JOURNAL OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE
ISSN Print: 2992-2763 – ISSN Online: 2992-4618 | Vol. 3, Issue 1, No. 2 / March 2025
https://www.jopd.com.ng

AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTS OF NIGER -DELTA CRISIS ON THE FLOW OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT TO NIGERIA

BY
Friday ICHOFU

PGs: Department of Political Science & International Relations
University of Abuja, Abuja Nigeria
+1248063090721/07036802116
Email Address: fridayichofu01@gmail.com/heritageconsult21@gmail.com

ABSTRACT
Foreign direct investment (FDI) has been globally acknowledged as a driver of economic growth and development. However, in developing economies, the insecurity-induced environmental factors have unacceptably relegated the roles of the FDI, especially in the host countries, to the background. Therefore, this study investigated the effect of the Niger Delta internal crisis on the inflow of foreign direct investment to Nigeria. The study employed a qualitative research approach. It adopted Library sources to gather secondary data and it was analysed qualitatively using content analysis. The study leveraged linkage theory as its framework of analysis. Findings of the study indicated that unemployment, injustice, and environmental damage caused by the exploration of the multinational companies in the region without corresponding compensation are associated risk factors of recurrent crises in the study area. It also showed that spate of insecurity induced environment has far negative consequences on the inflow of foreign direct investment in the region and by extension, Nigeria. The study contended that even though FDI has the capacity to stimulate socio-economic condition of the people of the study area through employment generation, technology transfer, investment in infrastructure and transfer of capital as well as culture of entrepreneurship, the incessant outbreak of internal crisis in the region has undermined the impact of FDI on the socio-economic advancement of the people in the study area. The study recommended, inter alia, that good governance, effective information management, and strategic communication are imperative and timely to ameliorate the identified challenges in the region.

Key Words: *FDI, Niger- Delta, insecurity, Nigeria, development, economic growth, Conflict*

1.**Introduction**

Globally, governments are fundamentally responsible for safeguarding their citizens. In Nigeria, however, this duty is compromised by internal strife, terrorism, and criminal activities like kidnapping, creating instability (Nwolise, 2019). While conflict is inherent in any society, unresolved disputes in Nigeria escalate (Alemika, 2019), fostering an environment that severely hinders economic growth and discourages foreign investment.

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is crucial for host nations, bringing essential resources like long-term capital, technological expertise, and managerial skills (Krugman & Obstfeld, 2000; Temle, 1999). However, in Nigeria, particularly the Niger Delta, persistent conflicts stemming from long-standing grievances over resource control continue to undermine national security and impede economic development, despite attempts at resolution such as the 2009 amnesty (Jacob, 2014). Further compounding this issue, the Nigerian business climate is plagued by various forms of insecurity, including theft, kidnapping, and militancy, creating a hostile environment that deters investment (Oyibo, 2008; Dickson & Presley, 2012;

Adebakin& Raimi, 2012; Jackson, 2007). Critics contend that the government's efforts to resolve the Niger Delta conflict have been inadequate, focusing on surface-level solutions and relying on coercive tactics rather than addressing the root causes of the unrest (Jacob, 2014).

Hence, making the Niger Delta situation the cynosure of grave developmental defects and gross human neglect which reflects in the lack of basic infrastructure like hospitals, roads, schools, electricity, potable water and security. This dearth of amenities is heightened by the activities of oil prospecting multinational corporations in the region whose operations continue to damage both the ecosystem and climate due to oil spills, dredging, flaring and the laying of pipelines which require the removal of large swaths of forest resources with no alternative plans for renewal and sustainability (Olusola, 2013).

