

# **Challenges to Human Security and Development: Terrorism and Environmental Conflicts in Nigeria**

**Tim Kenechukwu Enwerem**

Submitted to the  
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research  
in partial fulfillments of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts  
in  
International Relations

Eastern Mediterranean University  
July 2016  
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

---

Prof. Dr. Cem Tanova  
Acting Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erol Kaymak  
Chair, Department of Political Science  
and International Relations

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion; it is fully adequate in scope and quality and as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

---

Asst. Prof. Dr. Günay Aylin Gürzel  
Supervisor

---

Examining Committee

1. Asst. Prof. Dr. Günay Aylin Gürzel

2. Asst. Prof. Dr. Riza Acar Kutay

3. Asst. Prof. Dr. John Albert Turner

## ABSTRACT

The topic of this Research is clear and comprehensive, reason being that the subject of insecurity spread through all part of human exertion. As a consequence, it functions as an essential solution to societal political, social and economic development and progress. The analysis of this research focused on Nigeria. It explained the idea of human security and development and how human security concern brought about underdevelopment in Nigeria. This research paper examines the human security issues using the Niger Delta crises as a model, it also emphasize on specific developmental dilemma which is a big concern in Nigeria and also uncover the danger this crises presents on national security and peace in Nigeria. This study concludes that, there is no significant exertion in operationalizing human security in Nigeria which results to instability. This research maintains that the consequence of Negligence of human security concern makes developmental concerns in this region more complex due to uncertainties surrounding it. This research proposes that policy makers should tackle human security concerns so as to address developmental crises<sup>1</sup>. This study will adopt constructivist theory in order to examine the abstraction of human security through the application of constructivist viewpoint. The idea of human security makes more sense when examined via the theoretical perspective of constructivism. It will also present how constructivist scholars link their analysis to human security.

**Keywords:** Human security, developmental crises, Nigeria, Niger Delta, State insecurity

---

<sup>1</sup> Developmental crises is a transitional period which often provoke crises, this is more prominent in developing economy. Okoli .A (2003) *Development hegemony and the Development Crises in Africa*.

## ÖZ

Bu araştırmanın nedeni güvensizlik konusunun insan çabasının tüm kısmına yayılmasıdır. Bu araştırma toplumsal, siyasi, sosyal ve ekonomik gelişme ve ilerleme için gerekli bir çözüm fonksiyonu üretmek için yapılmıştır. Bu araştırmanın analizinde Nijerya'ya odaklanılmıştır. İnsan güvenliği ve gelişimi ve insan güvenliği kaygısı Nijerya'da az gelişmişlikten dolayı nasıl oluştuğu üzerinde durulmaktadır. Bu araştırma Nijer Deltası krizlerini bir model olarak kullanarak, Nijerya'daki büyük endişeye yol açan belirli gelişim çıkmazlarını ve ayrıca bu krizlerin ulusal güvenlik ve barış konusunda ortaya çıkardığı tehlikeler üzerinde durmaktadır. Araştırmanın sonucunda Nijerya'da insan güvenliği açısından anlamlı çaba olmadığı ve bunun da ülkede dengesizliğe yol açtığı sonucuna varılır. Ayrıca, insan güvenlik konusunun ihmalî sonucu nedeniyle bölgedeki gelişimsel konular karmaşık bir hal alırken belirsizlikler artıyor. Bu araştırma, insan güvenliği konusunu çözmek için politika yapımcılarının gelişimsel krizleri ele alması gerektiğini önermektedir. Bu çalışmada insan güvenliğini soyutlayarak incelemek amacıyla yapısalılık teorisini kullanılmıştır. İnsan güvenliği fikri yapısalılık teorik bakış açısı üzerinden incelendiğinde daha mantıklı hale gelmiştir. Bu araştırma aynı zamanda yapısalıcılara insan güvenliğini nasıl analizlerine ekleyecekleri konusunda yol göstermektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İnsan güvenliği, gelişimsel kriz, Nijerya, Nijer Deltası, Devlet güvencesizliği

# **DEDICATION**

To my Dearest Parents Elder and Mrs. Damian R. E. Enwerem

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

Foremost, my gratitude goes to my Supervisor Prof. Aylin Gurzel for her patience, inspiration, enthusiasm and immense knowledge in putting me through during the course of my research and consistently allowing this research to be my own composition, her expertise and professionalism in security motivated me and brought about this research.

In addition, i also extend my appreciation to my thesis jury: Prof John Turner and Prof. Acar Kutay for their immense support, insightful comment and tactical questions.

Not forgetting also my Dept. Chair Asso. Prof. Erol Kaymak, i have known him for over a year, he is like a father to the rest of us, amiable most especially in class, he knows how best to impact knowledge and understanding of whatever concept he is trying to elucidate and also giving me the opportunity in proving my ability as a research assistant in political science and international relations department.

I appreciate also my friends Formella Collins, Isioma Martha Mordi for her support, Jose Marin Lopez, Goodness Ogamezie, Mehtap Kara whom i had the opportunity to work closely with as a research assistant, Mary Okolo and most especially Victoria Chidiebube Morah, your immense Prayer, advice, support and direction saw me throughout my study.

Lastly, i would like to thank my family, most especially my parents for their financial, moral and spiritual support; i couldn't have made it thus far without them.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZ.....	iv
DEDICATION.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	ii
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Literature Review.....	3
1.2 Aims and Objectives of this Research.....	11
1.3 Hypothesis.....	12
1.4 Why Nigeria as a Case Study?.....	12
1.5 Methodology.....	13
1.5.1 Clinical Case Studies.....	14
1.6 Structure of Research.....	16
2 THE HISTORIC AND SIGNIFICANCE OF HUMAN SECURITY STUDY, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH IN CONCEPTUALIZING HUMAN SECURITY STUDY.....	17
2.1 Introduction.....	17
2.2 Menace to Human Security.....	19
2.3 Considering the linkages and Implications of Human Security and Development.....	21
2.4 Theoretical Framework.....	23

2.5 Main presumptions of Constructivism .....	24
2.6 Construal idea of Human security by Constructivist Theory .....	25
2.7 Assertions of Constructivist Scholars .....	27
2.8 Conclusion.....	32
<b>3 THE ANALYSIS OF HUMAN SECURITY ISSUES AND EVOLVING CRISES: CASE OF NIGERIA.....</b>	<b>34</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	34
3.2 Methodology .....	35
3.3 Clarification of Environment as an area of Human Security .....	35
3.4 Selecting Indicators for the Framework .....	36
3.5 The Model Below Demonstrates the Method used in this Study .....	38
3.5.1 Poverty.....	38
3.5.2 Ethno- Religious Conflicts .....	41
3.5.3 Political Insecurity.....	44
3.5.4 Traditional Corrupt Practices .....	47
3.5.5 Health Threat.....	51
3.6 Conclusion.....	57
<b>4 THE JUSTIFICATION OF NEGLIGENCE OF HUMAN SECURITY IN THE NIGER DELTA REGION AND THE IMPLICATION ON NIGERIA’S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.....</b>	<b>60</b>
4.1 Introduction.....	60
4.2 Brief Synopsis of Niger delta Crises Derivation.....	62
4.3 Dynamics Liable for the evolving Crises .....	67
4.3.1 The absence of Structural Federalism in the Polity.....	67
4.3.2 High rate of Poverty .....	68



4.3.3 Environmental Degradation.....	69
4.4 Developmental Deprivation and Unemployment.....	70
4.5 Violations of Human Rights.....	71
4.5.1 Warri War of 2003.....	71
4.5.2 The Odi Massacre of 1999 in Bayelsa State .....	72
4.5.3 Ogoni Massacre of 1994 in Rivers State .....	72
4.5.4 Bonny Massacre of 1992 .....	72
4.6 Exploitation/bad governance.....	72
4.7 Impact on Nigeria’s Economic Development .....	74
4.8 Conclusion.....	75
5 CONCLUSION .....	77
5.1 Poverty .....	77
5.2 Environment .....	78
5.3 Political Freedom .....	78
5.4 Ethno-religious Crises .....	78
5.5 Health .....	78
5.6 Traditional corrupt practices .....	78
REFERENCES .....	81

## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1: How Constructivist Scholars link their analysis to Human Security..... 29

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1: Map of Delta region area.....	61
Figure 2: Evidence of environmental degradation.....	65
Figure 3: Foreign oil worker kidnapped by MEND.....	67

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

APC	All peoples congress
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HSN	Human Security Network
HSU	Human security unit
IHR	International Health Regulations
IPOB	Indigenous People of Biafra
IR	International Relations
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MEND	Movement for the emancipation of Niger Delta
MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People
NESREA	National Environmental and Regulation Enforcement agency
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIMASA	Nigeria Maritime Administrative and Safety Agency
NNPC	Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation
PAP	Poverty Alleviation Program
PFN	Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria
PHC	Primary Health Care
SAP	Structural Adjustment Policy
SHC	Secondary Health Care

THC	Tertiary Health Care
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

The West African sub-region is notably rich in natural resources. It comprise of the following fifteen countries namely: Guinea, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Togo, Liberia, Mali, Senegal, Gambia, Cape Verde, Ghana, Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Niger and Ivory Coast. The geographical region of West Africa is predominantly one of the poorest globally<sup>2</sup> as a result of prolonged conflicts and volatility which has a negative impact on development<sup>3</sup>. The consequence of conflicts in the sub- region is not limited to guns and ammunitions which were used in perpetrating hostilities, but massive deterioration of human and sub structural development. Although the level of conflicts presently has diminished in contrast to previous years, the impending catastrophe intensified by prolonged years of conflict and continued political volatility, has drawn the attention of global community. Developing situations such as high rate of unemployment, lack of good governance, increased poverty rate, insecurity and economic decline are evident and characterize the current state of West Africa. This issue (negligence of Human Security) has considerably created a lot of threat to national and regional security. The perception of security in global system currently has taken on disparate connotation from the usual approach which is protection of state borders from external threat. This is as a result of altering and emerging issues; and defiance in the system that states engaging in rigid politics

---

<sup>2</sup> World bank poverty Statistics, 2011

<sup>3</sup> Jacky, K. A. (2007). The Two West Africas. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 77-92

cannot tackle. Amidst these different connotations is the surrounding idea of human security. The beneficent issue stemming from growing crises has threatened the defense and empowerment of people in this region. The failure of security structures in most West African countries pose loopholes to emergence of insurgent attacks, most prominent in North Eastern Nigeria, Cameroon and Senegal. This has degenerated, the occurrence of insecurity among the people, which eventually lead to developmental crises. It is of the essence to emphasize that developmental crises could also result in human insecurity, as in the case of North East Nigeria where the activities of Boko Haram has displaced a lot of families, lots of life lost, mass migration of people to other states thus worsening human insecurity situations in the region. In line with United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Human Development index (HDI), states in West Africa have been ranked among the poorest states in the world for years, with low per-capita income, high rate of Poverty, high rate of unemployment and low economic growth<sup>4</sup>. Human Security issue has imminent effect on national security and development. This research work examines human security concerns in Nigeria using the Niger Delta Crises as a model in justifying the negligence of Human and security and the consequence thereof. It presents comprehensive investigation on the imminent threat set by the conflict condition on national security. Human security conception has helped to create an international position on the relevance of individuals' security rather than concentrating on national security.

---

<sup>4</sup>Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204).  
Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.

## 1.1 Literature Review

It's evident that religion and language is the spatial distribution<sup>5</sup> in which ethnic regions are defined. Due to imperialism, the political boundaries of Africa many times unrelated with this spatial distribution, That is to say, cultural grouping are split by political boundaries. These atypical divisions most a times bring about most conflicts and hostility<sup>6</sup>.

Subsequent to the end of colonial rule, the Western African region has witnessed series of ethnic and political conflict as a result of inconsistency of governments in effecting good governance, from the Biafra Civil War with Nigeria, Liberian War, Congo, Ivory Coast, and ethnic hostility in Guinea, military coup in Mali, Ghana, Senegal and Burkina Faso. The emergence of conflict in most West African states led to legal proposal which is to effect the integration of the sub region by creation of ECOWAS<sup>7</sup> to promote peace and economic integration<sup>8</sup>. Consistently, there were impending conflicts and serious hostilities in West Africa even before the idea of this institution was proposed; the Biafra civil war in Nigeria which commenced in 1967 between the Biafra Secessionist group and the Nigerian Government is an instance<sup>9</sup>, owing to decolonization in most African States between 1950 and late 70's, hostilities in West Africa was conspicuous due to the extreme political rivalry between the United States (US) allies and the Soviet Union (USSR) who by means of exploitation, create conflict by proxy as was witnessed in Liberia and Congo war in

---

<sup>5</sup> Spatial distribution is the grouping of circumstance across the global surface and a clear presentation of such disposition is an essential means in defining geographical and environmental data.

<sup>6</sup> Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204).

Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.

<sup>7</sup> ECOWAS: Economic community of West African states

<sup>8</sup> Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204).

Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid pp. 224s



order to benefit from their resources. Their alliance with authoritarian regimes in the sub-regions so as to have an edge in their quest and scramble for natural resources like oil, gold and diamonds, were also a factor to the conflict. Although the causality of these conflicts are different proportion and ferocity, the hostility in Sierra Leone and Liberia was a huge contest for the sub regional and global level due to the level of humanitarian anxiety, massive massacre of Children and women and also the inclusion of child soldiers in the battle field, more influx of refugees in other West African states<sup>10</sup>.

However, Trans-border activities and proliferation of light weapons and small arms pushed states like Liberia, Congo, Nigeria, Mali and others to encounter insignificant instability<sup>11</sup>. The after effect of this conflict on the sub region preceded the involvement of ECOWAS an institution created by West African states, the United Nations (UN) and other international actors such as the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies get involved in the conflict in order to avoid escalation. Prevention and managing resolution of the crises by the UN and ECOWAS aided in putting an end to the current conflict in Mali<sup>12</sup>, lately the sub-region has shifted from civil war to economic decline and underdevelopment, poverty, forced migration, dreaded epidemic famine and drought, which are the circumstance surrounding the rise of poverty level in West Africa. According to statistic index of World Bank 2011, poverty headcount ratio of \$1.90 a day is at

---

<sup>10</sup>Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204). Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.

<sup>11</sup> Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204). Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.

<sup>12</sup>Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204). Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.

53.47 percent<sup>13</sup>. Malnourishment has affect upsurge in sickness and mortality rate in this region<sup>14</sup>.The concept of security is a versatile, penetrating and useful way to approach the study of international relations<sup>15</sup>. Security provides an analytical framework which stands between the extremes of power and peace, incorporates most of their insights and adds more of its own. Buzan (2009) outlined four questions which structured international security studies which according to him, are analytical tools through which the evolution of international security studies portrays the deeper, substantial core that defines what international security is all about and what brings this literature together<sup>16</sup>. The first is whether to privilege the state as the referent object, which he explained should be all about constituting something that needs to be secured which are the state, individuals, ethnic groups and the environment. Secondly, whose security should be protected? Should security be considered the primary sector of security? Should security be concerned exclusively with external threats or also with domestic ones? The broad approach to Human Security give up systematic precision in favor of conventional normative influence: emphasizing on the issues which weaken the life chances of the largest number of people<sup>17</sup>. The reality is that, considerably, the most challenging global issue is extreme poverty, diseases and the effect of pollution. In relation to this approach, any conception of security which neglects this reality is conceptually, empirically and

---

<sup>13</sup> World Bank index 2011

<sup>14</sup>Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204).

Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.

<sup>15</sup>Edward Newman, *Critical human security studies*, Review of International Studies, Cambridge University Press, 2010

<sup>16</sup>Barry Buzan, *People, States & Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, ECPR Press, 2008.

<sup>17</sup>Barry Buzan, Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, Cambridge University Press, 2009

ethically inadequate<sup>18</sup>. The next approach to human security is narrower, and focuses on the human consequences of armed conflict and the dangers posed to civilians by repressive governments and situation of state failure<sup>19</sup>. However, a small number of scholars – who reflect both the broad and narrow approaches to human security – are attempting to understand human security from a theoretical perspective and integrate human security into security studies<sup>20</sup>. In relation to Marxist theory of Historical Materialism, bringing Nigeria's security issues into this context, it can be said that Nigeria's problem is as a result of its heterogeneous nature hampering development. Under these circumstances, historical materialism can be said to have a linkage in Nigeria's context because it best fits in, putting class in developmental crises. It also underlined how class and production form the basis of assessment in any societal concept. Historical materialism best clarified the rise of militancy and other developmental crisis because it includes the different class changing aspects ongoing in Nigeria<sup>21</sup>. The class disparity is between the rich and the poor, that is why (Vivek Chibber 2011) underlined that the Marx concept of historical materialism is limited to these two clarifications which is property relations and development of productive forces.

