

Crude Oil Exploitation in The Niger Delta and Appointments in Nigeria's Oil Industry

Ime Etim Akpan

*Department of Political Science
College of Education, Afaha Nsit, Akwa Ibom State
Email: akpanime90@yahoo.com*

<https://doi.org/10.61090/aksujacog.2023.011>

Abstract

The thesis of the study was that though the Niger Delta region is the major producer of oil which is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, the region has been neglected for decades as resources from oil in the region have not translated to commensurate development of infrastructure with its contribution to the national purse. The study made use of secondary data in its methodology which offered an opportunity to gather adequate and useful information for the study. Results from findings show that the federal government of Nigeria derailed the social contract between it and the Niger Delta region. The study discovered that despite the availability of highly educated human resources in the Niger Delta, appointments to positions such as Group Managing Director of the NNPC and Minister of Petroleum Resources have been negatively skewed toward the Region. The paper frowned at the Federal government's marginalization of the Niger Delta which it observed is the main cause of frustration of the people thereby making them aggressive and antagonistic towards the federal government, concluding that the unending crises in the Delta are due to government insensitivity to the poor conditions of the people. To forestall further crises in the region, the paper recommended among others, the provision of adequate infrastructure in the region, the appointment of indigenes to managerial positions in the oil industry and the floating of a special scholarship scheme for indigent students of the region.

Keywords: Crude Oil Exploitation, Niger Delta, Appointments, Oil Industry.

Introduction

It cannot be disputed that the Nigerian economy depends heavily on revenue that accrues from the sale of crude oil. This revenue constitutes over 90% of the total foreign exchange earnings needed for national development projects. This is the singular reason the annual budgets of states and the federal government of Nigeria are tied to projected earnings from oil. The importance of crude oil to the growth and development of Nigeria cannot be overemphasised, but the oil-producing states of Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo and Rivers states have been victims of marginalization by the federal government of Nigeria for decades, especially in the areas of appointment to managerial positions in the oil industry and provision of infrastructures in the states. The Niger Delta has continued to survive under the pains of neglect, deprivation and discrimination deliberately imposed upon it by the federal government (Aghalino 2004; Akpan 2018).

The Niger Delta region is an economic pillar that sustains the country and should experience significant development in all aspects of life, but sad enough, the reverse has been the case. The region is rather known for hunger, environmental degradation, pollution and unemployment. These oftentimes ignite revolts against the federal government, to draw government attention to the sufferings of the Niger Delta people. Nigeria is a multi-ethnic state in search of unity and peaceful co-existence but the government has not lived up to its expectations to make this realizable. It is a situation of the government contributing to the problems on the one hand and seeking solutions to the problems on the other hand. This study aims to investigate crude oil exploitation and persistent marginalization of the Niger Delta

region of Nigeria in the choice of those who manage the oil industry and the Ministry of Petroleum Resources over the years. The paper shall make recommendations which if implemented, would go a long way to correct the past mistakes of previous governments and bring peace to the Niger Delta.

Methodology

This study made use of secondary sources of data which include a literature review of publications, textbooks, Journals, national dailies, news magazines, and reports on oil productions in Nigeria and incidences of poverty and marginalization of the Niger Delta region.

Theoretical Framework

Scholars have developed several theories, especially in the Social Sciences to offer explanations concerning situations of conflicts. This study in an attempt to explain the Niger Delta situation adopted the frustration–aggression theory of Dollard and his team, who in 1939 conducted research at the Yale Institute of Human Relations on aggressive behaviour. The study found that human frustration could lead to aggressive behaviour. Frustration–aggression theory has its foundation in an established truth that frustration experienced by a person could lead to the exhibition of aggressive behaviour or tendencies by the person concerned. The theory summarises that "a hungry man is an angry man" and that "what belongs to Caesar should be given to Ceasar". This is justice, which Plato (1981) explains as "giving to a man what belongs to him". The frustration-aggression theory is the key to understanding and appreciating the feelings of the Niger Delta people and their actions against the Nigerian State, as observed by Udoms & Atakpa (2021), when frustration is widespread, the tendency toward revolution from the people becomes very plausible. As pointed out by Afinotan & Ojakorotu (2009), the quest for emancipation by the Niger Delta people is not aimed at secession or excision from the Nigerian state but a protest and show of annoyance against neglect, marginalization, cheating, oppression, environmental degradation, economic and socio-political hopelessness, which can easily be referred to as frustration of the Niger Delta people.

