

An Assessment of Good Governance and Development in Nigeria: A Study of Bayelsa State 2012-2019

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Abstract

Good governance and development are dimensions of democracy for fostering equity and inclusiveness, accountability, rule of law, transparency, and the attainment of national development among others. The major purpose of the research is to examine good governance and development were institutionalized and achieved by the Bayelsa State government under Henry Seriake Dickson from 2012-2019. The study adopted structural-functional theory, descriptive research design, secondary sources of data collection and content analysis. The study among others discovered that from 2012-2019, the fundamental liberal politico-administrative values of good governance and development such as equity and inclusiveness, rule of law, accountability, vis-à-vis socio-economic and political development were not adequately addressed by the Bayelsa State government. Based on this, the study recommended that, Bayelsa State government should pursue an inclusive, people-oriented and participatory democracy to address the challenges inhibiting good governance and open up opportunities for development.

Keywords: Development; Governance; Government; Good Governance ; structural-functionalism;

Introduction

Historically, Bayelsa is a State in the Southern part of Nigeria, the state is located in the Niger Delta region and shared boundary with Delta State and Rivers State. The state capital is situated in Yenagoa. The people of Bayelsa state speak English as their common official language. On the other hand, the major language among the people is Ijaw with many dialects which include: Kolukuma; Bomu; Mein; Nembe; Epie-Atissa.

However, Bayelsa State was created from Rivers State on 1st October, 1996 by the late Sani Abacha's military administration. The name Bayelsa was formed from the following names of the current major local government areas namely: Brass L.G.A (BALGA), Yenagoa (YELGA), and Sagbama (SALGA). Thus, Bayelsa from BA+YEL+SA.

The economy of Bayelsa State is majorly crude oil and natural gas; in fact, Bayelsa state one of the largest crude oil and natural gas deposits suppliers in Nigeria. However, farming and fishing, something typical of riverine people, are the major occupation of the people. Since its creation in 1996, Bayelsa State has had to, which is typical of the States in the Niger Delta region since their creation, continually contend with the increased vista of challenges and opportunities in terms of good governance and development. Specifically, the Executive Governor of Bayelsa State which falls under this study, inherited from his predecessor Nestor Binabo (acting governor of Bayelsa State 27th January 2012-2014 February 2012), after Timipre Sylva tenure (27th May, 2008-27th January, 2012) was terminated by the Supreme Court, a State already embroiled in a severely heightened demand for good governance and development in all ramifications.

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In other words, attaining good governance and development in Bayelsa State from 2012-2019 in terms of politico-administrative liberal parameters of equity and inclusiveness, accountability, responsiveness, rule of laws, socio-economic development, according to some people is as hard as a small boat journeying across a tempestuous river. Nevertheless, there are those who claim that the Bayelsa State government from 2012-2019 has effectively managed its resources at its disposal to address the socio-economic and politico-administrative challenges in terms of responsiveness, equitability, inclusiveness among others.

Indeed, it remains a highly debatable issue whether or not Bayelsa State government, from 2012-2019, under his Excellency Henry Seriake Dickson has attained good governance and development. The rest of the paper will explore this. Also, among others this paper hangs on the conjectural assertion by Pani, Mishra & Sahu(2004, pp.20-23) that a leader must merge his individuality with duties in exercising authority, be properly guided as an administrator, avoid extremes without missing the goal, etc, in attaining good governance.

Research Problem

As said earlier, Bayelsa State was created in 1996 by the late General Sani Abacha military era with many developmental problems including good governance, total neglect and gross insensitivity experienced by the people from the various governments. . In other words, the search for a viable and development-oriented government by Bayelsa Government since the creation of the State according to some authorities has been elusive, tortuous, chequered and far-fetched because the people are yet to see the institutionalization of the process of good governance and attainment of democracy. Indeed, the long awaited hope and latitude for Bayelsans to determine their destiny in governance has been traded off for individual and political party interests.

On the other hand, the counter-mootablepoint by other authorities is that the previous Bayelsa government under the leadership of Henry Seriake Dickson from 2012-2014 had done well by enthroning good governance and development with the concomitant corollaries of fair play and inclusiveness governance, people participation, institutionalization of the principle of rule of law, building efficiency and competence within the system , increased socio-economic and political development among others.

However, these arguable points have provided for this paper a point of departure in establishing a nexus between good governance and development. Thus, by the end of this paper, we will ascertain whether or not the government of Henry Seriake Dickson or the Bayelsa State Government from 2012-2019 provided the overriding environment and need to continuously tackle the challenges facing the enthronement of fundamental liberal values of equal and unfettered opportunities, people participation and representation in terms of good governance and development among others. In short, it is imperative, based on the foregoing, to investigate the nitty-gritty of the fundamental diagnosis of good governance and development in Bayelsa State from 2012-2019.

Research Questions

The following questions were formulated to gather the research data and draw conclusion:

1. What structures/institutions does the Bayelsa State Government put in place from 2012-2019 for the attainment of good governance and development?
2. What areas Bayelsa state government have recognized on good governance and development from 2012-2019?