Therefore, historical materialism covers social forms and transitions and more concerned with the micro dynamics production relations<sup>22</sup>. In addition, Vivek supports the notion that property relations cannot conceive class relations but instead class relations take place once an uneven group gains control over resources, it will

---

<sup>18</sup> Ronald Paris, 'Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?', Fall 2001, Vol. 26, No. 2, *International Security*, pp. 87-102.

<sup>19</sup> Alan Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*, Oxford University Press, 2016.

<sup>20</sup> Ronald Paris, 'Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?', Fall 2001, Vol. 26, No. 2, *International Security*, pp. 87-102.

<sup>21</sup> Vivek Chibber (2011) what is living and what is dead in Marxist theory of Historical Materialism: Research in critical Marxist theory, 2011

<sup>22</sup> Ibid pp.5

result in class exploitation. For that reason, if this group gain more control over resources, and the productive admittance is allocated unequally, it will generate class struggle and conflict. Class struggle thus requires an underlying alliance of political dispute around any social formation. In contrast to this assertion, historical materialism revolves around social rhetoric's and manages the social structures which prompts change along specific means. Not until lately, the social form of relations is not constant.

In Blakeley 2013) reasoning on historical materialism, she contends that a communal grouping in support of the underprivileged has an essential task to contribute in political liberation. in other words, her view on Liberation is reliant on the competence of these grouping situated historically and socially in order to ascertain the process of effecting changes in arrangements which can be revolutionize and place suitable representative that can effect aforesaid change<sup>23</sup>. therefore Blakeley's stand on historical materialism accept the knowledge of the significance and consequence of historical development, alongside determining the prospects for social transformation regarding state violence and conflicts as a social relation which is conceived by past ill treatments. in near resemblance of Marxist concept on social development, through regional groupings that is if regions could come together to agree to terms, it is easier to collectively get a voice at the national level. In Nigeria's context there exist complexities in this aspect due to its heterogeneous nature; the propensity of different nationals is toward bigoted consciousness to the detriment of

---

<sup>23</sup>Blakeley .R. 2013 Human rights, state wrongs and social change:the theory and practice of emancipation., 2013

national consciousness<sup>24</sup>. If this constraint can be solved through regional bargaining agreement between regions in order to create national consciousness.

According to (Ayodeji 2012) he asserts that the connection between historical materialism assessment and terrorism is unavoidable as a result of capitalist means of production which has created dispute among forces of production and social relations which result in class struggle. In view of the fact that the state is the foremost catalyst of these unequal and categorized social engagements, the capitalist means of production prosper thus, promoting privatization to which losers and gainers are formed<sup>25</sup>. This gave rise to disparity between classes, creating a wide margin between the rich and the poor. This discrepancy became incisive coming after the structural adjustment policy (SAP) in the 80's. In the course of economic regression, state's welfare programs are not definite, similar to capitalist class role in class conflict through severe economic strategy. The waged and lower class largely suffers from these actions, thereby creating that disparity among the rich and low class clear in economic regression. Ayodeji, consequently conclude that social conflict and class conflict are provoked by severe economic alteration<sup>26</sup>.

In furtherance to Marx's theory of development, his assumptions are that the development of any society depends on the strength of its economy and its means of production. However, this has two operational factors namely; the productive forces and social relations of production. The summation of these elements of production makes up the economic arrangement of the society, which Marx believe would generate internal tensions at a particular period of its inception. The hostilities and

---

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. pp. 605

<sup>25</sup> Ayodeji O.2012 Putting Historical Materialism into terrorism studies, 2012 pp.5

<sup>26</sup> Ibid pp. 7

divergence is certain to arise amongst these classes, which afterwards the end result would be class consciousness and rise of rebellious groups which will strive to depose the prevailing structure. Marx went further to assert that the basis of power in a society is positioned in its economic infrastructure, and that the productive forces are held and regulated by the ruling class. In addition, the connection to productive forces generates the basis in regards to its control and utilization in the society. However, this assertion do not imply in Nigeria's context, owing to the fact that Nigeria is a rentier state devoid of a production base where productive forces and social relations of production are entrenched. Therefore, the demonstrable stipulation in establishing social means for a productive economy which will precede class struggle among the two classes as stated by Marx is non-existent. In other to implement in near resemblance of Marxist concept in Nigeria's context, it could be through regional groupings, that is if regions could come together to agree to terms, it will be easier to get a voice in the national level owing to the fact that Nigeria is a nation state with over 350 different ethnic groups. In other words which makes the existence of class consciousness is defective in Nigeria's context due to the parallel feature of its economy which is generally bourgeois along with its dependence on rents from oil crude export in administering the state. Nigeria as a nation does not have a productive base where productive forces and social relations of production can be placed in other to create an economy which will change individuals and the community. A considerable amount of individuals dwelling in the rural areas live in abject poverty, thus the development of a rentier state devoid of a production base which will bring about class consciousness and social awareness as stipulated by Marxian model in effecting social change is deficient. Nigerian context has demonstrated that only the state can decide on the order of production, supply and

sharing of resources, which has only benefitted a few corrupt individuals who amass the proceeds of these resources to themselves. That is why the weak production base likewise the ensuing social productive forces are unable to sustain whatsoever socio political change which will bring about communal societal engagement. As a result of these, radical agitating groups emerge, which functions as a means of structuring social life. In furtherance to Marxist emphasis, absolute social arrangement experience change by means of conflict. For this reason, conflict is then perceived as an ingenious means of effecting change in the society. In conclusion, human security and development presents a complete passage in achieving prosperity. Applying development security link is in conformity with the contemporary approaches and argument on human security and development will offer a basis for a profound understanding of this conception at universal level. Although, human security concept is quite comprehensive, in view of the challenge from other ideology, human security and development ideal presents a perfect move in perceiving prosperity, security and conflict transformation<sup>27</sup>. This research proposes that policymakers have a duty to tackle human security challenges by dealing with environmental crises in Nigeria. There are reviews from other areas of this study that stress the importance and necessity in tackling the problem of human security and developmental crises, Even as the comparative failure of the Arab awakening demonstrated by the fall of Syria, Tunisia and Egypt into disarray and obliteration may presently be a disincentive for a West African Awakening; the displeasure on government's incompetence in recognizing the deficiency of human security and effectively tackle developmental crises in order to improve the standard of living of its masses is indisputable. The unveiling of the effectiveness of social media in standing up for

---

<sup>27</sup> Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204). Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.

good governance raises important questions. how long can this region be sustained before it resort into revolution and disorder with severe humanitarian regard for the whole region if the present circumstance of underdevelopment and human security do not resolve.

## **1.2 Aims and Objectives of this Research**

Questions can be raised as why the concept of human security is of theoretical and empirical significance. The main objectivity of this research is to examine the deficiency in the widely accepted notion of human security study, according to Osler Hampson, he asserts that regardless of developing contributions in the study of human security, thus far the definition, methodology and theoretical dissension regarding the actual interpretation of human security are diverging<sup>28</sup>. In addition, he affirmed that there is a remarkable distortions in broadening and enlightenment of studies on this concept, of which he indicated precisely the emerging dilemma and conflict as a challenge which has only recently started drawing proper consideration as evidence and cause of human insecurity. This also can be attributed to the question of explaining the connection between security and development, as the connotations for policy interference nevertheless need more examination. This thesis aims to present a framework in which developmental problems in Nigeria could be explained and understood. For this to be achievable, it is imperative to be guided by a theory so as to ascertain the focal point. In this research, Constructivist theory will functions as the guiding principle, because the idea of human security makes more sense when examined via the theoretical perspective of constructivism. That is to say that constructivism structures the authenticity and decide the standpoint which the viewer

---

<sup>28</sup>Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204).  
Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.



of this work will comprehend the case. Applying constructivist viewpoint I this research directs the compendium and examination of data's from the case presents the second objective of this thesis; the research can identify susceptible part of Nigerian framework and consequently it functions as sort of warning system aimed at human security in Nigeria and thus can aid in averting imminent human crises.

With the above deliberations and in an attempt to demonstrate the challenges Nigeria is experiencing in terms of development. This research will be conducted in the area of this problematic conception:

By what means can Nigeria's developmental challenges be placed in Human Security framework so as to achieve a comprehensive knowledge of components of the invariable challenges?

### **1.3 Hypothesis**

This study theorizes that Negligence of Human Security in domestic policy in Nigeria has led to underdevelopment and crises. Human security concern makes developmental issues in this region more complex due to uncertainties surrounding it owing to the fact that security and development are deeply interconnected as lack of human security has adverse consequences on economic growth, and development.

### **1.4 Why Nigeria as a Case Study?**

Nigeria was selected as a case study for this research due to developmental crises it is experiencing over the years and the failure of policy makers to really understand the main causality of this crises. The current deficiency of human security in Nigeria describes the actuality that human security is very essential for development. In Nigeria, human security is usually vulnerable to corrupt political and socio economic system. Conflicts and civil unrest emanating from ultra-radical religious groups, destruction of oil pipelines by the militants in the Niger Delta region has made

Nigeria vulnerable ever since after they gained their independent in the 60's. The safety of its citizens is threatened by poverty, high rate of unemployment, health peril, ecological degradation and economic decline. The policy-makers rather focus on combating what they believe is the main security threat that is state security than addressing the human security issues which explains developmental crises.

## **1.5 Methodology**

The analysis of this research work will be done using qualitative method. Qualitative research is applied in order to obtain a clearer understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations<sup>29</sup>. The use of qualitative research in analysis of this work will give depth understanding into the issues and also help in developing detailed clarification on this research. In the interest of resolving the problematic conception, it is essential to carry out the following;

**Step1. Broaden a human security framework:** The theory building approach tries to determine if the observations fit into a pattern or a story as opposed to the theory testing approach. Buzan emphasized on two views on security studies which he said comprise of the old military and state centred view. his assertion is that comparing these two requires both unifying concepts and a method for pursuing the wider agenda in a coherent Fashion, which require the establishment of what is and what is not a security issue<sup>30</sup>, to explain how issues become securitized, and to locate the relevant security dynamics of different types of security issues, which is why this first step will broaden the security framework. The theory building approach would begin with step number two and the observations about the developmental challenges

---

<sup>29</sup> Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204).

Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.

<sup>30</sup> Barry Buzan, *People, States & Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, ECPR Press, 2008.

would be decisive in the construction of the framework. The approach adopted in this project is both theory testing and theory building, in other words; the human security have to some extent decided what developmental challenges include, but observations about the developmental challenges Nigeria is facing has also decided the structure of the human security framework. It is imperative also to note the certainty in Nigeria is determining the structure of the framework. This presents a clearer depiction of the case and makes sure that challenges that are significant in a Nigeria context are not left out from the study.

### **1.5.1 Clinical Case Studies**

This research was initiated as a single and clinical case study with the aim of understanding to the most possible extent the developmental issues Nigeria is facing. According to Robert 2013, clinical case studies are case centered and apply theories in order to figure out a case and collect evidence to develop a depiction of unfolding events. The disposition of this research is descriptive because it presents a complete depiction of the case<sup>31</sup>. Normally, it is not good enough to select a descriptive method, since it tends to basically convey existing facts and therefore contain little independent work. Regardless of this, there are still situations where a descriptive design can be of importance; one is if the focus is new and therefore it is time to describe the case in a systematic way guided by theory<sup>32</sup>. This is exactly what this research intends to do as it moves into a relatively new and unexplored area; Nigeria developmental issues in the light of human security. As explained later in the theory, the concept of human security is a much debated concept, with little consistency in the wide range of definitions of the concept. Normally, studies in human security

---

<sup>31</sup>Alexander L. George, Andrew Bennett, Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences, MIT Press, 2005.

<sup>32</sup> Steve Smith, 'The increasing insecurity of security studies: Conceptualizing security in the last twenty years,' Contemporary Security Policy, 20:3, pp.72-101.

tend to be thematic and limits its focus on single issues and do not try to understand the human security in a state. What is new in this research is that it broadens the use of the concept human security and tries to understand the case as a whole in the light of human security. It can be said that existing reports attempt to expand this study while this research try to broaden it.

**Step2. Place Nigeria's developmental challenges in the framework.** In order to present the structure in which Nigeria's developmental issues can be determined, six areas of human security will be presented and thereafter include the environment because of the significance of environmental challenges which is aimed at Nigeria specifically such as; Income; health; education; political freedom, democracy; and environment. Therefore, qualitative research method will be applied so as to critically examine the linkage between negligence of human security and evolving crises in contemporary weak links, and how it lead to underdevelopment. The benefit of case study is that it helps the researcher to uncover trends about thoughts and opinion into the problem<sup>33</sup>. The data collection of this research will be done using primary sources which afterwards will be employed to form the concept used in this research. this research will depend heavily on scholarly web sources explained by international organizations, most especially the United Nations, Non-governmental organization(NGO's) carrying out humanitarian aid in significant regions, in addition to World Bank. In adopting qualitative approach, this work will use reliable and relevant secondary sources that will be collected from African journals, articles, government reports, clinical case studies. Extensive collection of information is needed when conveying research on a state which is known to be short of information. In addition, it will guarantee that the study is current and conform to the

---

<sup>33</sup> Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204).  
Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.

actuality of Nigeria's developmental issues. In conclusion, finding sources for this research did not show complexity as a lot of materials pertaining human security exist. The main challenge lies in narrowing myself to and critically determining which references are dependable and best fit the aim of these research work.

## **1.6 Structure of Research**

This study will be structured into five sections. Chapter one consists of Introduction and outlines the review of literature. Chapter two will cover the theoretical framework, main presumptions of constructivism, construal idea of human security by constructivist theory and how constructivist Scholars link their analysis to Human Security. Chapter three will analyze human security issues and crises in Nigeria using indicators which will serve as domains in demonstrating human security concerns. Chapter four will present its impact on development using Niger Delta as a model to elucidate it and the last Chapter five will draw conclusion.

## Chapter 2

# THE HISTORIC AND SIGNIFICANCE OF HUMAN SECURITY STUDY, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH IN CONCEPTUALIZING HUMAN SECURITY STUDY

### 2.1 Introduction

Subsequent to the cessation of the cold war and the rise of globalization, there has been integral shift in a lot of models exerted in social sciences; one of these contemporary conceptions is human security. According to Tsai<sup>34</sup>, this concept has incorporated significant note in international discourse but also within a similar and correlated area which is development. Prior to examining the linkage on the notion of security and development, it is imperative to elucidate comprehensively the idea of human security and by what means it place the bases linking security and development. He states that the end of the Cold War brought about a different idea among states which stem from transformations within academic discussion on international relations.

Consequently, (Oberleitner, 2005)<sup>35</sup> asserts that crises and conflicts in countries were given more consideration, even as academic theorist strives to clarify the reason why after the end of the Cold War, the theory of realism could not be sustained. After the

---

<sup>34</sup> Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human Security. In *A Challenge to International Law* (pp. 184-204). Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In *Concept and Implication* (p. 223). London: Routledge.

<sup>35</sup> Oberleitner, 2005

idea of human security was introduced in 1994, the subject matter questioned the realist model on security. The idea was not mainly established and promoted by scholars in the same way as realism; rather it was popularized by developmental societies and policy makers of a number of states. The 1994 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) communiqué disapproved the previous state centered approach of security with the following statements:

The idea of security has for long been represented as only security of borders against foreign attack, or as an international defense to global security from the threat of nuclear devastation or protection of a state's interest on its foreign policy, while overlooking the main concerns of the populace who desire security in their existence. To most of them, security represents prevention of political repression, unemployment, hunger, diseases, environmental hazards and social conflict<sup>36</sup>.

The UNDP communiqué classified human security into seven groups namely: political, economic, health, personal, food, community and environment. This description of human security concerns, although it has been generally questioned for divergent basis, it is mostly quoted and believed to be reliable thus far, maybe owing to the fact that it is a new discourse. Notwithstanding, its acceptance has persisted to be remarkable in recent developments and assessment of the notion. The UN Secretary General in 2004 established a top-level committee to look into the challenges of the 21st century, in their observations; they realized and distinguished human security threats and that of a state and the need for mutual effort to deal with it. The UNDP communiqué agreed that the problems facing states are precarious to the security of all nations. The major dangers which are faced by the global system are grouped according to the following: terrorism, weapon of mass destruction, transnational organized crime, interstate conflict, economic and social issues and internal or ethnic conflict. In furtherance to UNDP's report, it recognized the nexus

---

<sup>36</sup> UNDP 1994 Human Development Report Office (HDRO) United Nations Development Programme <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1994>

between conflict and development. The idea of human security was perceived as essential for human development. That is to say, if there is absence of security and solidity in standard of living, development may well be deficient<sup>37</sup>.

Conclusively, the description of human security along with its conceptual examination has demonstrated the theory's significant influence. It also emphasizes its several challenges especially in defining the concept. The significant focal point to this assertion is that human security issues are heterogeneous, difficult and many a time interrelated. It shows the significant focal point of this chapter which will be demonstrated in two parts. The first will begin by presenting a historical analysis of the main idea in human security of which afterwards a theoretical explanation of the approach. The second aspect of this chapter human security is enhanced and related with other theoretical framework that is significant for this research work.

