

FEDERALISM, OIL POLITICS AND HUMAN SECURITY IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This paper investigates how the institution of federalism and the deeply conflicting issue of natural resource exploitation are implicated in the drive for human security in Nigeria. The paper links the literature on geographical determinants of conflicts and violence with the literature on the political determinants of conflict and violence by exploring the institution of federalism as a framework for addressing human security problems in the context of a natural resource-driven economy. This paper argues that political institutions are central to achieving human security. Therefore, the human security concept must incorporate and account for political institutions to address the domestic dimension of the issues. In the Nigerian case and other fragile states, an engagement with federalism as a tool for conflict management, post-conflict reconstruction, and guaranteeing stability is essential. External human security intervention must take into account the institutional architecture of the state in order for it to promote institution-building and

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sustainability. State institutions and agencies must be recognised and utilised side-by-side with non-state, non-formal organisations to avoid the fostering of disengagement or reinforcement of a shadow state that may further undermine state legitimacy and deepen existing distrust between states and citizens.

Keywords: Violent conflicts, Natural resource, Human security, political institution, Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION

Natural resource conflicts are inevitable in society. They result from disagreements and disputes over access to, control and use of natural resources. These conflicts often arise because people have different uses for resources such as forests, water, pastures and land, or managing them in different ways. Disagreements also arise when users' interests and needs are incompatible with one another or when the priorities of some user groups are not considered in policies, programmes, and projects. Furthermore, studies of conflict and peace have emphasised the role of natural resources as harbingers of conflicts. Natural resources, such as oil and diamonds, have been linked to poor governance, political instability and violent conflict. The availability of natural resources, especially lootable resources such as diamonds, account for the elongation and sustenance of civil wars (Collier 2001; le Billion 2003; Ross 2004; Collier, Elliot, Hegre, Hoeffler, Rey-Querol, and Sembanis 2003; Collier and Hoefler 2004; Fearon 2005). Also, the challenge posed by natural resource in the context of ethnic fractionalisation, like in Nigeria, increases the likelihood of civil conflict (Lujala, Gleditsch, and Gilmore 2005; Tusalem and Morrison 2014). Although oil is not considered a lootable resource in these studies, the resort to oil bunkering, piracy, kidnapping by insurgents in the Niger Delta show that oil resources can be both the basis of conflict and a resource for non-state actors in the prolongation of violent conflict and political instability and therefore the need to address the issues from a human security perspective.

In this paper, I argue that there is a vital link between the institution of federalism and the effort to achieve human security; the latter conceived as individual security as the state's foundation. I examine the role of oil politics in human security conditions in Nigeria, paying attention to the particular federal context. This is done to show how the institution of federalism and the deeply conflictual issue of natural resource exploitation are implicated in the drive for human security. This essay argues that political institutions, in particular federalism, are central to achieving human security, as an organising framework for conflict management and post-conflict reconstruction and for guaranteeing stability in a fragile state like Nigeria if utilised responsibly by political leaders. I propose a focus on the linkage between human security and federalism because insights provided by studies of federalism concerning conflict management and the new political economy of federal preservation's focus on fostering prosperity and system self-restriction in federal systems effectively provide a linkage to the human security concept.

HUMAN SECURITY AND FEDERALISM NEXUS

All over the world, security has become a constant item of discussion and news. To a layperson, national security conjures images of bomb blasts, kidnappings, military invasions, suicide bombers walking into busy cafes, infectious computer viruses, or the crash of stock markets. These things dominate our thinking about national security, and they are of significant national security concern. They, however, suggest that security problems are to be attributed only to human machinations. With widespread natural disasters, tsunamis and earthquakes, security is not only about human-made threats. It is equally about natural threats. Thus, the central concern of security is the threat to welfare. Security is about how we guarantee survival and protection against threats to our existence and stability. Traditionally, security is conceived in national terms and usually concerning the state. Lipman (1943:25) asserts that "a nation is secure to the extent that it is not in danger of having to sacrifice her core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able if challenged to maintain them by victory in such war". In this wise, security is conceived in terms of a state's ability to withstand aggression from abroad, preserve itself against threats to its

sovereignty, and protect its vital interests against threats. In this sense, security is viewed as the security of the state. Security seems to make sense in the context of an anarchic global system of states. In this context, a threat to national security comes from the military power of other states. Security then refers to the ability of the state to protect itself by military power.

