
**THE CULTURE AND STRUGGLE FOR RESOURCE CONTROL OF THE
NIGER DELTA REGION OF NIGERIA**

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Abstract

The Niger Delta is a region that is blessed with resources which seems to have become a curse to the people. Historically, the region has suffered opposition given the resources found in their region as far back the 17th century but the pervasiveness of this opposition is tracked to the oil discovery in Nigeria which is located in the Niger delta region. Oil production has contributed significantly to the growth of Nigeria economy but the Niger Delta region has only benefited marginally from it given the copious Multinational Corporations (MCs) operating in the region. Also, oil revenue to Nigeria government has not been significantly used in developing the Niger delta economy such that poverty rate is high in the region making them among the poorest regions of the world. The fight against this odds has led to the historical Niger Delta struggle and a culture for the control of these resources. This paper thus examined the oil production activities in Nigeria, the impact of oil production on the people, their exertion for resources control, and the corollary of their activities as it relates to oil production in Nigeria. The study showed that the region has been unfavourably affected by crude oil production as the system of governance of common resource control has deprived them of the benefits of oil and has been the root for struggle for the control of the resources in addition to the countless crisis in the region and the country at large. This study therefore argue among others for enforceable laws towards oil spillage and gas flaring control while regional sovereignty should be given to regional located resources.

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Introduction

Nigeria is made of different ethnic groups and languages having a total of 250 ethnic groups and more than 500 languages (Nigeria Fact Sheet, 2012). Nigeria is the most populous country in Sub-Saharan Africa with a population of 195.9 million in 2018 and an average annual growth rate of 2.7 percent (**World meters, 2019**). Nigeria has a low Human development index (HDI) of 0.527 ranking 152 out of 177 countries (UNDP, 2016). The country is blessed with different mineral resources both solid and liquid, mainly in petroleum that is deposited in different parts of the country and this different resources affects the way of life of the people as they are tailored towards such activities in line with the resources in their area. Nigeria is the world's tenth largest oil producing country and the resources are found in the Niger Delta Region. The Niger Delta area is thus the oil emitting region of the country which is made up of different ecosystem that helps the human survival, the land and aquatic organisms. This therefore place the region in strategic position worthy of carrying out a study on the culture of the people and their activities on Nigeria's main source of revenue.

The Niger Delta Region which produces the economically important oil has been convoluted with different forms of neglect, marginalization and suffering from what ought to be a blessing to them for decades. Before the discovery and commercial drilling of Oil in the region, they were faced with struggles with the first traders who came to trade on palm oil and other economic products from the region, however, with oil discovery, the problem increased. The commercial drilling of Oil in Nigeria began in 1958 at the Niger Delta region and this has positively aroused Nigeria's economy. This has resulted in the establishment of many Multinational Corporations (MCs) oil operations in the region, in spite of that, the profiting of the indigenes of Niger Delta from these MCs has been insignificant (Raji, & Abejide , 2013; Oluwanyi, 2010).

In the addition to this, the high revenue accruing to Nigeria from the proceeds of oil export and oil treasure has not been significantly utilized in the development of the country as a whole nor has the indigent of the economy of Niger Delta Region benefited significantly from this blessing. This is shown from the fact that about 70% of Nigerians live on less than one US dollar per day. Particularly, the Niger Delta region is a narrative of poverty and gross underdevelopment in the midst of plenty. Poverty is widespread in the region making them one of the poorest parts of the world. About 75% of them reside in the rural areas consequently of lack of welfare provision (lack of safe drinking water, electricity, and health care centers) from the government and the MCs in addition to the endless environmental degradation from oil production which has distressed the people's agricultural means of livelihood. This has become progressively harmful for the people to live in the region nor carry out any of their cultural activity for survival and they incline to go to other urban areas as urban poor. This is irrespective of the fact that the region provides about 90% of the national resources (oil revenue) (CBN, 2017).