Foreign companies are Nigeria's largest employer of labour, particularly in communication, construction, oil and gas. However, FDI inflows have dropped from 3.4 billion naira in 2009 to -6.22billion naira in 2023 (International Monetary Funds, 2023), due to the activities of Niger Delta militancy and Boko Haram insurgency. Although national security is a concern, as economic development depends on it, poor policy implementation, deteriorating infrastructure, social unrest, religious and ethnic strife, and crime have stifled FDI. The Niger Delta region's neglect, poverty, and environmental damage have exacerbated socio-economic unrest. These factors have reduced the potential gain from foreign direct investment in Nigeria ((Oladimeji &Oresanwo, 2014),

The literature on the impact of insecurity on foreign direct investment (FDI) reveals divergent views. Some scholars such as Kang and Lee (2007), Bandyopadhyay (2013), Rasheed and Tahir (2012), argue that terrorism, kidnapping, and hostage taking incidents can divert FDI, reducing economic growth in developing countries. However, Wagner (2016) suggests that foreign investors may not be discouraged by terrorist attacks. Therefore, this study aims to evaluate the effects of the Niger Delta crisis on foreign direct investments in Nigeria, focusing on the international environment characterized by dwindling crisis and terrorism. Hence, filing the existing gaps in literature become imperative and timely.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

Thus, this study sets out to achieve the following specific objectives:

1. To find the causes of the conflicts in Niger Delta Region
2. To examine the effects of the Niger Delta crises on the flow and performance of foreign direct investment to Nigeria
3. To interrogate the implications of foreign direct investment for the socio-economic development in Nigeria.

2.1 Conceptual Review

Insecurity

In a broad term, insecurity signifies a lack of safety, encompassing danger and risk, and is understood as a state of unease stemming from perceived absence of security (Beland, 2005). This implies victims face uncertainty about potential harm and are vulnerable when it materialises. Essentially, it is a condition of fear and vulnerability.

In another continuum Gambo and Adebanjo (2021) define insecurity as a vulnerable state marked by uncertainty and anxiety, impacting mental stability (Hudson, 2014), but argue this definition is incomplete. They contend that insecurity's causes are multidimensional, extending beyond psychological factors to include political instability, leadership failures, unemployment-driven crime, and security agency shortcomings (Gambo & Adebanjo, 2021). Thus, physical and systemic factors are crucial in understanding insecurity.

The impact of insecurity is far-reaching, resulting in significant financial burdens for businesses due to property damage and legal expenses (Sohnen, 2012). Notably, it severely restricts economic advancement, especially in developing nations, by impeding growth and discouraging foreign capital (Otto &Ukpere, 2012; Ewetan&Urhie, 2014). Beyond economic consequences, insecurity erodes public welfare, disrupts commercial activities, and forces business relocations, ultimately destabilizing entire economic systems (Adegbami, 2013).

Conflict

Conflict, encompassing clashes and contention, contrasts with peace, extending beyond physical violence to include disagreements (Gana, 2019). It is understood as a struggle over scarce resources and values (Coser, 1956), or as an interaction between interdependent parties with perceived incompatible goals (Folger, Poole, & Stutman, 1997). Conflict follows a cyclical pattern, from initiation to resolution (Gana, 2019).

By implication, conflicts, impacts global security, it persists in countries like Afghanistan and Syria, highlighting the continuous struggle to protect lives and property (Alemika, 2019). Conflict is viewed as an inherent part of human interaction, arising when incompatible actions hinder another's effectiveness (Deutsch, 1973). Essentially, conflict stems from perceived incompatible goals and interference between interdependent individuals or groups (Folger, Poole, &Shutman, 1997).

A synthesis of the above conceptualisations reveals that Conflict arises when established decision-making processes fail, leading to challenges in choosing between options, and it is a fundamental part of social life, impacting interactions at all levels (Imobigbe, 2002; Garuba, 1998; Bouma & Singleton, 2004).

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

The concept of foreign direct investment is interpreted differently by various sources. The OECD library defines FDI as a cross-border investment made by an entity with the goal of gaining a lasting interest in a company in another economy, with a minimum of 10% ownership indicating investor influence. Montiel and Reinhart (2001) describe FDI as a significant component of international capital flows, involving the movement of financial and human capital for investment purposes.

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), characterized by at least 10% equity ownership and control of foreign businesses (World Bank, 1996; Ayanwale, 2007), involves resource allocation into international operations (Hill, 2003). Driven by multinational corporations for asset control and production (Mallampally&Sauvant, 1999; Annaek, 2007), FDI addresses developmental challenges (Caves, 1996) and is distinct from portfolio investments. Developing nations prioritize FDI to stimulate economic growth, facilitate technology and skill transfer, and enhance foreign exchange reserves (Todaro, 1977).Moreover, foreign investment fosters knowledge transfer through training and job creation, introduces advanced technologies to local markets, and improves access to research and development, all contributing to economic progress.