Purpose of the Study

The central aim of this research is to examine how Bayelsa state government from 2012-2019 institutionalized and attained good governance and development. Nonetheless, the specific objectives linked to the study questions are:

1. To examine the structures/institutions put in place by Bayelsa State Government from 2012-2019 attainment of good governance and development.
2. To identify if Bayelsa state have recognized good governance and development from 2012-2019.

Significance of the Study

Though there is an overabundance of political literature on good governance and development that have contributed to the knowledge and literature in the Social Sciences, yet the relevance of this study cannot be over-stressed in the disciplines of Social, Administrative and Management Sciences. Generally, this study will be of utmost importance to the Federal Government and specifically to the Bayelsa State Governments in terms of making equitable and inclusive, accountable and responsive, people oriented and development oriented policies among others that will usher in good governance and development in all ramifications.

In the science of politics as well as administration, good denotes effectiveness and efficiency. In other words, efficiency can be attained only through good governance and development-oriented policies. Thus, another significant point to delineate is that this study will benefit the students, academicians, administrators and policy makers in making both formal and informal decisions and shun misgovernance and malgovernance which encompasses non-feasance, over-feasance and mal-feasance.

Indisputably, the study will motivate further empirical study in the aforementioned disciplines or their related areas of academic interest that will be of immense benefit to our knowledge of good governance and development.

Conceptual Review

The literature review in this chapter encompasses – Governance, Good Governance and Development

Let us take them one after the other.

1.1 Governance

For decades now, the concept of governance has attracted profound debates in public management, political sciences, new public governance doctrines, public policy, public administration, etc. Thus, Pollit (2005) argues that, like bureaucracy, power, decentralization, among others, governance has an unceasing interpretation in that it has really been a defensible concept. According to our reading, governance is old as used in administering (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 2009; Farazmand, 2004, p.3).

Tiihonen (2004) stresses that as a concept, governance entails governing, rulemaking, domination and influencing people in society or hierarchical structural arrangement of government. Historically, governance is being increasingly used in development literature, and has not just only occupied the phases of development literature and research formulation, but it has become a fundamental dimension to be part and parcel of development policy making and implementation of all nations – developing and developed (UNESCAP, 2009, Hye, 2000, Pani, Mishra & Sahu 2004, p.3).

However, governance is the means where the will of government policies are highly articulated and implemented through analytical and systematical process (Farazmand, 2012, p.351). In a similar thrust, Pani, Mishra and Sahu (2004, p.4) aptly opined that “governance takes different qualitative connotations, if the basic functions” to be carried out by the State “are either not done at all or done perfunctory.” Furthermore, the UNESCAP made us to understand that governance is used in several context e.g. international governance, corporate governance, local governance national governance among many. It is synonymous with governance philosophies, administrative theories, principles of governance and good governance (Mohammad & Petri 2016).

While, Pierre and Peters (2005, p.7) argued that the concept governance is very slippery in application, Schneider (2004) maintains that the concept governance is really its “secret of its success” or staying power. However Farazmand (2012) rejected these views and said governance is the good, bad and the ugly. Then what is governance? Despite the multifaceted praises and fusillades against governance a perspective of looking at governance is that of its conceptual or theoretical framework vis-à-vis government including their relationship and distinctions. Governance in addition, involves the building, execution and implementation of activities that shared goals of both citizens and organizations formally or informally, that is, the people and organizations who may not have formal authority or policy (Rosenau, 1992).

On the other hand, governance according to Richard (2002) is a public legislation, development administration (bureaucracy, civil service) use for force (political power), financial control and regulation. This implies that government is non-regulatory and a synergistic connections among state actors and the people in the effective building, achievement and implementation of public policies for common good and development. While state actors include the political class or government at all level, political parties, etc, non-state actors include landlords, cooperation of peasant. Specifically, apart from government at all level, the media, lobbyists, international donors, MN(s), etc, are all involved in governance because of their involvement in decision making (UNESCAP 2009, Pani, Mishra & Sahu 2004, PP. 5-7).

From the foregoing, as whole governance is an explosive concept in the light of this study, as well as a growing phenomenon which is without doubt considered efficient in making government policies (Aminuzzaman 2010, p.19.14). No wonder Nwachukwu (2003,P.53) is of the view that "governance is now part of the international development vocabulary...", nevertheless, the concept lack specific meaning in relation to present day dynamic challenges, except in few cases. He further averred that governance then is quite a distinct field of study. It merits special attention in Africa. This is followed by policy making and public administration as in choice making, coordination and implementation of programmes and project management .Inferred from this, Nwachukwu (2003) defined governance as "the conscious management of regime structures to strengthen the legitimacy of the public goods, i.e. the field in which state and society act and interact to make authoritative decision on the allocation of scarce resources."Put differently, governance means the application of rules for exercising political power and settlement of social conflict emerging from such rules, and the focus on which may also be seen as constitutional in that rules are both formally and informally made (Nwachukwu 2003, pp. 56-57).