This has originated into indigenous militant activities which has brought about further decline in the living conditions of the people who are living in the oil-rich areas. For instance, the conflicts between the MCs in Niger Delta and local communities of the region which brought about some ethnic groups who were agitating against the exploitation of the resources in the region which could not benefit the people in the area (Adejumobi, 2002). The frequent oil spills that

extensively admitted to more than 550 oil spills in the Niger Delta in 2014 while in Bodo village, the oil spills affected more than 15,000 fishermen in the area (Ukiwo, 2007).

On this ground it is not out of place to argue that the continuous conflict in the Niger Delta Region can be on account of the damage that has been done on the culture of the region which has had a negative unacceptable impact on them. Tackling the fundamental crisis and unrest in this region has an important insinuation for the region and security of the entire Nigeria. Hence, drive towards attaining and maintaining peace in the region has been an issue of need to government and it is expected to be an imperative national policy. Therefore, from the above background, we made an attempt to explore the culture of the Niger Delta Region and the cost of the reactions of the people on Nigeria economy as a result of the oil production in the region. Consequently, this paper will help to reveal a handful of issues surrounding the activities of the Region in regard to oil production activities in Nigeria. It will also help Nigerian governments know the necessary steps towards restoring peace in the region and the country as whole.

2. Concept of Culture

A precise definition of culture dose not really exist as a result of its coverage. Several scholars have defined culture in different ways. On the general view, culture can be defined as the norms, beliefs, practices, attitude and social behavior that characterize a group of people at a particular place and time (Encarta Dictionary, 2009). Culture was defined by Zimmermann (2017) as the total characteristics of a set of people which included their language, religion, arts, social habits, marriage and food. According to Porter (2000), culture comprises of the beliefs, judgment and values that describes the economic actions of individuals, group of individuals, organizations, institutions or a nation while Mujeeb, Tahir, and Shakil (2011) defined culture as the precedents of common beliefs and values that is shared to produce an acceptable behavioral norms in the total way of living. There are two parts of culture. These are the physical and non-physical culture. Physical culture has to do with the lifestyle of the people created by man while the non-physical culture deals with the social and organizational part of the people, their norms, values, and belief. The non-physical part of culture however brings about the physical culture, directing the way the physical culture is manifested (Akanle, 2012).

3. Oil in Nigeria

3.1 The discovery of crude oil in Nigeria

Shell-BP Petroleum Industry discovered oil first in Nigeria in Oloibiri which is the current Ogbia Local Government Area of Bayelsa State in the Niger Delta region in 1956 and this was after 50 years of search for oil. Nigeria then joined rank of oil producers in 1958 when its first oil field came on stream producing not less than 5,100 barrel per day (Anyanwu, et al, 1997). After 1960, survey in onshore and offshore areas attached to the Niger Delta was extended to foreign companies. After then, the rise in the world oil in 1970 brought some profiting from oil resulting in the increase of her revenue generation. Nigeria joined OPEC in 1971 and in 1997, the Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC) was established.