Economic Growth

Economic growth is an increase in the production of economic goods and services compared from one period of time to another (OECD, 2024). It can be measured in nominal or real terms, the latter of which is adjusted for inflation. Usually, aggregate economic growth is measured in terms of gross national product (GNP) or gross domestic product (GDP), although alternative metrics are sometimes used (Mankiw, 2021).

Economic growth is crucial for national prosperity, driving increased wealth that enhances living standards through improved access to essential services like healthcare and education (implied: World Bank, etc.). Furthermore, it generates employment and opportunities, contributing to the reduction of poverty and inequality (Todaro, 2012). In essence, growth translates to better lives and a more equitable society. However, economic growth is not without its challenges. It can lead to environmental degradation, increased inequality, and social disruption as the case in the Nigerian Niger Delta region. Therefore, it is important to ensure that economic growth is sustainable and inclusive, meaning that it benefits all members of society and does not come at the expense of the environment.

Development

Development is a comprehensive concept that extends beyond mere economic growth, encompassing social, environmental, and political progress. Economically, it involves increasing national wealth through industrialization and technological advancements (Mankiw, 2021). Crucially, this economic development must be sustainable and inclusive, ensuring benefits for all while safeguarding the environment (World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), 1987).

Development, from a social perspective, is concerned with enhancing human well-being through improved access to education, healthcare, and social services, while also promoting social justice and equality (UNDP, 1990). Environmentally, development focuses on ecological sustainability, addressing issues like climate change and resource depletion (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA), 2005). Politically, it emphasizes good governance, democracy, and respect for human rights, alongside citizen participation and government accountability (Diamond, 1999).

2.2 Empirical Review

A survey of the literature on the effect of insecurity on FDI reports divergent views. While some scholars suggest that terrorism, kidnapping and hostage taking insecurity induced incidents have economic consequences by diverting foreign direct investment (FDI) which is a significant source of savings, and if a developing country loses abundant FDI, then it may also experience reduced economic growth, Oladimeji and Oresanwo (2014), Kang and Lee (2007), Bandyopadhyay(2013), Rasheed and Tahir (2012), Nnamdi (2015), Oladimeji and Oresanwo (2014), (Todaro, 2000).Temle (1999), Otto and Ukpere, 2012; Jackson et al, 2007; McKenna, 2005), (Dickson and Presley, 2012; Adebakin and Raimi, 2012), Shonekan (2001), However, study by Wagner (2016) argued that foreign investors may not be discouraged by the rate of terrorist attacks.

A synthesis of the findings of these studies shows that these scholars have not satisfactorily and systematically addressed in the extant literature Niger Delta's crisis and foreign direct investments. These are the gaps that this study intends to fill.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts linkage theory as its framework for analysis. The linkage theorywas propounded byKerlinger (1973). The linkage approach emphasizes the interconnectedness of domestic factors and external foreign policy, asserting that internal processes significantly influence a nation's external actions (Rosenau, 1967). This approach establishes a general context for analyzing the relationship between a country's internal situation and its external environment (Birai, 1996). Furthermore, it provides a specific framework for assessing how particular forces can affect the success or failure of a given policy (Birai, 1996). Domestic variables, including environmental factors like a nation's size and resources, play a crucial role in shaping foreign policy.

To a large extent, this theory is relevant to the study because it is obvious that Linkage theory elucidates how a nation's foreign investment policies are shaped by both internal needs, such as development, and external relations, as exemplified by the impact of the Niger Delta crisis on Nigeria's FDI. This theory highlights that state actions, including attracting FDI, are intrinsically tied to various domestic and international objectives. Whether such relationship is mutual or not, it is linked to lots of factors including conducive security environmental factor.

3.1 Methods and Materials

This study employed a descriptive research design. The study used secondary data sources to collect data from various means, including the library of the debt management organization, ministry of foreign affairs, and the Central Bank of Nigeria. The data was analysed qualitatively using content analysis technique.

