

Mirroring The Developmental Challenges Of Oil-rich Nigeria Within The Context Of Resource Curse/Dutch Disease And Paradox Of Plenty

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Abstract

The oil-rich Nigerian state, despite the abundance of oil revenue which contributes about 95% export earning and 40% GDP , is still grappling with myriads of developmental challenges. There is the reasoning that enormous revenue from mineral and other natural resources in the form of financial gains should engender positive development. Such development implies: Security of citizens, employment, education, good roads, sustainable wage/salaries, poverty reduction, violent-free election, electricity, sustainable environment, etc. But unfortunately the case of Nigeria and most resource-rich countries has been a curse rather than a blessing with symptoms of dutch disease .Such indices of Dutch disease and paradox of plenty that ravages the Nigerian state manifests in the form of the abandoning of other sectors(agriculture, service, industrial,),since the oil boom, petro-violence/resource war as occurred in the Niger Delta with the bunkering, kidnappings of foreign oil expatriates for ransom, environmental degradation without compensation, corruption, poverty, unemployment, hunger, dependency, heavy debts burden, insecurity, decayed infrastructure and social services, etc. It is upon this backdrop the study examined the unpalatable developmental quagmire of the Nigerian state within the framework of Dutch disease and paradox of plenty taking into consideration, three critical issues: corruption, underdevelopment and political violence. The study proceeds with content analysis methodology as data was gotten from secondary sources (textbooks, magazine, journal publications,etc). The resource curse theory was explored to buttress the work. The study discovered that: corruption, monolithic nature of the economy, bad leadership bereft of the political will, who have criminalized the state with their rent-seeking behavior etc. is the bane of the country's development,hence diversification, industrialization, human capital development, sincere fight against corruption, etc. should be adopted.

KEYWORDS: Development, Corruption, Political Violence, Dutch Disease, Paradox of Plenty, Resource Curse, Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION

The essence of the government of any state, endowed with the coercive means of violence and resources – both human, material and monetary is to ensure the survival and sustainability of its citizen's welfare,with a formidable economy.such obligations manifests in various ways, mostly in producing the “greatest happiness of the greatest number of men”,in the form of protecting lives and properties, enhancing citizen's welfare in providing adequate infrastructures-roads, electricity, social services – health, education, employment, education and overall economic development etc, (Appadorai 1975; Yusuf and Oliver 2015; Duke and Bassey 2021; Bassey 2011; Bassey 2015; Anjide and Audi 2015;Duke and Dickson,2017; The 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria). The manifestation of the above National assignment in the form of protecting lives, safeguarding territorial integrity, enhancing the welfare of the masses in the sense of provision of employment, adequate social services, infrastructure, and overall economic development to bring into fruition the dividends of good governance, demands the optimal mobilization and utilization of resources (money, personnel, material and natural -oil, manganese, diamond, coal, limestone, timber etc.) for overall national interest.

The country Nigeria, is blessed with enormous human, mineral and natural resources beneath its soil which if optimally utilized for national interest can boost the nations economy, eradicate poverty, engender overall economic development. Such resources, mostly includes: bitumen, coal, oil and gas, gold, iron ore, salt, tin, cocoa, coffee, cotton, groundnut, kolanut, oil palm etc, (legit.com2020), with oil taking the lead since its discovery in 1956, with the enormous oil wealth and money of the 1970's 'oil boom' period, with the oil accounting for 80 percent of the government revenue and over 96 percent of export earnings, (Anyanwu, Oyefusi, Oakhenan and Dimowo 1997).Nigeria as one of the top five oil producing countries in Africa, produces more than 1.9 million barrels of oil per day in 2014. The country became the leading oil producer in 2020 as oil production amounted to 86.9 million metric tons in the country.Nigeria is leading the oil race in Africa as it sets to boost hydrocarbon sector with the launching of more than 100 oil and gas projects over the next five years including 25 upstream projects. The Nigerian Petroleum Development Coporation pledged to boost production by 250,000 bpd over the next two years; meanwhile the Nigerian National Petroleum Coporation recently signed a deal with Shell, Exxon Mobil, and Eni to develop an offshore oil block that includes the deep-water Bonga field, unlocking up to \$150,00 bpd to domestic output, (Carpenter 2020; Faria 2021; and legit.com 2020)

Despite the above laudable and admirable features of the oil industry, that seems so attractive and capable of engendering development and positively transform the fortune of Nigerian citizens.Regrettably the country is still wallowing in underdevelopment evidence in infrastructural decay, violent conflicts of deadly proportion, poverty, unemployment, undemocratic tenets in the form of political violence, corruption etc. As succinctly put Romanova thus:

Oil might be a blessing that a generous endowment of petroleum would be an unambiguous blessings for a developing country. It is a quick source of capital accumulation, huge revenues are realized from wide differential between unit of production costs and economic rents, royalties petroleum taxes, oil exports etc. But in practice, it has proven to be extremely difficult to convert natural resource wealth into broadbased improvements in economic performance and human development. Infact heavy dependency on the export of natural resources has been shown to negatively affect a country's economic, social and political development, (Romanova,2007)

Romanova further reiterated that, the oil presence beneath the Nigerian soil, has unleashed terrible social consequences and soil deformities and challenges in the following ways: oil dependence has a nexus with high poverty rates , poor health care, high rates of child mortality, reduced expenditures on social services, poor educational performances, Mineral resources tend to escalate civil conflicts. It also leads to environmental degradation, pollution of land and rivers tend to increase due to oil spillage, loss of income earning, placing unnecessary strains of community infrastructure, (Romanova, 2007). In the same vein Guichaoua affirmed that the oil in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria has caused more harm than good. This is so as the unbearable exploitation without redress experienced by the Niger Deltans has resulted to restiveness. Thus, as the Niger Deltans suffers from several issues of environmental degradation, water and land pollution that destroys their fishing and farm lands, hence depriving them of no any means of livelihood, while the government of the Nigerian state and the multinational companies refused to pay due compensation, spurs the aggressive behavior in the youths of the area. The youths engaged in kidnapping of foreign oil employees, stealing of thousands of barrels oil on daily basis to sell in black market. This is made worst as nearly half of the Delta's 28 million inhabitants lives on less than a dollar a day, while annually the region produces equivalent of one-fifth of U.S energy needs life expectancy among this population is less than 45 years; one in ten infants dies before its fifth birthday (UNDP 2006 in Guichaoha undated).