Fig 3.1 An oil field



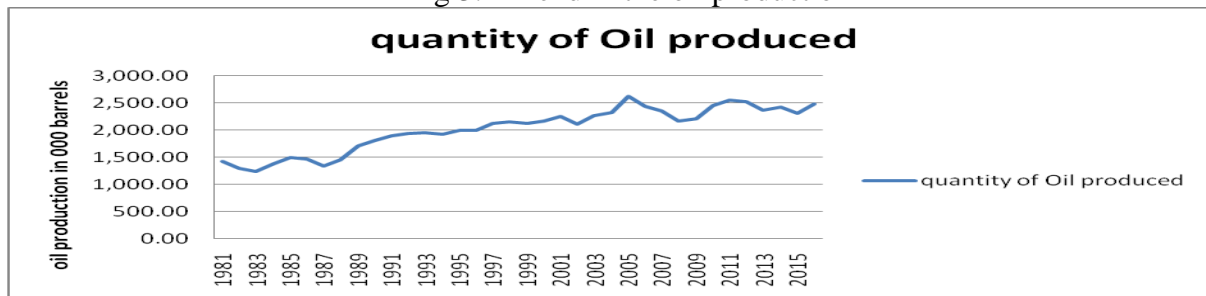
Source: New.yahoo.com

3.2 Production of Oil in Nigeria

Nigeria has about 37 billion barrels crude oil reserves, natural gas reserves of 168 trillion standard cubic feet (scf), and 75.4 trillion scf of non-associated gas. Nigeria has a production volume of 2.5 million barrels (402,000 m³) per day which is below the production volume of 3 million barrels (480,000 m³) per day allotted to it by OPEC (Omotola, (2009). After the first commercial production of 5100 bpd of crude oil in Nigeria in 1956, the production of oil has been on the increase. In 1970, the country produced about 1,085,000 bpd which was about 100% increase from 1969, while a total of 395.8 million barrels of crude oil was produced from 1960 to 1970.

Production increased again continuously from 2003, dropped by 7.12% in 2006 and as at 2014, crude oil production was 2,423,202 bpd, a 37% increase from 2013. In 2015, 2,316,900 bpd was produced which was a fall of 4.39% from 2014 production and in 2018, 1.86 Mbpd was produced and this was a 8.71% fall from last years (see fig below) (Anyanwu, et al, 1997; Energy Information Administration, (EIA), 2018; Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation, (NNPC), 2018). One particular thing about oil production in Nigeria is that it is being influenced by the forces of global demand and supply. Hence there are periods of high quantity produced with increase in world demand and oil price and periods of fall in production with global fall in oil demand and prices. This trend has also affected economic situation in Nigeria. It has led to fluctuation in inflation and exchange rate thereby affecting the wellbeing of the people.

Fig 3.2 Trend in the oil production

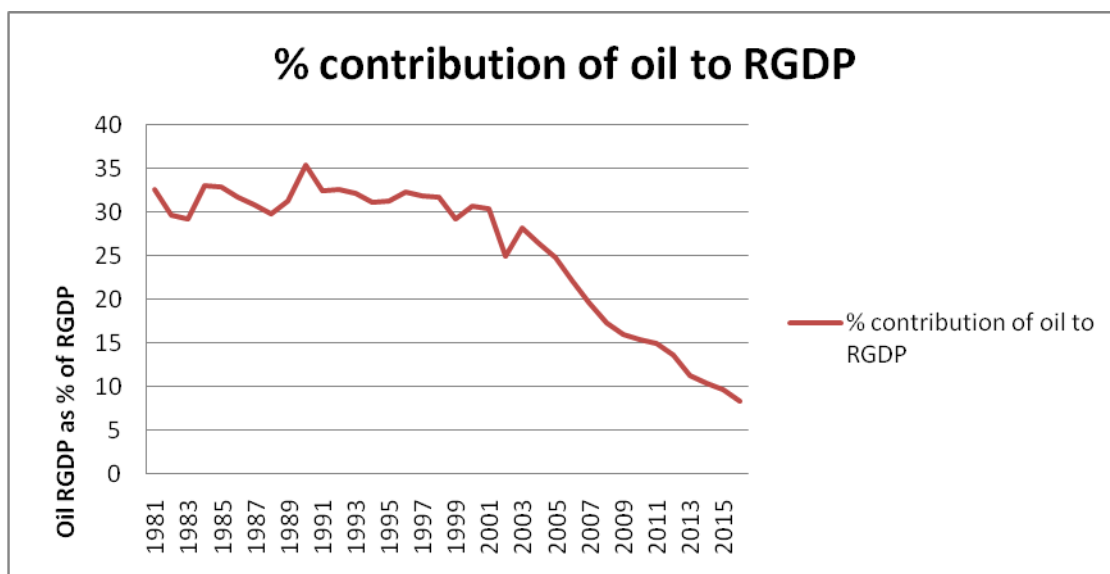


Source: Authors chart using data sourced from, Anyanwu, et al, 1997, EIA, (2018).