A critical element of this traditional national security concept is the state as the reference point of security. This means that the use of force and the threat of force is at the heart of this conception of security. The military and military power dominates this conception of security because it is about the state; hence, the importance of war-making is the focus of security and strategic studies. This view of security dominated the immediate post-World War II era. It was primarily defined by an understanding of the international relations during the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States, the two major powers that emerged from and became the ideological rivals of World War II. In the Cold War context, security was conceived to be achieved through the use of military, economic and political power and the exercise of diplomacy. The concept evolved mainly from the US, emphasising military might, but came to encompass a broad range of elements that affect the military security and its core values (Laswell 1950; Wolfers 1960; Brown 1983).

In the late sixties, the thinking about national security began to change. National security began to be conceived in broad and non-military terms, and scholars began to admit that the distinction between high and low politics associated with the dominance of the cold war in security calculations has been reversed (McNamara 1968; Ullman 1983; Mathews 1989; Buzan 1991; Buzan, Waeber and de Wilde 1998). In the case of Africa, Cilliers (2004:9) observed that state security, in most of Africa, is not threatened by a conventionally armed attack by other countries “but by more insidious measures many of which flow from the very weakness of the state and its absence of control over its territory”.

The traditional view of security assumes that the state is a container of security, ensuring the security of the people within it. However, in reality, individual citizens face many threats arising either directly or indirectly

from the state. The state can be a threat to the security of its citizens rather than being their protector. This is evident under military or other forms of dictatorship in Latin America, Africa and elsewhere.

Weaver (1995) talks about ‘securitisation’, how an actor transforms an issue into a security matter. It is the state that defines an issue as a security issue, and in “naming a certain development as a security problem, the state can claim a special right, one that will, in the first instance, always be defined by the state and its elites.” National security must, therefore, not lose sight of this paradox in state-citizen relations. This argument has justified the shift in the understanding of security from a state-centred view to a people or society-centred view of security. That is why Booth (1991:319) argues further that security is emancipation:

‘Security’ means the absence of threats. Emancipation is the freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from those physical human constraints which stop them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do. War and the threat of war is one of those constraints, together with poverty, poor education, political oppression and so on. Security and emancipation are two sides of the same coin. Emancipation, theoretically, is security.

These new ways of thinking about security crystallised into what is now referred to as human security. The concept of human security was first used by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 1994) to refer to

...safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats. It is a condition of state of being characterised by freedom from pervasive threats to people’s rights, their safety or even their lives. From a foreign policy perspective, human security is perhaps best understood as a shift in perspective or orientation. It is an alternative way of seeing the world, taking people as its point of reference, rather than focusing exclusively on the security of territory or government. Like other security concepts – national

security, economic security, food security – it is about protection’. Human security thus entails taking preventive measures to reduce vulnerabilities to threats to freedom, safety and livelihoods. It is about minimising risks and taking remedial action where preventive measures fail.

The United Nations Commission on Human Security (2003) notes in its maiden report that human security is a concept that combines “human protection and development and interconnects peace, security and sustainable development”. It emphasises that human security should not focus on macro—state level but also at the community and individual level. Tigerstrom (2007) draws our attention to the convergence of ideas from security studies, and international development concerns over the impact policies have on individuals framing the concept of human security.

In practice, threats to human security could be identified to include economic threats, food threats, health threats, environmental threats, personal threats, community threats, political threats, demographic threats, crime in all forms, including terrorism, natural disasters, violent conflicts and wars, genocide, anti-personnel mines etc. They demand new means for addressing security, such as humanitarian intervention or humanitarian help, peacekeeping operations, peacebuilding, arms verification operations, respect for human rights and liberties, sustainable economic development, early warning, diplomatic missions, focused (smart) sanctions, preventive deployment of armed forces, preventive diplomacy, more robust civil society, empowerment strategies, assuring the minimal living standards, and so on (Prezelj (2008). Prezelj presents the difference in practice in tabular form below.

Table 1: Comparison of Human and Traditional Security Concepts.

	Traditional national security	Human security
Security for whom (referent object)	Primarily states	Primarily individuals
Values at stake (security of what values)	Territorial integrity and national independence	Personal safety and individual freedom
Security from what (threats and risks)	Traditional threats (military — —	Non-traditional and also traditional threats
Security by what means	Force as the primary instrument of security, to be used unilaterally for a state 's safety	As a secondary instrument, force is to be used primarily for cosmopolitan ends and collectively; sanctions, human development, and humane governance as critical instruments of individual -centred security.
	Balance of power is essential; power is equated with military capabilities.	Balance of power is of limited utility; soft power is increasingly important.
	Cooperation between states is tenuous beyond alliance relations.	Cooperation between states, international organisations and NGOs can be practical and sustained.

Source: Prezelj 2008:5.

