

THE POLITICS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE NIGER DELTA REGION OF NIGERIA: AN APPRAISAL OF THE ROLE OF THE STATE AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, 1993 – 2008

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Abstract: The study examined the Politics of Sustainable Development in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria: An Appraisal of the Role of the State and Multinational Corporations, 1993-2008. Three (3) research questions and three (3) hypotheses guided the study. A cross-sectional survey design was adopted. Both primary and secondary data were collected and utilized in the study. A sample size of 800 subjects in the four core States of the Niger Delta – Akwa-Ibom, Delta, Bayelsa, and Rivers was selected and composed. Purposive, simple random and non-proportional stratified random sampling techniques were adopted in selecting the four states, 16 Local Government Areas as well as 32 communities and 800 subjects respectively. We adopted four-point modified Likert scale in the design of our instrument which contained 33 questionnaire items. One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) statistical tool with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 16.0 was used to test the three null hypotheses at 0.05 level of significance. We adopted test-retest method in determining the reliability of our instrument, using Pearson Moment Product Correlation Coefficient which gave us 0.70, indicating that it was highly reliable. We adopted dependency theory, an extrapolation of Marxian political economy, as our theoretical framework of analysis. The major findings of this study revealed that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have not significantly contributed to socio-economic development in the Niger Delta contrary to their claims for high budgetary provisions for development activities in the region. Two, that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have not significantly addressed the pervasive environmental degradation in the Niger Delta contrary to their claims to high budgetary spending on environmental management and protection in the region. It was also the finding of this study that the structure of the Nigerian state and the modus operandi of Multinational Corporations, to a large extent, have hindered sustainable development in the Niger Delta region. Based on the findings, it was recommended that there is an urgent need for the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations to step up efforts at living up to the current global drive towards sustainable development by showing strong political will in adopting far-reaching programmes in content and design that would translate the region into visible improvement in job/wealth creation, poverty reduction, health care delivery, quality education, physical and social infrastructure as well as high environmental standards and practices in their areas of operation. The study further recommended that, for Niger Delta region to begin to experience sustainable development, the Nigerian state needs to be restructured with a view to delinking from international capitalism so that it would be able to change the modus operandi of multinational corporations as it affects development process in the region.

Keywords: Multinational Corporations, Niger Delta, Politics, State and Sustainable Development

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Oil, the life wire of the Nigerian economy is heavily prospected and exploited in the coastal area of Nigeria called the Niger Delta (Enehorio & Ehi-Ebewele, 2008). The Niger Delta of Nigeria is one of the richest deltas in the world. It has huge oil and gas deposits and ranks the world's sixth largest exporter of crude oil. Currently, there are about 606 oil fields in the Niger Delta, of which 360 are on-shore and 246 are off-shore. Also over 3,000 kilometres of pipelines lie across the landscape of the region, linking 275 flow stations to various export terminals (Adabanwi, 2001).

There is the contention that the international character of the oil companies has been part of the problems of sustainable development in the Niger Delta in particular and Nigeria in general. The relationship between the Nigerian state, oil multinationals and host communities is one that tend to favour the oil multinationals and the state through the instrumentality of Nigerian laws from inception.

However, in the last three decades, the issue of sustainable development has increasingly come to the fore in global political economy. For instance, in Rio Janeiro, Brazil in 1992 at UN's Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) tagged 'Earth Summit', it was agreed upon in 'Agenda 21' that "the integration of environment and development concerns and greater attention to them will lead to the fulfillment of basic needs, improved living standards for all, better protected and managed ecosystems, a safer and more prosperous future" (WCED, 1987; Njiro, 2002; Ivbijaro, 2006; Oladipo, 2006; National Sustainable Development Strategy, 2007). Consequently, Conningham et al, (2003) has also stated that sustainable development is a term that was popularized by Our Common Future, the 1987 Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development chaired by Norwegian Prime- Minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland (and consequently called the Brundtland Commission). Accordingly, in the words of this report, sustainable development means "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". In other words, Conningham et al, (2003:29) conceived sustainable development as:

Progress in human well-being that can be extended or prolonged over many generations rather than just a few years. To be truly enduring, the benefits of sustainable development must be available to all human beings rather than to just the members of a privileged group.

It is on this basis that modern governments the world over, including the Nigerian State and oil multinationals have made the concept a major thrust of their development approach. The Nigerian State and Multinational Corporations operating in the Niger Delta were, therefore, not left out in adopting current global drive towards sustainable development. The extent to which the Nigerian State and Multinational Corporations have fared in delivering sustainable development and the possible obstacles affecting its success in the region since 1993, in spite of the enormity the wealth it generates to the nation, constitute the background to this study.

To focus the background to the research problem, as stated above, more clearly, the following research questions are formulated based on the variables identified:

- i. Have both the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations made significant contributions to socio-economic development in the Niger Delta region?
- ii. What are the roles of the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations in the pervasive environmental degradation in the Niger Delta region?
- iii. How have the structure of the Nigerian state and modus operandi of Multinational Corporations hindered sustainable development in the Niger Delta region?

2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

Although social scientists are in agreement that one of the most important functions of empirical research is to contribute to the development and refinement of theory and that theory enhances the goals of science, there appears to be little agreement about what a theory is (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1981). However, it is generally conceived that a theory is a logical deductive system consisting of a set of interrelated concepts from which testable propositions can be deductively derived.