3.3 Contribution of oil to Nigeria economic growth.

From the discovery of crude oil in Nigeria, it has greatly influenced Nigeria economy in terms of revenue, employment, and economic growth. The oil sector accounts for over 90% of foreign exchange earnings for Nigeria and the largest part of it is from the Niger delta region. Between 1960 and 1970, oil contributed 1.6% of total GDP, which increased to 17.94% between 1970 and 1974 and 23.75% between 1975 and 1984. However, given the recent development in the non-oil sectors and the youth unrest in the Niger Delta area, the percentage contribution of oil to economic growth has been fluctuating. Also, the recent fall in the world demand for oil that put the country into recession between 2015 and 2016 led to more fall in the contribution of oil to economic growth. For instance in 2015 and 2016 oil contributed 8% and 9% respectively to RGDP (see fig below) (Central Bank, 2017).

Fig 3.3 Contribution on oil to Nigeria RGDP



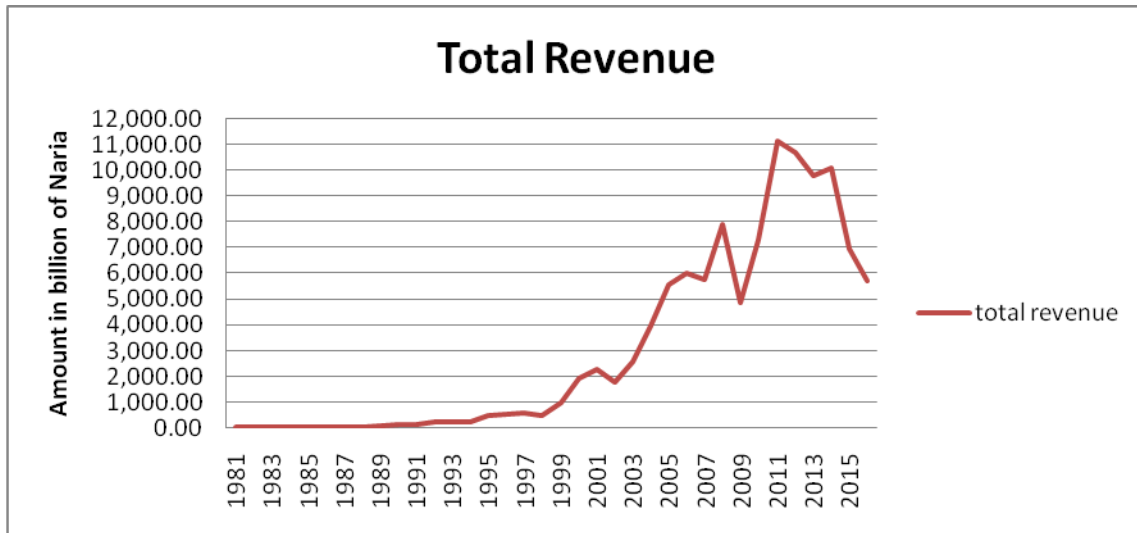
Source: Authors chart using data sourced from CBN, 2017.

3.4 Contribution to Revenue

Oil has also contributed significantly as a source of revenue to the government through petroleum profit tax (being the most contributor, accounting for about 60% of total contribution), royalties, rents and operating licenses. For instance oil sector contributed N28,000 representing about 0.1% of total government revenue in 1960 and this increased continuously to N167million (26.3%) in 1970, N3,724million (82%) in 1974 and N12,354(81.1% of total revenue) in 1980. However, from 1986, this contribution started falling so that in 1986, the sector contributed N8,107million (65.9%). This however increased again continuously from 1990 so that the sector contributed 81.9% of total government revenue which is about N55,216 million in 1990, N416,811million (71.7%) in 1997 and N3,354.8 billion (86%) in 2001 of total government revenue particularly given the oil boom. The global recession of 2008 led to a drop to 66% of government revenue in 2009. As the recession faced out, the contribution of oil to total revenue