Conceptual Clarification

The Niger Delta, Oil Exploration and Marginilasation

The Niger Delta region of Nigeria is unique. It is one of the largest wetlands in the world and the largest delta in Africa. It covers some 70,000 square kilometres (Badmus 2010; Eyinla & Ukpo 2006). The region is characterized by significant biological diversity with several mineral resources which account for over 90 percent of Nigeria's wealth. The region is defined geopolitically to include those states that border the coastal waters of the Atlantic. They are the oil-producing states of Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo and Rivers States as contained in the Act that established the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) (FRN 2000).

Though the region is richly blessed and endowed to serve Nigeria as its wealth basket, it has very little to show for this great service to the nation. Despite the enormous national resources God has endowed the region, the federal government of Nigeria which controls mineral resources including crude oil has failed at developing the area and improving the living conditions of the people. While reacting to the government's deliberately created poor conditions for the people, Akpan (2018:38-43) laments thus:

Where a country is poverty-stricken, where there is almost total absence of the resources that could be used to promote the public good, then the leadership cannot be blamed but where a country is well-endowed with abundant wealth as Nigeria is, and a greater percentage of the population is wallowing in abject poverty, then there is lack of honesty and commitment to the sacred responsibility of government.

Extant literature on the Niger Delta shows that aggression and violence in the region are the consequences of failure on the part of the government to address pointedly genuine grievances of people in the region. The action of the government generates disappointment and frustration on the part of the

Niger Delta people and often-times, leads to the taking up of arms and the shutting down of oil production by the aggrieved youths, to draw the attention of the government to their plights (Akpan & Ukpai 2019).

Marginalization in appointments of the Niger Delta people to managerial positions in the oil industry and development of the region has raised serious concerns. This is one reason for continued crises in the Niger Delta which, in most cases, lead to the labelling of people of the region as 'criminals' by elites in the non-oil producing states. The Niger Delta region of Nigeria has been a victim of neglect by the federal government of Nigeria for many decades. The neglect gained momentum and became more sophisticated in terms of scope and methodology with the discovery of oil in 1956 and the attainment of independence in 1960. The Nigerian state, its agents and collaborators introduced inimical and frustrating policies such as the quota system and other draconian decrees/legislations which technically excluded the people of the Niger Delta region and other minority groups from the Nigeria federal civil service, the military and other governmental agencies, boards, and parastatals (Kalama 2012).

The Niger Delta is like the proverbial goose that lays the golden egg but the grouse of the people of the region is that the goose is treated with disdain and oftentimes faces conditions of near-death. The discovery of oil, in large commercial quantities in Oloibiri, Ogba Local Government area of Bayelsa State notwithstanding, the current state of underdevelopment of Oloibiri community and the entire Niger Delta region is nothing to write home about. As rightly observed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2006), the Niger Delta has suffered decades of neglect, characterized not only by the marginalization in oil revenues but also by the quality of infrastructure, rising unemployment rates among the youth population and high level of poverty estimated at an average of 69 per cent. This is a reflection of the federal government's inability to provide jobs that could empower the people economically, as well as deliver basic infrastructure and amenities such as good roads, electricity and good drinking water. Poverty and hopelessness in the Niger Delta, Amaraegbu (2010) vehemently believes are direct consequences of government neglect of the region.