In the twenty-first century, the fight against corruption, mal-administration, the growing internationalization, the quest for credibility and legitimacy which many believe could be achieved successfully and proficiently from side to side of fairness, all inclusiveness governance , popular participation, consensus building, accountable and transparent government , responsiveness have triggered search on self-expression of dimensions in the interpretation and reinterpretation of the concept of governance. Prominent among these perspectives are the conceptualizations of governance by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 1995; World Bank , 1994).

Specifically, OECD (1995) conceptualization of governance in Mohammed and Pertri (2016) and Bhattacharya (1997, pp.291-292) revolve around public administration and governmental institutions, the state role in government, methods, parameters of governing, the relationship between or among state agencies with non-state actors including NGOs. These views were further re-amplified in the works of Pani, Mishra & Sahu (2004, p.13), Hossain 2001, Anheier & Serbel (1990). For OECD 1995, governance through development assistance should be linked to, participation of the people, Human rights and democratizations (Bhachattarya 1997, pp.291-292).

In this perspective, OECD's (1995) key dimensions of governance include: (a) legitimacy of government (b) competence of government in policy making and quick service delivery (c) political accountability of public officials, and (d) respect to the principles of human rights and rule of law (Pani, et al., 2004, pp.13-14)

To the World Bank (1994) the issue of governance has to do with the process whereby political power is adopted through the running of the nation's socio-economic resources for the development of the people .The main concern here include: service delivery, reforms , public sector issues and public interventions and issues of institutional capacity building and among many (Mohammed & Petri, 2016).

Suffice to say that two school of thoughts emanated from the hitherto analysis of governance, namely the International Aid Agencies or International Donors Camp exemplified by IMF, World Bank, OECD, etc, and European Theorists or Scholars, as expressed above. Afrocentric scholars agreed that leaders should be accountable, responsive, monitored and resources should be managed efficiently and effectively for the common good and development. However, the role of the International Aid Agencies towards third world nations is what they frowned at. Thus this study argued that governance is a tool that clogs the eyes in the third world nations, a tool whose overarch capitalizes its oligarchic grip by big letters (developed nations) of small letters (underdeveloped or developing nations) through international governance, international institutions, etc.Put differently, the International Aid Agencies, in the same manner during slavery, colonialism and new-slavery (noe colonialism)and now governance, good governance and globalization, feed the ascendance of their self-pity euphoria to meet the human development needs of underdeveloped nations and gullibly continue to impoverish them. Indeed the IMF, IBRD, OECD, etc, are all involved in this. It is not fortuitous but meant to increase the insatiable demands of reliance and dependence of small letter nations under their leech-mausoleums.

Having taken a position, this study defines governance as the adherence to the tenets of constitutionalism including the adherence of rule of law and fundamental human rights, and in relation to current global issue of sustainable development, the efficient and effective management of resources and application of environmental ethics for common good and development.

1.2 Good Governance

According to Pani, et al., (2004, p.4) "good governance has entered the vocabulary of public administration since 1990s" and it appeared "... as much as publicized nostrum for the ailing third world countries" (p.4).Nevertheless, its actual antecedent can be linked to the crisis of first world war in the epoch of market economic domination.

Indeed, good is efficiency whether in public sector or private sector, whether in the science of politics, management or administration (Pani, Mishra &Sahu 2004). This is the basis of governance normativism or value system. No wonder Zafarullah and Huque (2001) aptly stated that good governance has actually become a desirable value, while Farazmand (2012) sees as the obsession of current development literature or vocabulary of both developing and developed nations.

In all ramifications, scholars approached the conceptual framework of good governance based on their orientation, background, etc. For example, Unanka (2001, p.205) approached the concept good governance from the perspective of its relation with good leadership. Thus, he said that the morality of good leadership is the ideology of good governance. Ehen we call for men of good morals, wisdom and superior leadership, we are calling for men with the right ideology of governance (p.208). linking good governance to national development, development administration Umanka (2001, p.209) and Nwosu (1980, pp.29-30) declared that national development as an aspect of good governance can only be planned, directed and managed by men and women in government. That good governance requires effective development administration and is culturally and ideologically driven.

In the same thrust, Mohammed and Petri (2016) posited that good governance embraces well-organized and valuable administrative system which helps in improving the standard of living and its encourage popular participations in policy decision making and implementation. Furthermore, good governance incorporates citizens-friendliness,, decentralization, especially local decentralization, caring for citizens, autonomous political society, accountable government , provides a strong civil society process and free media outlet for the people in expressing their views toward the government (Huque 200; Minocha 1998; Stowe, 1992) Conceptually, our reading or study of good governance shows that there is no straitjacket answer to what is good governance. However, its normative dimensions and definitional thrust by World Bank (1992, 1994, 1997), UNDP (1997,1990,2002), Human Development Report(2002) and the OECD (1995) include the value components of equity and incisiveness, participation, transparency, accountability, the rule of law, peoples participation, etc.

Furthermore, Bhattacharya (1997) said that the normative implications of good governance include the following:

1. The form of political system in practice.
2. Effective and efficient management of a nation's socio-economic resources through effective authority exercises, and
3. The capability of effective and efficient leaders to identify and formulate good policies for the people.