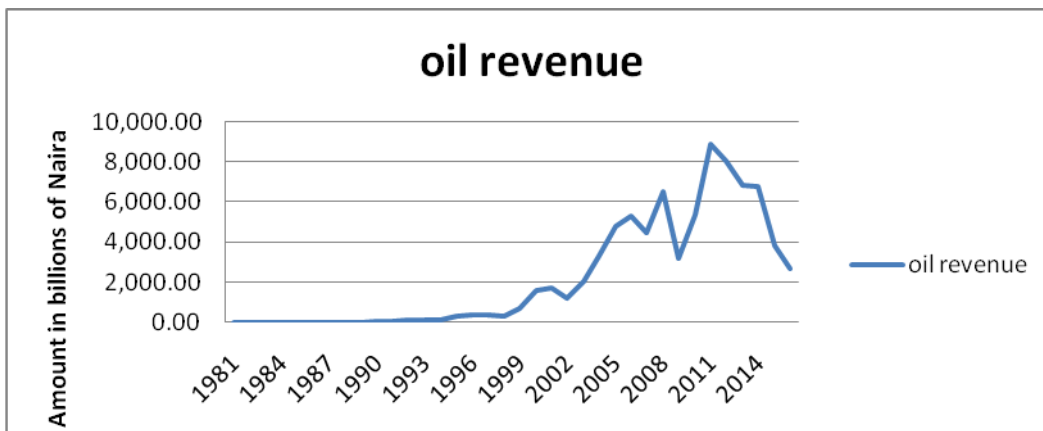
increased again, contributing about 80% of total revenue in 2011. As at 2015 and 2016, petroleum sector contributed 55.4% and 47.4% of total government revenue contributing N3, 830.1billion and N2, 693.91billion while the role of the non-oil sector has beginning to be relevant and sustaining the economy. As shown in the Fig 3.4 and 3.5 below, total government revenue follows the same trend with the oil revenue showing that Nigeria revenue is a function of oil revenue.

Fig 3.4 Trend of total government revenue



Source: Authors chart using data sourced from CBN, 2017.

Fig 3.5. The trend of Nigeria oil revenue



Source: Authors chart using data sourced from CBN, 2017.

It is important to note that in all these contribution from crude oil production to Nigeria economy, transforming the other parts of the country, yet the Niger Delta area had little or no

benefit from oil plunging them into the “Dutch disease” phenomenon, leaving the people in poverty and deprivation. This is a paradox of ‘want in plenty’ and the ‘resource curse’ (Sachs & Warner, 1995).

4. The culture and people of the Niger Delta Area of Nigeria.

The Niger Delta is located in the Atlantic Coast where River Niger divides into numerous tributaries, at the apex of Gulf of Guinea on the west coast of Africa. It covers about 112,110 KM², which is about 12 % of Nigeria total land mass (Ojimba, Akinola, Anyanwu, & Manilla, 2014). It has a population of more than 30million which is about 36% of Nigeria's total population, a population density of about 265 people per square kilometer with 40 different ethnics groups and 250 different dialects living there (Osuagwu & Olaifa, 2018). The region is located around oceanic river and it comprises of swampy mangrove forest and dense forest to the hinterlands. It is the biggest mangrove forest in Africa and the third enormous in the world, the biggest wetland in Africa and the second largest delta in the world. The region is one of the world’s biggest tertiary delta with highly abundant in hydrocarbons. It goes through 800 oil-producing communities with over 900 oil wells. It are the major oil producing part of Nigeria (Osuji, & Onojake, 2004).

Fig 4.1: The map of the Niger Delta Region



Source: Adapted from USEDATA, 2017

The Niger Delta is different from the southern political zone which comprises of Awka-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-Rivers, Edo, Delta and Rivers. The Niger Delta region originally consists of three (3) states, the current Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers States. However, six (6) other states (Abia, Awka-Ibom, Cross-Rivers, Edo, Imo and Ondo States) were added in 2000 and it has 185 Local Government Councils (LGCs). The Ethnic groups in Niger Delta region include among others: Bini, Efik, Esan, Ibibo, Igbo, Annag, Yoruba (Ilaje), Oron, Nembe-Brass, Ogbia, Ibani of Opobo and Bonny, Abua, Engenni, Andoni, Etche, Ogba, Ndoni, Ekpeye, Ndoki, Ijaw, Ikwerre, Adua/Odual, Itsekiri, Isoko, Urhobo, Ukwuani, Kalabari, Okrika and Ogoni (Wikipedia, 2018).