Frustration and marginalization made the Niger Delta people demand equity and justice in the distribution of the Commonwealth. The Federal Government as a response, established the Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC) in 1992 and later changed its nomenclature to the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) with more powers to cater for the development of the region and its people in 1999. The unending crises and agitation by the people of the Niger Delta are due to a lack of development, unjustified revenue allocation and non-consideration of the Niger Delta people in appointments to managerial positions in the oil industry (Attah 2004). This is why Orubu (1999) states:

The view strongly held among many critics from the oil-producing states is that the historical blow dealt upon the principle of derivation is the product of the political gameplay and the overwhelming propensity of the majority to play down on the preferences of the minority. It turns out that Nigeria's oil is produced in the minority states where access to political power at the national level is a herculean task, if not impossible.

This is corroborated by Bassey (2002) in stating that it is by a calculated act of creating and proliferating more states and local government areas in the non-oil producing geographical majority ethnic zone that the systematic transfer of oil resources to their benefits became a major feature of intergovernmental fiscal relations. These discriminatory activities of the federal government are thought-provoking, annoying, breed ethnicity in the country and could work against the so search for nationhood.

The Niger Delta and National Population Census in Nigeria

Akpan (2009) thinks that the Northern States in Nigeria have always devised means during the national population census to prove they are more populated than other parts of the country. The strategies of

the non-oil-producing states of the north are selfish and parochial, aimed at perpetuating their dominance and control of the minority oil-producing states of the Niger Delta through the allocation of resources from the federation account. The last population census in 2006 and figures "allotted" to states exposed the determined efforts of the larger desert north to control oil resources and dominate the oil-producing states of the south. The census figures of 2006 showed that the hotter inhabitable and unfriendly region of northern Nigeria is more populated than the favourable, habitable and weather-friendly coastal region of the south. It is a demographic paradox, and very unthinkable that the unfavourable and weather-unfriendly Sahara Desert of the north is thicker in population than the favourable weather-friendly and hospitable region of the south. This, Akpan (2009) further observe cannot be true except where sands in the desert were counted alongside human beings. Indeed, the 2006 population census figures, like others preceding it, were alleged to be manipulated in favour of some parts of the country for more resources from the federation account, to the disadvantage of the south which is the major contributor to the federation account.

Creation of States in Nigeria

The way and manner states have been created in Nigeria is a replication of what happens during national population censuses earlier discussed. Extant literature shows that in all cases of the creation of states in Nigeria, the northern power bloc has always struggled for more states and local governments in the north. The calculated quest for more states and local governments in the non-oil-producing ethnic zone is to enhance the transfer of oil resources to the northern part of the country under the umbrella of inter-governmental fiscal relations (Bassey, 2002). The untiring struggle to control the superstructure of the country's presidency by the North is for no other reason than to control the oil resources of the South.

The Politics of Oil Exploration in the Niger Delta

Scholars have defined politics in various ways and their definitions revolved around power, influence and authority which are basic ingredients in the study of politics. Robert Dahl (1996), for example, defines politics as any persistent pattern of human relationship that involves control, influence, power and authority. According to Iyobo in Kalama (2012), Political Science is a field of study that is concerned with how power is shared between the various organs of government within a state and the relationship between those who govern and those that are governed. Lasswell in Anifowose (1999), in his contribution to the definition of politics, states that politics has to do with "who gets what, when and how". Anifowose (1999) corroborating Easton (1965), defines politics as the authoritative allocation of values for the society. Deductions from the above definitions show very clearly that politics has to do with the struggle for power and the allocation of resources in a state. This has been the bane of Nigeria's unity as political power and resource allocation have not been based on justice, fairness and equity. This accounts for continued conflicts and agitations in the Niger Delta. For instance, the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria (1999) as amended is very unambiguous and explicit on the demise of a sitting president and who should succeed him. That section of the constitution 146 (1) states as follows:

The Vice President shall hold the office of President if the office of President becomes vacant because of death or resignation, impeachment, permanent incapacity or the removal of the President from office for any other reason by sections 143 and 144 of the constitution.