Thus, human security is comprehensive, encompassing the traditional integrity of the state or national independence in addition to a fundamental focus on the personal safety and freedom of the individual. Furthermore, the instruments of human security are human development and humane governance. In this context, soft power tools of diplomacy, cooperation and multilateralism are very important relative to force or hard power. It attempts to capture military and non-military threats and the means of dealing with them.

Federalism has increasingly become famous as a governance framework in many parts of the world and post-conflict reconstruction in several African states. Furthermore, discussions of federalism have engaged the

institution in the achievement of prosperity and state self-preservation. Some aspects of federalism are portrayed as conducive to the requirements of building markets and achieving economic growth. This discussion of federalism is also related to state-society relations and the effort to build effective and stable states. At the heart of these concerns is the desire to guarantee citizens, especially those in fragile, multi-ethnic or divided societies, a secure environment for the enjoyment of productive life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the face of the threats posed social diversity and scarce resources. Thus, there is a vital link between the institution of federalism and the effort to achieve human security; the latter conceived as individual security is the state's foundation.

While scholars have tried to link human security to political institutions, most of the efforts have been concentrated on building the international political architecture for and principles of governance at the regional and global levels, associated with humanitarian intervention. There has been no serious engagement with how specific political, institutional forms and values relate to human security's conceptualisation and practice. Nevertheless, exploring the theoretical linkages between federalism and human security provides a conceptual framework to examine human security from the perspective of factors and likely interventions internal to the state.

A federal government system is designed to foster unity among the sub-units that constitute the federation while preserving their autonomy in some areas. According to Riker (1964:11), federalism is a structural bargain that involves at least two government levels that govern the same land and people, with each level having its autonomous spheres of authority and with the autonomy of each sphere constitutionally guaranteed and protected. The constitution of a federal government system creates at least two government tiers, each of which is assigned a range of governmental powers that it can exercise exclusively or jointly with the other tier. Federalism or the Federal System presents ample opportunity for elected representatives of different groups or units within the federation to come together to discuss their differences, articulate the interests of their various constituencies and manage conflicts for the overall objective of forging a united country. In a heterogeneous society, federalism has to balance state-

society relations by fostering equality and equity, justice and fair play among the sub-units that collectively make up the federation and between the states. The federal government has to mobilise resources and redistribute for the constituent units' balanced growth and development.

With regard to the mobilisation of resources and their equitable use for the development of the country, the notion of fiscal federalism is critical. Fiscal federalism describes the assignment of powers over resource allocation and revenue-raising decisions among levels of government. It relates to the division of public sector functions and finances logically among multiple layers of government. Problems arise from the situation of divided political jurisdictions within an economically integrated state system relating to determining the appropriate functions and finances of the various tiers of government. How can this be done efficiently and complementarily as possible to maximise the welfare of the political community? Federalism specifically requires sub-national governments that are institutionalised and deeply embedded in society to increase the capacity of government to achieve security and welfare and effectively respond to citizens' aspiration (Ziblatt 2004).

How federalism achieves these objectives has been a source of debate. Scholars have suggested a variety of conditions and institutional arrangement by which federal maintenance is achieved. Traditional discussions of federal maintenance emphasise such institutional devices like power-sharing, the legislature's structure, executive power and electoral system and so on, as noted earlier. Federal preservation's new political economy emphasises economic principles such as competition and efficiency that preserve markets, hence market preserving federalism (Weingast 1995; McKinnon 1995; Rodden and Wibbels 2002; Ejobowah 2005; Aiyede 2009).

Thus, from the latter perspective, federalism constitutes a framework for managing natural resources in a state. Federations are (1) relatively efficient in the provision of public services; (2) in aligning costs and benefits of government for a diverse citizenry and, thereby, more equity in so far as citizens get what they pay for and pay for what they get; (3) in achieving fits between public goods and their spatial characteristics, especially the

unstable economies of scale of different kinds of public goods; (4) ensures increased competition, experimentation, and innovation in the government sector, (5) fosters the authority and capacity to respond to those preferences; (6) transparent and close to the citizen accountability in policy-making; (7) sensitivity to sub-national regional concerns, including the power of constituent governments to provide for their own needs (identified by Kincaid 2001:88). Thus, federalism ensures macroeconomic stability and promotes experimentation and innovativeness that enhance the supply of human security ingredients.