White and Clark (1990) simply see theory as "a set of proposed explanation, logically or systematically related to each other that seek to explain or predict a phenomenon".

It is in the light of the above, that this study adopted the dependency theory as a theoretical framework of analysis which is, however, an extrapolation of Marxian political economy. Dependency theory appears to be most suitable;

as an attempt to analyse the role of the Nigerian State and Multinational Corporations in the politics of sustainable development in the Niger Delta region would make little or no meaning without placing the African continent and indeed, Nigeria within the ambits of its dependent and disadvantaged position in the global capitalist system.

Dependency theory, according to Nweke (2007), which has third world scholars as its proponents, was conceived in the 1960s and put together by writers like (Luxembourg, 1964; Santos, 1970; Sunkel, 1972; Cockroft et al, 1972; Rodney, 1972; Amin, 1976; Offiong, 1980; Ake, 1979, 1981, 1996; and Ndoh, 1995).

These eminent scholars of dependency school perceive Africa's development challenges in the context of the incorporation and integration of the continent into the periphery of the global capitalist system to play a subservient role to the international capital. The international capital in the context of our study here is represented by the Multinational Corporations operating in the Niger Delta region in alliance or aid with the Nigerian State, well described by Epelle (2009) as a "rentier state". Lee (1983) cited in Onah and Nyewusira (2006) is in strong contention that the dependency theory is an extrapolation of the "Classical Marxist" analyses of imperialism as espoused in the works of Lenin and Luxemburg in the 1910s and 1920s. In this regard, Lenin and Luxemburg submit that what is today known as "underdeveloped" countries made meaning only when they influenced production relations and capital formation process in what is today known as 'advanced' or 'developed' countries. It was not until after the end of the World War II, in the heat of the cold war era, that the concept of 'underdevelopment' became a central theme in the global political discourse.

Dependency, according to Dos Santos, cited in Onah and Nyewusira (2006), describes a situation in which a country's economy, like that of Nigeria presently, is subservient to another (international capital) which development and expansion by the latter, determine the underdeveloped and developed economies, with the latter exploiting the former. Apparently, there appears to be consensus among the dependency theorists that the concept of underdevelopment of third world countries is not only natural but artificial as it was designed deliberately to forcefully launch these countries into internal capitalist expansionism (Nnadozie, 2004). The theory explains that an economy is disadvantaged to the extent it is structurally defective in international division of labour, hence it lacks the capacity to generate internal growth and development without dependence on the foreign factors and interests (Ozor, 2006). In other words, dependency theorists strongly believe that no meaningful development will thrive in an atmosphere of overdependence on external capital. Therefore, there is the contention that growth can only come in that regard but without development as external stimuli ought not to produce real development. Real development is internal as the theory strongly observes that the global capitalist economy requires a fundamental restructuring without which the disadvantaged (underdeveloped) countries will only experience growth without development. The restructuring here involves delinking from the global capitalist structure, which not only has frustrated the third world development efforts including Nigeria, but deepened their underdevelopment.

In his own contribution to this framework, Amucheazi (1985) has contended that though the economy of Nigeria appears buoyant but it is such that much control still rests on foreigners and multinational corporations and that the socio-economic system of the country requires radical restructuring that will bring about true socio-economic development and equitable distribution of resources among Nigerians. Niger Delta region is, therefore, not left out in this inequity in resource allocation and distribution which Amucheazi described above.

Therefore, this theoretical framework becomes imperative in explaining the politics of sustainable development in the Niger Delta region, with particular emphasis on the role of the state and multinational corporations. Here, the Nigerian State as a dependent economy on the international capital, is arm-twisted by colonial legacies, hence cannot confront the challenges of sustainable development in the Niger Delta region as it has continued to protect the interests of international capital whose business investments are represented by the MNCs operating in the Niger Delta. Since their sole aim is to repatriate huge profits to develop their countries, the Nigerian State represented by a ruling class whose ultimate goal is to appropriate, through corruption, the resources accruable from the Niger Delta, has continued to adopt different policy measures purported to address the development challenges in the region. As a result of this, the state and indeed, the multinational corporations, having failed to meet the challenges of the demand for sustainable development in the Niger Delta region, over so many years of oil exploration and exploitation, have resorted to militarizing the region and adopting different palliative measures that hardly succeeded to tackle the avalanche of backlashes with the militant groups, continuing to attack oil installations and kidnap both local and foreign nationals. The Nigerian State has always depended on international capital for the survival of her economy and the way forward to deal with the issues of sustainable development in the Niger Delta region. The Nigerian state, represented by a comprador bourgeois/ruling class, has often times in turn, acted in line with the dictates of international capital. All these have resulted in the failure of the state and the multinational

corporations, after independence, to address the numerous begging challenges of sustainable development in the Niger Delta, hence the stalemate of militancy in the region, which had defiled the repressive arm of the state in collaboration with oil multinationals. This precarious position of the Nigerian State, especially after independence, prompted writers like Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana to write his book: *Neo-colonialism – the last stage of imperialism*. In that book, he concluded that the third world countries would not make progress towards independence and development, except neocolonialism was vanished (Ndoh, 1995). Capitalist expansionism through the instruments of multinational corporations in alliance with the Nigerian State has continued to make the Niger Delta region a beehive of un-sustained development as the issues of poverty, decay in social and physical infrastructure including environmental degradation, have all remained unabated.