As has been hinted, typically, though not completely exhaustive, it seems the political literature on good governance is totally premised on the extent to which a peripheral nation has to adhere to the dictates of democratic liberalism or liberal democracies, especially the U.S.A and European nations. It is believed by this study, good governance that appears to be a therapy for culturally fissiparous societies to attain free and fair election and effective and efficient resource governance, minimization of corruption and respect of the views of minorities.

Contributing to the debate on good governance Mukhopadhyay (1997) and Sekhar (1994) assumed, though in tandem with the views above that, good governance is an aspect of democracy or democratic governance and got its relevance in the contextual analysis of poor governance . Thus, it is meant to check corruption, misuse of political power set up by the joint forces of the three organs of government.

Extrapolated from a global perspective, development policy by the IMF, the World Bank and donor nations define good governance from two historical perspectives features as follows:

1. Good governance is that which promotes open market friendliness and competitive economies as stated in the policy document of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP).
2. Good governance which support democratization and improvement of human rights records. (Bhattacharya, 1997, p.291).

The collection of factors above made the World Bank in 1989 to highlight issue of good governance for the first time to purport the sound development management and conceived its dimensions as mainly (a) an aspect of public sector management system (PSM) (b) accountable government (c) a framework used for policy development (d) a technique for adopting modern means of information and technology.

Farazmand (2013, p. 355) articulated that good governance is deficient because it lays emphasis on the interface among the state level, civil society and the private sector activities. Indeed, he was critical of the fact that, instead of domestic forces, governance in developing nations is riddled by the influence of global and regional dictates, apart from its highly normative value premise. In furtherance, Farazmand argued for "second governance" in place of "good governance" because it is all encompassing and it includes the State as an enabling institutional entity, the civil society process , arrangement of constitutional framework, the synergy between the public and private sectors system , popular participation, and the involvement, within limits of worldwide institutional structure. He further opined that "sound governance" instead of good governance system is "inclusive and promotes participation and interaction in an increasingly complex, diverse and dynamic national and international environment.

This study, given the paradox and plethora of good governance definitions, is in support of Asaduzzaman's (2011) view that good governance is cabined in its meaning by traditional values, cultural heritage, environmental realities, political culture, and economic structure.

However, this study defines good governance as the value connotations or premises for government (developed and underdeveloped) to harness effectively and efficiently its resources to attain common good and sustainable development. Here effectiveness and efficiency are the signposts for good governance, which reinforce the need for synergy between politics and administration. The value premises connotations are the propositions, statements or conditions, or that which is presumptively stated or proved as regards what government should not do to attain common good and sustainable development, e.g. imbibing by the tenets of constitutionalism including the principles of rule of law and fundamental human rights. Also, the need for running an equitable and inclusive, consensus-oriented, participatory, etc, democracy. In other words, the values of good governance are positive, implicit or explicit conditions e.g being equitable, responsive, responsible, transparent, accountable, etc. This means the refusal to indulge in them attracts negative consequences e.g being irresponsible to the common good, non-accountable to the system or people, irresponsible to the plight of the citizens, the abuse of rule of law and fundamental human rights issues, etc, underdevelopment, etc.

1.3 Development

Development is a human problem despite it being elusive and paradoxical. In the same vein, Unanka (2001, pp.3-4) graphically averred that development is a problem for public policy makers as well as various coteries of theorists. Furthermore, he said "development is an economic problem, it is also a social, cultural, political and technological problem" (p.3). Problematic as development were and is, majority of the world population live in abject poverty, hunger, disease, premature death, housing, war, etc which need immediate attention (Barnet & Muller; 1974, p.123; Berger, 1976, pp.9-10; Wignaraja, 1976, p.2 in Unanka, 2001, pp.3.7).

Rodney (2005, p.1) posited that development with the activities of individual is a multi-faceted stage involving both the people and government programmes. From the people, development implies improved proficiency, competence in attending government programmes, creative attitude, high level of freedom, strength of mind, acquisition material means. Also man must be capable of forming organized social group and regulate both internal and external relations (Rodney, 2005, p.1-2). Nwachukwu (1999, p.165) approached the subject matter of development from the angle of human need satisfaction. Thus, he conceived development as possibilities which rise and fluctuate according to what is feasible and non-feasible at any point in time. Man must interact with his fellow men and utilize natural resources in the developmental process of a nation (Nwachukwu, 1999, p. 167). Development occurs within the framework of organized institutions, actions, etc. which dictates the patterns of institutions, structures and mechanisms and provides the capacity and support in form of ministries, or departments governmentally and administratively (Nwachukwu, 1999, p.169).

To Okoli and Onah (2002, p.129) development is the sequence movement, improvement towards something or it is the progress experienced on the aspects of people life. Indeed, it involves development plan and planning, action or inaction, reaction or motion. Contributing to the definition of development, Okoye (1997, p.160) sees it as the sustained evaluation of a whole society and social system, towards the attainment of a "better" human life. He further said development enshrined tripartite core values namely: Life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom, which are also common goals every person and society strives for.