Like federalism, human security is an integrative concept relevant to a wide range of areas. While traditional security emphasises ‘the security of states from external military threats’, human security emphasises ‘the security of the individual human beings who inhabit states, and their protection from a wide range of threats, from military and criminal violence to hunger and disease.’ Similarly, federalism seeks to achieve a strong state that supports human security elements by recognising difference and diversity in the framework of decentralised rule. Security is both an objective condition and social construction. Federalism deals with both conditions. This is achieved in the constitution of a large state able to mobilise resources to provide a large market and common defence of the territorial state and the assurance it gives to minorities and diverse groups within the state by providing space for self-rule self-determination for such groups. This connection is apparent in Walker’s (1997:62) statement: ‘claims about security are a serious matter. They cannot dissociate from more basic claims about whom we think we are and how we might act together. Thus, the way and manner through which human security is practised must reckon with political institutions’ objectives and goals. These institutions may constrain or facilitate intervention policies and actions designed to achieve human security, which may be broadly coextensive with the state’s objectives.

Federal devices such as affirmative action, power-sharing, and revenue sharing seek to address inequity at the individual and group levels within the national state to ensure that individuals and groups are guaranteed freedom from fear and want. Federalism addresses historical disadvan-

tages that might be glossed over by focusing on individual rights, by carrying onboard group rights and claims such as those related to environmental resources and cultural identities that often precipitate conflicts. Federalism as a conflict management mechanism engages the fact that security concerns may emerge from cultural identities, contestations over ownership and use of natural resources and their significant social and economic redistribution.

Importantly too, studies on the linkage between natural resource and violent conflict emphasise ethnic heterogeneity as a factor that exacerbates the challenge of natural resources, stress the need to harness natural resources correctly, invest in the military, promote social programmes in order to balance state-society relations and guarantee human and social capital accumulation as a hedge against violent conflict (Tusalem and Morrison 2014: 169). Indeed they often point to the institution of a developmental state because it is believed that only such a state can carry out the necessary social and capital investment programme that can guarantee stability.

However, the studies are often not inward-looking because of the focus on geographic determinants of violent conflict; they hardly investigate the internal institutional framework of governance and therefore do not gain extensive studies on the political determinants of violent conflict. As Wegenast (2013) has noted, there is a need to unify the studies on the geographical determinants for violent conflicts with the literature on the political determinants of violent conflict. The latter has shown that political institutions hold the power of mitigating conflict and that institutions' effects may vary according to contexts. Studies on the political determinants of conflicts have provided valuable insight into property rights, electoral systems, electoral competition, legislature structure, executive power, and federalism as institutional determinants of internal conflict and violence. Concerning federalism, co-optation and power-sharing rules are found to appease social forces by incorporating regional elites, thereby reducing violence (Lijphart 1999, Wiesehoneier 2008). About Nigeria, Aiyede (2012) has shown how power-sharing and rotation of public offices have helped ensured, albeit a precarious balance in post-civil war

Nigeria, especially after the annulled presidential election of 1993. Therefore, there is a need to investigate how the institutional arrangement of federalism may shape the interaction between state and society in the context of high natural resource revenues. In this light, this paper argues that federalism provides a framework and opportunity for addressing rebellion arising from the exploitation of the natural resource.

Religious extremism (especially the Boko Haram insurgency), Nigeria's current major security challenge, has been ascribed to Nigeria's resources' poor management. During his visit to Nigeria in 2013, President Bill Clinton attributed the Boko Haram insurgency, and religious extremism in the northern part of the country to poverty, which he insisted was the mismanagement of Nigeria's resources its leaders (Oyeweso 2013). Indeed, the then Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, provoked a heated debate in the media concerning the cause of terrorism in the northern part of the country when he ascribed such extremism to the high level of unemployment and poverty in that part of the country. According to him, "indeed, the security situation in this part of the country is fundamentally linked to the absence of job opportunities and the quality of life of the people. Unless these real economic issues are addressed, we will not likely find a long-lasting solution to the political and security problems" (Onuba and Adesomoju 2013). In the ensuing debate, questions were raised about the vast differences in national revenue distribution among states. Most states depend on allocations from centralised oil revenue for administration and development programmes.

In the debates, it became clear that Boko Haram activities have been intense in the states with high poverty levels in the country, as shown in Table 1. Boko Haram activities have been prevalent in the Northeast and the Northwest. These zones have the highest rate of poverty. The average poverty rate in the Northwest geopolitical zone is 71.4%, which remain the highest in the country. The North East region and the North Central region, which have 69.1% and 60.7% respectively, follow it. Poverty is the least dominant in the South West (49.8%), South-South (55.5%), and South-East regions (59.5%). Over half of all children in the northern part of the country are stunted. While 41% of all children under five are

classified as stunted, 23% are severely stunted. The human impact of this is devastating. Poverty induced malnutrition is commonplace, with 54% of its people living below the poverty line.