The above issues, presented to mirror the unfavourable economic, political and social climate of the oil-rich Nigerian state, is not unconnected to the cancerous issue of political corruption that has cobwebbed and refused to leave the country since independence. That is why fickling (2021) posit that, the level of underdevelopment in Nigeria has clearly shown that if the country never had oil it would have been worst than Ghana and Cote d' Ivoire, whom are neighbours less endowed with oil compared to Nigeria. Yet this countries have been making giant strides in terms of per-capita gross domestic product in recent years. And the country is not immuned from inflation despite the abundance of oil. The measure of per capita income hasn't grown in Nigeria since 2014. China, India and Vietnam were all poorer than Nigeria as recently as the 1900's. They are now considerably better. The excess oil money, has fueled corruption and unrest that has long plagued the country. Some 380 billion has been siphoned on unproductive personal ventures since independence, according to one 2006 estimate by former head of the country's anti-corruption agency. Roughly 15% of oil production is stolen through bunkery, establishing an informal economy. In transparency International's corruption perceptions index, Nigeria comes out 149 out of 180 countries.

Based on the above, the work revealed the seeming issues that bears on the resource curse problematic of the Nigerian state, as occurred to other resource rich Nations of the world that fails to optimally utilized the abundance of mineral and other resources to transform their economy for overall National Development. As would be shown further, certain factors that confronts the Nigerian state and makes it impossible to fully benefits from enormous oil wealth will be discuss.

Statement Of The Problem

The issue of resource curse, or paradox of plenty and Dutch disease, as regards the inability of many resource-rich and mineral endowed nations to foster any meaningful development remains a burning political-economy, development and security question. It is common parlance that resources-rich nations should be at the fore-front of world Nations making giant strides in terms of development which entails enhancement of the living standards of the masses, providing adequate safety and security for citizens of their respective states. But the reverse has been the case as many evidences abounds where most nations with abundance of resources, mostly oil, have been backward, cobwebbed in electoral violence, hybrid corruption, poverty, malnutrition, decayed health system, widening gap between rich and the poor, then dissentment sets in while the problem of legitimacy crisis surge.

According to Roll (2010), the resource curse or paradox of plenty thesis basically postulates that countries rich in natural resources are less well off in terms of conveying the abundance of wealth accrued from the resource proceeds into meaningful growth and development more generally than countries less endowed with such resources. without such enormous resource endowment and wealth. Also, such resource wealth and enormous financial proceeds breeds authoritarian rule, (Gelb 1988; Auty 1993; Sachs and Warner 2001; Collier and Hoeffler 2004; Ross 2001; Jensen and Wantchekon 2004 in Roll 2010). This same scenario fits into the Nigerian state. This is indubitable as the country, despite the enormous oil and other mineral resource wealth, yet the country is still cobwebbed in excruciating problem of under development. Even the democratic dividends that the citizens expected beginning from May 29th 1999, has not yielded any positive bounties. Infact it is undeniable that, one of the major issues that confronted the Nigeria state immediately after the attainment of democratic status in May 1999, is that of oil war cum resource conflict in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. This tramautized the fledging democratic experience to a point that the mono-cultural economy of the Nigerian state was in stalement and a halt. The conflicts cost the nation a lot in terms of financial, human resources and political stability, (Bassey, Okorie, Nkang, Abigail, Gershon, David and Osas, 2023; Duke, Hilary and Bassey 2022). Thus according to Hallmark (2017), the activities of militant in the Niger Delta who agitated for compensation from both the Nigerian government and oil multinational coporations cost the country a drop of 800,000 barrels of oil per day in 2016, from 202 million barrels of oil per day to 1.4 million, the lowest production in 25 years while the oil region suffers from the deadly effects of gas flaring; following Russia in the world: with about 70 million tons of Co₂ a year, higher than the emissions in Norway, (Worgu 2020 in Hallmark 2017). While between 9 million and 13 million barrels of oil have been spilled in the Niger Delta. The World Bank believes the exact amount of oil spills could be ten times higher than the officially published figures, (Hallmark 2017). The violence that ensued between the many clandestine networks of militants-movements for the emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), and the Niger Delta Liberation Front (NDLF) that engaged in hostage taking, bombing of oil pielines, kidnapping of

foreign oil workers, etc. made the area a replica of Thomas Hobbes State of nature, (Ibeanu 2006: 9 in Hallmark 2017).

The issue of Dutch Disease, resource curse and paradox of plenty within the Nigerian situation can be understood within the purview of petro-dollar corruption exert by rent-seeking politicians, the oil wealth gives easy money to politicians, who indulges in reckless spending of oil rent for personal use through government institutions. While the Nigerian government earned about US 400 billion in oil revenue since 1970s, standards of living have deteriorated. Nigeria's massive population of more than 100 million, faces conditions as harsh as the continental average oil wealth also fuels the instability, corruption and patronage-driven politics which characterizes governance in the country, corruption in the oil sector surfaces in the following ways; awarding upstream licenses; awarding contract, bottlenecks and inefficiencies; bunkering; exporting crude and importing refined products etc. (Peterson and Gillies 2009).

It is upon this backdrop, the study envisages the need to delve into a discourse of this nature.

Objectives Of The Study

The general objective of the study, is to examine the level of socio-economic development of oil-rich Nigeria within the context of resource curse problematic and Dutch Disease phenomenon. The study further look into some salient issues below:

- The extent which oil wealth fuels corruption and underdevelopment.
- The extent which oil wealth fuels political violence in Nigeria
- The extent which the resource curse/ Dutch Diseases and paradox of plenty thesis fits into the Nigerian situation.

Operational Definition of Terms.

According to Yunusa an Abuh (2016), the term corruption comes with many connotations depending on how an individual perceives it. Ogboke and Enojo sees corruption in line with the views of Hornby (2001), as a dishonest, illegal behavior especially of people in authority or in the act of making somebody change from moral to immoral standards of behavior. Ifesinachi (2004) posits that corruption encompasses "all those attitudinal deformities that impinge on and unnecessarily vitiates and destroys rules and basics of public and political conduct". He further sees the connectivity between corruption in political and lite to "natural human factors of greed and inordinate ambition ambition for social psychological, economic and political power". Poverty and serious economic hardships are often added as part of the factors causing corruption in Nigeria. Obo and Williams (2008) are of the views that corruption is a huge and complex phenomenon, without any universally accepted definition. There are various scholarly attempts to framework and analyse the term. The duo informed that corruption involves any act perceived to be contrary to the public interest or which violates certain legal or moral laws and principles.