From the foregoing, it can be asserted that the politics of sustainable development in the Niger Delta is all about who gets what, how and when from the resources that accrue from the region, thereby leaving the people impoverished. Therefore, the failure of the state and multinational corporations to address the sustainable development challenges in the Niger Delta can only be better explained with dependency theory as the whole problem of achieving this fit in the oil-rich region is built around the structure of the Nigerian State and modus operandi of Multinational Corporations.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 AREA OF STUDY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Given the problems associated with covering all the nine states of the Niger Delta, a survey was carried out in the four core states of Niger Delta of Nigeria. There is no doubt that this raised the question of generalizability of the results to the rest of the Niger Delta states, the gain in precision more than any thing compensates for the loss in generalizability of results. Moreover, more of development projects and policies have their impacts felt at the various state levels especially the core Niger Delta states than the others (Cross Rivers, Edo, Ondo, Abia and Imo States). Most states in Niger Delta have the same epidemiological experiences in development financing policies and socio-economic problems. Our research design was basically quasi-experimental with cross-sectional survey, as against the experimental design method.

3.2 SOURCES OF DATA AND DATA COLLECTION METHOD

Nachmias & Nachmias (1981) assert that there are primary and secondary data. Therefore, this study will derive its data from both sources. However, empirical data for the study consist mainly of primary data which was from a cross-sectional survey method with the instrument of questionnaire designed by the researcher, personal/oral interview for the purpose of explanation of issues arising therein and for clarity of opinion of the respondents. In the design of a comprehensive questionnaire for this study, adequate care was taken by the researcher – to eliminate duplications considered inappropriate to the scope of the present study.

The questionnaire was composed of 33 items which was structured on a 4-point Likert rating scale described as suggestion in which respondents grade the responses to reflect their extent of agreement. The points are discrete points graduate in an ascending order of magnitude from '1' (lowest) '4' (highest) as indicated in the grading schedule of table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1: Grading Schedule

Classification	Grade	Point	Exact limits
Very High Extent	VHE	4	3.50 and above
High Extent	HE	3	2.50-3.49
Low Extent	LE	2	1.50-2.49
Very Low Extent	VLE	1	0.00-1.49

The data was measured in ordinal or thinking scale which implies a procedure for assignment of numbers of variables placed in rank order according to the magnitude of qualities possessed without suggesting any numerical value of the difference between each which conforms with the characteristics of qualitative variables or data.

3.3 POPULATION/SAMPLE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

The target population of the study is 16 million people (civil servants, company workers, traders, self-employed and unemployed from the ages of 18 and above living in the four core Niger Delta states (Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers). In a household survey framework, sample sizes usually vary depending on the purpose and size of the

population. While it is often possible to work out the optimal sample size from the confidence interval of parameter estimates that a researcher is willing to accept, in practice more practical consideration tends to dominate the criteria for choice of a sample size. In Population surveys, sample to population ratio of 1:500 or even 1:2500 are admissible. However, there are standard techniques for determining the optimal size. According to Nwankwo (2006), the more conventional method (with different variants) is given by the Yaro formula that may be specified as:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(u)^2} \dots\dots\dots \text{Eq. (3.1)}$$

For N = population size and u = margin of error.

The Yaro Yamen formula has an advantage of being simple to apply. It was, therefore, used in this case to calculate our optimal sample to population ratio. In standard statistical test of significance, it is usual to allow for five or one per cent margin of error. This survey allowed a 5 per cent margin of error in calculating the optimal sample size (i.e., u = 5%). Noting that the population size (N) in this case is 16 million (see table of attachment – population size of the four core Niger Delta States based on Data from NPC below:

Table 3.2: Population Projection (High) For The Niger

DELTA STATE	2005	2010	2015	2020
ABIA	3,230,000	3,763,000	4,383,000	5,106,000
AKWA-IBOM	3,343,000	3,895,000	4,537,000	5,285,000
BAYELSA	1,710,000	1,992,000	2,320,000	2,703,000
CROSS RIVER	2,736,000	3,187,000	3,712,000	4,325,000
DELTA	3,594,000	4,186,000	4,877,000	5,681,000
EDO	3,018,000	3,516,000	4,096,000	4,871,000
IMO	3,342,000	3,894,000	4,535,000	5,283,000
ONDO	3,025,000	3,524,000	4,105,000	4,783,000
RIVERS	4,858,000	5,659,000	6,692,000	7,679,000
TOTAL POPULATION	28,856,000	33,616,000	39,157,000	45,716,000

- The total population of the four states based on 2010 projection is 15,732,000 approximately 16,000,000.
Source: *Niger Delta Regional Development Master Plan (2005) cited from GTZ projection (2004) based on National Population Commission Data 1991, page 54. Based on 2010 projection (16,000,000).*

Therefore estimate sample size is calculated as:

$$n = \frac{16000000}{1 + 16000000(0.05)^2} \approx 400$$

Thus the number of subjects to be administered the instrument during the survey would have been 400 as stated above. However, it is advisable to use sample size higher than the minimum estimate given by the formula (Nwankwo, 2006). Therefore, we chose to use a sample of 800 subjects for the study with a view to strengthening the reliability of our instrument.