Table 1: Geographical Distribution of Poverty in Nigeria

Region	Poverty rate (%)
North West	71.4
North East	69.1%
North Central	60.7%
South West	49.8%
South South	55.5%
South East	59.5%

Source: National Bureau of Statistics

Youths are constituting well over 60 per cent of Nigeria's population, and declining opportunities in paid employment, one of the significant challenges confronting Nigeria job provision for the majority of graduates. The number of unemployed members of the labour force continued to grow from 12.3 per cent in 2006 to 23.9 per cent in 2011. Thus, despite its growing economy, the proportion of Nigerians living in poverty is increasing.

Whether poverty was sufficient to explain terrorism and whether poverty justifies engaging in acts of rebellion against the state. There were also arguments about the causes of the vast disparity in poverty levels across the states. That is, whether this disparity could be attributed to political corruption and incompetence of the political leadership in the north or the skewed revenue distribution formula that is said to have generated huge disparities between expenditure powers of the sub-units (states) and those of the national government, or between the revenue allocated to oil-bearing states with small populations and the non-oil bearing states in the north

with huge populations (Omoh 2012). The point of emphasis here is that there is a linkage between the design of government institutions and the quest to achieve human security. This has so far not been interrogated to address the human security issues at the theoretical level.

OIL POLITICS IN THE NIGERIAN FEDERATION

The Nigerian government adopted the federal idea as far back as 1951 under the Macpherson Constitution. The Lyttelton Constitution of 1954 introduced an entire federal system of government following agreements reached by the colonial government (British Officials) with the leaders of Nigeria's political parties of that time – Alhaji Ahmadu Bello (Northern Peoples Congress), Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons) and Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Action Group). The federal system of government introduced in 1954 comprised three regions (North, East and West). The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), led by the late Sir Ahmadu Bello, won control of the Northern Regional Government. The National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) led by Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe won in the East, while Chief Obafemi Awolowo's Action Group controlled the West's Regional Government. Since then, federal principles have been used to hold the various centrifugal forces in Nigeria together.

The Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) has been linked to the discovery and exploitation of oil in commercial quantity (Adejumobi and Aderemi 2002, Obi 2005). Indeed, the strategic importance of oil became initially visible during the civil war. When the Igbo declared Biafra, the new country included the minority oil-producing communities, even though these non-Igbo minority communities' consent was never sought before the secession was declared. The Nigeria government, which had hitherto paid deaf ears to cries of domination by these ethnic minorities quickly, divided the country into twelve states, with the minority oil-producing states put into two states, Rivers and Bendel states. This action raised the hope of autonomy for these minority communities within the Nigerian federal structure. The communities quickly joined Nigeria's effort to quell Biafra's secession attempt (Adejumobi and Aderemi 2002, Obi 2005). As I will

presently discuss, oil exploitation mainly accounted for the protracted conflicts in the Niger Delta (Obi 2005; Aiyede 2006).

As noted earlier, territorial disaggregation policy began with the policy of state created during the civil war to win the support of minority ethnic groups in the southeastern part of Nigeria. Since then, Nigeria's federal system has developed through disaggregation. The three major regions became four in 1963, from which 12 states were created in 1967, 19 in 1976, 21 in 1987, 30 in 1996 and 36 states since 1996, including the Federal Capital Territory. However, state creation, which was very successful in dousing the fears of these minority groups at the inception of the Civil War in 1967, became an instrument for their further marginalisation by successive military rulers when political considerations came to dominate as the basis for the creation of additional states. However, since the return to civil rule in 1999, intergovernmental relations within a federal context have provided a framework through which the grievances and preferences of the Niger Delta have been pursued.

At Independence, Nigeria's economy and public revenue were primarily derived from the export of agricultural produce such as cocoa, cotton, rubber and groundnut. However, with the discovery and exploitation of oil, the economic structure changed. Oil gradually became the most critical material base of the Nigerian state, accounting for over 70 per cent of total revenue and 76 per cent of total exports. It thus became the live wire of the state's activities: bureaucracy, defence, infrastructure and social services.

The rapid expansion of the oil sector transformed the Nigerian economy into a mono-mineral economy, the state into a rentier state and the population into consumers rather than producers, underlined by a constant struggle to access oil resources. The struggles diverted attention from other productive activities; cheap oil money provided temptation for corruption and capital flight, rendering Nigeria a typical resource curse syndrome. In the struggle, the majority ethnic groups became the dominant players in politics while the minority peoples and communities from where oil is exploited suffered neglect and severe externalities.