A school of thought argued that development is an adaptive process by which something or any unit increases (Ogunna, 2007, pp.5-6). Thus, Ogunna aptly concluded that change is elusive and denotes quantity and not quality as in many road, hospitals, schools, etc. without quality but growth involves both (pp.5-6).

Development in this study means the quantitative and qualitative process by which a people or society attain socio-economic, cultural, technological, politico-administrative, sustainable and environmental goals of nation building through good governance and effective resource utilization. Thus, this paper repudiates the views of economists such as Rostov (1960), Baumol (1959) and Higgins (1959) in the sense that they represent more of a robust imperialistic thinking than practical ways in which underdeveloped or developing nations, tied to and controlled by international institutions, can attain economic development.

Theoretical Analysis / Framework

Structural-Functional analysis

The structural-functional theory was adopted as the theoretical framework, this theory is old in biology, cultural anthropology and psychology rather than in sociology and political sciences. Also, it is more of a way of looking at socio-political phenomena rather than a theory (Unanka, 2001, p.15). Talcott Parsons (1961) was its chief proponent; however, he was greatly influenced by Malinowski's (1884-1942) functionalist views, and his colleague Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1952), and much influence from Max Weber.

Specifically, Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) sees institutions as the central focus of the social theory of society and human development (Parsons & Shils 1951, p150 in Unanka, 2001, p.18). Parsons categorically stressed that structural-functional analysis should concentrate on the functioning of organizational structures, actor's status and roles in a social situation as well as an analysis of institutional patterns in the social system (Timasheff & Theodorson, 1976, p. 257 in Unanka, 2001, p.18).

However, given the excess of governance theories and models, this study hangs on the structural-functional theory of Talcott Parsons (1961) and his cohorts as incorporated into the domain of governance by Ferrel Heady in (1966). Ferrel a leading theorist of comparative public administration argued that the achievement of a given political organization is through the maintenance of a political support system which relies heavily on different structures' in its ability to carry out task including interest articulation, policy making and implementation mechanism, application of the rule of law and improved communication network system (Mohammed & Petri, 2016).

This study also stipulated that it is in the wrong context to say that a particular model or theory of governance is suitable in every nations. Nevertheless, this study found theoretical solace in the structural-functional theory for many reasons. First, the insight offered us by our analytic framework aforesaid serves as a platform for discussing good governance in Bayelsa State from 2012-2019. In fact, it shades light on whether good governance was attained or not by Governor Henry Seriake Dickson's administration in Bayelsa State from 2012-2018. Also, it will help us to discuss the research questions during data presentation and analysis, and draw our conclusion and offer recommendations.

Methodology

The research design employed here is qualitative (non probability). In other words, we employed document review method of data collection predicated on a strong reliance on secondary sources, including textbooks, magazines, journals, and the internet. In tandem with the research design and method of data collection aforesaid, content analysis was adopted. However, the content analysis was guided by the structural-functional theory.

Data Presentation and Analysis

This chapter addresses the research questions: What structures/institutions does the Bayelsa state government put in place from 2012-2019 for the attainment of good governance and development? What areas Bayelsa state government have recognized on good governance and development from 2012-2019? Reiteratively, given the forest of polemical views about good governance and development, and equipped with the theoretical framework of structural functional theory, or better still extrapolated from functionalism imbued with content analysis, this chapter also seeks to establish a link between good governance and development.

From the above analysis, the following data collected would be analyzed under two headings: the view that the Bayelsa State Government attained good governance from 2012-2019 and the contrary view. We will draw our conclusion from these views

i. The view that Bayelsa State Government attained Good Governance and Development from 2012-2019

There is a growing school of thought that the government of Bayelsa State from 2012-2019 had done well concerning good governance and development. How? That the Bayelsa State Government has achieved good governance and development re-vibrated as the said government applauded former administration of Dickson for winning an award on good governance. Though the Year 2018 on good governance came from Daily Telegraph Publishing Company, publishers of New and Daily Newspapers and could be seen by some Bayelsans as an individual one, yet others have seen it as part of the Bayelsa Government celebrated extraordinariness in leadership and performance which reflected the critical factor of vision and encourage in leadership (Odiegwu, 2018).

Speaking on this, the former Information Commissioner, Iworiso-Markson said that anyone who followed the remarkable tend and turnaround in education, healthcare delivery, infrastructural development and empowerment in the State would agree that the Bayelsa State Government under its Executive Governor Henry Seriake Dickson truly deserved to be honoured (Odiegwu, 2018). Furthermore, Iworiso-Markson described the Restoration Government of Bayesla State from 2012-2018 as real, effective in leadership; liberal, focused, very determined and reasonable. In other words, he said the innovative leadership style and understanding of governance, the establishment of fresh and credible modern ideals in policy and programmes to integrate development in the State were meant to promote good governance which will bring development to the people (Odiegwu, 2019).