4.1 Causes and Dynamics of the Crisis in the Niger Delta Region

The Niger Delta, a vast region of over 70,000 square kilometers and home to approximately 45 million people (National Bureau of Statistics, 2006), is predominantly inhabited by diverse ethnic minority groups (Azaiki, 2007). This area, comprising nine states as defined by the NDDC ACT (2000) (Kimiebi, 2010), is rich in natural resources, notably oil and gas, which contribute over 90% of Nigeria's total revenue (Brisibie, 2001; Tell, 2008). The Delta's landscape is characterized by varied terrain, including sandy ridges, mangrove forests, and freshwater swamps, and it encompasses over 40 distinct ethnic groups, including Ijaw, Ogoni, and Edo.

The Niger Delta's militancy and insurgency are largely driven by economic and developmental frustrations, stemming from the perception of being deprived and threatened (Olusola, 2013). This discontent is fueled by the environmental damage caused by foreign oil companies, including pollution and deforestation, which neglect local communities (Olusola, 2013; Ikelegbe, 2004). Despite the region's vast oil wealth, it has experienced severe environmental degradation, socio-economic decline, and increased violence, rather than development (Ikelegbe, 2004; Pegg, 1999). Essentially, the region's resource wealth has paradoxically led to its impoverishment and instability.

Another cause of insurgency in the Niger Delta area is severe unemployment and poverty of the people from oil producing communities. Ejibanu (2007) and Brisbie (2001) pointed out that unemployment is very high among the people of the Niger Delta region. According to them, the youths from the area do not benefit from the presence of the transnational oil companies operating in their communities even when they are qualified, less than 5% of the people from the Niger Delta work in the companies, while women from the region working with multinational oil firms are less than 1%. In the words of Ibaba (2005) “poverty level in the Niger Delta is about 80% while unemployment level is about 70% and majority live without the basic amenities such as pipe-borne water and electricity.

Government inaction regarding the environmental damage caused by oil exploration, including pollution of waterways and soil, has fueled local frustration (Nwaomah, 2009; Nwogwugwu et al., 2012; Azaiki, 2007). This neglect, combined with a lack of enforcement of environmental protection and corporate responsibility, has led to increased militancy and aggression (Olusola, 2013).

Instead, as Kemedi (2003) notes, oil producing companies in the Niger Delta adopted a divide and rule method which aimed at identifying for compensation, people in the host communities they believe can influence the indigenes to ensure that they have a peaceful environment to operate in. Thus, monies that could have been used to develop the entire community are partly paid to some individuals as compensation at the detriment of the communities they represent. Nwogwugwu (2012) noted that “militancy in the Niger Delta

region of Nigeria is attributed to the consciousness of exploitation being perpetrated against the people and the struggle to change the status quo. They contend that "it is on record that more than $400 billion was stolen from the treasury by Nigeria's leaders between 1960 and 1999 while the country's GDP per capital fell from US $ 1.010.00 in the early 1980s to US $300.00 in 2019.

4.2 Interventions in the Niger Delta Crisis

The Nigerian government has utilized three main strategies to address Niger Delta oil conflicts: resource allocation, development agencies, and military intervention. Initially, the derivation principle, which determines revenue sharing, was reduced from 50% during agricultural dominance to the current 13% (Okolie-Osemene, 2015). Secondly, numerous development bodies, including the NDDC, have been established, yet challenges persist (Okolie-Osemene, 2015). Lastly, military force, through the Joint Task Force, has been employed, but this approach has led to human rights violations and further radicalized the region, indicating the failure of previous conflict resolution efforts (Odoemene, 2012). Essentially, while Nigeria has tried several approaches, none have fully resolved the Niger Delta crisis, and the reliance on military force suggests a breakdown in effective, non-violent solutions.

Furthermore, the Nigerian government implemented an amnesty programme in 2009, following recommendations from the NDTC (Mitee, 2009), and later convened a peace dialogue in 2016, though lasting peace remains elusive. Despite these efforts, the region continues to experience instability, leading to calls for resource control (Akintunde & Hile, 2016). These ongoing issues contribute to the instability of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigeria, which is heavily influenced by the nation's oil sector and other economic factors.