The struggle is mainly reflected in the practice of fiscal federalism. The changes made in the revenue allocation formula have reflected policy choices that did not favour the minority oil-producing communities. Since the ascendance of oil as the primary revenue source, derivation increasingly became insignificant as a factor of allocation of revenue. Oil-producing communities, predominantly minority communities, became marginalised in development projects and revenue allocation even as they struggled to protect their interests. They were deprived of control over oil resources while suffering the adverse consequences of their exploitation. Thus, a significant conflict that is yet to end exploded over the control of oil resources and the Nigerian federation's revenue allocation formula. Given the dominance of oil in the economy, any threat to oil exploitation becomes a threat to the state. Being particularly subject to the vagaries of the international oil market as expressed in the balance of payment crisis that it continues to suffer since the oil glut of the early 1980s, the state is committed to ensuring that local efforts to disrupt oil production is stopped with all the powers at its disposal (Obi 1998; Aiyede 2006).

The conflict over the modalities for the extraction of oil and the management of oil revenue, especially the distribution of oil revenue, hit at the state's security, as oil-producing communities question the legitimacy of the state and its actions. In the traditional sense, militant groups' activities, such as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), their violent confrontations with the state eroded state security and eroded human security. The Niger Delta became characterised for many years as an arena of violence, where social dislocation combined with deprivation and fear are defining elements, as the consciousness and feelings of being victims became widespread among indigenes of these oil-producing communities (Osaghae 1995). Ibeanu, I. (2006) identifies the numerous negative environmental impact of oil mining and refining on the communities. They include pollution from oil spillage that destroys marine life and crops and makes water and farmlands unsuitable for the livelihood activities of the people; brine from oil fields which contaminates water and streams, making them unfit as sources of drinking water; flaring gas in the vicinity of human dwellings and high-pressure oil pipelines that form a mesh across farmlands leading to acid rains, deforestation and destruction of wild-life;

and the dumping of toxic, non-biodegradable by-products of oil refining dangerous to both flora and fauna, including man.

While the strategy of safeguarding oil production has involved the use of carrots and stick, force dominated the government's action in practice. Ibeanu (2002) explained that state aggression directed at the Niger Delta had taken four primary forms, namely: constant harassment of the leaders of popular movements and organisations, instigating inter-communal conflicts, especially along ethnic, religious and clan lines, instigating internal divisions of popular organisations and direct repression using the army and the police. Thus, oil communities' efforts in pursuit of environmental and social justice had largely been met with state violence by successive military regimes. The high point of state violence was the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and the Ogoni nine on 10th November 1995 during the Sani Abacha military government. Saro-Wiwa's appeal was still pending before the Court of Appeal and the Federal High Court when he was executed. The same brutality was unleashed in 1999 under civil rule when Odi, an oil producing community in the Niger Delta, was raised entirely down by soldiers on President Obasanjo's orders in reaction to the kidnap and killing of seven police officers by armed youths in the community. Scores of innocent people were killed; thousands were rendered homeless, turned to refugees and displaced persons in their communities. The national government has also visibly supported mercenaries by oil corporations in defence of their installations, an action that the Delta State government challenged in October 2003 (Aiyede 2006).

Apart from the strong-arm tactics, the national government under pressure from the international human rights regime, the increasingly violent agitations by the youth of the oil-producing communities, multilateral organisations (the United Nations, Commonwealth), and the global civil society movement has set up structures to respond to the needs of the Niger Delta peoples positively. In 1988 the Federal Environmental Protection Agency (FEPA) was set up by the national government to deal with oil and other sectors' environmental problems. In 1993 the Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC) was established to provide infrastructures and social amenities as part of the

effort to respond specifically to the development needs of the Niger Delta region after several years of claims that the terrain of the region was too expensive and challenging to develop. Several laws and regulations were then provided to prevent spillages and gas flaring by imposing liabilities for such occurrences on the oil companies. Then in 2000, the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) was set up to replace OMPADEC due to the latter's failure to achieve the objectives for which it was set up (Obi 1997, Osaghae 1995).

Despite these measures, the Niger Delta remained a hotbed of violence and a high level of militarisation, given the youths' level of access to light weapons and the high and sustained presence of troops of the Nigerian military. Interestingly, the agitation of the Niger Delta people then shifted mainly from the increase in derivation to resource control. The situation was worsened by what appears to be a deliberate move by the political elites from the region to instigate the youths to step up such demands and the fact that criminal elements have penetrated popular organisations to pursue their interests (Mahler 2010).

