

SECTION

6. MAJOR SOURCE OF AGITATION FOR MINORITY RIGHTS

VARIABLE	RESPONSE					TOTAL
	Strongly Agree	Agree	SILENT	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Environmental Degradation						
excessive Power over control of land in hands of Governors						
Needs of local people Autonomy						
Resource Control						
Needs for involvement in decision making process						
Elites manipulation						

7. EXISTENCE OF INFRASTRUCTURE IN YOUR COMMUNITY

Before Amnesty

After Amnesty

	V. Adequate Exist	Not Adequate Exit	Exist	Not exist
HEALTH				
schools				
water				
Access road				
Sanitation				

8. Are you aware of the amnesty and other palliative measures introduced by Yar'adua Administration as a solution to the agitation in the Niger- Delta

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (C) No response

9. Your community has benefited from the measure?

- (a) Strongly agreed (b) Agreed (c) Disagree (d)Strongly Disagreed (e) No response

10. How would you rate the effects of these measures on the agitation for minority rights?

- (a) Very effective (b) effective (c) poor (d) not effective (e) no response.

11. Examine the impact of the government measure on the livelihood in your community under the following variables.

VARIABLES	RESPONSE				
	Excellent	V. Good	Good	Fair	Poor
Provision of water					
Hospital and clinic					
Roads					
Peace and security					
Electricity					
Community relations					
Trade and skills					
Income					
Sanitation					
complement					

12. The return to Democratic Government has the tempo of agitation for Minority rights in your community.

(a) Strongly agreed (b) Agreed (C) Disagreed (d) Strongly agreed (e) No response

13. How would you rate the effect of oil Exploration and exploitation in your community under the following variables?

14. Examine the commitment of multi national oil company to their social corporate responsibilities to you community under the following variables before the agitation.

VARIABLE	RESPONSE				
	Excellent	V. good	Good	Fair	Negative
Scholarship					
Water					
Health					
Road network					
Employment					

15. How would you rank the federal Government Intervention in terms of impact on the livelihood in your community under the following variables?

VARIABLES	RESPONSE				
	Excellent	V. good	Good	Fair	Poor
NDDC					

Derivation					
Ministry for Niger Delta					
Share equity					
Capital project					
Others specify					

16. Politics or oil has significantly increased the propensity of agitation by Niger — Delta minorities.

(a) Strongly agreed (b) agreed (c) disagreed (d) strongly disagreed (e) no response.

17. Demand for more political representation has significantly contributed to the Agitation for resource control in the Niger- Delta

(a) Strongly agreed (b) Agreed (c) disagreed (d) strongly disagree.

18. The Agitation for minority as led to increased involvement of the local people in Decision making and sharing of National wealth in the Niger-Delta.

(a) Strongly Agreed (b) Agreed (c) disagreed (d) strongly disagreed (e) No response

19. How would you rate the Nigeria state response to the Niger-Delta instability under the following variables?

Variables	Response				
	Very effective	Effective	Bad	Worse	No response
Violence/threats of violence					
Legalistic/constitutional					
Diversion/divide and rule					

20. The demand for more share of the oil revenue is the main source of contestation among the oil bearing state of the Niger-Delta.

(a) Strong agreed (b) Agreed (c) disagreed (d) strongly disagreed (e) No response

21. Examine the efficacy of state and local Government Utilitation of invention Funds in your community under the following variables.

VARIABLES	RESPONSE				
	Very Effective	Effective	Fair	Poor	No response
Ecological Funds					
Derivation, rents and royalties					
Internal Generated revenue					
Excess crude disbursement					
UBEC counter part Funds					
T.EF.					

22. Examine the level of involvement and benefits of the following stakeholders in the disbursement of the National wealth in the post amnesty regimes.