4.3 Foreign Direct Investments in the Nigeria Niger- Delta Region

The growth of FDI in Nigeria has been unstable for quite sometimes as it is either declining or increasing. There has not been an enormous growth in the inflow of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Nigeria, especially the non-oil except for 1994 which had over 700% increase with foreign private investment inflow of 5599.3 million naira from 6825.5 million naira. Other subsequent years with an encouraging performances include 1989, 1997, 2000 and between 2003 to 2020 though is unstable but encouraging. Meanwhile, there was a major decline in 1980, 1990, 2001 and 2002. According to UNCTAD Foreign Direct Investment inflow between 1970 to 1975 rose from $205m to $470m, while the positive inflow of FDI in the non-oil sector were directly affected by various private sector policies adopted since early 1970s (UNCTAD, 2019).It has been made known that Nigeria receive the largest amount of FDI inflow over the course of the last decade from $1.14billion in 2001 to $2.1billion in 2004, and $11billion in 2009, making the country the 19th recipient of FDI in the world with 30% of all FDI inflow in Africa, due to its oil attractiveness.(Business, Trade and Investment Guide, 2020/2021).

The growth in foreign investment over time and the growth in real Gross Domestic Product show that apart from the inflow of foreign direct investment there are other key factors that contribute to the increases or decreases in the GDP. These include consumption, investment, government expenditure export, import etc. notwithstanding, the contribution of foreign private investment can still be explored. The stock of FDI in Nigeria was estimated to be $67.23billion as at December 2020 and $61.23billion as of December 2019 (www.cia.gov, 2021)

Prior to the 1970s, Nigeria actively encouraged FDI, with foreign entities controlling a significant portion of the economy (Biersteker, 1987). However, post-civil war, the government shifted towards indigenization, aiming to reduce foreign dominance through policies like the Nigerian Enterprise Promotion Decree of 1972, which limited foreign equity

to 60%, and further restrictions in 1977, reducing it to 40% (Ogunkola& Jerome, 2006). This transition reflected a nationalistic push to promote indigenous entrepreneurship and control.

Nigeria's investment landscape shifted in 1995 with economic liberalization, marked by the Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission Act, which permitted 100% foreign ownership in most sectors, excluding oil and gas (NIPC Act, 1995). To streamline investment processes, the NIPC established the One-Stop-Investment-Centre (OSIC) in 2006, consolidating various governmental agencies, and has since registered over 2,500 companies (NIPC data, 2006 onwards).

With all these, the Nigerian government is committed in bringing in even more investment. In August 2009, UNCTAD and the Japan Bank for international co-operation (JBIC) presented the Nigerian government with a 15-point action plan to develop the country investment promotion structure and create more enabling investment environment so as to enable Nigeria to meet its target of becoming one of the world's top 20 economies by 2020.

However, despite all these policies and reforms, Nigeria remain a high risk operating environment. Institution barriers to doing business including corruption in government as critical determinants of private sector development and prospect for sustainable growth.

4.4 Effects of Niger Delta Crisis on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) toNigeria

Every nation especially developing and undeveloped countries need fast national and economic development. One major way of attracting and ensuring economic development is an enabling environment that is investors friendly. A country where terrorists regularly bomb, kidnap, kill innocent people, and destroy villages and social facilities can never be a safe haven for investment. Isakpa (2011) noted that "there can be no real progress made in any economy that is hostage to security".

Insurgency in Nigeria has significantly damaged the economy, causing substantial financial losses for businesses and a decline in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), with investors relocating to more stable environments. The Boko Haram insurgency has led to business closures, population displacement, and deterred foreign investors due to the prevailing insecurity (Aro, 2013; Afolabi, 2015). The region's war-like conditions necessitated a US$1 billion allocation in 2018 for counter-insurgency efforts.High rate of insurgency in Nigeria has led to low level of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Nigeria. International investors are now afraid of investing in Nigeria environment that could be describe as a "time bomb". Baiyewu (2012) noted that "no business will come to Nigeria with the current security challenge. Okah (2010) noted that foreign direct investment (FDI) is getting leaner, and international oil investors are diverting to cheaper/safer environment.