Development

According to Seers (1969) when discussing on the concept of development, certain indices should be considered, such as what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to inequality? and what has been happening to unemployment? Seer went further to affirm that, if all of these have declined drastically, it would mean that the society was undergoing development. That, if one or two of these central problems were deteriorating, and if three "it would strange to call the result 'development', even if per capita income doubled". Arwoho (2015) opine that human beings plays critical role in any developmental strides of political system. This so as human beings derive ownership of any meaningful development. Development can only be meaningful when it is evolved from and owned by the people. Smith and Rees (1998) conceptualized development as the creation of conditions for the realization of human personality and this implies a reduction in poverty, unemployment and inequality. It is about change in social, political and economic structures in a given country. In the words of Udeze (2013) the word development can be understood differently by many people based on their field of study. Development can be seen from a quantitative point of view, when it has to do with the economic growth in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), per capita income and consumer price index (CPI) measurement. On the other hand, it is qualitative when it talks about human living conditions such as improvements in maternal and child wealth basic education, housing

and other social welfare requirements. Development is therefore a qualitative and quantitative transformation, which improves the general living, conditions of its citizens (Nwoye 2000:36 in Udeze 2013). Therefore National Development connotes the quantitative or qualitative transformation which affects every part of a nation aimed at improving the lives of its citizenry.

Theoretical Framework

The study explores the utility of Dutch Disease/resource curse theory.

Dutch Disease/Resource Curse theory

According to Stevens (2004) the term Dutch Disease is named after Holland's poor record in dealing with its gaseous petrol riches in the 1960s. The Coporate Finance Institute (2021) informed that Dutch Disease is a concept that describes an economic phenomenon where the rapid development of one sector of the economy (particularly natural resources) causes a decline in other sectors. It is also often characterized by a substantial appreciation of the domestic currency. The term was first used in the economic condition in Netherlands after the discovery of enormous quantity of natural gas fields in 1959. Although the Dutch economy increased its revenue from the export of natural gas, the significant appreciation of the national currency from the large scale capital inflow into the sector led to higher unemployment rate in the country, as well as drastic reduction in manufacturing industry.

According to Fernando (2020), the resource curse is used to describe a paradoxical situation in which a country performs poorly in terms of economically despite being home to valuable natural resources. The resource curse may also be called the resource trap or the paradox of plenty. It is the paradox situation in which countries with an abundance of renewable natural resources experience stagnant economic growth or even economic contraction. Examples of such can be seen in countries like: Angola, Saudi Arabia.

According to Turner (2021) Angola and Nigeria are two most oil-rich nations in Africa, yet experienced contrasting political and economic outcomes since independence. Fickling analyzing the Nigerian case, opine that, "oil can be both a blessing and a curse. In Nigeria it has mostly been the latter. The gusher of oil money also fuels the corruption and unrest that has long plagued the country. Since independence till 2006, huge amount of oil worth \$380 billion has been stolen since independence, 15% stolen for bunkering operations and illegal industry. In the same vein, Klein Peter (2016), opined that between 2007 and 2012, Nigeria experienced a portion of resource curse problematic in the sense of oil violence as Nigerian rebels undertook approximately 100 attacks on drilling sites, most of which were onshore though some off shore.

The theory, explains the developmental challenges which plagues oil-rich the Nigeria. The abandoning of other sectors – manufacturing, agriculture, mining, service, to pursuit of oil rents. The country have experienced wanton corruption, mostly in the oil sector. The rentier nature of the Nigerian economy where the elites only grasp oil rents for personnel aggrandizements while the masses wallow in deep and inescapable poverty, food insecurity, malnutrition, decayed water, housing etc. Many of the political rivalry, electoral violence and rigging, are geared towards acquisition of the juicy political office that guarantees access to oil wealth.

Oil Rents, Corruption and Nigeria's Development

One of the bane to development in Nigeria, is that of the cancerous pathology called "corruption". The country with the abundance of natural, human and material resources yet still struggling to overcome the excruciating challenge of poverty, unemployment, inequality, deteriorating infrastructure-health centre, roads, schools, low standard of living evident in unfavourable per capital income and a gloomy Gross Domestic Product (GDP) etc. In the midst of these negative socio-economic and political nightmares, there exist a few nouveau riche who dwell in extravagance, wastage in consuming foreign goods which they never produce but continue to depend on the West for everything pin, the guns we use in killing ourselves, cars, pen to write, television etc: making the country a nation with a 'black skin and white mask'. This brings to bear the attitude of criminalization of the state" where the elites and the dominant groups control the rents generated from resources. Such governance pathologies exist along with leaders who adopts Machiavellian type of leadership, (Onyeani 1990; Bayart et al 1999; Birenu 2012; Ojah undated; Olanrewaju; Yunusa and Abah; Abubakar 2013).