The northern cabal disregarded this section of the constitution when President Umaru Musa Yar'adua fell sick and eventually died while in office. They did everything possible to stop the former Vice President, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, a Niger Delta indigene from succeeding President Umaru Musa Yar'adua. The former president of the Senate, Senator David Mark had to invoke what he referred to as the "Doctrine of Necessity" to enable Dr. Jonathan to take over power to forestall chaos and confusion in the country (Mark 2010). The "born to rule" motto of the Sokoto caliphate could be located in the action of the northern cabal to stop President Jonathan from replacing President Musa Yar'adua.

However, it must be noted that the problem of the Niger Delta is long-standing. According to Kalama (2012), during the colonial era, traditional rulers from the Niger Delta extraction were subjected to terrible suffering at the hands of colonial masters. They devised strategies and methods to control the region and its resources to the detriment of the people. Despite good academic qualifications and the capacity to perform, the Niger Delta people were not considered for employment in the top echelon of the military and the Civil Service. This prompted elders and youths from the region to agitate for their rights through various non-violent means including a petition to the United Nations General Assembly by Kenule Sarowiwa, former president of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP). The exposure of the Niger Delta problems to the external community resulted in a fact-finding mission from the United Nations to Ogoni land in 1997 (Kalama 2012). The history of the Niger Delta is characterized by agitation for control of its resources which has given birth to various militia groups (Iduh, 2011). The rise of the resource control movements in the Niger Delta over the years, coupled with the complex mix of ethnic-nationalism and politics of insurgency across the Delta region are the reactions to imperial tendencies (Watts 2008).

Nature has distributed fairly and evenly all types of resources across the country. These resources include energy, solid minerals, water, biotics etc. The energy resources include petroleum, coal and ignite bituminous sand, hydropower, and biomass, solar and nuclear. While the Niger Delta area of the country has petroleum resources, bituminous sand deposits exist in a 12-kilometer-wide belt that extends from Ijebu-Ode in Ogun State, through Ondo to Edo. Marble and granite are found in the Basement complex and are quarried at Jankura near Lokoja. Asbestos exists in Shemi, Kaduna State and a large deposit can be found at Chafe in Sokoto State. Barytes, major weight filler for drilling mud occurs in veins, up to 1.8m thick in association with lead-zinc deposits in Cross River, Benue, Plateau, Taraba and Adamawa States. There is gold in Bauchi, and as a one-time governor of Kaduna State correctly declared, "the value of the minerals buried in Kaduna and Niger States together, far exceed whatever we are deriving from crude oil" (Attah 2004). The question is, why should the struggle for resource control centre around petroleum resources only? Resource control is all about equity and justice, implying that areas endowed with natural resources should be better off, but without making areas non-endowed worse off. It is all about equity and fairness.

Appointment of Group Managing Directors of NNPC

Appointments of Group Managing Directors of the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) between 1999 and 2023 (23 years) reveal serious discrimination against the oil-producing states of the Niger Delta. Table 1 shows the distribution in appointments of Group Managing Directors of the NNPC according to states of origin and region, from 1999 to 2023.

Table 1: Appointments of Group Managing Directors of the NNPC from 1999 to 2023

S/N	Name Of Appointees	Duration of Service	State of Origin
1.	Jackson Gaius Obaseki	1999-2003	Edo (Niger Delta)
2.	Funsho Kupolokum	2003-2007	Ondo (West)
3.	Abubakar L. Yar'Adua	2007-2009	Katsina (North)
4.	Muhammed Sanusi Barkindo	2009-2010	Adamawa (North)
5.	Shehu Ladan	April 2010-May 2010	Kaduna (North)
6.	Austin Olusegun Oniwon	2010-2012	Kogi (North)
7.	Andrew Yakubu	2012-2014	Kaduna (North)
8.	Joseph Thlama Dawha	2014-2015	Borno (North)
9.	Ibe Kachukwu	2015-2019	Delta (Niger Delta)
10.	Makanti Baru	2016-2019	Bauchi (North)
11.	Melee Kvari	2019-2023	Borno (North)

Source: Field Work (Akpan & Ukpai, 2019)