4.5 Challenges

There are several security challenges affecting Nigeria's Niger Delta region, among others include;

Kidnapping/Hostage taking: Kidnapping and hostage-taking have become prevalent tactics among Niger Delta youths and militants, primarily targeting oil and construction workers for ransom, significantly disrupting company operations and profitability (Nwankwo, 2012). Beyond its use as a means of protest, kidnapping has evolved into a lucrative criminal enterprise, with substantial ransoms demanded, which negatively impacts company finances due to non-deductible payments. Consequently, the region's development and business environment suffer from the instability caused by these activities.

Militancy and Youth Restiveness: Militancy and Youth restiveness is also another mode of insecurity existing in the region and sometimes beyond. It constitutes one of the multiple effects of the critical problem of insecurity in Nigeria's Niger Delta region (Ejumodo, 2014). Militancy and youth restiveness means the alleged matters of youth agitations over the issues of negligence, marginalization and deprivation, due to feelings of dissatisfaction. It entails a situation whereby youths get agitated, and becomes quite difficult to control. It can also be

seen as youths' agitations over for the settlement of their rights through self-seeking and criminality or criminal activities.

5.1 Discussion of Findings

This study has interrogated the rationale behind the incessant crisis in the Niger Delta region and its implications on the foreign direct investment in Nigeria. Findings from the study revealed that land degradation, environment damage caused by the exploration of the multinational companies in the region without corresponding compensation as social corporate responsibilities, as well as high rate of poverty and unemployment among the youth in the region have been identified as the root causes of internal conflict/crisis in the study area.

The study also indicated that, internal crises in the study area manifested in different forms such as pipeline vandalisation, kidnapping, hostage taking, among others, and this spate of insecurity induced environment have far negative consequences on the inflow of foreign direct investment in the region and by extension, Nigeria in general. In addition, results from the study showed that even though FDI has the capacity to stimulate socio-economic condition of the people of the study area through employment generation, technology transfer, investment in infrastructure and transfer of capital as well as culture of entrepreneurship, among others, the incessant outbreak of internal conflict/crisis in the region has undermined the impact of FDI on the socio-economic advancement of the people in the Niger Delta region.

Conclusion

This study conclusion that the core issue driving internal conflict in Nigeria is a lack of effective governance and people-centered policies, which has been exacerbated by Niger Delta militancy, inspiring other insurgent groups and causing widespread destruction. The resulting insecurity, including rampant kidnapping, and the failure of security agencies to protect citizens, severely hinders Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and sustainable development, creating an unfavorable investment climate. This instability undermines state authority, threatens democratic governance, and fosters an environment of fear, further deterring FDI.

Recommendations

Addressing the intertwined issues of environmental induced insecurity in the Niger Delta and the flow of FDI to Nigeria demands a comprehensive approach that tackles the root causes while also strengthening security measures. Here are some potential recommendations:

i. Governments at the federal and state levels in the Niger DeltaRegion should implement equitable resource sharing mechanisms, ensuring oil revenue benefits local communities through investments in education, healthcare, infrastructure, and sustainable livelihoods through a reformed and robust NDDC.
ii. Government at all levels should hold multinational corporations accountable for environmental damage through stricter regulations, regular audits, and fair compensation for impacted communities in the region.
iii. There is urgent need for the Federal government to combat corruption within government agencies and corporations especially in the NDDC to ensure effective resource management, and development project implementation in the region.
iv. There is need for the governors of the region to address grievances and marginalization through inclusive dialogue and conflict resolution mechanisms.
v. There is need for government to invest in community policing initiatives, involving locals in security efforts and building trust with security forces, enhance improved

intelligence gathering and data analysis to predict and prevent criminal activities in the conflict areas of the Niger Delta region.

vi. There is also need for the federal government to address underlying social issues like poverty, unemployment, and lack of access to education through targeted interventions.

vii. Federal government should encourage FDI that aligns with long-term sustainable development goals for the Niger Delta, focusing on environmentally friendly projects and community benefits.

REFERENCES

Akindele, R.A. and Olusanya G. O (1986) (eds). *Nigeria since Independence: The First Twenty- five years; International Relations*, Ibadan: Heinemann,

Alege, D.V. (2008). *Understanding Insecurity in Nigeria*. Abuja, Accurate Print. Nigeria Atlas of Electoral Constituencies. *A Publication of the Independent National Electoral Commission,* INEC, 2008.