According to Radda (2006), the nexus between oil rent, underdevelopment and corruption can be seen in the speedy increase of poverty caused by corruption in Nigeria. The level corruption that plagues the Nigerian polity is most perpetrated by the predatory elite class. For instance, the then Governor of Bayelsa state – a major oil producing state in Nigeria, yet underdeveloped: Governor Alamiyeseigha was arrested at the Heathrow Airport in London on September 15th on his way back from Germany where he had gone for cosmetic surgery. In search of his London home by detectives from Scotland Yard about £1 million cash was found. Also £420,000 and £475,000 were found in different bank accounts belonged to the governor was frozen. The wife of the same Bayelsa state governor Mrs. Margaret was also apprehended for the discovery of some “hundreds of thousands” in her bank account and £435,000 in her section of the Governor’s lodge. Chen, Gummi, Wang and Mu’azu (2020) observed that, the Nigeria’s security challenges are more or less spurred by corruption and oil rents, and it is indubitable that oil rents tend to affect all economic activities shaping the political system which certainly presents a logical explanation for both economic and political “Dutch Disease”. The huge oil rent in the Nigerian economy leads to neglect of critical social sectors, mostly security. Since the country’s return to democracy in 1999, there have been the struggle against corruption, promotion of rule of law and good governance. Within the last two decades before the year 2020, Nigeria’s security situation worsened, as evident in data obtained revealing 3641 people lost lives and 1.7 million people were internally displaced in the last four years. From May, 2009 to June 2019, more than 100,000 dead were captured and almost 2.5 million people displaced (International Crisis Group – ICG 2019). In 2017 alone, the country lost more than \$19 billion (N7 trillion naira) as revenue leakage in addition to \$1.5 billion lost monthly on the Gulf of Guinea due to the nefarious activities of Boko Haram, piracy and militancy, (National Bureau of Statistics –NBS 2018 in according to the former World Bank Vice President for Africa, Ezekwesili “Nigeria lost more than \$400 billion to large scale corruption since independence in 1960 which could have been channeled for developmental purpose”. The extent at which corruption in Nigeria breeds excruciating problem of under development has been mirrored by the 2014 United Nations Development Program Human Development Report on the Nigeria Delta thus: corruption in Nigeria intensifies desperate conditions of socio-economic exclusion as the as evident in youth restiveness in the Niger Delta, despite the huge budgetary allocation and empowerment programs by the Federal government”. Fortunately the introduction of amnesty has helped to reduce tremendously such problem. While some countries such as Botswana and Chile have been fortunate to reap the positive bounties from their resources, others such as Dr. Congo and Nigeria have not, and have “suffered from decades of poor governance, internal conflict, and impoverishment and appear to be on the downward trend that demonstrates the conventional understanding of the resource curse”, (Barma et al, 2012:25 in Chen, Gummi, Wang and Mu’azu 2020). Also, the lucrative oil rent, breeds severe and unholy competition for power by politicians leading to violence, money politics in terms of vote buying, insecurity arising from political cum electoral violence. This is the trend in rent-seeking economies that are dependent on oil, (Chakra borty and Dabla-Norris, 2006 in Chen, Gummi Wang and Ma’azu 2020). Even the Amnesty programme, embarked by the Federal government in 2009 to quell militancy has not escaped the dreaded malaise of corruption. This has surfaced in the financial cum budgetary allocation for the amnesty purpose. The ex- militants granted amnesty were to be paid N65,000 (US\$200) in temporary relief, while between 2009-2019, the Federal government have committed billions of dollars to peace building programme covering education, training, and entrepreneurship development costs for 30,000 participants. Despite the little success recorded in the Amnesty programme, the problem of corruption has surfaced in the sub-standard training overseas by vendors. Another issue about the peace building vendors is the level of deceit. They take photographs of fake projects to present to the amnesty office, while failing to carry out the original projects. Meanwhile since 2015, President Muhammadu Buhari have dismissed at least two coordinators of the Presidential Amnesty Programme due to allegations of mismanagement of funds. Issues of fake students where a committee looked into the enrollment of 1,061 students and whether they were legitimate amnesty delegates. It found that only 314 of the 1,061 delegates were legitimate participants. The remaining 747 could not accounted for (Okoi, 2020).

The menace of corruption, has also cobwebbed the oil and gas sector tremendously (Ayodeji-Falade and Osunkule 2020). According to the Executive Secretary of the Nigeria’s Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (NEITI) Waziri Adio, corruption in the oil and gas sector accounted for 90% of corrupt practices in Nigeria, (Onwuemenyi, 2016). The adverse effect of this to the Nigerian economy is excruciating as about 20% of Nigeria’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is lost to corruption (Transparency international 2005 in Ayodeji-Falade and Osunkunle

2020). The level of undevelopment in the Niger Delta due to oil exploration: pollution, gas flaring, environmental hazards and restiveness in the Niger Delta region of the country, prompted the Nigerian government to establish the Niger Delta Development Commission in the year, 2000 by the former President Olusegun Obasanjo. Ironically, the commission has not been effective, efficient and sincere in its mandate owing to the issue of corruption. According to Energy Review of (2020), just as the other opaque oil sector, officials says the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), domiciled in the Southern oil city of Port Harcourt has been a den of corruption and mismanagement since its 20 years of existence. Nine states in the oil region take trillions of naira (billions of dollars) every year thanks to huge payments from the central government and oil majors. To date, over 1,200(as at year 2020) projects have been approved for the commission but only a fraction have been executed, a recent parliamentary probe revealed. This year alone(2020), more than 81 million naira (\$215 million, 180 million euros) have been allegedly misappropriated by officials and contractors, with some believed to have been spent on international flights and training, while the nations airspace was shut due to the corona virus pandemic.

Another area,where the enormous oil wealth and rent has been transmogrified into a terrible illicit activity, it's the theft of oil by political class.According to Soremi (2019),the occurrence of oil theft in the Niger Delta started around late 1970s to early 1980s, when the country was predominantly under military rule. It was carried out under the command of top military personnel for the purpose of enriching themselves and forcefully maintaining political stability (Katsouris and Sayne, 2013 in Soremi ,2019). The illegal activity however, took a new turn with the advent of agitation for resource control by Niger Delta indigenes and the emergence of youth militancy (Ikelegbe, 2005; Katsouris and Sayne, 2013 in Soremi 2019). At the outset of the agitations in the Niger Delta, the objective was primarily political with the citizens of the region demanding for an increase in the derivation fund (a specific percentage of oil rents accrued to the federal government), but when the government was unable to meet all their demands, many of the youths in the community took up arms against the government and engaged in criminal activities such as kidnapping, destruction of oil facilities, oil theft and sea piracy (Ikelegbe, 2005; Katsouris and Sayne, 2013 in Soremi 2019).

Peterside (2022) affirmed that,the quantity of crude oil theft on daily basis and yearly varies from one stakeholder to another, meaning that we can not ascertain the exact quantity stolen. In a recent interview, the Chief of Naval Staff, Vice Admiral Awwal Gambo, raised fundamental issues about the estimated quantity of crude oil stolen daily, which he considered unrealistic and outrageous, obviously presenting the figures as the latest wonder of the world.However, many believed that the higher echelon government officials, powerful business people, security personnel, oil industry operators and host community stakeholders are not exempted from such theft. These conglomerate of oil stealing cartels are generally thought to be highly organised, sophisticated and at the same time complicated.Crude oil lost as a result of theft ,has devastating impact on Nigerian economy that gives a bleak feature of the country's development.Peterside observed that,in June of year 2022, Nigeria produced 1.238million barrels per day, the there was a downward trend in July of same year to 1.083 million bpd, before then dropping to an all-time low of 972,394 bpd in August. The production in August was the lowest in the last 20 years, and if it follows such trend of decline, could amount to a loss of about \$20 billion in the year under review at an average price of \$100 per barrel.This does not only tantamount to loss of revenue but also of jobs, opportunities, and possibilities. \$20 billion can reduce the country's debt burden, increase our distributable income, and shore up our foreign reserves. Another adverse result of a decline in oil revenue attributable to crude oil theft is that NNPC Ltd did not contribute to the federation account for more than four months.