The people settle in small scattered hamlets and small houses with majority of the settlement being rural communities with populations of less than 20,0000 which are mainly rural areas. These settlements lack basic essential amenities such as health facilities, good water, power supply and transportation system among others. However, the larger settlements that has grown into urban areas among which are Port Harcourt, Warri, Calabar, Yenagoa etc and usually separated from the rural areas. These urban areas have a larger number of population and growing mostly from migration from the rural areas. They are usually around the road side (USEDATA, 2017).

The economic life and main livelihoods is influenced by their environment. Fishing and agriculture have historically been the main occupations in the Niger Delta, these have continue to account for almost half of employment The people living at the drier parts towards the northern part of delta concentrates on fishing, farming on food items such as cassava, yams, plantain, paddy-rice, fruits, timber, and processing palm-oil as well as hunting with low output level as a result of the poor technology of farming and the soil that is often by oil exploration activities. Those around the coasters are in fishing and trading while bilateral trading is carried out between them. The water is used as means of transportation which has led to high rate of exchange of ideals and arts. Their activities are less diversified. However, some are found employed in the oil sector and the civil services of the different states (Omojemite, 2011).

The Niger delta states suffer from high rate of unemployment. NBS (2012) showed that the states in the region had the highest rates of unemployment in 2010, Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta and Rivers had unemployment rate of 27.9% while Ondo had the highest rate of unemployment in the country in that year with unemployment of 28%. This high rate of unemployment has caused high crime rate, moral decadence and high poverty rate of the average of 60% with some state like Edo state having a poverty rate of 66% (NBS, 2012). Ethnic violence is common among the Niger Delta region which is of two types; first is violence between the diverse ethnic groups mainly for land, local council chairman or right to oil royalties from the oil companies while second is conflict between the Niger Delta and Nigeria government on the policies as it affect the people along with the oil producing companies. This has usually resulted into killings and deaths.

5. The impact of oil production on Niger Delta Region, their reaction to oil production and the economic impact on Nigeria.

5.1 Impact of oil on the Niger delta people

Oil production has resulted in mix influence on the Niger delta people. There has been some positive impact in the form of employment for some of the youths, yet oil has been a resource curse to the region. Oil exploration has destructively impacted on the region. Oil exploitation has increased the rate of environmental degradation in the region through oil spillage and gas flaring (Raji & Abejide, 2013; Elum, Monini & Henry-Ukoha, 2016). This has immortalized food insecurity given the death of fishes and crops from oil spillage and the flaring of gas. It has led to loss of farm lands, rivers and livelihood, increased the poverty rate and in many cases loss of lives as a consequence of the fire explosion. With regard to oil spills, Nigeria has the highest in the world. As recorded by Ajodo-Adebanjoko, (2016), about 9-13 million barrels of crude oil has

been spilled into the Niger delta region between 1976 and 1996 while Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR), 2016, observed that between same periods, about 1.8 million barrel of crude oil has been spilled into the region. The Nigeria National Petroleum Company (NNPC) noted that about 2300 cubic meters, which is an average of 300 industrial spills annually has been spilled into the environment.

Fig 3 Oil Spillage in Efik/Ibibo



Source: Efewestern (2017)

Fig 4: The wellhead near K-dere village, Ogoniland. The crude oil being spilled since 2008 destroying 20 sq km affecting Bodo and 30 other settlements' source of food and water.



Source: Guardian 2011

Gas flaring is one of the biggest negative impacts of oil production on the Niger delta region. About 75% of the gas are flared in Nigeria making Nigeria among the highest gas flaring countries in the world. Bassey (2001), observed that about 35 million tons of Co₂ and 12 million tons of methane are released from these flaring of gas in Nigeria which is the greatest in the

world. These harms the health of the Niger delta people. Nore and Turner (1980), noted that gas is flared in Nigeria more than any other place in the world and oil industries and negative activities is the worst case in the world. .