Furthermore, Purposive sampling technique was used to select the four core Niger Delta states in the south-south out of the nine states of the region. The justification for the selection of these four was due to the fact that the states constitute the nucleus or beehive of oil exploration and exploitation activities in the Niger Delta region. Moreover, these states have a cross section of both majority and minority ethnic groupings that share common historic antecedents and aspirations. Four Local Government Areas (two urban and two rural) each were randomly selected out of the four states. From each of the four Local Government Areas, two communities were randomly selected, at least one oil producing inclusive. Then non-proportional stratified random sampling technique was used to compose the 800 subjects used for the study across 32 communities, 16 Local Government Areas in four states, as each state had equal number of respondents (200). Diagrammatically, this can be represented thus:

Table 3.3 showing the composition of sample (subjects) for the study through non-proportional stratified random sampling technique

States	LGA1		LGA2		LGA3		LGA4		SUBTOTAL
	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	
Akwa-Ibom	20	24	29	23	24	26	29	25	200
Bayelsa	28	26	29	25	27	21	24	20	200
Delta	25	26	23	24	28	27	26	21	200
Rivers	24	26	26	20	27	24	26	27	200
Total									800

3.4 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF THE INSTRUMENT

The validity of the instrument was based on face and content validity as experts on the subject duly vetted the designed questionnaires. Most specifically, specialists in political Science, Sociology, Economics, and Education assisted in vetting the questionnaires. While the test-retest reliability method was used, instrument was administered to forty respondents outside the sample study and size. The second test was administered after two weeks from the date the first test was administered to ensure high reliability coefficient. The result obtained was scored, coded and correlated using Pearson Product Moment Correlation (PPMC) for each section of the instrument and for the entire instrument. The reliability coefficient for socio-economic development was 0.701, environmental degradation was 0.671 and the structure of the Nigerian state and the modus operandi was 0.806 and for the entire instrument was 0.700. These coefficient values were considerably high enough to guarantee the use of the instrument for this study.

3.5 ADMINISTRATION OF THE INSTRUMENT

Copies of the instrument (rating scale) were administered directly to the respondents by the researcher with the assistance of Trained Research Assistants who are residents and adequately equipped with the knowledge of the communities and the respondents. Principally, four Research Assistants were used. All of them were graduates of Universities in Nigeria. Eight hundred copies of the instrument were administered and Seven hundred and ninety-three were retrieved after all, implying an average response of 99.1%.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

The scores on the extent of socio-economic development, environmental degradation and issues of the structure of the Nigerian state and modus operandi of Multinational Corporations militating against sustainable development in Niger Delta region were obtained from the questionnaire administered. One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to test the hypotheses at .05 level of significance. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 16.0 was used to run the data analysis to ascertain high degree of accuracy in the computations.

$$MEAN = \frac{\sum fX}{\sum f}$$

$$SD = \sqrt{\frac{\sum fX^2}{\sum f} - \left(\frac{\sum fX}{\sum f}\right)^2}$$

Analysis of Variance

$$\text{Step 1: Correction term (C)} = \frac{(X_1 + X_2 + X_3)^2}{N_1 + N_2 + N_3}$$

$$\text{Step 2: } SS_{total} = X_1^2 + X_2^2 + X_3^2 + \dots - C$$

$$\text{Step 3: } SS_{between.means} = (X_1)^2 + (X_2)^2 + \dots - C$$

$$\text{Step 4: } SS_{within.group} = SS_{total} - SS_{means}$$

Step 5: ANOVA table

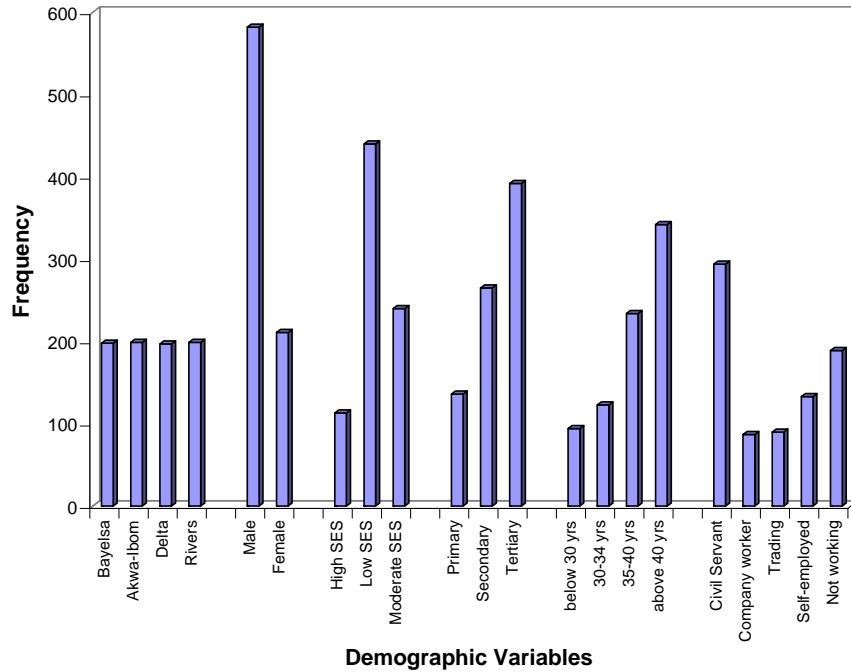
Source of variation	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	p(Sig.)
Between Groups					
Within Groups					
Total					

$$MS_{within.group} = \frac{SS_{within.group}}{Df_{within.group}}$$

$$F - value = \frac{MS_{between.group.means}}{MS_{within.group}} \quad (\text{Ofo, 1994; Amara \& Amaechi, 2005; Nwankwo, 2006}).$$

4.0 TEST OF HYPOTHESES, DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Figure 4.1: A Bar Chart Showing the Distribution of the Respondents' Demographics Information.