In the same vein, the Africa Democratic Congress (ADC) Bayelsa State Chapter in 2018, through its chieftain O lord Basuo had louded and commended the monumental attainments of the Restoration Government of Bayelsa State manned by its Executive Governor Henry Seriake Dickson for the establishment of the Bayelsa State Health Insurance Scheme (BHIS) and the construction of Imringin Bridge in Ogbia L.G.A (Odeh, 2018). However, the ADC chieftain in the State also lamented on the exclusive policies of the Bayelsa State Government in the appointment of political officials, especially the commissioners from PDP alone (Odeh, 2018).

Historically on February 14, 2018 the Bayelsa State Restoration Government was six years old. And following the push for transparency and accountability as dimensions of good governance and development by the group of Eighty countries (G8) in 2003 on fighting corruption and improving transparency, New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), a multilateral initiative, IMF new Guide on Resource Revenue Transparency and the second international development of Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) which gets underway in September 2012, then Bayelsa state government has made policies initiated structures/institutions/policies and programmes to achieve these including the education sub-sector

(Idumage, 2018) added to these are the inclusion of African Independence Television (AIT) Award of the most transparent State in Nigeria in terms of good governance and stipulation of legal framework. This made the previous administration of Dickson to send a bill to the Bayelsa State Assembly on Income and Expenditure Transparency Law and the bill was passed, assented in 2012.

In addition, in part, the law declares that: In order to guarantee transparent system in the management of the state finances, the Governor of the State shall not afterward than fourteen given days in the end of every month, oblige to make available and distributes to the office of the commissioner responsible for information or such other official that may be selected for that reason by the Governor, give a summary of the report of the state income and expenditure for the preceding month (BSIETL, 2012 in Idumage, 2018).

This process by the law is applicable to the all local government councils in the state or the Chairmen thereof or any person(s) in charge to do so to the Auditor-General of local government in Bayelsa State and the Heads of local government. Also, the government of Dickson set up a Special Tribunal for payroll fraud offenders to that handles the mainstream civil service system, the local government councils, government agencies and pensioners. The government under focused introduced the monthly briefing exercise called the Transparency Briefing Initiative (TBI) which brought another novel breakthrough in the issue of good governance.

Readings in good governance and development in Bayelsa State from 2012-2019 also revealed that several strategies or measure were adopted to entrench transparency, accountability, rule of law among others. Some of the strategies include: (1) "No Work, No Pay" policy (2) Periodic monthly verification to stop ghost workers (3) Transparency award of contracts with the dictates of budgeting provision (4) Open-budgeting practice (5) Reconstruction of the e-governance and due process bureau (6) Continuous carrying out of monthly transparency briefing in the state (7) reform of the central treasury, internal revenue board in accordance to the state policy trust on good governance, monitoring of the State Universal Basic Education Board (SUBEB) (8) Evolving participatory media like the "Hot Seat," "The Podium" etc for stakeholders' discussion on matters arising, among others.

The praiseworthiness of Bayelsa State government on good governance and development was also capture by the Naira land Nigeria Forum as follows in the completion of the following projects: (1) The restoration Fly-over Bridge initiated and completed by the Restoration Government, NNPC Mega Filing Station Round about Yenagoa (2) Renovation of Nembe Grammar School (3) Ogobiri-Toru Ebeni Bridge (4) Traditional Rulers Secretariat Complex, Yenagoa (5) FMC dualization and expansion of Isaac Boro Expressway, Yenagoa. (6) Edepie-Tombia Bridge, Yenagoa (7) Ox-Bow Road, Yenagoa, among others (Idumage, 2018).

2. **The view that the Bayelsa State Government has failed in attaining good governance and development from 2012-2019.** This is discussed as follows:

(i). **the State of Socio-Economic and Political Structures/Institutions/Policies in Bayelsa State from 2012-2019**

Good government and development to most concerned Bayelsans especially the public servants and the opposition political party All Progressive Congress (APC) were never attained from 2012-2019. Here are cases to illustrate these developments. The Bayelsa State Government under its former Executive Governor Henry Seriake Dickson made/put in place several socio-economic structures/institutions/policies for the development of the Bayelsa State from 2012-2018 particularly towards the end of his administration. The areas mostly touched were the civil service reforms, educational reforms and pension scheme. Let us take them one after the other.

According to Olawoyin (2019) the civil service reform by Dickson in 2018 negatively affected the lives of the people in Bayelsa State. In this exercise, the government reduced the state workforce from 55, 0000 to 27,000 and suspended the salaries of a large number of affected personnel who were cut on fraud related issues (Olawoyin, 2019). Hitherto, precisely in 2017, the State government declared during the opening ceremony of the 2017 meeting of the Joint National Public Service Negotiating Council which took place in Yenagoa Bayelsa State capital that for government to attain good governance and development, for government to be fruitful, the public servants must be seen as the most important assets in any country including Nigeria's colonial masters-Britain (Reports of the reform of Office of the Head of Civil Service of Federation, FCSC, 2017). In the same vein, Ogunna (1999) and Nwachukwu (1999) see the civil service as a veritable institution in the attainment of development through credible socio-economic policies and reforms.