Table I shows that for twenty-three (23) years, people from the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria served for only a brief period of nine years as group managing directors of the NNPC, while the north served for fourteen (14) years. From 1985-2023 which covers 38 years, it was only twice that the South-South region of Nigeria produced Professor Tam David West and Don Etiebet as Ministers of Petroleum Resources for a brief period of less than three (3) years between both of them. Throughout the tenures of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007) and Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023) which spanned sixteen (16) years, the two civilian presidents acted as Petroleum Ministers as they did not appoint any Minister to oversee the petroleum ministry. The reason(s) for the president's actions are not known, or was it to avoid agitations and crises if a non-indigene of the Niger Delta were appointed ministers of petroleum resources, if so, why were the indigenes of the Niger Delta not appointed? This is a high-level marginalization of the Niger Delta oil-producing states in favour of the non-oil-producing northern states. This is not good for a federal state like Nigeria with multiple ethnic groups in search of nationhood. It is a failure on the part of past governments to address the problems affecting the oil-producing states of the Niger Delta and puts a question mark on the type of leaders the country has produced over the years. Nigerian leaders seek peace, unity and stability of the country on the pages of newspapers, television screens and radio broadcasts, without doing the right things in praxis to bring about collective peace and understanding, which constitute the foundation for the development of any nation-state.

Frustration and Aggression in the Niger Delta

Frustration among the people of the Niger Delta due to neglect by successive federal governments in the country has eventually led to aggression and the struggle to control their resources to enable them to develop the region and cater for the welfare of the people. Perceived injustice in the Niger Delta has been promoted through the implementation of some federal legislation which seems to alienate the Niger Delta from the resources of their land. The reasons for seeking to control resources by the region cannot be seriously opposed from certain social justice perspectives.

Resource control by states can usher in 'fiscal federation' as against the current arrangement which is tantamount to 'federal feudalism' where states depend on the centre for funds to operate. The current condition of dependence which is informed by fiscal centralism has the negative effect of depriving the other two tiers of government, that is, states and local governments of funds to develop their areas. Nigeria is operating a defective and fallible federalism. The fact remains that the Nigeria federal system has consistently undermined one of the most cardinal philosophical principles of federalism which posits that beyond size, territoriality and constitutionality, the plurality and heterogeneity of the federal constituents must be recognized. This implies that the relative autonomy, independence and self-determination of these units must be appreciated and guaranteed in clear terms (Ibanga 2002). The Nigerian federation, very unfortunately, operates like a captive state, dominated by powerful ethnic social forces constantly in conflict over the material reward of state power.

As the minority groups in the Niger Delta region of the country struggle for control of the resources with which their land is endowed with, the majority northern group struggles for the control of power with the sole purpose of controlling the God-endowed resources of the minorities. The struggle for power in Nigeria can therefore be seen as the struggle for resource control. The dialectics of resource control holds the key to understanding the dilemma faced by the minority oil-producing states in Nigeria. The structural deformities of the Nigeria type of federation have constantly negated the aspiration of the oil-producing minority states in terms of the sustainable development of the region. The Niger Delta, instead of earning development, is bedevilled by environmental degradation, mass poverty and various forms of human rights denial (Attah 2004).

While the huge revenues from the oil industry are used by the Nigerian federal government and oil companies to build super-highways, railways and architectural edifices in faraway non-oil-producing states of the north, the oil-producing states of the Niger Delta are neglected. The Calabar-Itu highway and many others, which should provide a link between states in the South East, the South-South and the

northern parts have been in deplorable conditions over the past seven years, thus, cutting Cross River State out of physical contact with the rest of the states. The Delta region of Nigeria produces the wealth of the nation but continues to remain 'the wretched of the earth' (Fanon 1993).

Crises in the Delta would not end through the use of military might by the federal government but by conscientious commitment to the development of the region and improvement in the lives of the people in the region. Military might cannot successfully quell a morally – positioned discontent. When a community is driven to the wall and in a situation of crisis, where they have to fight for their rights, they always fall back on the past; to whatever resources they can mobilize (Alagoa 1999).