4.1 TEST OF HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis one: H_{01}

The people of Niger Delta do not significantly differ in their perception that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have failed to make substantial contributions to socio-economic development in the region.

$$\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3 = \mu_4 \quad \text{OR} \quad \mu_1 - \mu_2 - \mu_3 - \mu_4 = 0$$

Table 4.1 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on the Difference in the Perception of the People of Niger Delta on the failure of Nigerian State and Multinational Corporations to make substantial Contributions to Socio-Economic Development in the Region.

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F- cal.	<i>p</i> (sig.)	Decision
Between Groups	259.8885	3	86.628	1.187	.314	NS
Within Groups	57588.930	789	72.990			
Total	57848.815	792				

NS= Not Significant (p>.05) accept Ho if p>.05 Else Reject Ho p<.05

Table 4.1 shows that the people of Niger Delta do not significantly differ in their perception that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have failed to make substantial contributions to socio-economic development in the region ($F_{3, 789}=1.187, p>.05$). Therefore, we accept the null hypothesis above and reject the alternative hypothesis that the people of Niger Delta do significantly differ in their perception that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have failed to make substantial contributions to socio-economic development in the region. The Scheffe's post hoc multiple comparisons also show that the mean differences were not significant at .05 level of significance.

Hypothesis two: H0₂

There is no significant difference in the perception of the people of Niger Delta that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have failed to substantially address the pervasive environmental degradation in the region.

$$\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3 = \mu_4 \quad \text{or} \quad \mu_1 - \mu_2 - \mu_3 - \mu_4 = 0$$

Table 4.2: Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on the Difference in the Perception of the people of Niger Delta on the failure of the Nigerian State and MNCs in substantially addressing the pervasive environmental degradation in the Region.

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F-cal	p(sig.)	Decision
Between Groups	77.424	3	25.808	1.923	.124	NS
Within Groups	10586.329	789	13.417			
Total	10663.753	792				

NS= Not Significant (p>.05) accept Ho if p>.05 Else Reject Ho p<.05

Table 4.2 shows that there is no significant difference in the perception of the people of Niger Delta that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have failed to substantially address the pervasive environmental degradation in the region (F3, 789=1.923, p>.05). This implies that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have not adequately addressed the pervasive environmental degradation in the region. Therefore, we accept the null hypothesis above and reject the alternative hypothesis that the people of Niger Delta do significantly differ in their perception that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have failed to substantially address the pervasive environmental degradation in the region. The Scheffe’s post hoc multiple comparisons also show that the mean differences were not significant at .05 level of significant.

H0₃: The people of Niger Delta do not significantly differ in their perception that the structure of the Nigerian state and the modus operandi of Multinational Corporations have hindered sustainable development in the region.

$$\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3 = \mu_4 \quad \text{or} \quad \mu_1 - \mu_2 - \mu_3 - \mu_4 = 0$$

Table 4.3: Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) On the Difference in the Perception of the People of Niger Delta that the Structure of the Nigerian State and the Modus Operandi of MNCs have hindered Sustainable Development in the Region.

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F-cal	p(sig.)	Decision
Between Groups	57.138	3	19.046	1.268	.284	NS
Within Groups	11853.503	789	15.023			
Total	11910.641	792				

NS= Not significant (p>.05) accept Ho if p>.05 else reject Ho p<.05

Table 4.3 shows that the people of Niger Delta do not significantly differ in their perception that the structure of the Nigerian state and the modus operandi of Multinational Corporations have hindered sustainable development in the region (F3, 789= 1.268, p>.05). Therefore, we accept the null hypothesis above and reject the alternative that the people of Niger Delta do significantly differ in their perception that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have hindered sustainable development in the region.

The Scheffe's post hoc multiple comparisons also showed that the mean differences were not significant at .05 level of significance. This implies that all the four states were at par in terms of their mean differences in this direction.

5.0 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This section is mainly devoted to a detailed discussion of the major findings of this work against the background of the extent to which the research findings are in consistent or inconsistent with established theories, ideas, and opinions of different authorities based on the literature review. Therefore, the discussions will take the order of the research problem as clearly stated in this study with a view to determining the extent the questions raised have been answered.

One research problem addressed in this study was to examine whether or not the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have made significant contributions to socio-economic development in the Niger Delta region against the backdrop of their claims to high spending on development programmes in the states.

The result indicated low extent on the contributions of the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations to socio-economic development in the Niger Delta region in terms of the research questions. Our null hypothesis one (H_{01}) to this effect showed that the people of Niger Delta do not significantly differ in their perception that Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have failed to make substantial contributions to socio-economic development in the region. This implies that the respondents in the four states of the Niger Delta were unanimous in their perception that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have not significantly contributed to socio-economic development in the region.