## **2.2 Menace to Human Security**

According to 1994 UNDP report, it outlined seven primary menaces to human security which includes political, food, health, and economic, environmental, societal and individual security. These concerns will be demonstrated accordingly and thereafter will function as the idea to the point of reference in this study<sup>38</sup>.

*Economic security* needs a constant revenue from beneficial productivity. It comprises of basic social needs which characterize by social protection such as; employment, skill reproduction, job security, labor market security and income security<sup>39</sup>.

---

<sup>37</sup> Tsai Y.-t. , Emergence of Human Security: a constructivist view. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 4-7

<sup>38</sup> UNDP 1994 Human Development Report Office (HDRO) United Nations Development Programme <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1994>

<sup>39</sup> Ibid 1994 pp2-7



**Food security** is the basic right of citizens to have access to adequate amount of nutritious food, either to grow it, purchase or taking benefit from civic food allocation scheme by state government.

**Health security** is a global foremost concern most exclusively in developing states. Lots of people die annually as a result of contagious and viral ailment, this security needs is most important and needs swift action from state authorities to provide effective measures in combating it, most of this infectious disease which has caused panic in the past such as ebola, HIV, measles, Polio, cancer and most recently the zika virus. Here, we can see the effect of this disease on the populace and the economy as well most especially in developing countries.

**Environmental security** is another challenge facing human security, as survival of individuals depends on the conditions of the surrounding they live and operate. This kind of security is threatened as a result of dilapidation of the ecosystem such as air pollution, oil spillage, desertion of biodiversity due to conflicts, global warming, population growth and uneven allotment of wealth. The idea of environment security is in relation to reducing the pressure this has on the society and thereafter the danger of inevitable events with stern humanitarian effect<sup>40</sup>.

**Individual security** is a personal concern which is intended to protect people from physical force. Various individuals feel assured in certain environment than others. We as individuals understand what makes us feel protected and conditions where we consider susceptible. This kind of security can come in several ways such as torture, war, sexual harassment (rape), domestic violence and infringement of fundamental

---

<sup>40</sup>UNDP 1994 Human Development Report Office (HDRO) United Nations Development Programme <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1994>

human right<sup>41</sup>. Also, Civic Security can be threatened through oppression of a particular ethnic group and in this manner restraining their right to favorable circumstance.

*Political security* deals with the right of an individual to exist in a state without fear and suppression. Along with the UNDP report, the preference a state authority gives to its armed forces serves as good sign in favor of political freedom owing to the fact that states a times use their armed forces to intimidate and suppress its citizens as in the case of Arab Awakening in Egypt, Tunisia and Syria. The relative amount linking this signifies the level of support state authorities present to its forces in line with societal support; this will present a clear image of the position of political security.

### **2.3 Considering the linkages and Implications of Human Security and Development**

The application and theoretical attempt on human security and economic development has over a long period of time been carried on independently both in connection with the effect and theory. Supposing that the linkage between them was identified, it was a continuous sort. According to Freedman, the first focal point should characterize on conflict resolution and assuming that it is favorable, thus developmental work will begin. The aforementioned proposal has-been questioned as it is now treated as an exceptional means to regulate conflict. and a lasting continual development go together at all level.as it may be, the most distinct approach that has proved to link development and security gap this present day is human security. The idea of human security develops a significant feature of individual's welfare, and consequently reason for development. The purpose of development is for the

---

<sup>41</sup> Ibid pp.16

expansion of individual's preference. The absence of security obstructs the application of individual ability, thus altering the attainment of this purpose. The absence of human security has inimical effects on development and economic growth. Take for instance, during war; individuals who participated in warfare may not be able to function effectively. In addition, the damage incurred during conflict decrease the productivity of the economy as state authorities spend more of the resources which are intended for other purposes in rebuilding damages. And so, inhuman series which occur due to absence of development provoke conflict which thereafter absence of development swiftly materialize. These two ideologies believe that underdevelopment and inequality are the main element of people's susceptibility. Regardless of these analogy, the connection using development is among the areas of human security been challenged. Andrew contend that the idea of human security ought to center on the possible means of reducing people's susceptibility to conflict instead of generally construed idea of social and economic development<sup>42</sup>. Also, Chenoy contend that human security and development are inseparably connected given that improvement in one increases the possibility of development in another at the same time decline in one enhance the possibility of the other declining. (Tadjbakhsh, 2006)<sup>43</sup>

The idea of human security presents a more desirable approach to the effect and resolution to the cause of conflict and instability. Subsequent to the end of colonial rule, countries in the West African region are legally bound by different international treaty to embark on war so as to defend their borders. This region has experienced several disparate level of insecurity stemming from ethnic conflicts, political unrest,

---

<sup>42</sup> Tadjbakhsh S. &., 2006 Human Security:Concept and Implication pp. 223 Routledge

<sup>43</sup> Ibid pp7

environmental issues like natural disaster and drought which propounds imminent danger in this region. One of such is the fast desiccating of Lake Chad which supplies water through the following states Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Chad. This has led to drought. The food and agriculture arm of the united nation termed this as an ecological disaster due to the effect this challenge is creating in the areas surrounding Lake Chad. States like Nigeria and Cameroonians in Darak community has been at loggerhead over the regulation of what is left. In considering the implications of human security, it is imperative to comprehend the reasons for these conflicts in the first place<sup>44</sup>.

## **2.4 Theoretical Framework**

This study will examine the abstraction of human security through the application of constructivist viewpoint. Constructivist approach provides further theoretical means because of its understanding of the problem of national identity, human knowledge and interest development. According to Wendt (1992)<sup>45</sup> and Ruggie<sup>46</sup>, the idea of human security makes more sense when examined via the theoretical perspective of constructivism, in that different circumstance which are of significance to global community maybe perceived through the implementation of the understanding of constructivism to the notion of human security. Taking into consideration of this study, distinct matter will be analyzed which consist of the correlation between human security and constructivism, constructivist scholars' perception of human security and finally the significance of human security to constructivism.

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid pp21

<sup>45</sup> Wendt A. , Anarchy is what State make of it., 1992 pp.390

<sup>46</sup> Ruggie, Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity, 1983 pp850-859

## 2.5 Main presumptions of Constructivism

Proportionate to the notion on human security, constructivism as a theory has achieved better height in the area of international relations after the 90's. Despite the existence of various schools of constructivism, they seem to experience similar attribute and main presumptions. The essential distinction among constructivist and mainstream method to international relations are:

(i) Wendt (1995)<sup>47</sup> views Constructivism as collective features of human establishment, and of which the societal form is demonstrated not only through the material framework, however supported by the global community. Societal framework comprise of three factors which are: shared philosophy, material resources and application. Aside from withholding the material support of the people, constructivism emphasized the role of opinion, seeing that opinions are the foundation of the material world, and can alter the attitudes of people. Barnett (1998)<sup>48</sup> asserts that people's actions are carried out by sharing understanding, alongside material culture which is the indication of the above mentioned aspect.

(ii) Consequently, Wendt explains that Constructivism relies on the notion that culture, norms, learning and customs can transform the manner in which the citizens of a state operate. Dissimilar to rationalism, which perceive anarchy as the consequence of self-help. Constructivism perceives anarchy as that which is developed by a state, and prone to change by a state mediation.

---

<sup>47</sup> Wendt A. , 1995

<sup>48</sup> Adler, 1998

(iii) According to Mercer<sup>49</sup> and Katzenstein<sup>50</sup>, the contention of constructivism is that the system of global politics changes the significance and identity in the global system, rather than material structure. Contrary to the mainstream method to international relations, constructivism maintains that the relationships between states create benefit and identity.

(iv) Ruggie (1983)<sup>51</sup> is of the view that actors of the global society and the framework of global political arrangement survive due to collective linkage of interdependence that is set on development of the global system. The relationship between arrangement and actor is a multi-dimensional means reliant on the two positions.

(v) Fennimore<sup>52</sup> asserts that constructivism reiterates the sociological assumption of beliefs, identity, culture and norms, because it is through understanding, rules and norms that states reposition their identity and reconsider their benefit.

## **2.6 Construal idea of Human security by Constructivist Theory**

Through the application of the theory of constructivism to illustrate human security, six remarks will be stated as follows:

1. Nicholas Onuf<sup>53</sup> and Kowert<sup>54</sup> are of the view that every bit of knowledge comprise of social arrangement which directs the type of knowledge and social understanding. Each one of these depends on individuals understanding which contributes to all individuals' behavior. Human security concept has advanced progressively due to set of ideas and scholarly articles using independent

---

<sup>49</sup> Mercer, 1995

<sup>50</sup> Katzenstein, 1996

<sup>51</sup> Ruggie, Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity, 1983

<sup>52</sup> Finnemore, 1996

<sup>53</sup> Onuf, 1989

<sup>54</sup> Kowert, 1998

commissions of experts, researchers and academic scholars. For instance, civil societies and nongovernmental organizations contribute to reports and activism of human security trepidation, and are jointly deeply involved in the entire human security problem<sup>55</sup>.

2. The concept of human security is a new discourse in international relations. Constructivism relies on the idea that identity and benefit are formed in the course of common relations. This course of action influence identity and benefit, and identity make up the benefits. Throughout this course of action, the significance of human security is recognized when a country shifts their interest to shared interest. This is evident in the way the Norwegian and Canadian government advocates the notion of human security as a neoteric directive in foreign policy, coming after a consensual summit in Norway in 1998. Both authorities have employed this concept as guiding idea to protect the altruistic plan which brings in provision for the formation of international Criminal Court, the embargo on landmines and the bar on child soldiers<sup>56</sup>.

3. Given that they are formed out of theories, benefits and identity are not either invariable or interminable, and then afterward change through developing issues and ideas. The indicated has shown to be an amendment of human security, propositions relating to political community, political economy and sovereign nations<sup>57</sup>. As soon as individuals begin to develop shared interest, the meaning of security will come to be society oriented. Alternatively, Benedek<sup>58</sup> assertions is that countries are accountable for the control of its citizenry, and also, citizens are accountable for

---

<sup>55</sup> Sané, 2008

<sup>56</sup> Krause, 2008

<sup>57</sup> Edward 2001

<sup>58</sup> Benedek, 2008

contravening international human rights (IHR<sup>59</sup>) and humanitarian law. The international criminal court has proven that the global society has long sought to establish a lasting international court which was harmonized in 20th century to delineate war crimes, genocide and crime against humanity.

4. Subsequent to the early 90's, liberalism and realism has been faulted due to their misrepresentation on perceptible interest and its failure in dealing with human elements, subjective and psychological elements. The theory of constructivism tries to contest the traditional global view which has been put in place by perceptible interest. Wendt<sup>60</sup> views Human security and constructivism to be interrelated, as human security has shown to be operational by using the ideals or principles of constructivism.

## **2.7 Assertions of Constructivist Scholars**

This segment deals with various concepts from constructivist scholars in order to clarify the connotation of human security and summarize the relationship between constructivism and human security. To start with, Wendt<sup>61</sup> underlined the relationship which connects power and knowledge he acknowledge the concept of structural realism and has tested its system and structure in his analysis on international politics. He went further to explain the bilateral interactions of separate actors and take into account that states play vital roles in global sphere. Wendt employ the scientific method of rationalism as a foundation for the theory of knowledge, identifying the legitimacy of the main component of international politics given by conventional theories of international relations. The essentials are;

---

<sup>59</sup> IHR: International Human Right is the set of rules or treaties formed in order to improve and safeguard the rights of individuals at global, regional and national level

<sup>60</sup>International Human Rights law. Retrieved April 22, 2016, from <http://www.ohchr.org>

<sup>61</sup> Ibid



the quest for power, wealth and security by a state, he goes on to say that the impending anarchy in the global system, self-interest and a realistic actor; compliance of the rule of conclusion and the endorsement of the prospect of relativism as groundwork for ontology. Wendt in other words take into account the interdependence between countries that partake in forming a collective identity<sup>62</sup>, emphasizing that states specify its national interest along with their specific provision which includes internal factor and system factors<sup>63</sup>. Communal identities vary in line with effects of occurrence, time and position, defining which component will persist and wield influence. Subsequent to the creation of a collective identity, these elements in addition support cooperation amongst states. Altogether, Wendt stated that international politics additionally is about reconstruction of identity and interest<sup>64</sup>. Therefore, the agreement of human security and collective identity is constructed on the support of cooperation and mutual principles<sup>65</sup>, in addition to the tradition, relations and cooperation of states which create them. The development of the idea of human security is not to have a shot at the sovereignty of a country, but rather focus on rejuvenating the acknowledgement that the principal aim of all political acts is the safeguard of human existence<sup>66</sup>.

---

<sup>62</sup> Wendt A. , Social Theory of International Politics, 1999

<sup>63</sup> Wendt A. , Collective Identity Formation and the International State, 1994

<sup>64</sup> Ibid pp. 96

<sup>65</sup> Tadjbakhsh, 2007

<sup>66</sup> Bedeski, 2007

Table 1: How Constructivist Scholars link their analysis to Human Security<sup>67</sup>

<b>Constructivist Scholars</b>	<b>Assertion</b>	<b>Belief</b>	<b>Relevance to Human security</b>
Peter Katzenstein	Cultural Identity	National identity changes a state's actions and interest	HS stem from the formation of culture and identity
Martha Finnemore	National Desire	Laws, institutions and principles reshape a state's priority.	The application of HS stem from the variance of a state's priority.
Nicholas Onuf	Language and Custom	The influence of knowledge structures the norms by way of cooperation	HS stems from improvement of ideas remodeled from language
Alexander Wendth	Communal Identity	Interdependence structures communal identity then help foster cooperation	HS stem from the standards of communal identity

According to Finnemore, his assertions is that national interest is characterized in line with global societal norms and understanding.in support of the above assertion, the United nation in 1994 drafted seven main feature of human security and aim to further transnational collective interest as a source for the creation of an individual oriented global society. Its acceptance has prompted some states in shifting their inclination and this has result in the creation of HSN. Consequently, Nicholas Onuf engaged a constructivist method in his work on social link. His main assumption is that we dwell in a realm of our own creation, he goes on to say that social connection structure the way that we are. That is to say, we belong to a two-way system through which social links create community. An individual action presents the standard

<sup>67</sup> Tsai Y.-t. , The Emergence of Human Security: A Constructivist View, 2009

which binds the people and the community<sup>68</sup>. He went on to elucidate how the linkage among individuals and community can be seen as a basis for his analysis, highlighting the function of guidelines. In other word, individuals employ language in order to clarify the guidelines which establish a normal community. The vital means of building a society is through language, by this means, we become more enlightened. Alternatively, an individual is reasonable as well. The societal guideline controls continuous procedure, which comprise of the maximum components of individuals action. These guidelines as well affect how individuals keep up social life. In addition, the continuous globalization of the guidelines creates an exceptional custom of social life<sup>69</sup>. Onuf also reflects on how language functions in forming individual's interest and the community. He adopted language and guidelines as the fundamental of constructivism and considers individuals as the basis of study and focus of human security. Language is the fundamental component in establishing human security. Beginning with personal reasoning to societal applied knowledge<sup>70</sup>. The current tradition and societal behavior on the long run create global norm. In conclusion, Katzenstein<sup>71</sup> objects to conventional notions on security using culture and norms of constructivism in the function of his line of reasoning so as to discover the pending security concern of conventional IR theories. Considering the effect of development in territorial assimilation, he went further to operationalize the theory of structure and identity to regional and comparative political study, Katzenstein's assertions are that the idea of culture are series of prescriptive and reasoning criterion which characterize the key players in the scheme in addition to collective interactions

---

<sup>68</sup> Onuf, 1989

<sup>69</sup> Ibid pp. 25

<sup>70</sup> Bedeski, 2007

<sup>71</sup> Katzenstein, 1996

amongst actors and humanity<sup>72</sup>. consequently, he explains culture as a mutual archetype of power and identity of a country as characterized by societal rules and custom. in addition, Neo-liberalism and neo realism disregarded the disintegration of Soviet Union and the culmination of cold war as a result of deficiency in the study of domestic dynamics taking part in the Soviet Union together with identity and interest. He went further to contest the concept of a nation state as a consolidated unit through fixed interest, rather to view it as a separate player instead as collection of conflicting interest. In his view, he sees national interest as a creation of the social environment created amidst communal dynamics. In spite of this, societal views shifts as a result of alteration in institutions, decisions, leadership and environment as identity and interest are progressively established from societal ideas and institution<sup>73</sup>. This thesis is of the opinion that human security is a practicality of culture due to its impact on states, regions and the global system. The idea of culture changes ideas and creates identity. As a consequence, culture remains the key influence of a state's idea, institutions and regard for human rights. Safeguarding of human right is a conspicuous model, being that human security involves broad ethical guideline and commitment. Furthermore, human security may be characterized as a connected medium of privilege. Through this medium, humanity and societal standards develop and communal issues solved<sup>74</sup>. The standpoint of this research has shown that the viewpoint of constructivism amounts to a functional augment to conventional IR theory as demonstrated to the notion of human security<sup>75</sup>. Aforementioned revealed the failings of conventional research method applied in line of IR after the cold war period. The assumption of power being the