Under civil rule since 1999, Nigeria's state governors formed various combinations to pursue their varying interests through the federal process. For instance, the Summit of Governors and Members of the National Assembly from the South-South Geo-Political Zone, largely oil-bearing states, pressed for states control of resources. They demanded that the Land Use Act and other laws empower the Federal Government to control the natural resources found in the territories of their communities be abolished. They also contested the distinction between off-shore and on-shore oil in implementing the 13 per cent derivation revenue allocation to oil-producing states by the Federal Government by insisting that off-shore oil belongs to the communities. The Federal Government maintains that off-shore resources belong to the federation. They pursued this position through a series of public declarations and communiqués. However, a bill tabled before the House of Representative on 9th May 2001 by Senator Harriman of Delta State and 13 others which sought several amendments to the Petroleum Act, failed after a tempestuous session. It was thrown out with 81 'No' votes against 64 'Yes' votes along a sharp north-south

divide. The bill was to compel oil companies to site their headquarters in their primary areas of operation and vest the ownership and control of petroleum resources in the oil producing states, local governments, and communities. It was hoped that these measures would reduce tension, poverty and violence in the oil-producing communities (Aiyede 2001).

Following the stalemate created by the events in the National Assembly, the Olusegun Obasanjo-led Federal Government has instituted a suit, asking the Supreme Court to declare that 'the natural resources located within the exclusive economic zones and the continental shelf of Nigeria are, subject to the provision of any treaty or other written agreement between Nigeria and any neighbouring littoral foreign state, derived from the federation and not from any state' (Djebah, 2001: 9). A response to the demand by oil-producing states in the country should be no dichotomy between off-shore and on-shore oil in the calculation of the 13 per cent revenue allocation based on derivation.

In a decision made on 5th April 2002, the Supreme Court declared that the littoral states could not legally seek to control natural resources located beyond their seaward boundaries. It, however, also declared unconstitutional the Federal Government's refusal to begin sharing of the 13 per cent derivation formula from May 1999 and First Line Deduction System (FLDS), the latter a procedure whereby the Federal Government first deducts a percentage of funds credited to the Federation Account for the payment of a debt before sharing the balance among the Federal, State and Local Governments, among others.

The first decision threatened to aggravate the conflicts in the oil-producing communities. President Obasanjo had to adopt a political solution by sending an appropriate bill to the National Assembly. This bill, which was signed into law in early 2004, abolished the dichotomy often made between off-shore and on-shore oil in the distribution of revenue. These moves did not, however, alter the agitations in the Niger Delta in any significant way. At the Political Reform Conference 2005, the delegates from the Niger Delta staged a walk-out over the issue of percentage allocated to derivation in the revenue allocation formula (Ado-Kurawa 2005).

In 2007, President Musa Yar'Adua proclaimed security as one of his seven point agenda on the assumption of office. He reorganised the NDDC, revised the Niger Delta Master Plan and created a Niger Delta Ministry. In June 2009, in a major move to address the security situation, douse the persistent tension and deal with the violent protest in the Niger Delta, President Ya'Adua instituted an amnesty programme. The amnesty covered all militants who were willing to lay down their arms. It involved an elaborate process of disarmament, rehabilitation and reintegration of the ex-militants into everyday life. The amnesty window closed on 24th October 2009 after an extension.

According to Kuku (Special Adviser to President on the Niger Delta), 20,192 ex-agitators were demobilised and enrolled in training programmes in the first phase at the Amnesty Office Camp in Obumbra, Cross River State. The second batch of 6,166 rounded off their non-violence transformational training by 20th December 2011. Following the completion of the non-violence training and career classification in the camp, the Amnesty Office placed 7,556 ex-militants in skills acquisition/training centres and formal education centres in the country overseas, besides others in re-integration centres.

The beneficiaries of the Amnesty Programme were trained in 33 centres in the country. Some were sent to schools in South Africa, Malaysia, Russia, Israel, Sri Lanka, United States of America, India, Cyprus, Poland, Ghana, United Arab Emirates, the Philippines, and Trinidad and Tobago. Others were sent to facilities in Greece, Belarus, Canada and Italy. Placement of the trainees in skills acquisition/vocational programmes were based on their expressed interest in areas such as pipeline welding, underwater welding, ocean diving crane operations, aviation, boat building, oil drilling, automobile technology, fish farming and entrepreneurship, as well as formal education (Francis 2014, Premium Times 2012).

The Amnesty Programme is acclaimed to be very successful. Before the proclamation of amnesty for the Niger Delta ex-militants, oil production dropped to an all-time low of 700,000 barrels per day. With the Amnesty Programme, production immediately rose to 2.4 million barrels per day, reaching 2.6 million barrels per day. This is an increase of 1.9 million

barrels per day, with the country's production savings of crude oil at \$104 million per day. The savings for Nigeria for the year ending 2012 is estimated at a whopping ₦6.3 trillion (NSRP 2014).