Eromosele,(2023) note that,the Vice President of Nigery, Professor Osinbajo spoke at the one-day Stakeholders Conference on Oil Theft and Losses in Nigeria with the theme “Protecting Petroleum Industry Assets for Improved Economy” organized by the Special Investigative Panel on Oil Theft/Losses in Nigeria.He disclosed that the Nigeria Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative, NEITI, pegged the oil theft and loss audited figures as something in the order of 619.7 million barrels of oil daily, which he said was valued for over \$46 billion or N16.25 trillion, adding that these losses span the period between 2010 and 2020.In addition Nigeria lost about 4.2 billion litres of oil petroleum products from refineries which was valued at over \$1.84billion at the rate of 140 thousand barrels per day from 2009 to 2018.The country gaining nothing despite huge oil reserves it's due to mega oil theft.Timipre Sylva, disclosed this, when he visited the Imo State governor, Hope Uzodimma, at the Government House, Owerri. He lamented that decried that hoodlums who perpetrate the act has caused the reduction of production level by 400,000 barrels per day (bpd), translating to a drop from 1.8 million to 1.4 million bpd.Such

illicit economy represents a theft of about 25%. So, the thieves take 25% leaving 200million Nigerians struggling to survive on the remaining 75%. Now, one can only wonder how this humongous volume of crude is stolen day in day out without any real person being caught. This is the very foundation of the dire straits in which the nation has found itself. The various oil MDAs cannot be exonerated at all. How can they be. As one man said, oil is not sweet that you put in your pocket and walk away. For super tankers to enter into your territorial waters, load, sail out without being noticed, no one needs any intelligence to know that there is official and unofficial connivance.

Morphy (2022), also reiterated that, in other times when may oil producing Nations experienced there was economic boom, mostly members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which Nigeria is a member, Nigerians enjoyed and felt the boom in their various homes and hamlets. This time around, the oil price surge spurred by the war between Ukraine and Russia. But, from this oil boom, we Nigerians are gaining nothing unlike in the past when we had more patriotic management of national assets and facilities. Morphy further affirmed that, we can not easily forget the oil windfall during the Gulf War in a hurry. It was the time when Nigeria like other OPEC member countries made enormous money than expected due to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. At the time the country enjoyed unprecedented windfall that was lavished and stolen away for which late head of state General Sani Abacha set up a panel to investigate. The panel headed by late Dr Pius Okigbo, indicted former military President, General Ibrahim Gbadamosi Babangida (rtd) over allegations of mismanagement of \$12.4bn 1991 Gulf oil windfall. In the 1973 boom caused by conflict between the Arab world and Israel, Nigeria was so awash with petrodollar that the then head of state General Yakubu Gowon reportedly boasted that the country has so much money that it does not know what to do with it.

Morphy in the same vein, observed that, only recently, the Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited (NNPCL) revealed it losses of a wanton 470,000 barrels per day of crude oil worth \$700 million monthly to theft. It stated that the national security challenges have ripple effects on oil production especially pipelines around Bonny terminal. Group General Manager, National Petroleum Investment Management Services (NAPMS), Bala Wunti made the disclosure during a tour of the facilities of the NNPCL. According to him, about 270 barrels that were earmarked for loading in Bonny were no longer feasible due to theft. He explained that the illegal siphoning of crude oil from oil facilities by criminal syndicates undoubtedly adversely affects revenue to all stakeholders, adding that the quantity of oil delivered to federal oil terminals in the country has drastically declined by the activities of pipeline vandals. "If you're producing 30,000 barrels a day, every month, you get 1,940 barrels. So, what it means is that you can take it to 270 every four days, calculate it in a month; you will have seven cargos on a million barrels, that's seven million barrels. "When you multiply seven million barrels by \$100 that is \$700 million lost per month, adding that about 150,000 barrels expected are deferred, we are not producing due to security threats, (Morphy 2022). In the wavelength, Nkang, Basse and Udoh, (2022) in their study on "health and environmental consequences of black soot in porthacourt", also reiterated the corruption in the form of illegal oil refinery called bunkery perpetrated by youths of Niger Delta States, while there exist a symbiotic relationship between some security personnels and culprits to further such criminal and parallel economic venture that is disastrous to human health, the environment and national economy.

Oil, Political Violence And Development in Nigeria

The abundance of oil beneath the Nigerian soil, brings to knowledge of the richness of the Nigerian state. This is so as oil like other natural resources such as diamond, manganese, tin, coal, gold etc. should be able not just to generate lots of financial gains to the country where such is located, but to attract foreign investment, boost economic development, alleviate poverty, engender sustainable growth, boost the availability of social services in the form of roads, electricity, pipe borne water, transportation, education, security etc. Ironically, this thinking of the nexus between the abundance of natural/mineral resources and adequate development have not been plausible as evident in many state, mostly third world countries with rich natural resources. Instances abounds where countries with rich natural and mineral resources, becomes vulnerable to all manners of underdevelopment indices: poverty, malnutrition, diseases, insecurity, dependency on foreign edifices on virtually everything causing indebtedness and balance of payment problems, corruption, conflict of various kinds, poor infrastructures etc. Scholarly works on the nexus between natural resources and violence have been documented, like the case of the Sierra Leone conflicts linked to diamond, (Nkang, Basse and Udoh, 2022; Edge 2002; Miesen 2012; Ford 2012;

United States Institute for Peace 2007). Most of these violent conflicts, as noted by Duke, Ebaye and Bassey, (2021) have severe human security challenges. Apart from oil, other natural resources like land, water, pastures etc, as noted by Duke and Agbaji (2020) evident in the ongoing herdsmen-farmers clash in Nigeria have severe socio economic implications.

According to the publication of the United Nations peace keeping magazine, in the last 60 years, at least 40 percent of all intrastate conflicts have a link to natural resources, and that such a connection fuels the risk of a conflict relapse in the first five years. Since 1990, at least 18 violent conflicts have been engendered by the natural resource exploration, whether high-value resource like timber, diamonds fertile land and water, (United Nations Environmental Programme-UNEP in United Nations Peace Keeping Bulletin undated).