---

<sup>72</sup> Ibid pp32

<sup>73</sup> Ibid 58-63

<sup>74</sup> Newman, 2001

<sup>75</sup> Tsai Y.-t. , The Emergence of Human Security: A Constructivist View, 2009

only source of national interest just as desires and behaviors are no more an acceptable method regarding global politics. It is imperative to bear in mind different elements that are associated with human security, since it is expounded through constructivist method.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

This paper maintains that the approach of constructivism perhaps be employed in order to clarify the idea of human security. Using its significance on ideas and identity, constructivist approach and human security depict a contemporary discourse, characteristics and different viewpoint in security and IR studies. Alternatively, constructivist approach assist in clarifying this developments as principles, materialization of non-state dynamics in addition to relevance of agent oriented course of action<sup>76</sup>. Then again, constructivism offers a practical conceptual viewpoint in order to comprehend the actual features of problems pertaining human security as per race, class, violence and gender<sup>77</sup>. In addition, constructivism perhaps will function as a practical means of studying the idea of human security. in IR, the notion of constructivism and human security operate in corresponding capacity, that is why this research suggest employing the notion of constructivism to serve as the framework of human security study. In addition, the construction of knowledge is an essential feature of human security with collective values shifting from separate to societal values, and state oriented to global society<sup>78</sup>. This collaborative effort develops interest and resolves identity. In other words, identity can also be seen as a fundamental for collective interest which bring about communal identity and regards to humanitarian values in the global society. The cooperation of global society

---

<sup>76</sup> Newman, 2001 246-249

<sup>77</sup> Morgan 71-75

<sup>78</sup> Ibid pp.75

develops to an arrangement and custom used to comprehend the idea of de-territorialization<sup>79</sup> in human security. The use of constructivist approach in this study was to re-address the idea of human security. Definitely, the concept of human security and constructivist approach are drawing more consideration currently. This idea has advanced expeditiously despite some challenges it face currently, the conventional logical approach seem to be gradually declining. Various academic Scholars of IR has started to reconsider constructivism's position in IR theory, with human security progressively becoming a developing subject in security analysis. Definitely, individuals will gradually have to confront population crises and environmental decline, strengthening the significance of human security concept. In spite of its conceptual benefit, his main use of this idea in IR is still uncommon. Considering this positions, this analysis signifies the effort to encompass the idea of human security and constructivism in security studies and IR analysis.

---

<sup>79</sup> Deterritorialization is the separation of social, political and cultural procedures from its derivation and population.

## Chapter 3

### THE ANALYSIS OF HUMAN SECURITY ISSUES AND EVOLVING CRISES: CASE OF NIGERIA

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter will deal with the two main objective of this research as mentioned earlier in the previous chapter. The first objective presented a framework which will aid in examining developmental concerns in Nigeria. The second chapter demonstrated human security concept which functions as the framework of this research. In this section, Nigeria's developmental concern will be positioned in the framework and the contemporary situation of events on these concerns will be demonstrated accordingly.

In the previous chapter, few points which were presented to aid in improving human security will begin the second objective of this research which will function as a sort of caution against imminent human disaster. Since this study has demonstrated various reports on human security, it can also function as "peril appraisal" as King mentioned in his work, it includes developing and relating knowledge of the dangers which certain people will experience widespread poverty. The following section will elucidate the method that will be employed for this study<sup>80</sup>.

---

<sup>80</sup> King, M. Rethinking Human Security, 2001 p.604-605

## **3.2 Methodology**

In this study, the delineation of human security concept functions as the basic conceptual antecedent for this assessment. This study will function with the understated six areas of individual welfare which are:

1. Environment
2. Poverty.
3. Ethno- religious conflicts
4. Political freedom.
5. Health.
6. Traditional Corrupt Practices

## **3.3 Clarification of Environment as an area of Human Security**

Generally, environmental security is threatened as a result of dilapidation of the ecosystem such as air pollution, oil spillage, desertion of biodiversity due to conflicts, global warming, population growth and uneven allotment of wealth. This menace has been engaged severally in most international political discourse. As a result, it is substantial to include it as an element of human security in this study. According to Murray et al, the environment explicitly alters life expectancy of individuals<sup>81</sup>. The substance of environment as human security dilemma is evident in Nigeria's framework, of which a case in point is that of the Niger delta region of Nigeria. In Nigeria, the oil sector and failure of oil companies to prevent oil spillage in these regions waterways led to environmental dilapidation and overall threat to lives of individuals in this region. In the past, a lot of measures were put in place by Nigerian government to curb the menace of environmental dilapidation and

---

<sup>81</sup> Onyeishi et al The Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria: A Thematic Exposition. Interdisciplinary, 2011)



strengthen the environmental standards and regulation under the umbrella of (NESREA<sup>82</sup>).

### **3.4 Selecting Indicators for the Framework**

When selecting the key areas of this study, a couple of observations will be used to demonstrate the present condition of data's to be applied therein<sup>83</sup>. The particular indicator chosen for this study ought to correspond with the above listed domains as this study will try to select various indicators to relate Nigeria's situation as in relation to human security .however, it will try to depict the present circumstance of facts therein. The other point is to select a starting point so as to quantitatively determine the extent of human security in the analysis.

When choosing distinct indicators for this study, it is imperative to take into consideration the most accepted significant indicator when analyzing human security. The other indicators will be contextual to the case in study especially if the state possesses certain feature which involves the events of a particular indicator<sup>84</sup>. This signifies that certain indicators are mainly significant to the case in study and therefore be compelled in developing the threats of human security. When choosing the indicators, the correlation among the indicators and case of study is a significant operational inquiry seeing that it possesses certain effects for the concluding part of the study assuming that someone adopts the case in study as the basis for the study. The approach to employ is to select an arrangement of indicators connected with global specification and thereafter place them within the case study. This shows a universal method in operationalizing the study, in that the features of the particular case are not put into consideration. This method fail to spot the exactitude of a

---

<sup>82</sup>NESREA: The National Environmental Standards and Regulations Enforcement Agency

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.p.605-607

<sup>84</sup> King, M. Rethinking Human Security, 2001

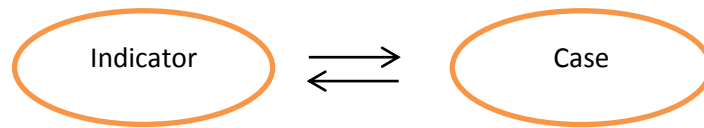
distinctive state, and by this means lead to a one-dimensional reasoning, and finally in a defective depiction focus of human security. A further means in selecting the indicators is starting with whence suited in case study. Basically, this method has the aspects of functioning properly in realizing the indicators which are pertinent for the selected country which serves as a case study. But then, this can be problematic in view of the linkage which involves the state and consequently bring about further complexities for developing states to advance policies as well as examining the consequence of its aim in improving human security<sup>85</sup>. Murray in his assertions did not put in plain words on how to select the indicators, and also how they can be linked with the domains. This work connected the two methods demonstrated above as well as selecting a method wherein the indicators are positioned on trilateral basis:

In the first place, the indicators that are developed from the 6 domains given in the beginning of this chapter, secondly, the indicators which are positioned on the proposition recommended by various organs of the United Nations namely; HSU, IHR and UNDP. Various definitions which they propounded will be compared to see if it fits with the delineation decided upon in this work and also its significance to Nigeria as a case study, and thirdly, the operationalizing of certain features of Nigerian community which are recognized generally as potential threat to the advancement of the state.

---

<sup>85</sup> King, M Rethinking Human Security, 2001

### 3.5 The Model Below Demonstrates the Method used in this Study



The indicators do not determine whichever to apprehend in case of study while the case of study do not also determine which indicator to select. The connection of both presents utmost assessments of the status of Nigeria's human security issues.

#### 3.5.1 Poverty

As indicated in the list of domains for this study, this research choose the under listed indicators for Poverty security

1. Income
2. Unemployment rate
3. Unequal distribution of wealth
4. Population

UNDP classified income, Unemployment rate, unequal distribution and increase in population as indicators of human security issues. In furtherance to their assertion, they contend that economic security entails a steady basic income derived from productivity and profitable employment. Supposing reverse is the case alternative means may well come from social security. They itemized perpetual poverty along with unemployment in economic security classification. The astringent rate of poverty in Nigeria has lingered including the adverse effect on its economic growth. The effects of Poverty as a domain in clarifying human security issues and economic development in Nigeria are detailed as follows:

- Nigeria as oil rich state depend solely on proceeds from sale of its crude yet the supply of oil is not sufficient enough for its citizens characterized also with the decline in its economic growth as a result of mismanagement of the income from the proceeds of its commodity. There is evident of unequal distribution of wealth among its citizens as the rich get richer at the detriment of the poor. The majority of Nigerians live in abject poverty due to uneven economic policies been initiated by government which is not beneficial to the poor masses but rather to the rich.
- Nigeria with a population size of 173.6 million lacks adequate infrastructure aimed at benefitting the needs of the poor. Every year, over 50,000 youths graduate from the university with no provision of employment to them. They take to the streets thereby indulging in anti- social activities like robbery, kidnaping and political thuggery which threatens the stability of the state. The influential ones get most of the good jobs, this is evident in the recent central bank of Nigeria recruitment racketeering where most relatives and children of top government functionaries and influential politicians were employed without formal advertisement<sup>86</sup>. The justification of high unemployment rate in Nigeria is demonstrated also by nepotism based on ethnicity as Nigeria is known to be made up of over 250 ethnic groups with three most dominant groups namely the Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba's as one ethnic group is more favored in federal appointment. This can also be seen as the causality to the stagnant level of Nigeria's economic growth as this has led to the shortfall of conceivable productivity and development of Nigeria's economic development. Unemployment and underdevelopment demonstrates the ineptitude in engaging the essential elements of production and labor in promoting the economic growth of Nigeria. Low-income from labor along with high rate of

---

<sup>86</sup> NewsPunch, 2016

unemployment signifies poverty. Poverty hinders human investment in education and health care which fosters individuals output. In distinction to Arab awakening viewpoint, it is evident to say that unemployment and poverty was the causal factor which sparked off the protest in Tunisia followed by other states in the middle east. In support of this assertion we can say at this point that Nigeria's poverty and unemployment rate raises even more concern to its developmental growth and co-operation.

- The effect of poverty on Nigeria's economic growth is that the output of labor diminishes; this is evident in the agricultural subdivision. Over the years, it has been seen that Nigeria's GDP has diminished drastically. Its developmental growth could have been effective owing to its ample resources which could foster substantial labor force and wealth. Nigeria's GDP ought to have demonstrated an advanced maximization annually but reverse is the case.

### **3.5.1.1 Contemporary Situation of Income Security**

According to the World Bank's framework in determining developmental growth of which poverty level is one of them, the global poverty level is fixed to be \$1 per day in developing economies of which Nigeria is part of it<sup>87</sup>. World Bank assertion is that 62% of Nigeria's population is placed within this rate, which makes Nigeria the third top populous impoverished nation next to China and India. The non-existence of valid information regarding to employment level in Nigeria is a big challenge in determining the current state of information in Nigeria as regards to poverty and unemployment<sup>88</sup>. The World Bank has demonstrated concern over this outcome, despite the fact that the economic growth of Nigeria recorded a remarkable increase

---

<sup>87</sup> WorldBank, 1998

<sup>88</sup> Ibid

of seven percent, of which in no way influenced their unemployment rate<sup>89</sup>. This also has raised concerns among policy makers in Nigeria, as some developmental programs has over time been initiated to eradicate high rate of poverty such as PAP, skills and acquisitions and small scale empowerment program which were never sustained by the government.

### **3.5.2 Ethno- Religious Conflicts**

The level of insecurity in Nigeria has escalated excessively as a result of government's inability to tackle the menace of security, poverty and unemployment. although significant improvement has been witnessed in terms of freedom of speech and way of living, unlike the previous military regime which was marred by incessant arrest and intimidation from government. at the same time, lots of security issues has emerged starting from the unrest in the Niger delta region, insurgence activity of ultra-radical religious sect known as Boko Haram in the North east region of Nigeria in addition to extra judicial killing of secessionist movement of Indigenous peoples of Biafra (IPOB) in the south eastern Nigeria by the Nigerian military and police. It's obvious that ethno religious crises with its multifaceted effects have hindered economic growth and political solidity in Nigeria as a result of its devastating disposition<sup>90</sup>. Most notable scholars have attributed this menace to the arrangement and performance of Nigerian federal system. According to Elaigwu the Niger delta crises was presumed to be due to unfair allocation of resources and control<sup>91</sup>. In addition, the indigenous people of Biafra's quest to secede from Nigeria and several religious conflicts within the state characterize the federation of Nigeria.

---

<sup>89</sup> Ibid

<sup>90</sup> Adagba .O, 2012

<sup>91</sup> Elaigwu J. , 1987

All these actions are contingent on past arrangements of communal fright and distrust between separate ethnic groups in an aggressive manner<sup>92</sup>.

### **3.5.2.1 Root Source of Ethno Religious Conflict in Nigeria**

According to Omotosho, he underlined the key elements of ethno religious conflicts in Nigeria which will be elucidated below

**1. Fanaticism:** this element has shown to be the foremost basis for most conflicts in Nigeria. Nigeria has two dominant religions which are Islam and Christianity. The Muslims are estimated to be 40 percent and the Christians 60 percent, but it seems this figure is yet to be clarified as the Muslims believe to be the dominant religious group against the Christians in Nigeria. In general, fanaticism is rooted on ignorance of religious belief of the other<sup>93</sup>. In line with Onwuma's (2014) assertions, he stated categorically that there are various factors in which the disparity in cultures and belief can lead to escalated conflict which can have applicable effects to the state's development, some of these factors which he underlined are, religious bigotry which develop from the idea that one religion is far better than the rest<sup>94</sup>. Some studies assert that the circumstance of indigenism is acclimated to justify demonstrations over rightful ownership of lands and political positions in most parts of Nigeria most especially the northern part<sup>95</sup>.

Therefore, the idea of religious bigotry has been engaged as a devious means for socio-political dispute in Nigeria. In addition, another factor which triggers religious violence is the way in which the two dominant religions in Nigeria go about their indoctrination. Regardless of the two dominant religions in Nigeria condemning the

---

<sup>92</sup> Elaigwu J. I., 2005

<sup>93</sup> Omotosho, A.O. Religious Violence in Nigeria the Causes and Solutions: an Islamic Perspective, 2003

<sup>94</sup> Onwumah, 2014

<sup>95</sup> Nwaomah, 2011

exertion of pressure and intimidation as way of indoctrination<sup>96</sup>, they still exhibit palpable coercion as way of indoctrination. Sadly, the perceptible means of converting to Islam in the northern part of Nigeria is through Jihad as shown by the way and manner in which the ultra-radical Islamic sect known as Boko Haram administer coercion and thereafter death in case of resistance<sup>97</sup>. Another instance is the way extremist Islamic scholars view Christians and secular Muslims as infidels who are not worthy of coexisting in same hemisphere as them, thus this has generated lots of tension especially in the middle belt region of Nigeria. Evident of this conflict is the Jos massacre, Benue and Borno by extremist Islamic groups. These actions in reference to Salawu 2010 assertion is as a result of negligence of the government to carry out proper check on this groups, domination, marginalization, bigotry and nepotism<sup>98</sup>.

Furthermore, as a result of distinct views, interest and objectives of separate societal norms, ethno-religious conflict arise especially when one group is favored more than the other or when one group view themselves as been marginalized and not well incorporated in the state<sup>99</sup>.it can also occur when one group try to raise their influence on societal values, ideology and norms.in conformity with earlier assertion in this chapter of case in point of ethno religious crises, it appears like there is a link of politicking, religion and ethnicism which as a result prompted nationalistic movement and hostility of different religious and ethnic activity. On a new but related point, the general effect of these actions is the intensification of different religious and ethnic discord which is glaring in Nigeria currently. Nonetheless, the

---

<sup>96</sup> Omotosho A.O. Religious Violence in Nigeria the Causes and Solutions: an Islamic Perspective, 2003)

<sup>97</sup> C. Jaja Nwanegbo, Jude Odigbo., 2013

<sup>98</sup> Salawu.B, Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria: Casual Analysis and Proposal for New Management Strategies, 2010

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 2010



failure of government to deal with developmental threats, uneven distribution of resources and provision of civic amenities seem to be another element of ethno-religious conflicts. also the arbitrary bombings of book haram extremist groups has made the northern region of Nigeria progressively dangerous to reside in, a lot of people has been displaced from their homes and massive exodus of non-indigenes basically the Igbos from states like Bornu, Yola and Kano . This paranoia of been killed and massive departure of other ethnic groups and investors has resulted in economic decline in the northern region. The activities of book haram religious sect has devastated the stability and peaceful atmosphere in this region this has also affected the socio-economic growth of Nigeria.