In recognition of the frustration and pain experienced by the Niger Delta People, made possible by the Nigerian Federal Government, Ibeanu (2000); Bassey (2002) put it this way:

When a population feels its livelihood is threatened, it feels insecure. Elimination of deprivation is therefore a key concern of the oil-bearing communities of the Niger Delta. Since the state and its allies appropriate almost all the oil wealth from these communities, they are resentful of the state and petro-businesses and feel that a good part of the financial resources should be invested in the communities.

Robbing Peter to pay Paul cannot put an end to agitation and crises in the Niger Delta. The Nigerian government should stop over-flocking the wheeling horse to avert negative reactions. The wheeling horse is pulling a cart that contains gold for development. The Niger Delta, for decades, has been the wheeling horse for the country. It should be appreciated and commended for what it represents rather than bullying it to provocation.

Conclusion

In all modern countries of the world, sovereignty belongs to the people who periodically elect some people or groups of people to form a government and represent them. This is a social contract between the people and the government as a representative body. This contract could collapse if the government fails to meet the basic needs of the people and may lead to a situation of conflict between the government and the governed (Badmus 2010). The Nigerian government has a bad record in this regard as it has worked against the social contract between it and the people of the Niger Delta region. The Nigerian government has nothing to show that is commensurate with several billions of oil revenues generated from the Niger Delta region over the years. Despite complaints and violent agitations to draw government attention to the woes of the region, successive governments have not done much to address the problems that cut across environmental damages from oil exploration, rising unemployment and poverty in the region. Political actors who preside over the affairs of the Nigerian state have only succeeded in looting the collective wealth of the Niger Delta people, thereby impoverishing them and placing Nigeria in the position of a failed state (Okafor 2010). The oil wealth of the Niger Delta, instead of helping in the overall development of the region has become its woe. The poor condition of the Delta people indirectly affects the condition of the country at large.

The study on crude oil exploitation in the Niger Delta and appointments in Nigeria's oil industry is revealing. The paper argued that the Niger Delta, though a tap root that sustains the tree, has not been appreciated for what it is in terms of infrastructural development and appointment in the oil industry. The Niger Delta is a region that produces the wealth of Nigeria but communities in the region are becoming more wretched by the day. The adage that "what is in the Swamp should be used to secure the Swamp" is not tenable in the Niger Delta situation.

The continued agitations and crises in the Niger Delta which has continued to escalate by the day are the consequences of marginalization of the region by successive governments in the country. The quest for resource control by the people of the region is a result of cheating and the insensitivity of the government to the poor condition of the people. Poverty and devastation in the Niger Delta are because of the wealth of the region, meaning that the Niger Delta is poor because it is rich (Bassey 2002).

The majority non-oil producing section of the country should not be frightened by the minority rich oil-producing south. Under conditions of understanding, love and peace, the southern oil could oil the rusty north. Nigerians are brothers and sisters and whatever the government does should be in the interest of all.

Recommendations

The study offers the following recommendations as a panacea to the Niger Delta problems which by implication are Nigeria's problems:

- i. The federal government of Nigeria should pay attention to the development of the Niger Delta Region in all aspects especially the provision of infrastructure in the region.
- ii. Consideration should be given to indigenes of the region in appointments, especially to the positions of Group Managing Director of the NNPC and Minister of Petroleum Resources.
- iii. The position of President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the federation should be allowed to rotate to the Niger Delta region from time to time to give the people a sense of belonging.
- iv. It would not be out of place if a special scholarship scheme is floated by the federal government, especially for students of Niger Delta extraction. There is nothing the federal government would do for the Niger Delta which would be too much given its enormous contributions to the national economy. The region deserves everything good from Nigeria's federal government.