According to Igwe (2020), the violence in the Niger Delta oil producing state is that of communities who violently ventilate their grievances against the predatory managers of the Nigerian state that unrepentantly refused to pay adequate compensation for oil damage. The violence before 2009 when the Presidential Amnesty Programme was initiated by former Late President Yar'Adua cost the Nigeria economy, a 1.5 million barrels reduction in oil per day as compared in to 2.2 million barrel per day due to militancy. The recent deliberation that the Amnesty programme is one of the expensive project in the world, hence it should be scrapped poses severe risk to the Nation that the idea is pure reward to criminality, which may provide reason for other youngsters to engage in similar cause of insecurity in other to get the attention of the government in similar way of compensation. Igwe further warned that the "fragile peace achieved since 2009 in Nigeria's oil-bearing delta region may soon be undermined if the government proceeds to Jettison the idea of Presidential Amnesty program". Obase linked the oil and violence issue in Nigeria to illicit activities of oil bunkers. The first impact of bunkering tells adversely on the Nigerian economy and by implication on the economic well-being and stability of the Nigerian citizens since 2003, Nigeria has lost \$2.4bn and 6.3bn worth of oil annually. The total loss over 6 years has been \$24bn and 100bn, beginning from 2004-2010. Illegal bunkering has significant impacts on environmental security. Spills from the nefarious deeds of bunkering damages the environment. These spills comes as a result of oil companies negligence on their corporate social responsibility role: cleaning up resulting from sabotage. Illegal bunkering has contributed to lawlessness, insecurity and physical violence that perturbs the Niger Delta. Youths engaged in a bunkering have devoted the financial proceeds gained to purchase vast weapons. Struggle for the control of lucrative waterways or bunkering turfs have sometimes resulted in conflicts between youth gangs from neighborhood communities, leading to bloody consequences. Most of these conflicts arises over sharing the bounties between rival fractions of the same syndicates. Even when the Nigerian state deployed security forces to calm situations or curb such criminality of bunkering, the bunkers uses their huge financial gains to arm twist the security operatives.

In the same wavelength Hallmark (2017), argued that, the oil violent in the Nigeria political landscape began in the late 1980's as several indigenous tribal groups rose up in agitating over the ill-treatment against them by the multinational oil companies operating in the Niger Delta, which covers about 27,000 square miles, larger than the state of West Virginia. Among these tribal groups includes, the Ijaws, Itsekiris, Urhobos, Isiokos, Ijages, Ikwerres, Ekpesyes and Ogulaghas, with the Ogoni being the largest. Their complaint and grievance was as a result of the wealth gained by mobil and shall from their oil while they suffer neglect, environmental degradation, underdevelopment, poverty etc. The agitations by these groups at the initial stage was civil and diplomatic, mild form of civil disobedience devoid of violence with the formation of the movement for the survival of the Ogoni people (MOSOP), pioneered by author and environmental activist Kensaro-wiwa. The killing by hanging of Ken Saro wiwa together with 8 other activist by the Abacha junta military regime, transformed the former peaceful agitation to more violent and confrontational one with the use of arms. The youth engaged in kidnapping for ransom, pipeline vandalization, bunkering etc. with bunkering and money from kidnapping ransom used to buy ammunition. One of such group that emerged in the area was the movement for the emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) headed by Henry Okah, who based in South Africa. He was in arrested 2007 while trying to buy weapons in Angola, and extradited to Nigeria, tried and convicted behind close doors, and then incarcerated. MEND was better equipped and received training with the availability camouflage body armor speed boats, shoulder launchers, Kalishnikov assault rifles (Czech Machine guns) and the group consistently exhibited superior tacts in skills, with an estimated 100,00 strong personal with links to the Nigerian military.

According to the One Brief Publication, we are living in a world riddled with high incidence of political violence. As at 2016, the rate of political violence reached 14.2 percent increase relating to terrorist attacks. Many of these attacks were targeted at the oil and gas industry – the commercial vulnerable to act of terrorism. This is due to the important role of oil in boosting government revenues, and the often remote location of its key infrastructure. In Nigeria, with its Niger Delta wetland, that harbours large oil and gas reserve, series of explosion occurs to dismantle infrastructures such as pipelines carrying huge amounts of oil. Such attacks directed at oil and gas installations leads to loss of revenue, inability for government to raise enough finance to invest in hospitals, roads and schools. For instance terrorists attacks on pipelines in Nigeria in 2016 caused oil production to drop by 36 percent, reducing the government’ revenues by 50 percent. In the same vein, John (2007) argued that natural resources boost the morale of rebel groups as it funds their operations. This is so as it produce some bounties from their forceful acquisition of mineral resources location which they loot to sustain their prowess. This idea of resources at the disposal of rebels, warlords, or crime syndicates breeds conflicts is a fall out of the theory of rent-seeking. Rents refer to ‘excess incomes’, or the ‘proportion of earnings in excess of the minimum amount needed to attract a worker to accept a particular job or a firm to enter a particular industry. Rent can take many forms, such as higher than competitive rates of return in monopolies, extra income earned from exclusive ownership of a search resource, whether natural resources or specialized knowledge; and/or extra income from politically organized transfers such as subsidies (Collier and Hoeffler 1998; Milgrom and Roberts 1992: 269 in John 2007).

Relating the incidence of oil-war to the stakes of political violence in Nigeria, Kwarke (2019) opined that, beginning from the land use Act and the Petroleum Act as enshrined in the 1999 constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria. The overflowing and Control of the oil and gas sector of the economy has been monopolized by the Nigerian state. The Federal government remains the untouchable “Alpha and Omega” in the scheme of revenue generation resource allocation and sharing. Thus public works and procurement, in Federal, State and local level are bankrolled by money gotten from oil rent. Also there are major sources of business and employment and are executed with monies from oil. The ability to win contracts is determined by a person’s political affiliation. Hence for many politics have become the only right way of making money, becoming successful and prosperity for others it is a matter of personal prestige or simply being in control of people and resources. For those seeking economic gain, winning elections is the endgame. It is common knowledge that candidates and their financial backers sinks in large amounts of cash into elections with expectation to harvest heavy bounties if and when they win. The stakes become high and the signing of peace accords although a veritable way to ameliorate tension, remains impossible.