### **3.5.3 Political Insecurity**

With the exception of bad leadership and inefficient administrative management, the political system in Nigeria is marred by electoral violence since the inception of democratic rule in 1999 till date. Electoral system in Nigeria is defaced by physical, psychological and structural violence. The most unpleasant case of electoral savagery is the escalation of arms proliferation as this has turn out to be equaled to owning voter's card<sup>100</sup>. this is due to the desperate actions of politicians to cling unto power thereby creating anxiety and fear among the electorates who in turn acquire their own personal means of safeguarding themselves by taking up to arms and political thuggery<sup>101</sup>.most ethnic groups in Nigeria perceive politics as a means of apportioning national benefits, and whoever will bring about his benefits to them will be fully supported during electioneer. This approach is persistent by employing any means whatsoever to achieve their objective in putting their own.by so doing, individuals and groups who function as political thugs are militarized so as to aid in

---

<sup>100</sup> Ifeanyi Chris Benjamin A. Okolie, C. Anthony Onodugo, 2015

<sup>101</sup> Yoroms, 2016

winning election for their candidate, having the notion that political will and resources lies in national government. Religious and ethnic groups employ any desperate means possible in making sure their candidate wins the election<sup>102</sup>.

### **3.5.3.1 Electoral Violence is Carried Out by Way of:**

- Disenfranchising the opposition supporters from registering/voting during election. Of which, as alleged by the opposition party (APC) in 2015 when the use of card reader was suggested and the inefficiency of the card reader to validate most opposition strong states cardholders. This action resulted to a few skirmish across the state<sup>103</sup>.
- Hindering the opposition parties from utilizing state owned facilities and structures for campaign in states where the ruling party has strong hold of supporters.
- Creating chaos in polling centers so as to frighten opposition supporters from voting, intimidation of electoral officers at gun point in order to misrepresent the actual result of a polling center in favor of a political rival. The thugs used by politicians to perpetrate this heinous act snatch or exchange ballot boxes and electoral materials which contain illicit thumb prints already marked to be counted as genuine result<sup>104</sup>. this was evident in Rivers state where some voters who turned out to vote in polling centers were shot and electoral materials carted away<sup>105</sup>
- Assassination of political rivals' in order to be nominated unopposed during party primaries. This has been seen in the past to have ignited clashes between supporters of the opposing politicians<sup>106</sup>.

Another aspect of electoral violence is provocative speech from politicians during campaigns, this kind of statements apart from jeopardizing political stability can

---

<sup>102</sup> Ologbenla, 2007

<sup>103</sup> Onodugo, I.C, Amujiri, B. A and Nwuba, B. N., 2015

<sup>104</sup> Ibid

<sup>105</sup> Vanguardngr, 2016)

<sup>106</sup> Ibid

signal violent call for people to reinforce and arm up themselves for any eventuality. This is always characterized by chaos and incessant assassination of party members, opposition candidates and strong party supporters usually during release of electoral results in case their candidate couldn't secure a spot. The consequence of this resulted in the Kano riot of 2011 after (Gen Buhari) lost the election. There were reports of several bomb explosions and the reinforcement of radical Islamist groups in the northern part of Nigeria<sup>107</sup>. The upsurge in electoral violence in Nigeria has been on the rise till after the 2015 general elections which were widely predicted by political experts' across the globe will bring about the total collapse of Nigeria as a nation<sup>108</sup>. Electoral violence has thwarted the main intention of democratic system in Nigeria. There are two dimensional approaches that were employed as stability measures in dealing out electoral discrepancy in Nigeria<sup>109</sup>.

To start with, the takeover of government by the military as a means of forestalling order and preventing any perceived chaos triggered by election discrepancy. Eventually, this method has turned out to become a northern approach each time there is shift of power toward other ethnic group. Subsequent to the first coup of 1966 which was carried out by soldiers of eastern extraction (Igbo's), the next coups were carried thereafter by soldiers of northern extraction. However, these approaches do not prevail any longer due to international rules notably from African Union AU, United Nations UN and ECOWAS veto on it. It's evident that such approach has left the political system in Nigeria in disarray. Moreover, political corruption (election rigging) has furthered additional element of conflicts which has weathered national tenets.

---

<sup>107</sup> Ibid

<sup>108</sup> Ibid

<sup>109</sup> Ibid

Taking this into consideration, it's apparent that electoral violence occurs in feeble democratic system due to non-realization of the electorate's anticipation. When we view this from a physio-psychological perspective, one can ascertain that most electoral violence can be attributed to dissatisfaction felt by people when they equate their status to others and observe they are been shortchanged of their entitlement than the rest. The outcome of this is vexation and hostility. Electoral violence is an element of political violence that has a comprehensive standpoint, which incorporates politically motivated hostility<sup>110</sup>.

#### **3.5.4 Traditional Corrupt Practices**

Corruption has overtime been seen as a threat to human security widening itself throughout developing countries.it has undesirable influence on human development and intensifies the rate of essential social amenities meant for human infrastructural development<sup>111</sup>. The inability of governments most especially in Africa to channel funds meant for socio economic purposes, basic infrastructural development to their own selfish purposes has threatened the welfare of the society which has thus threatened human security. Corruption has become a traditional means of exploiting the masses of resources meant for human development<sup>112</sup>.there has been quite a number of speculative studies which has substantiated the undesirable relationship linking corruption and economic development. Corruption gives rise to deficit of revenues and economic difficulties which eventually will result to. Corruption interferes in civic budget and discourages foreign investment<sup>113</sup>. Nigeria is an empirical indication of corrupt system, political instability, recurring legitimacy crises and bad governance.in Nigeria, corruption has continued to be a long-standing

---

<sup>110</sup> Mquro,P, 2005

<sup>111</sup> Aliyu, 1986

<sup>112</sup> Akindede, 2005

<sup>113</sup> Ibid

crucial economic and political challenge. It has an adverse effect on Nigeria's economic development. It is a glaring fact that corruption has negatively altered government institutions in Nigeria and more of its social structure. It has destabilized the ability of government to provide the basic social amenities needed by its citizens which includes proper health system, education; good job etcetera. The failure of this has caused the slow growth of its economy and decline in civic substructure. It's evident that corruption hinders capital flow and international trade. In Nigeria, corruption is a main factor which has reduced foreign direct investment (FDI), failure of sustainable ventures and needed revenues for its economic development<sup>114</sup>.

Poverty as a human security concern has persevered in Nigeria due to complexities in fighting corruption. Poverty has persevered as a result of embezzlement of public funds and resources by few government officials, as a result of this; Nigeria's political institution has suffered series of setback in upholding stable transparent political system. From 2011 to 2016, series of corrupt cases and scandals has been recorded in Nigeria which has hindered economic growth and lasting development<sup>115</sup>. Amongst them are;

i. Diversion of \$2.1 billion arms funds amongst few government officials by Col Sambo Dasuki who was the National Security adviser. This fund is enough to create annual state expenditure of 6 states in Nigeria. This embezzlement was perturbing due to involvement of high respected government officials and media

---

<sup>114</sup> Isaac, 2016

<sup>115</sup> Ologbenla, 2007

institutions, who alleged that their share of this fund was for recompense from previous military regime<sup>116</sup>.

**Outcome:** reimbursement of remaining allocated funds by media institutions and some government officials, arrest and prosecution of indicted persons.

ii. Anti-graft agency chairman diversion of recovered 1 trillion Naira looted funds for his personal use.<sup>117</sup>

**Outcome:** he was relieved of his duty and no charges were pressed on him. Nothing was heard about this case as everything was swept under the rug.

iii. Diversion of 2.6 billion naira funds meant for pensioners' by the director general of NIMASA and few of his key staffs<sup>118</sup>.

**Outcome:** currently facing criminal charges and awaiting trial together with his cohorts.

iv. Alleged illegal withdrawal of \$20 billion from the federation NNPC account under previous administration. This allegation was brought to limelight by the former central bank of Nigeria governor, Mallam Sanusi Lamido who alleged that lots of funds were never accounted for from the federation account to the tune of \$1billion

---

<sup>116</sup> Isaac, 2016

<sup>117</sup> Ibid

<sup>118</sup> Ibid

monthly. He reiterated that lots of shady dealings by the then minister of petroleum could be linked to the missing of these funds<sup>119</sup>.

**Outcome:** the government failed to investigate the depth of this revelation. Nothing was said about it anymore.

v. Allegation of six billion naira political largess to PFN to canvass votes for presidential election

vi. Mishandling of recovered Nigerian loot from Swiss bank to fund the acquisition of arms by government parastatal.

vii. Inflation of government's expenditure by ex-governor of Lagos state<sup>120</sup>.

**Outcome:** appointed FCT minister and nothing was ever mentioned about it.

viii. Altering of contract meant to restructure Nigerian's pension dispensation to a channel of ripping-off pensioner's fund by Alhaji Maina a defunct former head of pension board. Over N190 Billion were embezzled and transferred to his personal account.

**Outcome:** he was declared wanted having fled the country, case still pending<sup>121</sup>.

ix. Indictment of lawmakers and some key government functionaries in the fuel subsidy scam of \$6 billion.

---

<sup>119</sup> Ibid

<sup>120</sup> Ibid

<sup>121</sup> Ibid

**Outcome:** no conviction and prosecution yet. Case still remained pending, funds yet to be recovered.

The above listed series of corrupt cases are few of many which investigations are still in process. The above-mentioned has shown that the funds which were embezzled could go a long way in alleviating poverty which is a main threat to human security (ibid. the decline of economic development in Nigeria is shown as inference of corruption in the polity. the MDG's established by government has shown little or no effect in alleviating poverty<sup>122</sup>. corresponding to revenues embezzled by these officials, developmental expenditures were misappropriate due to loopholes in the system which give in to corruption and eventually result in lowering of productivity and the decline of Nigeria's economic growth<sup>123</sup>.

### **3.5.5 Health Threat**

The overall amelioration on health issues do not always rely on our continuous engagement in augmenting the readiness of health care as well as consolidating the eradication and disease control system, which are likewise fashioned by the environmental conditions, economic and social system, which if not tackled can hamper the improvement of this precarious situation. The human security concept tried to underline the distinct features which bring about these diseases and created a means in convening the required variables in attaining the intended and successful development in general health condition of individuals. The line of reasoning in the securitization of health makes more sense when we assess the health care conditions within Nigeria's framework. Within a fast developing global context, the right to basic health care is regarded as a fundamental element of a developed society.

---

<sup>122</sup> Akindele, 2005

<sup>123</sup> Ibid



However, the poignant fact remains that most individuals cannot access good health care unlike most other essential elements like food and shelter. The deprivation of basic health care on individuals can be seen as a human security concern. This health concerns if not tackled, will present grievous hazard to the existence and well-being of a populace. In line with UNDP's delineation of human security, the main purpose of human security is to safeguard the rights of individuals from precarious and persistent risk to life, in such a way that is coherent and stable implementation<sup>124</sup>. Operationalizing this discourse in Nigeria's context will give us a clearer view on the degree in which deprivation of health security from individuals pose a great risk and seen as a human security concern. When individuals are been deprived of their vital needs and cannot afford a considerable health care, it generates a dicey situation for displeasure and tension between affected societies. people who are sick and cannot afford to access health care facilities due to unavailability of health insurance and fund roam around the streets with placards seeking funds because they cannot be treated if they do not provide what is required of them. One tends to ask does it mean when one is sick it's automatically death sentence. The failure of government to create a system that we pay into where individuals can access and be taken care of like a health insurance scheme without begging for money or raising placards across the street. Consequently, societal health concerns can to any further extent be perceived only in the concept of development and underdevelopment, because once health concerns are neglected or rather overlooked to other affairs, the aftermath on the social and economic result possibly will undermine and threaten societal and political cohesion<sup>125</sup>.

---

<sup>124</sup> UNDP 1994

<sup>125</sup> Ibid

There is an established understanding that endemics may reach a critical stage where the state may not be able to curb the situation. These ravaging consequences due to negligence of authorities to tackle the situation at the initial point will not only deplete the states resources but also overturn the benefits derived from economic development<sup>126</sup>. More significantly is the recent case of Ebola virus and outbreak of Lassa fever which has resulted to a substantial Number of deaths. The consequence of these ailments critically destabilizes the economic, political and social structures of the society. Remarkably, in most part of the world, the effect of deprivation of health security on individuals is overestimated by multifaceted features which vary between pervasive corruption, poor resources and inadequate infrastructure in apprehending the type of devastation health concern can cause on the society. it can be reasoned further that societal health threat is a security concern which is undeniably one of the many elements of human security.in addition, it is of great concern especially where multi-dimensional activities along with transversal involvement is vital.in effect, due to the proximity this sort of threat presents to individuals health security, coming to an agreement on how to react to these menace ought to be uncomplicated to accomplish. Therefore, testing human security framework in this instance limits the conceptual division which could have favored the present course of action of some states in dealing with human security threats. Hence the need to engage human security reasoning has been contended, the reservation at this time is how the present situation of health care deprivation can aid in the current rhetoric of human security.

---

<sup>126</sup> Ibid

### **3.5.5.1 Primary Health Care in Nigeria and Health Seeking Actions of the Underprivileged**

The perceptions of human security induce us to elucidate the argument on who needs security. The idea of human security makes more sense when it is operationalized. Even as primary healthcare is an essential prerogative for individuals in this contemporary society, Nigeria's present situation depicts a bleakly circumstance. an archetypal demeanor of poor individuals who cannot enjoy access to primary health care is self-medication or rather none treatment in the event of ill health. Aforementioned is not unanticipated owing to the fact that underprivileged individuals have to pay the cost of their medical expenses themselves. as Nigeria's case has shown, most individuals resort to traditional means of treatment first and subsequently seek tertiary health care solution when the situation is deteriorating. According to Nigeria's federal ministry of health statistics, it has shown that most deaths occur as a result of negligence, self-treatment and use of fake drugs proceeding to their death<sup>127</sup>. In 1987, Nigerian government presented its primary health care scheme which sole purpose was for better improvement and supervision of health statistics of individuals, provision of needed medication, expansion of immunization procedure, food supply and sustenance, enhancement of child care, family planning and sanitizing the populace on existing health issues and ways to avert and combat them<sup>128</sup>.

In view of the following measures established by government, in some cases a significant amount of individual are not aware or rather not well informed on how to benefit from them. Such as ante-natal care for pregnant women, immunization of

---

<sup>127</sup> Federal Ministry of Health - Press Releases

<sup>128</sup> Ibid

infants against diseases, HIV/Aids preventive measures such as blood test and medication. most individuals in rural areas are not aware of this measures put in place by the government and such has resulted to high mortality rate among expectant women and high rise of HIV carriers in Nigeria as most people do not even know what it is to get themselves tested<sup>129</sup>. This plan established by Nigerian government had little effect as it remained to go through serious sub structural shortfall as well as breakdown of public health control. regardless of these shortcomings in Nigerian health care system, one thing that is prevalent is the lack of political will among policy makers to uphold and implement these health reforms. one of the main reason mentioned for the inability of policy makers to uphold these reforms is due to the fact that health issues is not treated as important as national security and economic development.

#### **3.5.5.2 Nigeria's Health Care Challenges**

The health care situation in Nigeria has clearly demonstrated inconsistency of government in providing health care support to its indigent populace. Most notable Nigerian scholar has argued that the delivery of health care by the government to its indigent citizenry ought to be pertinent with the economic and socio-cultural agenda considered as a means to help in alleviating poverty rate. Nigerian government in 1988 enacted a health policy which was directed toward improving the wellbeing of people, this policy was not consistent but was later on improved and restructured in 2004 so as to meet with the contemporary global trend in the health sector. This new policy was sectioned in three- tier which are; (PHC) primary health care, which incorporates traditional health care method consisting of refined traditional medication as the basis. (SHC) Secondary health care which encompass a general

---

<sup>129</sup> Osain, 2011

modern hospital as its foundation and finally the (THC) tertiary health care which incorporates the establishment of a teaching hospitals, specialized medical facility at its peak and federal medical center's<sup>130</sup>. This strategy conferred the task of carrying out primary health care to the local government which is the third tier of government in Nigerian. The secondary health care was conferred to the state government which is the second tier of government in Nigeria and finally the tertiary health care been guided at the federal level. Unsuccessfully, all these have been portrayed by ineffectual execution and diverting of funds meant for the service to recurrent expenditure<sup>131</sup>. In addition, the uneven operation of this policy result in people visiting SHC centers for their PHC requirement, prompting doctors who specialize in SHC to render more time in handling PHC services in the outpatient's sector of medical centers. this situation deteriorated more as a result of insufficient amenities and non-payment of salary to healthcare staffs which gave rise to growing number of private hospitals and health center with just few having the capacity to run with modern hospital equipment, of which only the rich can afford it.