Our findings are in consistent with those of (Odukoya, 2006; Oronto, et. al. 2003; Adabanwi, 2001; Aaron, 2008; Akinola, 2008; Adejo, 2008; Mbaku, 2005; and Turulagha, 2008); among others. For instance, Odukoya (2006) has found that the spread of the benefits of oil in Nigeria has been highly uneven and inequitably dispensed. He said while oil from the Niger Delta ensured economic growth in Nigerian urban enclaves championed by the majority ethnic groups in the country, contrary to expectations, oil has only ensured the underdevelopment of the Niger Delta in line with our finding. Oronto et al, (2003) also found that despite the 13% growth of oil revenues to the Niger Delta states, the region still remains poor. Aaron (2008) which is also in consistent with our finding, has observed that contrary to claims by the oil multinationals for high budgetary provisions for development in the region, the level of socio-economic development in the states, is quite disgusting. Aaron affirmed that socio-economic development agenda of the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have recorded abysmal failure in the region in line with our findings. Turulagha (2008) has also found that the relationship between the Nigerian state and oil multinationals on one hand and the people has not been healthy in conformity with our finding. He found that they have rather pursued very narrowly focused economic agenda based on maximizing the exploitation of oil resources in the region without giving anything in return, in terms of infrastructural development, affordable housing, education and training for the youths, medical facilities, economic development and adequate compensation for the usage of the land. This is in line with our finding in the study. Though there appears to be white elephant infrastructural development projects in the states of Niger Delta, but how these projects impact on the lives of the people is one problem. Oronto et al, (2003) has also found that the oil multinationals have collaborated with the Nigeria state to cripple the social and economic lives of the people since 1993. Adabanwi (2001) in agreement with our finding, has observed that the post-colonial Nigerian state did not cultivate its own citizens neither did it put into place appropriate infrastructure that would have helped to create local wealth and provide a strong local tax base for its operations. He further contended that the Nigerian state and multinational oil companies believe that what they owe the oil-yielding communities is minimal and that it must be given at their own pleasure.

Furthermore, our findings that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have not made significant contributions to socio-economic development in the Niger Delta region is to an extent in congruence with the views expressed in earlier works (Offiong, 1980; Ndoh, 1995) in the literature review. It is important to note that while some of their views were in consistent with the finding of this study above. Offiong (1980) and Ndoh (1995) have contended that the multinational corporations are often perceived as engines of development of their hosts, yet at some point, their interests mainly lie in the accumulation of profits of their investments rather than develop their hosts. All these are in line with our finding in this study as the people of Niger Delta differ in their perception that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have contributed to socio-economic development. However, our finding here differs from that of Ite (2006a, 2006b and 2007) cited in Aaron (2008) to some extent, which found that the oil multinationals (Shell) has contributed to sustainable development in the Niger Delta region, but however blamed the perceived short-comings on their development strategy to internal dynamics within their corporate social responsibility.

It is pertinent to state that the result came the way it did because, though there are some infrastructural development projects in the region, many of them failed to meet the yearnings of the people. At conception, from field observations, the people were not involved. The projects were planned, initiated and executed by the state and oil multinationals without any impact from the people. Also, sustainability plans were not put in place to ensure that the projects stood the test of time. Moreover, the economic empowerment programmes from our observations, were bourgeoisie-oriented as they were not directed at meeting the yearnings of the people in terms of poverty reduction. Again, the state and oil multinationals, from observations in the field, failed to develop the people of Niger Delta to fit into job opportunities in their organizations. This has led to unemployment, poverty and all kinds of criminal activities in the area which have multiplier effects evidenced in the series of protracted crises of development experienced in the region since 1993, despite the enormity of their significant contributions to national revenues.

The level of infrastructure like roads, healthcare system, schools, training/vocational centres, etc in the region is so dehumanizing such that it is nothing to write home about. The quality of projects executed were abysmally poor and below standards, especially roads and drainages constructed by NDDC. Our field experiences revealed that some of the projects were poorly executed because they were merely instruments of political patronage. We also observed that some of the youths preferred illegal oil activities than to engage in meaningful activities, hence contributed further to the problem. Unemployment is on the increase with many of them giving in to all manner of criminality.

All these explain the factors that influenced the outcome of the result as the people were unanimous in their perception that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have failed to contribute to socio-economic development in the region.

Our second research problem in this study borders on ascertaining the roles of the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations in the pervasive environmental degradation in the Niger Delta region contrary to their claims to high environmental standards in their operations.

The result indicated low extent on the roles of the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations in substantially addressing the pervasive environmental degradation in the Niger Delta region. In this regard, our second hypothesis (H₀₂) which was stated in a null form, that there is no significant difference in the perception of the people of Niger Delta that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have failed to substantially address the pervasive environmental degradation in the region was accepted. This showed that the respondents in the four states were in agreement in their perception that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have not significantly addressed the pervasive environmental degradation in the Niger Delta region contrary their claims.

Our findings here are in consonance with the findings of (Nyemutu, 1999; Nyanayo, 2009; Odukoya, 2006; Onah and Nyewusira, 2005; Saro-Wiwa, 1995; Onduku, 2003; Aaron, 2008; Natufe, 2001; Oronto, et. al. 2003; and Ojefia, 2008); among others.

Nyemutu (1999) for instance, found that the alliance and coincidence of interest between foreign capital and the Nigerian ruling class has compromised the issue of best practices the world over as they have treated oil spillages and environmental pollutions with disdain or levity. Rather than check these degrading environmental activities of the oil multinationals, the Nigerian state has rather been complacent due to its own vested interests in tune with our findings in this study.