VARIABLES	RESPONSE				
	Very active	Active	Partial	Non-Active	No response
Elites and . active political office holders.					
Count leaders					
Youths					
Women and children					
Weak and Aged					

23. How would you rate the federal Government commitment to the Niger- Delta under the following variables after the amnesty?

Variable	Response			
	Very Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	No response
Capital project				
Fund disbursement/budgetary allocation				
Political appointment				
Capacity building and youth Employment				

24. Suggest possible ways of improving and sustaining livelihood of the people of the Niger Delta.

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Table 3.1: Oil Politics and Conflict in Nigeria: A Chronology 1953-2005

Main political watersheds	Major protests/violent conflicts	Oil industry developments
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1954: establishment of federation. ▪ 1958: Willink Commission on Minorities. ▪ 1960: Nigeria gains independence. ▪ 1963: declaration of republic. ▪ 1966: January and July military coups. ▪ 1967: Military government replaces four regions with twelve-state system; Eastern region secedes ad Biafra. ▪ 1970- 74: Second National Development Plan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1953: Killing of southerners in northern cities. ▪ 1965-66: Western region political violence. ▪ 1966: May and September massacres of Igbos and other southerners in northern cities. <p>Nigerian Civil War, May 1967 to January 1970</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1956: first commercial oil find. ▪ 1958: start of oil production and exports. ▪ 1961: Niger Delta development Act. ▪ 1965: completion of Port Harcourt refinery and Trans-Niger pipeline. ▪ 1969: Petroleum Decree vests petroleum ownership in Nigerian state, and creates regulatory framework. ▪ 1971: establishment of Nigerian National Oil Corporation (NNOC), reorganized (1977) with enhanced powers as Nigerian National Petroleum. Corporation ▪ 1971: Nigeria joins OPEC. ▪ 1971-73: partial nationalisation of oil industry begins; Nigeria acquires equity status in all oil company operations.

Main political watersheds	Major protects/violent conflicts	Oil industry developments
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1975 and 1976: military coups; Obasanjo military government initiates programme for return to civilian rule. ▪ 1979: hand-over to elected government under Second Republic constitution which replaces parliamentary with presidential system and brings in ‘federal character’ principle. ▪ 1963; Duhari military coup brings down Second Republic. ▪ 1985: Babangida coup. ▪ 1986: Babangida regime launches Structural Adjustment Plan and proposals for eventual return to civilian rule. ▪ 1990: proclamation of Ogoni Bill of Rights. ▪ 1986-93: elaborate orchestration of democratic transition programme by military regime. ▪ 1993: annulment of presidential election; installation of interim (Shonekan) administration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1980: paramilitary police crush peasant protests against Balcalori irrigation scheme in Sokoto. ▪ 1980-85: religious insurrections by Maitatsine sect in northern cities. ▪ 1987: Muslim-Christian violence in Kaduna and Kano states. ▪ 1988: riots against structural adjustment. ▪ 1990: Mobile Police (paramilitary) violence against protectors in Umuechem (Niger Delta). ▪ 1992-95: MOSOP protests and occupations of oil installations escalate; systematic campaign of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1977: formation of NUPENG oil workers union. ▪ 1979: constitution entrenches state ownership of petroleum, minerals and natural gas. ▪ 1979: oil production peaks at 2.3 million bbl/d. ▪ 1990-91: oil price recovery. ▪ 1991: new MOUs offered to companies to attract investment. ▪ 1992: OMPADEC established to promote use of oil funds for development in Niger Delta.