Beautiful as the Amnesty Programme may seem, it has raised several issues concerning its implication for state-citizens relations. For instance, if the government takes responsibility for those who took up arms against it, should it ignore those who suffer the oil consequences but have not taken up arms? Secondly, the robustness of the rehabilitation and training in a country of massive youth unemployment renders it a beautiful programme that even non-violent youths are willing to declare themselves ex-militants to gain from the programme. As the saying goes, all you need to gain access to employment and scholarship for overseas training is to declare yourself an ex-militant in the Niger Delta. Should the government, therefore, transform the programme into a permanent programme of empowerment for Niger Delta youths?

Several other issues arise for the government. Do these include what happens after those trained abroad to return to the country? Are they to be offered automatic employment, or are they to be offered guaranteed pay until they secure employment independently? What is the responsibility of the various states and local governments, the Ministry of the Niger Delta, and the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) for youth empowerment, education and employment in this regard? How effective has the NDDC and the Ministry of the Niger Delta been in providing the required social and physical infrastructures? What conciliatory programme is in place to build peace within communities in that region?

From the preceding discussion, oil exploitation and oil revenue distribution have become central to peace and stability in Nigeria. This applies to other natural resources where they constitute a significant source of revenue for the government and are significant for federalism and human security. Efforts to address the Niger Delta resource conflict have followed three non-violent approaches. The first set has been carried out as part of the accommodative process of the federal framework. These include creating states for minority oil-bearing communities and the adjustment of the revenue sharing formula, which the 1999 Constitution put at not less

than 13 per cent derivation. The second set has been through intervention programmes that target physical infrastructure and social amenities in those communities done by OMPADEC, NDDC and the Niger Delta Ministry, and corporate philanthropy. The third is the amnesty programme. The Amnesty Programme gives the Federal Government an image of a detested, strong external force having a rethink and reaching out to the states and their protesting militants for reconciliation and peace. The federal structure defines the territories in a manner that makes the problem less an ethnic group issue but instead a problem peculiar to an administrative territory inhabited by multiple ethnic groups and requiring an institutional response. That is why despite the violence in the Niger Delta, no claim of genocide was ever made. These conciliatory approaches have shown that federalism's political institution provides both a framework and opportunity for a variety of intervention to deal with the Niger Delta challenge. These are distinct from the traditional national security approach that contributed in no small measure to the escalation of the violence in the region. If properly organised and sustained, these non-violent approaches, including the amnesty programme, remain promising in promoting individual freedom from fear and want and answer the right to pursue a life of dignity.

There are calls for the amnesty approach to the Boko Haram insurgency. However, efforts to negotiate with the Boko Haram group have not succeeded. Some have also argued that Boko Haram's grievances are not similar to the case in the Niger Delta. All agree that intervention to reduce poverty, ignorance and disease and provide economic opportunities will go a long way in reducing susceptibility to radicalisation and thereby recruitment into Boko Haram.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Generally, human security emphasises freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to live in dignity. While efforts to promote human security may take various forms, federalism provides a framework for dealing with conflicts over natural resources. It provides a negotiated guide for the extraction of natural resources and revenue distribution from such resource extraction among the various segments that constitute the state.

Since human security is directly linked with development, it is linked to the way political structure relates to development performance and political institutions. Indeed, federalism provides an institutional framework for the achievement of human security. As the UNDP (1994) notes, human security is connected to the 'quality of growth and distribution' equity. Thus, efforts to improve human security must relate to the institutions that link citizens to the state.

In federal systems, fiscal federalism is central to an equitable and negotiated approach to natural resource management. It operates at the interface between individuals and the state and how groups provide space for the individual to relate to the state at various governmental levels. Where states are not embedded in society, the state suffers from a legitimacy deficit that may make its drive for security desperate. Where we find problematic state-society relations, as in divided societies, federalism becomes an option central to both state security and human security. However, as I have argued elsewhere, the effective utilisation of federalism requires the transformation of state-society relations by responsible political leadership (Aiyede 2013).

In the Nigerian case, we see how federal principles have been used to address natural resource conflicts and how it has been utilised to mitigate the effects of centrifugal forces and guarantee a space for individual and group freedoms with varying degrees of successes. Indeed, any human security intervention must take into account the institutional architecture of the state in order for it to promote institution-building and sustainability. In the case of external intervention, state institutions and agencies must be recognised and utilised side by side with non-state, non-formal organisations to avoid the fostering of disengagement or reinforcement of a shadow state which may further undermine state legitimacy deepen existing distrust between the state and citizens.

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