Alemika, E.I. (2019). Gender and youth dimensions of conflict in Nigeria: the community policy option. In C. O. Bassey and M. Ogbonnay (Eds). *Internal security crisis and community policy in Nigeria: policy options and strategies* Lagos, concept publication limited.

Askitiphi, A., Oyeleran, E and Philip, A. (1999). *Oil Exploration and Socio-cultural Effect on the people of the Niger Delta.* In Osutukean (ed) 1999 173-188

Awopegbe, P and Olusoji, A. (1999). Employment Effect of all companies of Activities in Nigeria. In O. Christopher and K. Orubu (eds), *Conference on management of Petroleum energy resource for sustainable development in the Niger Delta in the 21st century held from 7th – 9th September*, at the Delta state University Abraka.

Balogun, E. 0. 0, "Foreign Policy Analysis: Linkage Politics" *Journal of Arts and Social Sciences* Vol. 5 October/November 2000 pp. 89-93.

Bamgbose J. Adele, B. (2007). *Nigeria's Foreign Policy.* Ibadan, Olu-Akin Publishers,

Bazoum M. (2012). *Boko-Haram* got weapons, training from al-Qaeda" *The Punch* January26, 2012 p. 12.

Ben A. and Inalegwu S. (2012). Jonathan Seeks foreign assistance to tackle *Boko Haram*. *The Vanguard* April 20, 2012 p.6.

Coser, L.A. (1968). *Conflict-social Aspects International Encyclopedia of the social serene P.* Hanks, Encyclopedia and word dictionary

Diamond, L. (1999). *Developing democracy: Toward consolidation*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Economic growth. Retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/economic-outlook/economic-growth/

Gambo,A. Z. and Adebanjo, A. (2021). *Developing the Security Conscious Mindset*. A publication of the Office of the Chief of Naval Staff, Abuja-Nigeria.

Gana, ABM (2019). Conflict analysis: tools and techniques. In CO Bassey and M.Ogbonnay (Eds), Internal *Security Crisis and Community Policing in Nigeria: Policy Options and Strategies.* Lagos, concept publication limited.

Gardner, H. (1985). *The Mind's New Science: A History of the Cognitive Revolution.* New York: Basic Books.

Garuba, C. (1998). C*risis Africa and the Challenges of Capacity Building for Crisis Management in Africa.* Lagos, Gabumo Publishing Company.

Gurr T.R (1993). *Minorities at Risk: A Global view of Ethnic Political conflicts*. Washington D.C United State Institute of peace.

Hassan S. (2011). In Bola Akinterinwa (ed), (2007), *Nigeria's National Interests in a Globalizing World: Further Reflections on Constructive and Beneficial Concentricism.* Ibadan: Bolytag International Publishers,

Hassan, S (2011). *Essays on Contemporary Nigerian Foreign Policy*, Ibadan: Vantage Press

Hudson, P. (2015). *9 Things Insecure People Do that Ruin their Lives*. Accessed online from: https://www. elitedaily. Com/ accessed February10, 2022.

Human Right Watch, (HRH), (1999). *The price of Oil Corporation, responsibility and human right violation in Nigeria oil producing communities*. New York Human Right Watch

Hussein, K., Grisci, D. and Wanjiru, J. (2004). *Security and Human Security. An Overview of Concepts and Initiatives What Effects for West Africa?* SAH/D/2004/547 or. Eng. December 2004.

Imobigbe, T.A. (2002). Warri Crisis in Historical and Contemporary Perspective. In T.A Imobigbe C.O. Basssey and J.B. Asuni (eds); *Conflict and instability in the Niger Delta. The Warri Case. Ibadan* spectrum Books Ltd.

International Monetary Fund, Balance of Payments Statistics Yearbook and data files (2024). Portfolio Investment, net (BoP, current US$) - Nigeria

Jude O., John A. and Ifeanyi O., (2012). Nigeria, Carmeroun sign anti-terrorism pact. *The Guardian* (Lagos) February29, 2012 pp. 1 and 2.