5.2 Reaction of the Niger Delta Region to oil production and economic impact on Nigeria

The Niger Delta region has been faced with exploitation which has always resulted into crisis in the history of Nigeria however, the prevalence of the crisis is traced to the 1960s with the discovery of oil in Nigeria. The dejected state of the people in the face of the resources their land is blessed with has made them to be known with violence. This has resulted into the inauguration by the Niger Delta people for some form of control, participation in the affairs or benefit from the wealth of the oil resources (Omojimate, 2011). Their actions has been provoked by their volatile responses to the pressures for the control and distribution of the resources in their area as well as the feeling of injustice and inequity.

The first form of exploitation the Niger Delta suffered was from their commercial engagement with different economies of the world as far back 19th century with the British Empire. They started trade first with the exportation of slave trade, then palm oil trading became the key business with the ban on slave trading. Their trading partner was mainly the Royal Niger Company and was hostile with exploitative monopoly power. Between 1894 and 1895, King William Koko of Nembe opposed the Royal Niger Company's effort to debar the Nembe people from the lucrative trade in palm oil and this resulted into fighting (Obi, 2007b).

With independence given to Nigeria in 1960, the concern of the Niger delta was aggravated as a result of the type of Nigeria federalism system. The Niger Delta Development Board (NDDDB) was established in 1961 to calm their fear but was not effective. Hence, in 1967, the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF) led by Isaac Boro, of Ijaw in Oloibiri, declared the independence of the Niger Delta in fight for the control oil revenue. He requested the oil companies to negotiate directly with his government rather than with the national authorities. But their expectation for the control of their resources was interfered by legislation that full control of oil resources is transferred to federal government in 1969 and this intensified the tension in Niger delta and their sentiment against federal government (Obi, 2007b).

The believe that they were not given some form of recognition, excluded from the control of the resources in their region and the pollution of their environment caused by the oil exploration activities of MNCs which has resulted in the impoverishment of the people has continues to compound their violent actions. Hence, the Niger Delta resorted into taking matters into their hands seeing their area being extracted with benefit and their non-violence move were not given audience. They went into kidnapping of oil workers, pipe-line vandalization, civil strife, militancy/insurgency, loss of human and material resources etc.

For instance, in 1990s, the Movement for Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) was led by Ken Saro-Wiwa in a protest of the Niger Delta for environmental rights and he was hanged by federal Government in 1995 which was the height of injustice on the Niger Delta people. The KAIAMA DECLARATION declaring Operation Climate Change (OCC) was made in 1998 by the Ijaw youths with the formation of Ijaw Youth Council (IYC). They made demand on the oil companies to suspend/withdraw operations from Ijaw land (Okumagba, 2011). Other forms of activists group that came up were the Movement of Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) in

2006. This resorted to kidnapping of foreign employees of the oil companies who are released with ransom although without hurt. In 2016, the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) attacked the oil producing amenities in the region which led to the closure of oil terminals and a plunge in Nigeria oil production to the lowest level ever recorded in more than twenty years (Wikipedia, 2018).

It was estimated by NNPC that between 1998 and 2003, about four hundred “vandalizations” on company facilities each year has taken place in Nigeria while between January and September 2004, about 581vandalization took place. The annual loss from oil with these vandalizations has amount to about 1 billion USD. In 2006 MEND’s cutting of Nigerian output by 30 percent resulted in nineteen attacks on foreign oil operations, hostage of about 400 expatriate oil-worker and about 2.2 billion USD which is about 32 percent of the year’s revenue. In 2008, about 23.7 billion USD of oil revenue loss was recorded. These actions has also resulted in about 200,000 people displaced and about 100 death each year for the past two decades (Joab-Peterside, Porter, & Watts, 2012).