Therefore, regardless of this whole exertion s, Nigeria is still faced with much more health care challenges. High standard and less expensive healthcare service is vital to sustainable development and improvement since it is the workforce that determines other features of production. Health care infrastructures such as well-equipped hospitals, standard laboratories with modern medical equipment's, effective health insurance scheme and orthodox pharmaceuticals are vital for effective operational health care structure. Nigeria's health sector is compounded by innumerable issues which stem from absence of proper arrangement, poor infrastructure, insufficient

---

<sup>130</sup> El-Rufai, 2015

<sup>131</sup> Omojuwa 2015

capital expenditure, outdated equipment/technology needed for proper health care, critical economic and political anxiety within the previous and present administration, discontinuance of already established policy meant to improve health care system, insufficient medical supplies, diversion of medical aids to sole enterprise by some corrupt officials, low/non-payment of health workers which result to strike and redundant of health workers from health care centers and wide difference in contrast to foreign hospital facilities within the state which prompt most individuals especially the rich to seek medical attention outside the shores of the country<sup>132</sup>. In the same way, poor hygiene in rural/developing areas has upsurge the outbreak of contagious diseases of which contemporary is the outbreak of Lassa fever, Ebola and cholera which most health care centers lack the capacity to tackle with<sup>133</sup>. Nigeria's health indicator is getting worse as some statistics in 2011 has shown that the life expectancy of average Nigerian male is between 46 to 76 while in women it stands as 48 to 41. Nigeria rank 220 in global life expectancy. in line with 2008 DHS (demographic health survey, their findings shows that 35% of births were carried out in hospital, expectant mothers dwelling in urban areas are likely to be taken care of by doctors than the rest dwelling in rural areas. this disparity between urban and rural area is apparent in health survey carried out by the DHS in Nigeria<sup>134</sup>.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

From the entire explanation in this chapter, we can see that ethno- religious conflict, lack of political freedom, corruption, environmental issues, poverty and health issues which served as domain in broadening the human security framework in the case of

---

<sup>132</sup> El-Rufai, 2015

<sup>133</sup> El-Rufai, 2015

<sup>134</sup> Ibid

Nigeria has shown the need to operationalize the idea of human security in Nigeria. The challenges facing Nigeria has developed to a complicated national, sub-regional and international concern which calls for a thorough reaction supposing the need to safeguard the masses is paramount<sup>135</sup>. Due to the inadequacy and non- functional surveillance device in Nigeria's health care system, in order to achieve positive outcome in the health sector, the need for a system which is conversant in routine observation and medical aptitude which serves as the main basis of health care is needed<sup>136</sup>. In the security aspect, it is obvious that the idea of security is a complex one. From ethno- religious crises to Boko Haram insurgency which has increased the present security concerns in Nigeria, even as security is a major global trend, the case of Nigeria has worsened overtime as a result of corruption, inability of government to distribute equal allocation to the masses, bad governance and political instability. To accomplish the previously stated goal, government and policy makers have a duty to deal with these issues and seek for a lasting way out of these challenges<sup>137</sup>. Government ought to build effective institutions which will guarantee individuals safety in order to end the elements of human insecurity and enhance growth. Therefore, dealing with corruption and ethno conflict is a generic responsibility which demands continuous exertion. The situation critically needs relentless obligation to enhance assurance amongst individuals and the state<sup>138</sup>. Government and policy makers should adopt the following index of African governance as proposed by Ibrahim to tackle human security challenges. The following indicators

---

<sup>135</sup> Ezeoha, 2011

<sup>136</sup> El-Rufai, 2015

<sup>137</sup> Onwumah, 2014

<sup>138</sup> kingsley.O, 2014

are; Human development, sustainable economic opportunity, safety and rule of law and involvement and human rights practice<sup>139</sup>

---

<sup>139</sup> Ibid



## **Chapter 4**

# **THE JUSTIFICATION OF NEGLIGENCE OF HUMAN SECURITY IN THE NIGER DELTA REGION AND THE IMPLICATION ON NIGERIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The Niger delta region in Nigeria has over the years portrayed a clearer perspective in clarifying the negligence of human security in connection with health care, personal security threat, environmental hazard, and unavailability of essential human needs regards to education, food, good water and other basic amenities. These issues encapsulate most threat and evolving crises in Nigeria's context. Quite a few explanations on why Niger delta is fit in this research will be elucidated. To begin with, as stated in the theoretical framework of this study, the analysis of human security can function as a cautionary means of identifying problems and taking into account the indication of the decline of human security in the Niger Delta region. In addition, the intricacy of this subject, the extent of individuals challenge along with the government priotizing this concerns to ensure peace and stability in the polity. This chapter will examine Niger Delta dilemma adopting similar indicators introduced in the previous chapter of this study.

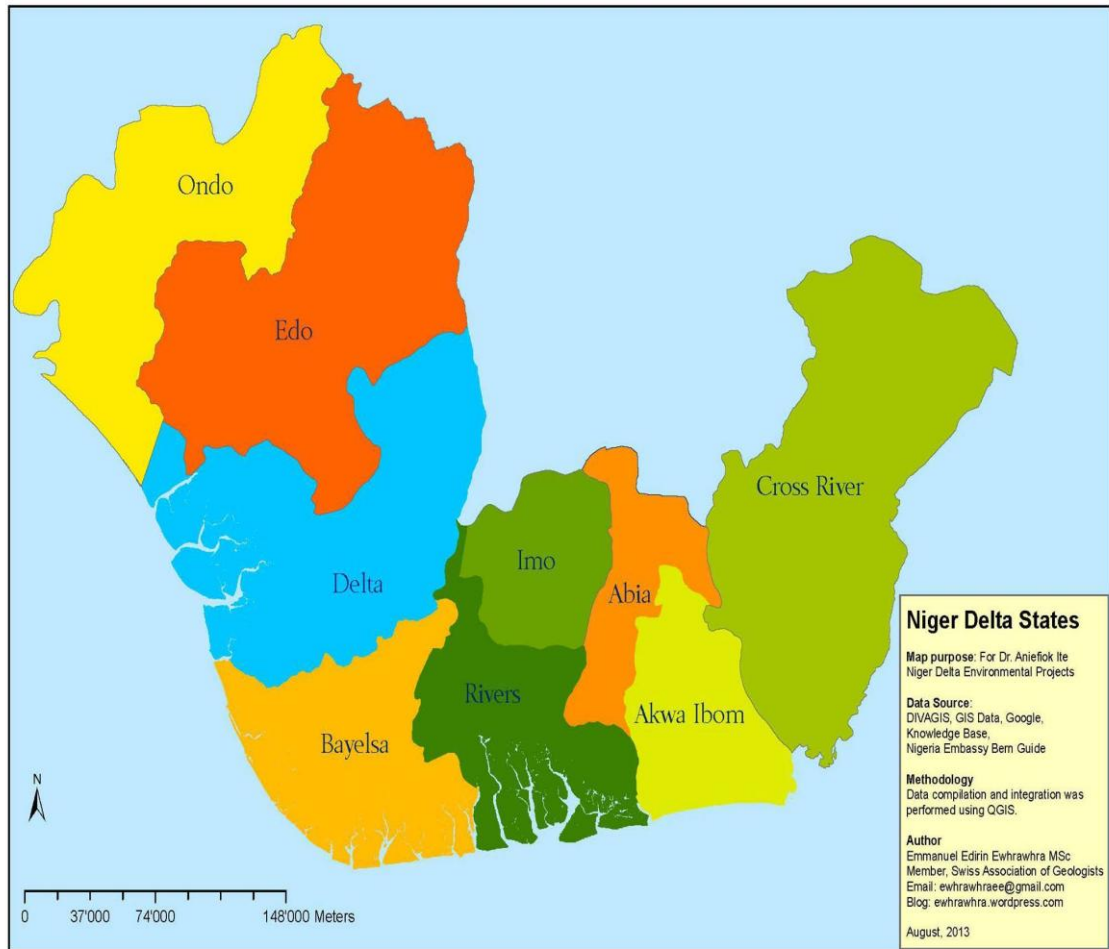


Figure 1: Map of Delta region area  
Source: <http://www.nddoe.org/poverty-alleviation>

The Nigerian government and Militant group in the oil rich Niger Delta known as (MEND)<sup>140</sup> has been locked in a long year of crises due to their grievance on several underlying problems which has a devastating effect on the region due to the negligence and economic marginalization from the government. over the years, the Niger delta militants has carried out several attacks on government structures such as disrupting the flow of oil from pipelines by blowing them up thereby reducing the output of oil supply, kidnap of foreign expatriates in exchange for a ransom or as a leverage to seek attention of government and hijacking of oil vessels bound for shipment. This problems has really affected the economic development of Nigeria

<sup>140</sup> MEND: Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta

owning to the fact that oil is the main commodity Nigeria rely on for its economic growth and foreign exchange. The main rationale for all this crises is the issue of underdevelopment in this region. This region been the part producing virtually all the crude and oil Nigeria depend on as its main source of revenue has not benefitted any form of developmental structure from the government, prompting this militant group to seek redress by demanding for the control of its resources by them so as to bring about the needed development it require in addition to the revitalization of its environment due to environmental degradation. Contemporarily, the crisis in Niger Delta has deteriorated due to developing concerns of repulsive misrepresentation in Nigeria's federalism with regards to the control of resources, environmental degradation and rights of citizens<sup>141</sup>. Regrettably, the outcome of this problem has been demonstrated violently along with some delinquent units who leverage the situation in order to perpetrate more harm and chaos in the Niger delta region thereby creating tension in Nigeria as well. one thing that is certain in all this development is that this delinquent groups are not only threatening the peace and stability of Nigeria through their actions but some of their actions has shown that they are also against the influence of international capitalism which is demonstrated in the region by the number of Multi-national corporations existing therein.

#### **4.2 Brief Synopsis of Niger delta Crises Derivation**

The struggle for resource control in the Niger delta region began in the late 60's when the Niger delta Volunteer Service also known as DVC championed by Isaac Boro led a revolt against the federal government of Nigeria and created what we know today as Niger Delta Region due to what they perceived as injustice, deceit and lack of political will to the people of that region. The instigation of these crises began as a

---

<sup>141</sup> Ikari, 2010

result of disagreement with the Sir Henry Willink Commission<sup>142</sup> which was established in 1958 to address the imminent crises in the region<sup>143</sup>. Nevertheless, the revolt was repressed by the military regime in power but then, it has created awareness and instilled a mindset of self-emancipation amongst the people of this region.

Years after the death of Boro in 1968 Ken Saro Wiwa came into view; he drafted a bill of right for the people of Ogoni in the Niger Delta region. It was later on submitted to the federal government of Niger and the existing oil corporations in the region. This bill was only recognized by the federal government but was never implemented as stated<sup>144</sup>. The content of the Bill stipulate the following;

1. Self-governance of the Ogoni people<sup>145</sup> by themselves which includes the prerogative to oversee and exert a moderate part of its economic resources for their development.
2. Suitable and direct representation of individuals rights in every aspect of Nigeria's institution which includes freedom of speech, culture, religion and right to safeguard the Ogoni environment from more dilapidation. These rights are in conformity to true federalism as stipulated in global political affairs.

---

<sup>142</sup> The Willink Commission was inaugurated in September, 1957 and was named after Henry Willink who was the head of the committee to investigate the alleged fear of minority ethnic group that the political structure been instituted by the colonial authorities would bring about marginalization as a result of dominance of the three ethnic majority groups. The Committee was assigned to proffer solutions after their findings. One of the main achievements of this Commission was the enclosure of some sections of European Human Rights Convention in Nigeria's constitution.

<sup>143</sup> Ikari, 2010

<sup>144</sup> Ibid

<sup>145</sup> The Ogoni people are one of the few minority indigenous group of the Niger delta region in Nigeria. They share similar environmental degradation threat with the Ijaw minority group. The Ogoni's became prominent following a massive public demonstration which gained international recognition in opposition to the activities of shell Oil Company. this demonstration was championed by the movement for the survival of Ogoni people (MOSOP)

Thereafter, he created a movement which will work in line with the purported bill known as (MOSOP)<sup>146</sup>. This groups main aim and objective is to liberate its people or region from the political marginalization and negligence from the federal government. They were non-political and non-religious movement, but rather a cultural movement aimed at protecting its environment from further degradation, control of its resources and upholding of individuals right. the emergence of this movement was born out of the ill feelings which was perceived at the Oloibiri oil field where government and oil companies in the process of drilling oil, polluted the environment and left their farmlands and rivers spilled with oil, huge death record of livestock, fishes in the river due to hydrocarbon pollution along with the federal governments and shell companies negligence to curb the menace even after benefitting from the region.

---

<sup>146</sup> MOSOP: Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People

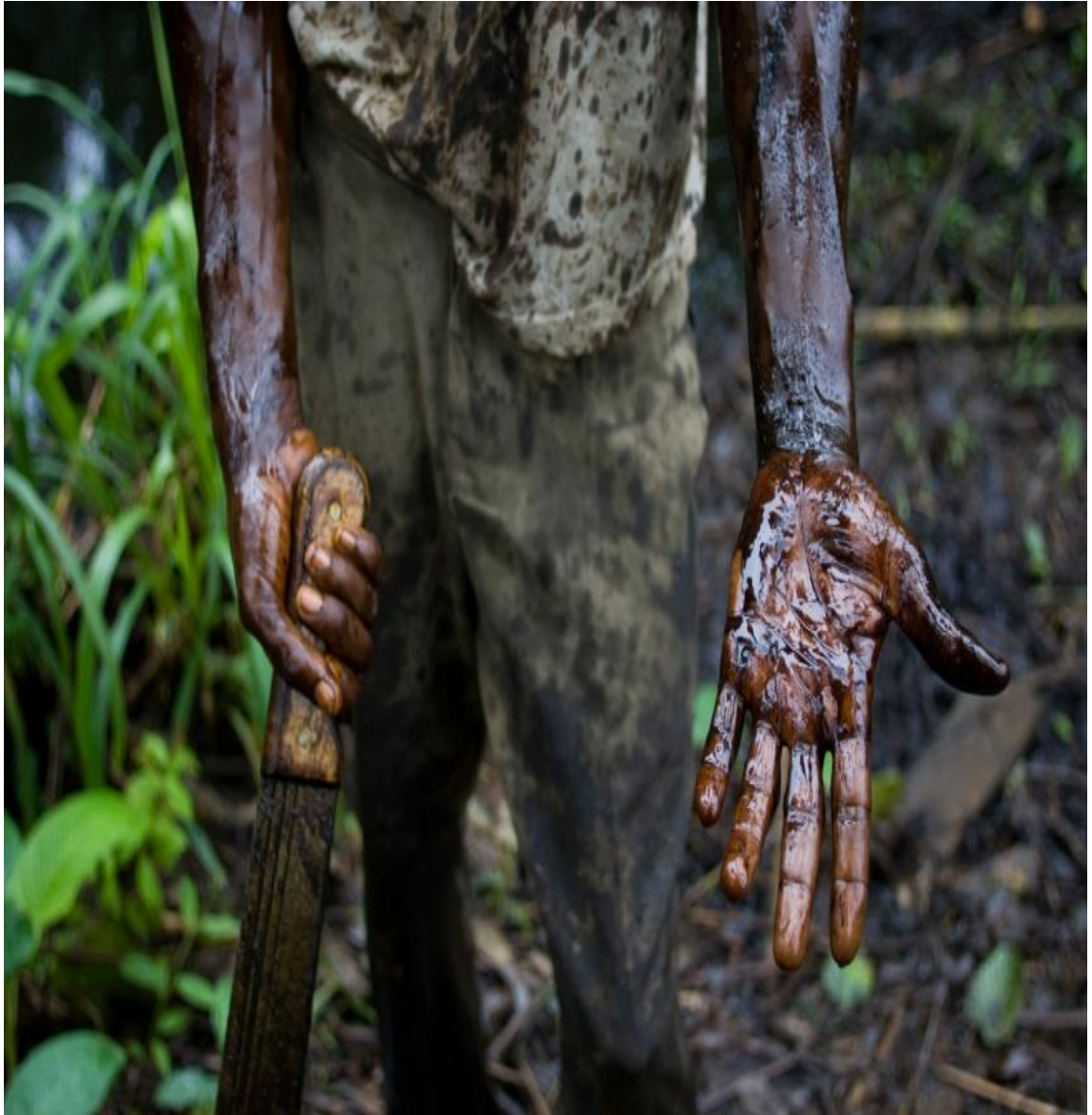


Figure 2: Evidence of environmental degradation.  
Source:<http://www.aitonline.tv/nigerdeltaoilspill>

Subsequently, Saro Wiwa was arrested on what the federal government and the oil companies perceived as sabotage to their activities in the region, he was charged without fair trial and sentenced to death in 1995 by the then military government led by General Sani Abacha on allegation of murder of Ogoni chiefs who were perceived

to be anti- Ogoni movement enjoying privilege and protection of the federal government<sup>147</sup>.