References

- Aghalino, S. O. (2004). Oil mineral exploitation, environmental deterioration and public policy in Nigeria, Calabar. *Journal of Politics and Public Administration* 2(1&2), 39-47.
- Akpan I. E. (2018). Fiscal federalism revenue allocation and local government in Nigeria. *International Journal of Contemporary Social Science Education* 1(1), 122-128.
- Akpan, I. E. (2009). Nation-building in Nigeria: Some contending issues, In Umoh, I. W. (ed) *Nigeria federalism problems and prospects*. Uyo: Afangide Publishing Company.
- Akpan, I. E. & Ukpai, A. U. (2019). Ethnic imbalance and discrimination in oil resource administration and the crises in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria, *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Research*, (IJSSHR), 7(11), 8-21.
- Akpan, I. E. (2018). Local government autonomy and rural transformation in Nigeria. *International Journal of Advancement in Development Studies* 13(1), 221-224.
- Alagoa, E. (1999). Resistance in the Niger Delta - An Interview, *Survival*, August.
- Amaraegbu, D. A. (2010). *Analysis of anti-corruption policies in Africa: The cases of Nigeria and Ghana*. Berlin: VDM Publishing House.
- Anifowoshe, R. (1999) The nature and scope of political science. In Anifowoshe, R. & Enemuo, F. (eds.) *Elements of Politics*. Lagos: Malthouse Press, pp. 1-14.
- Attah V. (2004). Resource control as panacea for sustainable development of the Niger Delta in a democratic system, In Ajayi, S. (ed.). *Attah on resource control*. Banged Ventures, pp. 1-16.
- Badmus, I. A. (2010). Oiling the guns and gunning for oil: Oil Violence, arms proliferation and the destruction of Nigeria's Niger Delta: *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*. 2(1), 323-363.
- Bassey, C. O. (2002). Local Governance, Resource Control and Development in the Niger Delta. In Uya, O. E & Okoro, J (eds.) *Local government administration and grassroot democracy in Nigeria*. Calabar: University of Calabar Printing Press.
- Dahl, R. A. (1996). *Modern political Analysis*. New Delhi: Prentice Hall
- Dolland, J., Miller, N. E., Duob, I. W., Mower, O. H. & Sears, R. (1939). *Frustration and aggression*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Doughlas, O. & Okonta, I. (2003). *Where Vultures Feast*. London: Verso
- Easton, D. (1965). *A framework for Political Analysis*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall
- Eyinla, P. & Ukpo, J. (2006). *Nigeria: The travesty of oil and gas wealth*. Lagos: The Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria.
- Fanon, F. (1993). *The wretched of the earth*. Britain: Chavcer Press.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999). *The Nigeria constitution*. Abuja: Federal Government Printer.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (2000). The Niger Delta Development Commission Act 2 (4).
- Ibanga, M. (2002). Bases and implications of resource control by states/local governments in Uya, O. E. & Okoro, J. (eds.) *Local Government administration and grassroot democracy in Nigeria*, Calabar: University of Calabar Printing Press.
- Ibeanu O. (2000). Oiling the friction: Environmental conflict management in the Niger Delta. *Environmental Report*, (6)19-32.
- Iduh, S. (2011) The key challenges to peace in Nigeria. *International Journal of Vocational and Technical Education*, 3(8), 121-134.
- Kalama, J. (2012). *Minority revolts: The Niger Delta crises and the amnesty question*. Port Harcourt: Pearl Publishers.
- Mark D. (2010, 7 February). *Tell Magazine*, pp.17-23.
- Ndiyo, A. (2005). *Fundamental of research in behavioural sciences and humanities*. Calabar: Wusen Publishers.
- Orubu, C. (1999). Oil wealth and the derivation principle: The need for a new fiscal imperative towards oil producing states, *Calabar Journal of Politics and Administration* 1(2), 182-211

Plato (1961). *Protagoras and Meno*. England: Penguin Books

Udoms, B. E. & Atakpa, O. E. (2021). Governance deficit, national security and the development of Nigeria: Endsars protest perspective. *AKSU Journal of Administration and Corporate Governance (AKSUJACOG)* 1(1), 1-21.

United Nation Development Programme UNDP (2006). Niger delta human development report. Abuja: UNDP.

Watts, M. (2008). Blood oil: The anatomy of a petro-insurgency in the Niger Delta, Nigeria. *Niger Delta Economies of Violence Working Papers*, (22) 3-10