However, regrettably, it is ironical to observe by this study that the same government that has gloriously politicized the public service as capable of pioneering good governance and development infamously turned around to kill it. Indeed, there was utmost serious lack of participation by labour and other stakeholders, lack of communication, equity and inclusiveness, etc, according to sources because of the governor's hubristic and unilateral leadership style which made the reform very controversial (Olawoyi, 2019, Ewubare, 2019; Ebiri, 2019; Lawal, 2019). So instead of sanitizing the political system by overhauling the civil service to terminate fraud, illegal employment racketeering, redundancy, etc, the reform lacks transparency, accountability and other measures of good governance and improved development. Indeed, these issues are antithetical to good governance and development, inferring from studies carried out by Pani, Mishra & Sahu (2001); World Bank (19992, 1994, 1997); UNDP (1997, 2002); OECD (1995).

Deducing from the above, this study declared that from 2012-2019, the Bayelsa state government did not incorporate citizen friendliness, decentralization, especially local decentralization decision making, inadequate autonomy from the system, failure to show accountability to the people in accordance to the state policies, strong civil society system, freedom from media activities to the government. In other words, these inferences hanged on the assertions of Haque (2001), Minocha (1998) and Stowe (1992) about good governance. Also, many Bayelsans were of the view that the pensioners' crisis and the Niger Delta University, Amassoma Wilberforce Island crisis were enough to put the State in bad governance and underdevelopment. While the State government could not pay the pensioners for the years under study 2012-2019, there was also constant loggerhead with the public service salaries arrears. For example, in spite of increased negotiations with labour, the Bayelsa Government from 2012-2019 was only able to pay ₦2.1 billion out of ₦3.5 billion debt owned by the state under the Timipre Sylva administration (Olawoyin, 2019).

These arguments, not cosmetic though as in some quarters, according to many Bayelsans were not just about the bad governance and underdevelopment experienced by the State from 2012-2019, but were also among the factors that made the PDP's/Seriake Dickson's failed during the Bayelsa State gubernatorial election in November 16, 2019. Institutionally, the lingering Niger Delta University conundrum and Amassoma crisis also gave the Bayelsa State Government from 2012-2019 a bad name in governance and development. The NDU debacle started in March 2018 when the institution, apart from the impact of staff downsizing on the institution's performance, was closed down because of repeated protests by the students. The protest was necessitated by a new educational policy, which was exclusive, incommunicado and non-participatory, by the state government that NDU should fend for herself as there is paucity of State fund and the institution would no longer depend on subventions. Thereafter, in 2017, both the State government and the NDU's management hiked the students where students were unable to meet up the new fees structure. This situation, led to unrest and brought high blame game of the people to the government (Olawoyin, 2019).

According to Olawoyin (2019) this issue brought frustration among a large number of people that were involved as students and parents. From our analytical reading of good governance and development, it is obvious that government non-transparency, exclusiveness, violation of fundamental human rights and rule of law among others (Parameters of good governance) can triggered and increased the high level of remonstrations. Thus, in May 2018 the tempo of the crisis increased when at least two persons were killed and several wounded in a clash between protesters at NDU and the police. The protesters included the host community of NDU, some staff of NDU, including non-academic staff that were part of the 1,700 staff that were sacked (Olawoyin, 2019). The avalanche of fusillades and dissatisfaction expressed by Bayelsans and writers on good governance and development means that the Bayelsa State Government score low in these aspects from 2012-2019. However, this study can only take a position in its conclusions.

ii. Social Justice

By definition, justice or social justice means equal class in terms of the distribution of wealth, opportunities and privileges within a political system or society. Bayelsa is accounted to carry out its legitimate public services. In other words, the state would have been one of the most developed in the event there was good governance from 2012-2018. Well, ironically it is the least developed as a State benefiting from Nigeria rentier economy, taking a cue from Epelle (2019).

Corroborating the aforesaid, even though it is coming from the opposition camp and may be seen as pedestrian, or better still a politically motivated assertion, the All Progressive Congress (APC) through its national publicity secretary Malleon Lanrele Onilu on December 3, 2019 said that for the years the PDP under the Executive Governor Henry Seriake Dickson governed Bayelsa State there was a directionless government, squandering of the State wealth or resources with no good impact on the people or the State (Ewubare, 2019).

Also, the issue of social justice and its existential utilitarian implications surfaced in the Bayelsa State Gubernatorial election November 16, 2019 when the chairman of Niger Delta Civil Society Coalition (NDCSC), Anyakwue Nsiriouvu accused the Bayelsa State Government of deficit leadership and indulgence in squandering the wealth of the Bayelsans in existential corruption with impunity (Ebiri, 2019). In other words, there was open and extreme poverty in the presence of abundance and bad governance. Thus, the NDCSC advised the winner of the November 16, gubernatorial poll Hon. David Lyon to shun non-transparency, non-accountability and embrace participatory democracy (Ebiri, 2019).