From the above, one could deduce the inextricable link between the availability of oil and violence. Scholarly appositeness and relevance brings to bear the factual expression on the level which resources in the form of diamond, timber, water, gold, oil, manganese, tin, coal etc. breeds tension and conflict that culminate into high incidence of humanitarian coast in the form of death, destruction of properties, displacement – injury etc. Political violence as occurred in Nigeria takes the form of cult-related clash, assassination of opponents, kidnapping/abduction electoral rigging/hijacking of ballot box etc. All these political cum electoral irregularities with a “Machiavellian” style is to grab electoral office in order to have access to state resources as its evident in many African state; this has also manifested in the attitude of ethnic politics, nepotism, legitimacy crisis as most government becomes enemies to their citizens. This is what Bayart, Ellis and Hibou (1999) termed “criminalization of the state in Africa”. According to them the criminalization of state takes both the political and economic form. The radical privatization of the state, the criminalization of the behavior of power holders, and transformation of factional struggle into armed conflict as occurred in Chad, Uganda, Angola and Liberia. This has a linkage with the illicit economic activities, such as unregulated exploitation of mineral, oil and wild life resources, (Dickson 2008); and Bayart et al 1999). The excessive crude oil rent, with its huge revenue gains to the Nigerian government coffers has caused the acquisition of political offices to be a serious quest where all manner of unholy tools (spiritualism, voodoo, assassination, electoral violence cum rigging, blackmailing, kidnapping, etc.) are employed to grab power. This is so as politics in Nigeria and political office holders understands not the language of "serving the masses in a manner that brings development human security, human development, social services – roads, electricity, recreational activities, education, skills acquisition that promotes overall national interest and nation building, but rather for selfish and parochial interest where monies are looted.”

Oil Rents And Development in Nigeria

As noted earlier, and in other scholarly epistle, regarding the possibility of the abundance of natural cum mineral resources on the one hand and the financial gains capable to engender development in any country where such abundance is visible. On the other hand, however some cases has been a mix blessings as many countries, mostly third world , like Nigeria, Afghanistan, Angola, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Central African Republic, Congo etc. where underdevelopment in the form of decayed health, education, roads, recreational activities, poverty, malnutrition, conflict, corruption, inequality remains the order of the day. The Nigerian situation has not been an exception to this gloomy state.

According to Jack, Theophilus and Uchechukwu (2016), despite the plausible fact that Nigeria possess numerous natural resource, and potentially among the wealthiest nation in the world. Ironically with such wealth the problem of underdevelopment mostly feel by the oil-producing state persists. This is as a result of the eco-unfriendly activities of the multinational coporations in the region, leading to environmental degradation, which breeds human environmental resource curse: like cultism, kidnapping, loss of bio diversion, and economic recession. This is followed by the over dependence on oil revenue for national development which constitute grave plague to sustainable socio economic and political development. In the same vein Arugu and Sunday (2020), diagnosed the problematic associated with oil abundance and development in Nigeria: that it is a terrible misnomer for a region (the Niger Delta-oil harbor of Nigeria) with its rich oil and gas that contributes over 90% foreign exchange and 85% of government earnings paradoxically represents one of the extreme cases of poverty and underdevelopment, lacking virtually all indices of development. Such issue of unpalatable development quagmire, is attributed to the negative impact of the oil industry on the economy and the environment of the people (Ubadah 2005 in Arugu and Sunday 2020; Duke Hilary and Basseyy,2022). Another pernicious issue and paradox of plenty in the oil producing areas that has exerbated underdevelopment is that violent conflict has retarded developmental efforts in the region. The conflict has pitched the oil companies, the host communities on the one hand, the oil producing communities and the Nigerian state, and between and amongst oil producing on one hand in an endless conflict that constraints development. The conflict in the region has taken different facets: kidnapping, large scale illegal bunkering, pipeline vandalization, rivalry between cult groups, community clashes, destruction of communities, killing etc. In response to the unrepentant deprivation and underdevelopment of the area as a result of the negative impact of oil production, the Federal government established the defunct OMPADEC, the NDDC and ministry of Niger Delta Affairs and major planks to bring the needed development and reduce abject poverty in the region. Although 13% derivation has been kept aside for the oil producing states since the return of democracy as documented and binded in the 1998 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, but unfortunately the oil producing rural communities in the region have not felt the impact of the huge revenue accruing to the various state governments due to official corruption and management of funds.

According to Okoi (2019), the over dependence of the Nigerian economy on oil and refusal of the managers of the Nigerian state to sincerely move a diversification drive, has landed the country in many trouble waters of inescapable underdevelopment. This was evident in the 2018 international crude oil crash, which hit a devastating blow on the Nations economy, with the challenge of reduction of oil revenue, unemployment and poverty and insurgency. Global poverty projections released by the Brookings institution in 2018 based on data from the world poverty clock shows that Nigeria has overtaken India as home to the largest population of people living in extreme poverty, with 89 million citizens living on less than \$1.90 a day compared to India's 73 million. This brings to the fore the problem of inept, corrupt and bad leadership as more than a hundred million Nigerians are in danger of falling into extreme poverty by 2022. This startling revelation implies that despite being the largest oil producer in Africa, Nigeria is unable to translate its oil wealth into rising living standards for its teeming population. In analyzing the nexus between oil and development, point to issue of environmental pollution arising from oil and gas exploration. Foremost and more degrading the development challenges caused by oil is the fact that "oil production in Nigeria has resulted in severe strains on the agriculture, fishing, and economic stability as a whole with perhaps the most severe consequences to the social and political environment of the nation. In the absence of uncompromising laws that regulates the ways of oil drilling and shipment companies have consistently

threatened the subsistence and livelihood of a vast number of local communities. The by-product of gas flaring continues to destroy the ecosystems of surrounding areas, and pipelines that have been constructed through numerous farmlands have ruptured, causing damage to vast areas of agricultural land. Taking agriculture and fishing industry into consideration, as the primary source of subsistence for majority of the Nigerian populace, accounting for about 40% percent of the Nation's labour force, the current destruction of the ecological balance translates into depressed income and unbearable and prevalent poverty.