This is also in line with the views expressed by Nyanayo (2009) who said the Nigerian state and oil multinationals are playing politics with gas flaring deadlines in the Niger Delta region. He said the impact of oil exploration and exploitation resulting in the depletion of the ozone layer would not only affect the Niger Delta but the entire Nigerian populace. Odukoya (2006), including Onah and Nyewusira (2005) were unanimous in their expressions in consonance with our findings when they observed that not only that oil exploration and exploitation activities in the Niger Delta have destroyed the ecosystem, but that there is no guarantee that the present and future generations will inherit a world free of indecency occasioned by environmental degradation and patterns of unsustainable development. Saro-Wiwa (1995), Onduku (2003) and Natufe (2001) were unanimous in their findings which relate to ours here when they found that the Niger Delta is challenged by serious and overlapping social and environmental problem with the Nigeria state and oil multinationals playing key roles.

In a similar vein, our findings as related to the second research problem in this study are in consistent with those of Oronto et al, (2003) which found that oil multinationals have collaborated with the state to destroy human ecosystem the people rely on for sustenance. Ojefia (2008) found also that the Nigerian state and its allies have failed to respond appropriately to the acute problems and human pains of the region. He said several years of oil exploration

and exploitation have damaged much of the ecosystem of the region. This was the perception of the people across the four states of the Niger Delta from our findings.

We need to point out that the results or findings above can be explained in the context of our observations in the field and based on the perception of the people across the four states. Observations from the field trip reveals that the state and some multinational corporations especially the Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Ltd pay lip-service to the issues of the environment as they effect oil exploration and exploitation in the region. We observed indiscriminate flare of gas and oil spillages in and around the environment with the oil companies doing little or nothing to mitigate the problem. From our field data, it was revealing that they do not have clear environmental management policies and where they existed, the rate of implementation has been low. This is contrary to their claims to high environmental standards in their operations in the Niger Delta in conformity with best practices the world over.

It is revealing also that the rate of emergency responses of state departments like the DPR and oil multinationals in cases oil of spillages and other environmental hazards is quite low as these activities have been on the increase.

More so, the inconsistencies of the state and oil multinationals in committing to ending gas flaring in the Niger Delta is another indicator that they are not serious with the issues of the environment as they affect the Niger Delta. These were some of the factors that affected the outcome of our finding that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations have failed to substantially address the pervasive environmental degradation in the Niger Delta region.

Furthermore, our third research problem hinges mainly on ascertaining the fundamental issues militating against sustainable development in the Niger Delta region. Our result indicated high extent on how the structure of the Nigerian state and the modus operandi of Multinational Corporations have hindered sustainable development in the Niger Delta region. To this effect, our third hypothesis (H_0_3) which was stated in a null form tested positive, that the people of Niger Delta do not significantly differ in their perception that the structure of the Nigerian state and the modus operandi of Multinational Corporations have hindered sustainable development in the region. This showed that the respondents across the four states of Niger Delta were in agreement in their perception that the structure of the Nigerian State and the modus operandi of Multinational Corporations have hindered to a large extent, sustainable development in the region.

It is pertinent to state that our findings above also are in conformity with the findings, views and opinions expressed by (Allen, 2007; Nnadozie, 2004; Nduka, 2006; Nyemutu, 1999; Turulagha, 2008; Ojefia, 2008; Aaron, 2008; Onduku, 2003; Adabanwi, 2001; and Otite, 2008); among others.

Allen (2007) for instance, has said that the desirability of development and the kind of development pursued by the state is dependent on the persons entrusted with such powers. He argued that the kind of development pursued in the Niger Delta region, which has not been favourable, has been the conception and desirability of those in power in the state in alliance with oil multinationals, hence, has not enhanced the kind of development the region has yearned for, confirming our finding in this study. On their own, Nnadozie (2004) and Nduka (2006) in agreement with our finding have observed that the possibility of development or the character of development is a function of how the ruling coalition in a state perceives it in relations to its objectives and class interests both in the short and long runs. This position further confirms that the character of development of the Niger Delta region from our results reflects the structure and character of the Nigerian state and oil multinationals, which have hindered the attainment of sustainable development in the states.

Nyemutu (1999) has affirmed that the Nigerian state and oil multinationals had short-changed the developmental needs of the people for their own interests, while also compromising the issue of best practices in the operations of the oil multinationals at the detriment of the people of Niger Delta. Nyemutu observed that rather than check the nefarious activities of oil multinationals, the Nigerian state has been engaged in the struggle over rents from oil operations, negating the need for development planning, sustainability and the issue of the development of technology of labour in the Niger Delta. This is in consonance with our finding. Major findings in this regard have strongly contended that environmental degradation by the oil multinationals can only be explained in the context of conspiracy of state officials and non-existence of environmentally friendly laws, confirming our findings. They have also argued that state development agencies like the defunct OMPADEC and NDCC initiatives are neither participatory nor developmental as they are only anti-development to the extent that they were strategies to dispossess the development revolutionary consciousness of the people of Niger Delta. Their observation that if the projects executed in the region ever achieved anything, they only served the interests of the ruling class and their international collaborators, confirms our findings and is in consistent with our theoretical framework.