The effect of his death brought about new ultra radical groups who took up to arms sidelining the peaceful means initiated by Saro Wiwa to a violence means which triggered the situation today to escalated conflict both in economic and human designation<sup>148</sup>. This new group under the auspices of (MEND<sup>149</sup>) emerged to challenge the actions of the federal government and disrupt the activities of oil companies in the region through violent means which is the only language government seem to understand. The activities of this groups destabilized oil production which hampered the economy of the nation owing to the fact that oil is the main subsistence of Nigerians economy<sup>150</sup>.

---

<sup>147</sup> ICE Case Study: Ogonis and Conflict, 1997

<sup>148</sup> Birisibe, 2001

<sup>149</sup> **MEND** is the Umbrella body for Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta

<sup>150</sup> Giroux, 2008



Figure 3: Foreign oil worker kidnapped by MEND  
Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/2006>

### **4.3 Dynamics Liable for the evolving Crises**

Although, differing explanations has tried to elucidate the rationale of Niger delta flashpoint, this study will outline the dynamics liable for the evolving crises in this region. The following dynamics as outlined below are;

#### **4.3.1 The absence of Structural Federalism in the Polity**

There has been lots of discussion supporting the assertion that the absence of structural federalism contribute mainly to the crises in the Niger delta. The Niger delta region has developed the consciousness of been politically not included in the affairs of the state been a minority group. Significantly, the Nigerian federation is



made up of three main ethnic groups namely the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. These subdivisions were created by the colonial masters in order to administer control through indirect rule using the already existing system of governance in these three main dominant groups.

#### **4.3.2 High rate of Poverty**

Regardless of the vast monetary benefits derived from this region from sale of oil crude, the inhabitants of this region live in wretched and deplorable conditions lacking the essential means of living which include shelter, standard roads, bridges, hospitals, good water and food. In line with Birisibe's assertions, the Niger delta region is a place where nothing seems to be in effect leaving the inhabitants frustrated due to deprivation of basic social need after sale of crude gotten from their region<sup>151</sup> has rather enhanced the development of non-oil producing regions at the detriment of the Niger delta region where this resources are been explored, as empirical evidence from notable scholars has shown that the rate of poverty in this region is a critical social and economic challenge. the state of affairs in this region is a clear indication that the discovery and exploration of oil resources in this region is a curse rather than a blessing, as it only brought more hardship and suffering to the inhabitants of this region.in contrast to other states or region where oil resources is been explored, reverse is the case<sup>152</sup>. Take for instance, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Algeria, the proceeds of these resources is well utilized in promoting the wellbeing of individuals in the region. although the discovery of oil has helped in the development of various states where it is explored, it has also created hardship and suffering for some states , most notable Nigeria where the proceeds of this resources are mismanaged as a result of greed, corruption and negligence of authorities.

---

<sup>151</sup> Birisibe, 2001

<sup>152</sup> Joseph.E Dickson.E et Theophilus .A , 2013 oil exploration and poverty in Niger delta Nigeria

### 4.3.3 Environmental Degradation

This can be said to be the root causative of the crises in the Niger delta region. The amount of damage incurred as a result of oil exploration which consist of soil pollution as a result of oil spillage, destruction of farmlands and biodiversity, pollution of aquatic environment depriving the inhabitants of fresh drinking water which has adverse health reaction on the inhabitants<sup>153</sup>. It is poignant to say that environmental conventions which are observed in developed countries are not adhered to by same Multi-national Corporation from the so called developed countries who explore oil in this region. It is clear to say that this is as a result of negligence on the part of government who benefit from the proceeds of this commodity to enforce same rules on these corporations rather they help in removing the inhabitants of those areas from their land. Some of the consequences of environmental degradation<sup>154</sup> in this region are that the locals in the affected areas cannot engage themselves in agricultural practice such as fishing, farming and grazing of their livestock due to the devastated condition of the eco system. The activities of this oil companies in this region which affect the environment includes:

- Oil spillage
- Gas Flaring
- Explosion of oil pipeline

Consequently, the aforementioned activities do not only destroy the environment in the Niger delta region but rather partake in global warming<sup>155</sup>, apart from attributing

---

<sup>153</sup> Ibid pp. 46

<sup>154</sup> Environmental Degradation is the act of polluting or destroying the environment through activities which are not favorable to the ecosystem such as land, atmosphere and water as a result of oil spillage, gas flaring etc. This alteration of environment is perceived to be harmful or destructive to individual's lives.

<sup>155</sup> Steyn, 2006

environmental degradation to the oil companies in this region, UNDP report of 2006 stated that the worsening of environmental degradation in this region is because of the increasing number of oil companies and exploration in this region, although this companies occupy below 5% of the land in this region, the unpleasant situation linked to their activities are infinite<sup>156</sup>.

#### **4.4 Developmental Deprivation and Unemployment**

Despite the fact that this region is richly blessed with abundant resources which Nigeria rely solely on for its gross domestic product (GDP)<sup>157</sup>, there still exist absence of development or rather infrastructure that will aid in alleviating the rate of poverty in this area either through creation of employment, good drinking water, electricity, good roads and fiscal support to communities badly affected by environmental degradation<sup>158</sup>. Joseph et al went further to say that this region has mostly been riddled by ecological hazard due to the operations of oil companies in the region, rendering Fishing and farming which is their main means of livelihood impractical, governments inefficiency in curbing the excesses of the multinational corporations activities in this region<sup>159</sup>. The resentment of indigenous people of this region is due to Negligence from government to provide them with basic essential needs for living which they perceive they are been marginalized of in contrast to other regions having deprived them of their means of livelihood due to incessant oil spillage and gas flaring which has destroyed their farm produce and contamination of their waters which has posed serious health threat to the region<sup>160</sup>.

---

<sup>156</sup> UNDP Report, 2006 pp. 73-74

<sup>157</sup> Socio-Economic and Environmental Challenges and the Quest for Sustainable Development in Nigeria's Oil Rich Niger Delta: A Commentary, 2004

<sup>158</sup> Joseph.E Dickson.E et Theophilus .A , *oil exploration and poverty in Niger delta region of Nigeria* 2013 pp279

<sup>159</sup> Ibid pp. 279

<sup>160</sup> Ibid pp. 280

## **4.5 Violations of Human Rights**

This is another factor considered to have sprung up hostility in the Niger Delta, the oil companies operating in this region has not been kind enough to the communities in this region were they carry out their activities, the indigenes are constantly subjected to harassment by government forces whenever they confront the excesses of this companies in their environment. take for instance, during the time of Boro and Ken Saro-Wiwa who were activist protesting against the ill treatment and degradation of their environment by this companies in their community<sup>161</sup>, Ken Saro-Wiwa for instance, was arrested without a fair trial and sentenced to death for fighting a just cause which the federal government perceived as sabotage to their activities with the oil corporations in that region. On the other hand, in order for the federal government to frustrate Isaac Boro's revolt of 1966, Nigerian troops were sent in this region to avert any form of action from the inhabitants of this region which will jeopardize the activities of the oil companies<sup>162</sup>. By so doing, the troops rather resort to rape of women and brutality of individuals at the demand of this companies who perceive anyone as a threat. List of prominent attacks that has occurred thus far by the Nigerian Military are stated as follows:

### **4.5.1 Warri War of 2003**

This conflict started as a result of the indigenous resentment on individuals assault by the Nigerian Naval officers and their perceived feeling of been marginalized<sup>163</sup>.

---

<sup>161</sup> Birisibe, 2001 Op.cit pp.5

<sup>162</sup> ICE Case Study: Ogonis and Conflict, 1997 op.cit pp.6

<sup>163</sup> Birisibe, 2001 op.cit pp.6

#### **4.5.2 The Odi Massacre of 1999 in Bayelsa State**

This attack came as a result of crisis in the Niger Delta region due to the communities' revolt against the excesses of the oil companies and their quest to control their resources and safeguard their environment from further degradation<sup>164</sup>.

#### **4.5.3 Ogoni Massacre of 1994 in Rivers State**

This attack was intended to suppress the revolt of the Ogoni people against the oil companies and the federal government. There was massive destruction of properties in the entire region and lots of lives were also lost leaving the survivors homeless. However, this didn't deter the inhabitants of this region from furthering their protest<sup>165</sup>.

#### **4.5.4 Bonny Massacre of 1992**

This occurred as a result of protest against environmental pollution and economic marginalization of the people of this region, it was followed by reprisal attacks from Nigerian troops, destroying and killing of youths who staged this peaceful protest<sup>166</sup>.

### **4.6 Exploitation/bad governance**

When individuals feel they are not rightly represented and feel exploited by same government that is supposed to protect their rights, the emergence of crises and conflict is imminent, this is the case with the Niger Delta region. The presumed negligence of the federal government in creating effective developmental structures which will aid in alleviating hardships and suffering in this region is non-existent. It won't be right to write off governments' ability to create a means in helping out this region; one thing that is challenging to the measures taken by previous administration was non-sustainability of these structures due to corrupt practices

---

<sup>164</sup> Human Rights watch Report, 1999

<sup>165</sup> Osita Nwajah et al A Tale of Military Massacres: From Ogoni To Odi, 1999

<sup>166</sup> Ibid

from individuals who are delegated to carry out such project<sup>167</sup>. Take for instance, there were compensations paid out by most of these oil companies which is geared towards cleaning up the polluted environment, but these funds were diverted by same officials to their own personal use. As a result, the people perceive the government is mere exploiting them thus led to inter-ethnic conflict. this has also brought about the shift in the objective of the people of this region as different armed militant groups now sprung up shifting from the actual course to a personal course which the government perceive as threat to peace and stability in the state as a result of activities been carried out by this radical militant groups such as kidnapping, hijacking of oil vessels, blowing up of oil pipelines. The issue of blowing up of pipelines and kidnapping altered the direction in which the crisis in this region is going, Officials who were designated to oversee the development of this region, divert funds allocated to the state and local governments through the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), could not affect the purpose in which it were allocated for reason been that the developmental plan of the delegated authorities is not people-centered. In addition, the mismanagement of these funds, corruption and the vulnerability of individuals due to the precariousness of the situation increased hostility in the region due to the expectation of people for improved living condition, employment, environmental management, provision of basic amenities, were unaccomplished<sup>168</sup>. The exploitation of resources provided to alleviate the suffering of individuals in this region by their very own people and government

---

<sup>167</sup>Giroux, 2008

<sup>168</sup> Niger Deltan Human Development report, 2006

representatives is a key factor to the underdevelopment of the people of Niger delta<sup>169</sup>.

#### **4.7 Impact on Nigeria's Economic Development**

There is an established knowledge that crises affects development, the Niger Delta crisis has exhibited severe consequences in Nigeria's economy and development. The stated observations below have shown the effect of Niger delta's crisis on the socio-cultural and economic development;

Firstly, Nigeria thus far has recorded huge revenue loss as a result of devastating activities of Niger delta militants such as blowing up of Oil pipelines, Vandalization and shutting down of production activities. Their grievance is that the proceeds gotten from the resources explored in their region has not been used in creating developmental structures. According to US deputy representative to the United Nation (UN) Amb Michele, she asserts that Nigeria lose about \$1.5 billion monthly to illicit activities going on in the Niger Delta region and the Gulf of Guinea<sup>170</sup>. she went further to say that the economic effect of this actions in this region is ravaging, the most alarming of this activities is the intentional destruction of civic amenities, telecommunication equipment's, oil pipelines, electric connections in commercial corporations which contribute to more industrial output. These actions eventually lead to the liquidation of affected establishments, cost-cutting of labor force which is needed for national economic growth will certainly hinder economic development<sup>171</sup>.

In furtherance to Chatham house report in the same vein, approximately 400 thousand barrels of oil are lifted illegally in this region. The causal factor of these

---

<sup>169</sup> Steyn, 2006. The Ogoni People, and Environmental Injustice in the Niger Delta, Nigeria. Echoes from the Poisoned Well: Global Memories of Environmental Injustice

<sup>170</sup> Debate on Peace Consolidation in West Africa with the theme "Piracy and Armed Robbery at Sea in the Gulf of Guinea, 2016

<sup>171</sup> Ibid

activities is due to ineffective administrative structures, unstable legal frameworks, Ineffectual rule of law, lack of coast guards and maritime law enforcement<sup>172</sup>.

According to Sebastian, (2007), the Niger delta crisis has resulted in vast decline of Nigerian economic growth, yearly around 300 thousand barrels of crude worth Millions of dollars are ravaged due to blowing up of oil pipeline, bringing about the decline of by 2.79 percent per annum<sup>173</sup>. In addition, onshore production has diminished by 25%, causing the loss of 1billion dollars monthly in Nigeria's economy<sup>174</sup>. The continuous destruction of oil pipeline has forced the government in resorting to convey oil using oil trucks. Usually, these trucks are inefficient as most times they get involved in accidents which result in loss of the commodity. The over dependency on oil in the federation has replaced other source of revenue of non-oil producing region to create other means of developing its own revenue and generate a reasonable input to the Nigerian economy<sup>175</sup>.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

From all indications, negligence of human security has adverse consequences which can hamper the progress and stability of a state. The Niger Delta crisis has demonstrated the effect of negligence of human security if state authorities and policy makers fail to tackle it. From the onset, the government could have averted this menace but they rather ignored it because they did not perceive it as a threat in the first place, now that the crises has escalated, they are struggling to contain it, instead of the crises lessening, it is rather evolving and shifting towards more severe

---

<sup>172</sup> Chatham house Report 2013.Nigeria's Criminal Crude:International Options to Combat the Export of Stolen Oil, 2013

<sup>173</sup> Junger.S: Crude awakening, part one, 2007

<sup>174</sup> Ibid

<sup>175</sup> Socio-Economic and Environmental Challenges and the Quest for Sustainable Development in Nigeria's Oil Rich Niger Delta: A Commentary, 2004



dimension which is threatening national security and development. the Niger Delta crisis relate with domestic factors due to the absence of basic amenities such as good drinking water, roads, health care facilities, protection of its environment from further degradation, poverty due to deprived means of sustenance as a result of environmental pollution, poor representation from government regarding communities badly affected by environmental degradation. Policy makers have to realize that this situation will grow worse if crucial exertions are not created to put an end to the conflict.

## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated the implications of negligence of human security. In order to elucidate this point, the theory of constructivism was chosen as the guiding theory because the idea of human security makes more sense when examined via the theoretical perspective of constructivism. Consequently, the first step taken in this research was to come up with an explanation which conceivably be operationalized in Nigeria's situation. This was done by outlining six areas of human security as proposed by King and Murray and inclusion of environment as another factor of human security which has over the years created a lot of tension in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. The Niger delta crisis cover all aspect of human security, that is why it was selected to encapsulate the idea of human security, consequences and repercussions on the economy if neglected. The following elements of human security were selected to serve as an indicator in operationalizing it in Nigeria's situation:

#### **5.1 Poverty**

- Unequal distribution of wealth
- Unemployment
- Lack of developmental structures

## **5.2 Environment**

- Gas Flaring
- Oil Spillage
- Deforestation
- Pipe line explosion

## **5.3 Political Freedom**

- Electoral violence
- Personal security
- Nepotism
- Lack of political will

## **5.4 Ethno-religious Crises**

- Boko haram threat
- Niger delta crises

## **5.5 Health**

- Lack of health-care amenities
- Non- availability of qualified personnel
- Access to drugs
- Spread of contagious diseases

## **5.6 Traditional corrupt practices**

- Embezzlement of funds meant for development
- Deficiency of good governance

Along with the above listed domains, the Niger delta crisis was examined in this research since it demonstrated the complexities of human security. The assessment in this regard was carried out using the following indicators:

- Absence of structural federalism
- High rate of poverty
- Violations of human rights
- Environmental degradation
- Corruption and Exploitation

At the end of my assessments, i went on the next objective of this research where these analyses serve as sort of a cautionary approach for human security threat in Nigeria's context. Taking this into consideration, i now use the evaluation as a risk assessment in order to determine on conceivable areas proportionate to human security threat in Nigeria.

As regards to Poverty, the current situation in Nigeria can be blamed on the government and policy makers, this is as a result of their inability to create a sustainable welfare system that will help in alleviating poverty regardless of the amount of revenue been generated from the oil sector. Governments seem to lack the political will in effecting a stable means of income security for its populace. On health security, this indicator has proven to be the most threatening factor of human security in Nigeria; there is high mortality rate due to unavailability of proper and standardized health care system and facilities. Government lack the will in funding the health care sector, the influential individuals seem to be the ones who can afford proper medical treatment abroad, the poor masses resort to traditional medical

treatment and in most cases self-medication because they cannot afford a proper health care system. On corruption, this can be said to be the most challenging factor of human security threat in Nigeria. Corruption has eaten deep the social fabric of Nigeria's political institution, health care and societal norm. This is a big challenge government needs to tackle if they expect any form of progress in alleviating human security threat.