Supporting the claims of the quarters above, Mr. Yekini Nabena, the former Deputy National Publicity Secretary of the APC said Bayelsans had long endured bad government and underdevelopment and were waiting for a revolution (Olawoyin, 2019). Our analysis is incomplete without citing the field investigation by the Nigeria Guild of Investigative Journalists (NGIJ) on September 2019. They carried out a survey of the outcome of the November 16 governorship elections in Bayelsa State but also incorporated elements of good governance and development in the State from 2012-2019. According to the Guild's Public Relation Officer indicated that the election will be determined by mis-governance and underdevelopment and their readiness to vote against the PDP government of Bayelsa State in the November 16, 2019 gubernatorial poll (NGIJ, 2019).

In the same vein, the Bayelsa Democracy and Development Initiative (BDDI), a socio-economic political forum in 2015 described the government of Bayelsa State as a total monumental failure or sham because it has failed to perform in all aspect of good governance especially for lack of basic social amenities and services in the State, clear-cut vision, lopsided and late payment of salaries and wages, presence of urban slum in the capital Yenagoa, lack of development blueprint, disorderliness and lawlessness among others (Sahara Reporters, 2015). We will draw our conclusions from the views discussed above.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

The views expressed in this discourse are mountable, yet we can glean from them that there is an undeniable nexus between good governance and development in a political system. Thus, we conclude as follows:

From all indications, the Bayelsa State Government dubbed the "Restoration Government" did carry out the initiation and execution of some laudable and commendable civil service reforms, educational reforms, development policies, project and programmes including health across the State, as shown in this discourse. Did all of this impact on the livelihood of the Bayelsans?

Nevertheless, from the constant public outcry and dissatisfaction concerning the increase in poverty, slums in the State capital Yenagoa, non-accountability, non-transparency, exclusiveness, issue of fundamental human rights abuse and rule of law, etc, expressed by Bayelsans, this study is of the view that good governance and development did elude Bayelsa State from 2012 – 2019. These assertions, though may sound conjectural or cosmetic to some quarters, hang on the school of thought that the central focus of good governance and development are the people and not infrastructural or physical development nor aesthetic. That is, all aspects of development must impact on the people or have to be balanced. Good governance and development can be attained by institutionalizing effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and transparency, rule of law, etc, by putting the right structures/institutions on ground as put together by the IMF, World Bank, OECD, NEPAD, G8, etc. This has actually eluded Bayelsa State from 2012-2019.

Thus, the study also established that elections, indisputably, are part of good governance and development, especially if they are free and fair, and periodic. Thus, the popular opinion by some Bayelsans, and even some outsiders, that the PDP led administration of Bayelsa State did not win the November 16, 2019 gubernatorial election because of mis-governance and underdevelopment in the State holds water tight in this discourse.

Our conclusion also hangs on the fact that the Bayelsa State economy is a rentier economy. And like any other States in the Niger Delta region, the hope of the people from the government about good governance and development were high. However, compared to Calabar and Akwa Ibom in the same region, where good governance and development was somewhat impressive according to a school of thought, the Bayelsa State Government could not translate its economic gains into good governance and development. Consequently, this study posit a hunch here, that the problem with Bayelsa State from 2012-2019 was not lack of resources, especially money and people with vision, but a failure of leadership capable of institutionalizing good governance and development.

Recommendations

The paper recommends the following as the way forward in institutionalizing good governance and development in Bayelsa state, Nigeria.

First, there should be urgent need for Bayelsa State government to imbibe by the principles of good governance and development. Here, good means efficiency, that is, efficiency in governance translated into neither development nor aesthetic.

Second, the governments of the day should strengthen the judiciary to tackle cases of non-accountability, non-transparency and violation of due process of the law and fundamental human rights which are antithetical to good governance and improved development. In addition, the independence of the judiciary as the bastion of justice should be upheld by the executive and legislative organs of government.

Third, since power is transient this study calls on the people notably the poor to rise up against all forms of mis-governance and underdevelopment. Indeed, all legacies of backwardness, hubristic leadership, mass poverty and frustration by any government should be countered with stiff opposition. The masses should be sensitized or re-oriented. Election is their weapon, their revolutionary vanguard for good governance and development.

Fourth, the Bayelsa State government should pursue a politico-social and economic, truly articulate and visional policy of good governance and development. In other words, irrespective of political party affiliations, language and ethnic origin, the government of Bayelsa State should pursue a common development agenda because an agenda that emanates not from the common dreams and aspirations, strength and opportunities, problems and challenges of the people is bound to fail.

Fifth, there should be a synergy between leadership and followership continuum. Good governance and development revolve around good conduct, disposition, sound relationship, respect for human dignity, justice-fairness to all in the enjoyment of the dividends of democracy. For followers to follow well, they (followers) should only follow good or credible candidates with the ability to serve and deliver good governance and development.

Sixth, monopoly of power should be discouraged because it promotes gross inefficiency and destroys competition. Indeed, healthy competition among the stakeholders of government breeds unquantifiable democratic dividends or the pursuit of the common good and its attainment.

Seventh, there should be a synergy between physical development and human development. In other words, there should be a balance between physical or infrastructural development and human development. Human beings are the consumers of physical development and not vice versa.

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