Our findings too, relate to the observation of Turulagha (2008) that the relationship between the oil multinationals and the Niger Delta people has not been cordial, as they have pursued very narrowly focused economic agenda leaving the people in a vicious circle of poverty. Ojefia (2008), Aaron (2008), Otite (2008) and Onduku (2003) were unanimous in their findings consistent with ours when they separately contended that the structure of the state and modus operandi of the oil multinationals have not enhanced the attainment of sustainable development in the Niger Delta region. For instance, Ojefia has said that rather than the activities of multinational corporations in the Niger Delta enhance sustainable development, they have rather constituted a clog in the wheel of progress of sustainable development in the region. Ojefia had contended that the Nigerian state and oil multinationals have created the problems of the region with little or no efforts to solve them, which is consistent with our finding in this study.

The observation of Akinola (2008) further agrees with our finding here, when he said that the emphasis of the Nigerian state and oil multinationals on the development approach in the Niger Delta has been physical capital at the detriment of people-oriented institutions. He said their attentions have been on infrastructure and vocational programmes with high budgetary provisions, yet these projects do not impact positively on the supposedly beneficiaries. This was basically our observations in the field. So many projects were lying fallow with little or no impact on people. Furthermore, our finding also is closely related to the works of Ike and Oronto 2001, Ake, 1995; Akinola, 2006; 2008; Adejo, 2008; Natufe, 2001; Mbaku, 2005; Agbo, 2008 and Samuel, 2008; among others which found that there is a significant relationship between good governance on the part of the Nigerian state and sustainable development in the Niger Delta region. In effect, what their works centred on was how good governance could enhance sustainable development. However, they strongly contended that good governance is synonymous with sustainable development or more succinctly, they are interwoven, but regretted that it was lacking in Nigeria, hence has hindered the pace of development in the region. All these are centred on the impact of the structure of the Nigerian state and modus operandi of Multinational Corporations on the attainment of sustainable development in the region. It can be deduced that if the state were committed to the part of good governance, it as well would ensure the oil multinationals embraced it as a panacea to sustainable development in the Niger Delta. But because it is lacking, the part to achieving sustainable development in the region has been on the decline.

Adabanwi (2001:2) in agreement with our findings, observed that “oil exploration introduced entirely new element into the structure of Nigerian state - an internal predatory elite that saw the new commodity as God’s sent and so saw itself as unaccountable to the communities that provided it”. Adabanwi has also observed that why the Nigerian state has failed to address the problem of sustainable development in the region, according to some observers, was that it has been totally at the whims and caprices of the multinationals. According to him, “the Niger Delta debacle is a classic case of collusion between International finance capital and a corrupt and morally derelict state”. He has argued that the Nigerian state has collaborated with the oil multinationals to frustrate sustainable development in the Niger Delta rather than give back what they take from the region.

This is due largely to structural defects within the Nigerian state and the consequent effects on the Multinational Corporations operating in the Niger Delta. And this can only be explained in the context of Nigeria’s integration and incorporation into the periphery of the global capitalist system to play a subservient role to the international capital. In other words, what this implies is that the problem of achieving sustainable development in the Niger Delta can only be explained in the context of the dependency theory. Our post hoc test of comparisons shows that all the respondents in the four states were unanimous in their perceptions that the structure of the Nigerian state and the modus operandi of Multinational Corporations have hindered sustainable development in the Niger Delta region.

We noted that the findings of this study came out the way they did in this regard due to our observations in the field that despite huge budgetary provisions and avowed commitments by the Nigerian state and oil multinationals to address the development challenges in the Niger Delta region, at the wake of the violence and crises, the area still remains underdeveloped. We sought to identify whether the structure of the Nigerian state and modus operandi of the oil multinationals have anything to contribute to the hampering of sustainable development in the region, and our hypothesis to this effect tested positive. This is because; the Nigerian state and oil multinationals have been partners in the oil business in the Niger Delta. The interest of the Nigerian state represented by the ruling class is to protect the investments of oil multinationals in the Niger Delta for their own selfish desires. Given the fact that the average Niger Deltan, from our experiences in the field, felt short-changed in the scheme of resource and political power distributions in the country, influenced to a great extent, the results of our study in this regard.

6.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We conclude that that the Nigerian state and Multinational Corporations, despite claims to high budgetary spending in the Niger Delta, have not significantly addressed both the immediate socio-economic development needs and the negative environmental impacts of oil exploration and exploitation activities in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria.

Furthermore, the way and manner the Nigerian State is structured vis-a-vis the modus operandi of Multinational Corporations have constituted obstacles to achieving sustainable development in the Niger Delta region.

We recommend, therefore, that, for sustainable peace and development to thrive in the Niger Delta region, there is an urgent need for the Nigerian State and oil multinationals as well as other stakeholders to intensify efforts at living up to the current global drive towards sustainable development. As such, for Niger Delta states to experience sustainable development, there must be a strong political will on the part of both the Nigerian State and Multinational Corporations to adopt far-reaching programmes in content and design that would translate into visible improvement in job creation, poverty reduction, healthcare delivery, quality education, physical and social infrastructure and environmental management and practices. Consequently, development programmes of both the Nigerian State and Multinational Corporations in the Niger Delta region need to be overhauled in line with best global development practices. In achieving this, appropriate legislations by the National Assembly and subsequent enforcements are inevitable in compelling all stakeholders in the oil industry to adopt comprehensive and result-oriented approaches to solving sustainable development challenges in the Niger Delta. It is by so doing that the crises that have slowed the pace of oil exploration, exploitation, and development activities in the region would have been halted, giving room for sustainable peace and development which the region deserves.

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