In conclusion, government and policymakers ought to create strong and sustainable institutions that will help in alleviating all areas of insecurity to guarantee prosperity and development. Therefore, dealing with ethno- religious conflicts and corruption is a continuous task which demands a viable exertion and commitment in building trust amidst the state and its populace.

## REFERENCES

- AbduL-Fatah'kola, Makinde. (2007). *The Institution of Sharī 'ah in Oyo and Osun States, Nigeria* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Ibadan)
- Adalikwu-Obisike, J., & Obisike, E. E. (2014). Communities at Risk: an Aftermath of Global Capitalism. *European Scientific Journal*, 10(25).
- Adebayo, R. I. (2010). Ethno-religious crises and the challenges of sustainable development in Nigeria. *Journal of sustainable development in Africa*, 12(4), 213-225
- African Development Bank, & African Development Fund. (2000). *African Development Bank Group policy on good governance*. African Development Group.
- Akindele, S. T. (2005). A critical analysis of corruption and its problems in Nigeria. *Anthropologist*, 7(1), 7-18. Akindele, S. T. (2005). A critical analysis of corruption and its problems in Nigeria. *Anthropologist*, 7(1), 7-18.
- Anthony.O, Okechukwu.E.(2011). The Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria: A Thematic Exposition.Interdisciplinary. *Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*.

- Balogun, A. (n.d.). Federal Ministry of Health - Press Releases. Retrieved April 15, 2016, from Health.gov.ng.: <http://www.health.gov.ng/index.php/news-media/press-releases>
- Bayo, O. A. (2012). Putting Historical Materialism into Terrorism Studies.
- Beckmann, R., Daun, A., Hagen, C., Oppermann, K., & Viehrig, H. (2007). Alexander L. George, Andrew Bennett: Case studies and theory development in the social sciences. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 48(1), 197-198.
- Bedeski, R. (2007). *Human security and the Chinese state: historical transformations and the modern quest for sovereignty*. Routledge.
- Benedek, W. (2008). Human security and human rights interaction. *International Social Science Journal*, 59(s1), 7-17
- Blakeley, R. (2013). Human rights, state wrongs, and social change: the theory and practice of emancipation. *Review of International Studies*, 39(03), 599-619.
- Blakeley, R. (2013). Human rights, state wrongs, and social change: the theory and practice of emancipation. *Review of International Studies*, 39(03), 599-619.
- Brown BJ, (2006). Contemporary Issues of Africa. 2006. Retrieved January 15, 2016, from [www.nationalgeographic.com/geographyaction](http://www.nationalgeographic.com/geographyaction)

Buzan, B. (2008). *People, States & Fear: An agenda for international security studies in the post-cold war era*. Ecpr Press

Buzan, B., & Hansen, L. (2009). *The evolution of international security studies*. Cambridge University Press

Caballero-Anthony, M. (2002). Overview of health and human security case studies. *Health and Human Security: Moving from Concept to Action—Fourth Intellectual Dialogue on Building Asia's Tomorrow*, 21-44.

ChathamHouse Report.(2013). Nigeria's Criminal Crude:International Options to Combat the ExportofStolenOil. [https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Africa/0913pr\\_nigeriaoil](https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Africa/0913pr_nigeriaoil).

Chibber Vivek. (2011).What is living and what is dead in Marxist theory of Historical Materialism: Research in critical Marxist theory. New York University, 1-32.

Collins, A. (2016). *Contemporary security studies*. Oxford university press

Corbridge, S. (1990). Post-Marxism and development studies: Beyond the impasse. *World Development*, 18(5), 623-639.

Daily Post Nigeria. (2016, April 24). Debate on Peace Consolidation in West Africa with the theme "Piracy and Armed Robbery at Sea in the Gulf of Guinea.



Nigeria loses \$1.5bn monthly to sea piracy, fuel supply fraud - US - Daily Post Nigeria. <http://dailypost.ng/2016/04/26/nigeria-loses-1-5bn-monthly-to-sea-piracy-fuel-supply-fraud-us/>.

Desai, V., & Potter, R. B. (2013). *The companion to development studies*. Routledge

Elaigwu, J. I. (1987). The Challenges of Unity in a Heterogeneous Society. *Development Studies Review*, 2(1)

Elaigwu, J. I. (2005). Crisis and conflict management in Nigeria since 1980. *Kaduna: Baraka Press and Publishers Ltd*, 28-29.

El-Rufai, N. (2015). Nigeria's Health Sector Challenge and Solutions That Work. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from Omojuwa .com: <http://www.omojuwa.com>

Ewetan, O. & Ese, U. (2014). Insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development Studies*, 5(1), 40-63.

Ezeoha, S. (2011). Causes and Effects of Insecurity in Nigeria. *The National Scholar*, 20-29.

Farah, I., Kiamba, S., & Mazongo, K. (2011). Major challenges facing Africa in the 21st century: A few provocative remarks. In *International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy in Africa—Strategies to confront the Challenges of the 21st Century: Does Africa have what is required*.

Finnemore, M. (1996). National interests in international society

Giroux, J., Burgherr, P., & Melkunaite, L. (2013). Research note on the energy infrastructure attack database (EIAD). *Perspectives on terrorism*,7(6).

Global Nonviolent Action Database. (2011, March 11). Ogoni people struggle with Shell Oil, Nigeria, 1990-1995. Retrieved April 24, 2016, from Nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu:  
<https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/ogoni-people-struggle-shell-oil-nigeria-1990-1995>

Hampson, O. (2008). Human Security. *Security Studies*, pp. 229-243.

Human Rights watch Report. (1999, December 22). The Destruction of Odi and Rape in Choba. Retrieved April 24, 2016, from Hrw.org:  
<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/press/1999/dec/nibg1299.html>

Hussein, K., Gnisci, D., & Wanjiru, J. (2004). *Security and Human Security: An Overview of Concepts and Initiatives; what Implications for West Africa?*.  
OECD

Hussein, K., Gnisci, D., & Wanjiru, J. (2004). *Security and Human Security: An Overview of Concepts and Initiatives; what Implications for West Africa?*.  
OECD

- Huysmans, J. (1998). Revisiting Copenhagen: Or, on the creative development of a security studies agenda in Europe. *European journal of international relations*, 4(4), 479-505
- Iduh, S. (2011). The key challenges to peace in Nigeria. *International Journal of Vocational and Technical Education*, 3(8), 121-134.
- Ifeanyi Chris Benjamin A. Okolie, C. Anthony Onodugo. (2015). Ethno-religious crises: The Impact on Nigerian Socio-economic development. *International Journal in Management and Social Science*, 139.
- Ikari, B. W. (2010). Niger Delta oil conflict; the reason. [www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/16219](http://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/16219).
- Ikein, A. A. (2004). Socio-Economic and Environmental Challenges and the Quest for Sustainable Development in Nigeria's Oil Rich Niger Delta: A Commentary. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 6(1), 1-16..
- Isaac, O. (2016, April 3). top 20 corruption cases and scandals in Nigeria.2011-2015. Lagos, Nigeria: Nigerian online news.
- Jacky, K. A. (2007). The Two West Africas. *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 77-92.
- Jega, A. (2002). Tackling ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. *The Nigerian Social Scientists*, 5(2)

- Jolly, R., & Basu Ray, D. (2006). The human security framework and national human development reports. *NHDR Occasional Paper*, 5
- Joseph.E Dickson.E et Theophilus .A . (2013). Oil Exploration and Poverty in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria: A Critical Analysis. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 279-287.
- Junger, S. (2007). Crude awakening, part one. Retrieved April 26, 2016, from The Guardian: <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2007/apr/15/oil.news1>
- Katzenstein, P. J. (1996). *The culture of national security: Norms and identity in world politics*. Columbia University Press.
- King, G. Murray. (2001). Rethinking Human Security. *Political Science Quarterly*, 584-615.
- Kolodziej, E. A. (1992). Renaissance in security studies? Caveat lector!. *International Studies Quarterly*, 36(4), 421-438.
- Kötschau, K., & Maruhn, T. (2008). Good Governance and Developing Countries. *Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Frankfurt am Main ua*
- Kowert, P. V. (1998). International Relations in Constructed World. In N. G. Onu. New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

- Krause, K. (2008). Building the agenda of human security: policy and practice within the Human Security Network. *International Social Science Journal*, 59(s1), 65-79
- LeVasseur ML, B.B (2006). Contemporary Issues of Africa Retrieved 03-2-2016, from [www.nationalgeographic.com/geographyaction](http://www.nationalgeographic.com/geographyaction).
- Levy, M. A. (1995). Is the environment a national security issue?. *International security*, 20(2), 35-62
- Lewis, P. M. (2002). Islam, Protest, and Conflict in Nigeria. *Africa Notes*, 10, 1-10.
- Lewis, P. M. (2002). Islam, Protest, and Conflict in Nigeria. *Africa Notes*, 10, 1-10.
- Mechan, P. a. (2011). Boko Haram, Threat to the U.S. Homeland. U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and. Washington.
- Mercer, J. (1995). Anarchy and identity. *International Organization*, 49(02), 229-252
- Mquro,P. (2005). Corruption and growth. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 617-713.
- Newman, E. (2001). Human Security and Constructivism. In *International Studies perspectives* (pp. 230-252)

- Newman, E. (2010). Critical human security studies. *Review of International Studies*, 36(01), 77-94.
- NewsPunch. (2016, March 18). Alleged Secret Recruitments Of Atiku, Buhari Children and Allies, CBN Breaks Silence. (Newspunch.org) Retrieved March 21, 2016, from <http://www.newspunch.org/2016/03/alleged-secret-recruitments-of-atiku.html>
- Nnamd.ki, O. (2006). The Importance of Human Security in West Africa. Human Security in WestAfrica: Challenges, Synergies and Action for a Regional Agenda. Togo: Sahel and West Africa Club/OECD.
- Nwanegbo, C. J., & Odigbo, J. (2013). Security and national development in Nigeria: The threat of Boko Haram. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(4), 285-291.
- Nwaomah, S. M. (2011). Religious Crises in Nigeria: Manifestation, Effect and the way forward. *Journal of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology in Practice*, 3(2), 94-104.
- Oberleitner, G. (2005). Human security: a challenge to international law?. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, 11(2), 185-203.
- Ogata, S. (2014). The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World. Retrieved January 15, 2016, from <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries>

- Okpaga, A., Chijioke, U. S., & Eme, O. I. (2012). Activities of Boko Haram and insecurity question in Nigeria. *Arabian Journal of Business and management Review (OMAN chapter)*, 1(9), 77
- Ologbenla, D. K. (2007). Leadership, governance and corruption in Nigeria. *Economic and Policy Review*, 14(1)
- Omotosho, A. O. (2003). Religious Violence in Nigeria—the Causes and Solutions: an Islamic Perspective. *Swedish Missiological Themes*, 91(1), 15-32.
- Omoyibo, K. U., & Akpomera, E. (2012). Insecurity mantra: The paradox of Nigerian growth and development. *European Scientific Journal*, 8(15)
- Onodugo, I.C, Amujiri, B. A and Nwuba, B. N. (2015). Ethno- Religious Crisis and Nigerian Democracy. *International Journal of Innovative Science, Engineering & Technology*.
- Onuf, N. G. (2012). *World of our making: rules and rule in social theory and international relations*. Routledge
- Onuoha, G. (2006). Contextualising the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Nigeria's Niger Delta: Local and global intersections. *African Security Studies*, 15(2), 108-114.
- Onwumah, T. (2014). Communal and Ethno-Religious Crises and their Implications for National Development in Nigeria. *Developing Country Studies*, 4(17)

- Osita Nwajah et al. (1999). A Tale of Military Massacres: From Ogoni To Odi. Retrieved April 24, 2016, from Waado.org: [http://www.waado.org/environment/fedgovt\\_nigerdelta/bayelsainvasion/FederalGovernInvadesBayelsa/MilitaryInOdi/MilitaryMassacres.html](http://www.waado.org/environment/fedgovt_nigerdelta/bayelsainvasion/FederalGovernInvadesBayelsa/MilitaryInOdi/MilitaryMassacres.html)
- Paris, R. (2001). Human security: Paradigm shift or hot air?. *International security*, 26(2), 87-102
- Patman, R. G. (Ed.). (2006). *Globalization and conflict: National security in a new strategic era*. Routledge
- Penny, C.H. (2008). An Introduction to human Security Studies, 229-243
- Peoples, C., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2014) *Critical security studies: an introduction*. Routledge
- Ruggie, J. G. (1983). Continuity and transformation in the world polity: Toward a neorealist synthesis. *World Politics*, 35(02), 261-285.
- Ruggie, J. G. (1998). What makes the world hang together? Neo-utilitarianism and the social constructivist challenge. *International organization*, 52(04), 855-885
- Salawu, B. (2010). Ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria: Causal analysis and proposals for new management strategies. *European journal of social sciences*, 13(3), 345-353



- Sané, P. (2008). Rethinking human security. *International Social Science Journal*, 59(s1), 5-6
- Smith, B. C. (2007). *Good governance and development*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, S. (1999). The increasing insecurity of security studies: Conceptualizing security in the last twenty years. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 20(3), 72-101.
- Steyn, P. (2006). Shell International, the Ogoni People, and Environmental Injustice in the Niger Delta, Nigeria. *Echoes from the Poisoned Well: Global Memories of Environmental Injustice*, 371
- Study, ICE. (1997, November). ICE Case Study: Ogonis and Conflict. Retrieved April 21, 2016, from Www1.american.edu: <http://www1.american.edu/ted/ice/ogonioil.htm>
- Suhrke, A. (1999). Human security and the interests of states. *Security Dialogue*, 30(3), 265-276.
- Sundaram, J. K., & Chowdhury, A. (2012). *Is good governance good for development?*. A&C Black.
- Susan.K Soy. (1997). *The case study as a research method*. Austin: University of Texas.

Tadjbakhsh, S. &. (2006). Human Security. In Concept and Implication (p. 223).  
London: Routledge.

Tadjbakhsh, S., & Chenoy, A. (2007). *Human security: Concepts and implications*.  
Routledge

Terminski, B. (2013). The concept of human security: a comprehensive  
bibliography. *Occasional Research Paper*, (5)

Tsai, Y. T. (2009). The emergence of human security: A constructivist  
view. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 19-33..

Tsai, Y (2007). Re-thinking Human Security. *tamkang Journal of Humanities and  
Social Sciences*, 55-76.

Ufer, A. (2008). *Rethinking Good Governance in Developing Economies*. Nomos  
Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG

UNDP Report. (2006). Niger Deltan Human Development report. 73-74.

UNDP, I. H. (2013). *The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World*.  
United Nations Development Programme.

UNESCO. (2000). *Agenda for Action of the International SecuriPax Network for the  
Promotion of Human Security and Peace*. Retrieved 3 9, 2016, from  
<http://www.unesco.org/securipax/>

United Nations Human Rights. International Human Rights law. Retrieved April 22, 2016, from Ohchr.org: <http://www.ohchr.org>

VanguardNGR. (2016, 3 18). Rivers Governorship Election marred by violence, says INEC. Retrieved 323,2016, from VanguardNews: <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/09/rivers-governorship-election-marred-by-violence-says-inec/>

Welcome, M. O. (2011). The Nigerian health care system: Need for integrating adequate medical intelligence and surveillance systems. *Journal of Pharmacy and Bioallied Sciences*, 3(4), 470

Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what State make of it. In *The Social Construction of Politics* (pp. 390-426)

Wendt, A. (1994). Collective Identity Formation and the International State. In *American Political Science Review* (pp. 380-397)

Wendt, A. (1995). Constructing International Politics. In *International Security* (pp. 70-82)

Wendt, A. (1996). The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory. In Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil, *Identity and Structural Change in International Politics*. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner.

Wendt, A. (1999). *Social theory of international politics*. Cambridge University Press

Williams, J. K.-a. (2011). *Conflict and Human Security In Africa*. New York: Palgrave Mamillan.

World bank poverty Statistics. (2011). Retrieved April 21, 2016, from Data.worldbank.org: <http://data.worldbank.org/topic/poverty>

WorldBank. (1998). *World Development Indicators*. Washington: World bank.

Yin, R. K. (2004). *Case Study Method*. Cosmos corporation, 4-7.

Yoroms, G. (2016). *Electoral Violence, Arms Proliferation and Electoral Security in Nigeria*. 18-53.

Zimmerer, K. S., & Bassett, T. J. (Eds.). (2003). *Political ecology: an integrative approach to geography and environment-development studies*. Guilford Press..

Zimmerer, K. S., & Bassett, T. J. (Eds.). (2003). *Political ecology: an integrative approach to geography and environment-development studies*. Guilford Press