5.3 Government efforts towards the control of the negative effect of oil production on the Niger Delta Area of Nigeria.

The crisis and violence in the Niger Delta has affected the effective production of crude oil and the ripping of the full benefit of crude oil in Nigeria. Over the years government has made rigorous efforts to reduce the crisis in the region by trying to foster development in the region. Among such steps taken by the Nigeria government are:

- In 1957, the Willink Commission was established to examine the difficulties of these minorities. The commission conceded to the fact that the region has been neglected and recommended among others the creation of the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDDB). This board was created in 1966 but was not effective because headquarter was located in Lagos which was very far from the affected area (Ajodo-Adebanjoko&Asu, 2013).
- In 1995, the Niger Delta Environmental Survey (NDS) was established by Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) on behalf of its joint partners (NNPC, ELF and AGIP). It was funded under the Oil producers Trade Section (OPTS). The goal was to execute an environmental study of the region and provide important survey data that will help towards the development of the region. These goals were however not achieved as the region is still among the least developed areas of Nigeria.
- The establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) in 2000. The NDDC had focused on the development of physical infrastructures, trying the restore the ecology in addition to human development. But they have been carrying out elephant projects.
- The establishment of Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC) and Ministry of Niger Delta (MND).
- In 2005, World Bank carried out a project of Community-Based Natural Resource Management Programme in Niger Delta at the cost of about US\$ 82.2 m. The project

was aimed at improving the standard of living of the people with concentration on youth and women (USEDATA, 2017).

- In 2008, federal government changed to sharing of the derivation from oil and there was an improvement in the revenue derivation in favour of the oil producing state which was increased from 1% to 13% (UNEP, 2011).
- Between 2009 and 2016, the Amnesty program for the militants was created where an unreserved pardon was granted to militants of the Niger Delta region. They were to surrender their weapons to government while government will train them in any skills and fields of study they desired to go into. Some were also given lucrative contracts to guard the pipelines (Ajodo-Adebanjoko, 2016). This had a little impact in the restoration of peace and security in the country but was short-lived as it was aborted by the next administration. The abolition of this also resulted in the current un-rest in the region.

6 Recommendation and conclusion

6.1 Recommendations

This study confirmed that the Niger Delta economy has been negatively affected in terms of their culture and wellbeing by crude oil production in Nigeria. This has been pointed to their lack of involvement in oil control and administration which has led to their continuous struggle and crisis. Although, efforts have been put in place by Nigeria Federal Government towards ensuring that the indigenes are benefiting from the oil resources, there is however need for the more thoughtful policy actions towards ameliorating these struggles, crisis and loss of human and material resources. This study therefore recommends among others:

- The use of cooperative approach between the Nigeria Government and the Niger Delta indigenes to resolve these conflict so that both human, material and financial resources can be saved is strongly recommended.
- The amendment of the Nigerian constitution to feature some rights of control and administration to be given to regions where resources are found.
- There is also the need for constitutional decentralization of the resource control to give regional sovereignty for resource management.
- Enforceable laws towards the control of oil spillage and gas flaring by the Oil companies should be established to clean up any form of spillage and payment of compensation to the communities affected as it is attainable in other oil producing countries. The International Oil Companies should be brought to accountability
- Conscious provision of employment should be made for the Niger Delta youths so that the kidnapping and pipeline busting can be stopped. It is paramount that the International Oil Companies be made to provide subsidiaries to their main operations that will provide employment to the jobless youths in the communities where they are operating. These will close all avenues for criticisms and crisis from the region.
- Priority should be given to the development of the Niger Delta region using the oil revenues. The need for a Niger Delta development masterplan is undoubtable needed and this should include a concentration on the educational sector such as an institution for maritime and petroleum. There should also be room provided for the development of local skills as it is deemed relevant to the region.

6.2. Conclusion

The desire to restore stability in Niger Delta and to safeguard steady revenue inflow to Nigeria's reserves has obligated present administration to trust military to repel repeated militancy in the region. This is because in addition to its oil wealth, Niger Delta region's position on Atlantic makes it a critical maritime corridor for Nigeria to transport crude oil to international markets and to import desirable merchandises. For expansion of our domestic economy therefore, there is growing concern that further escalation of violence could cripple oil production, with calamitous, gushing economic and security consequences.

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