Juliana T. O., (2012) "Hostage killings, Jonathan writes UK, Italian governments, condoles families" *Daily Sun* (Lagos) March 12, 2012 p. 6.

Leon U., (2012). Nigeria, Niger Sign joint border Patrol agreement .*Nigerian Tribune* (Ibadan) October 19, 2012 p.3.

Lipmann, W. (1968). Co-production Citizen Participation in Service Delivery, in *Public Administration Review.* Vol. 40, No. 3 May-June Pp 240-246.

Madu O., (2011). Nigeria to boost security ties with neighbours. *The Guardian* (Lagos)

Maier, K. (1990) *This House has Fallen; Midnight in Nigeria*, Boston: Little Brown

Mankiw, N. G. (2021). *Principles of economics* (9th ed.). Cengage Learning, Incorporated, 2021 ISBN 0357133706, 9780357133705

Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA), (2005). *Ecosystems and human well-being: Synthesi*s. Island Press.

Modelski, G (1972). *Principles of World Politics*, New York: Free Press

Nnoli, O. (2006) *National Security in Africa: A Radical New Perspective*. Enugu Fourth Dimension Publication Ltd.

Nwagbara, E. (2019). Socio-Cultural and Economic Foundation for Internal Security in Nigeria. In C. O. Bassey and M. Ogbonnaya (eds). *Internal Security Crises and Community Policing in Nigeria: Policy Options and Strategies.* Lagos. Concept Publication Limited.

Nwolise, OBC (2017). *The State Security and Economy in Nigeria a Lead Paper at the 5th Annual Conference of the Nigerian Political Science Association,* South East Zone, Abia State University, Utumu –Nov. 13.

OECD. (2024). Concept of economic growth

Ogaba, O (2011). Is Al-Qaeda in Nigeria. *Nigerian Institute of International Affairs* Vol.32 Nos 5 and 6 May-June 2011 pp.129-142.

Oghogho O. (2011). UN suspends travels to Nigeria over Abuja blast. *The Guardian* (Lagos) September 27,

Olanipekun M. (2011). Before the next terrorist attack. *The Guardian* (Lagos) September 4, 2011 p. 45.

Oluwole, D. (2021). *Crisis of confidence between the Nigerian military and humanitarian agency in the counterinsurgency operation in the northeast Nigeria, 2009-2019*. (Unpublished). A thesis proposal submitted to the school of post-graduate school, university of Ibadan, Ibadan-Nigeria

Otile (1999). Oil conflicts their resolution Transformation and management. In O. Otile and I.O Albert (ed), *Community Conflict in Nigeria Management, Resolution and Transformation*. Ibadan Spectrum Books

Richard J. (2012). Nigeria and global insecurity. *The Punch* (Lagos) November 9,2O11 p.16.

Rosenau, J. (1974). *International politics and foreign policy*, New York: Free press

Ross, M.H. (1993). O.I, Drugs, and Diamonds: The varying Roles of Natural Resources in Civil War. In K Ballantine and J. Sherman (eds). The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance.Boulder Co: LugnneRienner.

Sha, D. P. (2005). The Post- Colonial State and Insecurity in Africa: The Nigerian State Experience, in C. Ikkonne, I. Williams and E. N. Nwagbara (eds). *Security, Social Services and Sustainable Development in Nigeria,* Fullbright Alumni Association of Nigeria. Port Harcourt, University of Port Harcourt Press. P.61.

Smith A. (ND). *Understanding international peace making*. Washington D.C United State Institute of peace.

UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). (1990). Human development report 1990. Oxford University Press.

United Nations Council Reports Submitted by the State to Security Committee. Established Pursuant to Resolution 1267, S/AC. 37/2013/ (1455)/66 http:11www.un.org./ga/search/viewdoc.asp? ymbols/Ac.7/2003/%281455%/29/66

United Nations Security Reports of the Panel Exports and the Monitoring Group on Somalia Submitted in accordance with Resolution 1853 (2008) /2010/9https//www.un.org./ga/search/view.doc.asp?symbol=s/2011/433.

WCED (World Commission on Environment and Development). (1987). Our common future. Oxford University Press.