The developmental challenges bewildering the masses, continuously remains a “nightmare”. This is so when one examines the many years of unfavourable economic, social and political climate that is raven with ethnic, tribal, religious conflict; corruption; poverty, malnutrition, infant mortality, environmental degradation, etc. While the political elites, cum comprador bourgeois swell their accounts with state money. This kleptomaniac culture makes the citizens to wallow in inescapable and irreversible poverty as prices of virtually everything skyrockets beyond the reach of the common man, while the nation keeps borrowing from external sources on daily basis. The problem becomes worrisome as other sectors like agriculture, mining, service, industrial, etc have been relegated and left unproductive due to the over dependence on oil by the Nigerian economy. Even the oil abundance has been suffocated by the technological dependence of oil refinement on advanced and industrialized states with their monopoly over technology, capital, managerial skills. The political elites engages in rent-seeking, racketeering and primitive accumulation of wealth for their selfish ambition. All these proves the extent to which the Nigerian economy is an example case of an economy suffering from the “paradox of plenty” and “resource curse”.

Juxtaposing The Nigerian Development Witin The Purview Of Dutch Disease/ Resource Curse And Paradox Of Plenty.

According to Amin (2009), the conventional reasoning for resource curse is the ‘Dutch disease’ or deindustrialization’. That is revenue from natural resources hurts traditional manufacturing through an increase in the exchange rate; also resources such as labour and capital need to be moved from manufacturing to natural resource production within the Nigerian context, the idea of resource curse and Dutch disease, brings to limelight, that the country abundance of natural resource leads to power governance and conflicts. It also depicts the case of government that are less accountable to the people, have little incentive for institution – building and fail to implement growth enhancing reforms. Higher corruption, more rent-seeking activity, greater civil conflict, and erosion of social capital are some of the outcomes linked with the Nigerian Disease, (Rosser 2006 in Amin 2009).

Chukwuma (2015), opined that 50 out of 55 countries, producing or exploring one resources, have been unduly squandered instead of engendering adequate and sustainable development. The poor have not benefited from the rate of gains from such resources, rather it has been the prerogative of the political elites. Nigeria represents one of the group of countries where rich natural resources deposits and rents have not translated to inclusive growth, development and a better life for the people. Since independence, the citizens of Nigeria have continued to grapple with social and economic hardships, occasioned among other things by bad governance, poor fiscal social contract, failed policies, a corrupt political class and over reliance on natural resource (oil). In Nigeria, oil wealth has sparked some of the worst cases of corruption scandals. Unfortunately the return to democracy in 1999 and most of the laudable reforms like the Excess Crude Account, Sovereign Wealth Fund oil and Gas implementation committee of 2000, National oil and Gas policy 2004, and the contentious petroleum industry bill (PIB) as well as transparency efforts spearheaded by Nigerian Extractive Industries. Transparency initiatives have produced discouraging results since emphasis is more on revenue collected rather than the distribution of income and public expenditure.

Harvey (2021) is of the opinion that, the term ‘resource curse’ was originally coined by development scholar Richard Auty in 1993, and the first econometric work on the subject was published in 1995 by economist Jeffrey Sachs and Andrew Warner. Nigeria and South Angola, two oil rich producing countries are pure cases of illustrating the resource curse problematic. In 2018, Angola's fuel exports constitutes 92.4% of the country's total exports. Oil rents the difference between the price of oil and average cost of producing- accounted for 25.6% of the country's Gross Domestic Products (GDP). Yet, the country ranked 149th in terms of human development in 2019. Nigeria's fuel exports in 2018 was 94.1% total exports, oil rents amounted to 99% of GDP and it ranked 161 in terms of human development in 2019. the current Nigerian situation as regards it's ugly developmental face is really worrisome when one considers devastating blow done by covid-19. The economy, its no longer news that it's in a pear-shape form, as noted by Duke, Ebaye and Basse (2020) that despite the global security

effect,(Duke,Ebaye and Bassey ,(2021) of covid-19, there is,the socioeconomic implications of covid-19 on Nigerian economy.Thus the managers of Nigerian state have to be proactive, sincere,willing and abstain from corruption, looting of treasury to stockpile cash for coming election to invest their time on development.

Conclusion

The work was geared towards, unraveling the developmental challenges that bedevils the oil-rich Nigerian state within the context of Dutch disease/paradox of plenty and resource curse. That the country Nigeria which is blessed with enormous oil and other natural resources, yet have not been able to cause any reasonable development. Thus the issues of poverty, inequality, to hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy, poor infrastructures in the form of bad roads, health center, electricity etc.

The problem becomes worrisome, as corruption in the form of embezzlement of funds meant for development is squandered by Nigerian elites. Corruption has highly affected the security sector to a point where the military and security personnel are crippled and incapacitated in fighting the insurgency, bandits, herdsmen, kidnapping, assassination, etc. The issue of abandonment of other sectors of the economy (agriculture, service sector, industrial etc). The country with its monolithic economy solely dependent on oil and gas signals a bad and unfortunate progress. The issue of oil becoming a curse rather than a blessing has surfaced in the Niger Delta crisis, the economy vulnerable to oil shelter that occurs in the global market, the dependent on Western world for technology and managerial skills in the oil refining and management in the oil sector, the corruption in the oil sector due to zero level of transparency and accountability that would tackle issues of recklessness etc.

The Nigerian state, has failed in utilizing its enormous oil wealth to transform the society for the betterment of the masses. The masses continue to wallow in abject poverty, while the gap between the rich and the poor widens.The country has been recently characterized by many reputable international agencies of good governance,as among the top world states smacked by insecurity, terrorism,failing states etc.this is as a result of insecurity and violence emanating the dreadful Boko Haram,fulani herdsmen,bandits and unknown gunmen coupled with many issues of insecurity from kidnapping, robbery,human trafficking,illicit trade in small arms and light weapons,etc.

Recommendations

The study recommends certain prognosis for action below:

- Tackling of corruption: this will entail strengthening the already existing anti-corruption body – EFCC and ICPC. A sincere and uncompromising fight against corruption manned by people of integrity.
- Diversifying the economy, whereby other sectors- agriculture, service, small scale industry, skills acquisition be prioritized.
- Enthroning the tenets of good governance, such as accountability, transparency, rule of law and due process in the Nigerian state, mostly in the oil sector.
- Also a reconfiguration of the Nigerian state to sacrosanctly adhered to the tenets of true Federalism where the center or federal government has no much power in determining resources from regions/states.This will further entails making politics less lucrative,while other sectors like civil servants,teachers ,doctors, security personnels are well compensated during and after service.

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