Main political watersheds	Major protects/violent conflicts	Oil industry developments
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1993: Abacha military coup. ▪ 1995: hanging of Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists; Nigeria suspended from Commonwealth. ▪ 1998: Kaiama Declaration by All-Ijaw Youth Conference. ▪ 1998: death of Abacha and initiation of transition to democracy. ▪ 1999: enactment of new constitution; election of general Obasanjo as President and of new federal and state legislatures. Only three political parties are legally recognized to contest the elections. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ state violence waged against Ogoni. ▪ 1994: oil workers strike, protesting election annulment and Abacha coup. ▪ 1997: Ijwa-Itsekiri conflict in Warri. ▪ 1997-98: Ife-Modakeke (intra-Yoruba) violence. ▪ 1998-99: first and second Egbesu youth ‘wars’ in Ijaw area of Niger Delta. ▪ 1999: Aguleri-Umuleri (intra-Igbo) violence. ▪ 1999: Ijaw-Ilaje conflict flares and spreads to Lagos. ▪ 2000: introduction of Sharia criminal law in Northern States triggers reciprocal religious/ethnic violence in Kaduna and in Lagos and Aba. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1992: Environmental Impact Examination Decree. ▪ 1993: Shell forced to close production in Ogoni. ▪ 1994: Okigbo Commission estimates \$12bn oil earnings ‘disappeared’ 1990-94. ▪ 1995: revival of plans to construct LNG facility in Bonny. ▪ 1995: Petroleum Special Trust Fund initiated. ▪ 1995: governments of Nigeria, Benin, Togo and Ghana endorse an agreement to develop the West Africa Gas Pipeline to convey gas from the Niger Delta, through 800 km of dedicated onshore and offshore pipelines. ▪ 1998: explosion of ruptured pipeline kills 1000 people at Jesse near Warri. ▪ 1999: constitution increases proportion of oil revenues distributed to states on basis of derivation to 13 per cent. ▪ Federal Environmental Protection Agency scrapped and a new Federal Ministry of Environment created. ▪ Large oil spill from Mobil facilities in Akwa Ibom State pollutes Nigerian coastline.

Main political watersheds	Major protects/violent conflicts	Oil industry developments
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2002: postponement of local elections. ▪ 2002: recognition of more political parties brings the total to 30, following protracted legal cases against the government and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). ▪ 2003: national elections return Obasanjo as President and his party, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), amid accusations of widespread vote rigging organized by the PDP, notably in the Niger Delta, where eight of the nine serving governors were returned to office. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2000: armed vigilantes known as the Bakassi boys funded by some state governments in the southeast kill many people believed to be criminals, but there are strong suggestions that victims were opponents of state governments. ▪ 2003: oil company workers taken hostage and military personnel killed by persons believed to be oil bandits ('bunkerers') in creeks around Warri. ▪ 2003: renewed conflict between the Ijaw, and Itsekiri over the delineation of wards triggers major electoral violence around Warri, threatening oil installations and leading to production losses. ▪ 2003: Deputy National 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2001: Construction of West African Gas Pipeline begins. ▪ 2001: Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) established to replace OMPADEC. ▪ 2003: Managing Director of NDDC is replaced amid accusations of fraud or attempted fraud in the commission. ▪ 2003: two consecutive national strikes by the Nigeria Labour Congress to protest against increases in the prices of petroleum products. ▪ Presidential advisor on petroleum matters and former OPEC Secretary-General resigns from government, presumably over disagreement with President Obasanjo on reform of the NNPC.

Main political watersheds	Major protects/violent conflicts	Oil industry developments
	<p>ways of ending the violence and disruptions of oil operations; mass rally in Port Harcourt in Asari Dokubo's honour on his return.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2005: struggles between political factions in Odioma, Bayelsa State lead to death of twelve local councilors. Odioma invaded and destroyed by detachment of soldiers from 'Operation restore Hope', the military task force established to quell the Warri crisis. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2005: new Chairman of NDDC, Ambassador Sam Edem, appointed to replace Chief Ugochukwu. Both considered Obsanajo loyalists. ▪ 2005: Federal Government initiates national Political Reform Conference in Abuja, though its remit falls short of earlier demands for such a conference. It invites MOSOP to attend, after the latter warned Ogonis would not respect the outcome if they were excluded.

Note: Conflicts in oil-producing regions in bold.

Source adapted from klador (2007).