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The impacts of the Oil Industry and Civil Unrest in the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria

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Abstract

This paper establishes that there is a close relationship between the oil industry production activities and the spate of civil unrest in the Niger-Delta. Since the oil was discovered in the Niger-Delta and commercialized in large quantity, it has resulted to several unhealthy situations for Nigeria like kidnapping, oil bunkering and environmental pollution. These implications were found to be responsible for the incessant violence in the Niger-Delta. Similarly, it was found that, much of the environmental hazards and health implications in the area were as a result of oil production. In the conclusion it is argued that if Nigeria keeps depending on the oil, its problem of civil unrest in the Niger-Delta will remain unresolved. One of the major recommendations is for the federal government to radically improve the condition of social amenities in the Niger-Delta. The method that was used to gather data for this analysis was through the secondary method.

Keywords: Impacts, Oil Industry, Civil Unrest, Niger-Delta Region and Frustration, Aggression.

Introduction.

The Niger-Delta also known as the South-South geographical political zones in Nigeria is made up of Cross River, Rivers, Bayelsa, Akwa-Ibom and Delta states as the major oil producing states. These states are the major host communities of the Nigerian oil which is the major foreign earner for Nigeria. The implication is that Nigeria depends heavily on the oil produced in the Niger-Delta for her revenue, without the oil which Nigeria heavily depends on; the national budget of the country will run into problems. When the oil prices dropped in the 1980s for instance due to the oil glut, Nigeria ran into a huge budgetary deficit which greatly affected the economy at that era.

Unfortunately, the Niger-Delta that host Nigeria's crude oil has suffer a lot of damages in the process of exploring and producing the oil by the oil multinational corporations like Shell British Petroleum, Texaco and Chevron among other oil companies. Oil production has resulted to environmental pollution such as land degradation, air pollution, water contamination and deforestation. Environmental pollution has

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thrown out of business many farmers, fishermen and hunters. The land is no longer fit for agriculture due to oil spillage and oil exploration, oil wastes released in the rivers and lakes have destroyed aquatic animals which were hitherto hunted for food and commercial purpose, of course with deforestation, the forests are no longer there for hunters to hunt for games, this scenario has brought about hunger, poverty and poor living conditions to the Niger-Delta.

Despite the huge financial revenues that the government and the oil multinational corporation derive from the Niger-delta, they have not been effectively compensated the region in commensurate measures to the revenues derived and damages inflicted on the area. The Niger-Delta suffers a lot of health implications like asthma, blindness, cholera etc arising from the activities of oil production. Yet the area lack good health care facilities, rural and urban roads, bridges, and electricity and good schools among other.

In response to the neglect of the area in terms of rural and urban development in the provision of social amenity, the youths have risen up to react to what they regard economic as marginalization in the mist of a lot of resources from the area. These youths have graduated their response from civil protest to reprisal and militia activities in other to attract the attention of the government and the oil multinational corporations to the region's plight. The reprisal attacks have taken different shapes ranging from oil bunkering, kidnapping, terrorism, militia activities and the proliferation of light and heavy ammunitions. It reached the point of the Niger-Delta demanding for total resource control in the Niger-Delta by the oil producing states. The civil unrest in the Niger-Delta resulting from oil production has attracted both national and international attention because the area has been robbed of peaceful environment which at a point affected the national wealth of the nation and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the area.

The major objective of the paper is to find out the relationship between the impacts of the oil industry and civil unrest in the Niger-delta. To realize this objective, the paper is segmented into the following sub-units: abstract, introduction and the impacts of oil production on the Niger-Delta. Other parts of the paper are; reactions to the negative impacts of oil production in the Niger-Delta, theoretical explanation to the Niger-Delta Civil Unrest, concluding remarks and references.

The Impacts of the Oil Industry on the Niger-Delta

The oil is mostly celebrated as the mainstay of the Nigerian economy especially towards revenue generation. However, the Niger-Delta sees the oil as a killer mineral resource which has been responsible for the environmental degradation and hazards in the Niger-Delta. By environmental degradation it means "...the process of depreciation in quality and/or quantity of resources of environment such as water, mineral, land, vegetation, flora and fauna, wildlife, air among others, as a result of harsh climatic factors, pollution and/or unsustainable exploitation by human" (Onuoha, 2007:3). Indeed, beyond pretence, the oil industry has generated a lot of socio-economic and environmental problems for the inhabitants of the Niger-Delta especially with the advent of globalization and the deregulation of the downstream oil sector. To confirm the plight of the Niger-Delta, Okunnu (2008:410) states that:

From the emergence of serious commercial oil exploration in 1958..the Niger-Delta has known no peace as the environment suffers avalanche of assault, degradation and outright violation of its ecosystem by the activities of the multinational oil companies operating in the area..underdevelopment and deprivation stare most of the people in the face. The rate of poverty, unemployment and general disillusionment is high.

Destructive environmental changes emanating from the oil and gas business particularly, oil spill and gas flares have destroyed the natural resource base crucial to sustain independent indigenous livelihood. In most part no longer productive. The peasants have lost the fertility of their lands to oil exploration. Various attempts by the local people to avenge this economic disarticulation perpetrated by the state and oil companies have always compounded their environments of the Ogoni/Isoko in Rivers and Delta states for instance, the hitherto very fertile lands are crisis leading to more devastating pollution and frequent loss of valuable lives and property. The Jesse episode that claimed over 1,000 lives in 2001 is a worthy example (Okaba 2008:30-31). Similarly, Bolaji (2008:598) in accepting with the plight of the Niger-Delta reports thus:

According to a survey 10 million of the 20 million people in the area are destitute, with 14 million people living in poverty in rural communities. The area is also characterized by malnutrition, under nutrition, diseases, illiteracy, unemployment, low income, inadequate shelter and high fertility.

Adekoya (1995:314) pointed out that the discovery of crude oil in the coastal region of Nigeria has spelled ecological doom to the intricate biological webs of life that sustains the myriad of species. During seismic surveys and exploration for crude oil, there is extensive use of explosive to obtain configuration of the sub surface sediments. The activity has been reported to have resulted in vast destruction of the environment. Such that; "the visible signs of environmental degradation in the coastal areas due to oil pollution are: decrease in fishing resources, damage to marine flora and fauna, loss of biodiversity, deforestation, coastal and marine erosion flooding" (Chikwendu, 1988:195).

Read how one of the citizens of Niger-Delta from Bayelsa State presents their pathetic situation:

My brother take a look at me, is there anything around me that makes me look like a Nigerian? We drink from that dirty water over there that is where we put over waste, many of us here die in bad boats from Yanagoo that takes us in and out of here. No one knows if we exist. I cannot beat my chest and say that I am a Nigeria. Where is Nigeria here? (www.drecitizenship.org)

The impact of environmental degradation on the vegetation and population of the Niger-delta has been devastating (Aboribo and Ikenga, 20007). According to Akindele et al cited by Okoh (2007:732):

Oil exploration affects people living in oil producing area negatively. Most farmers face the problem of displacement without resettlement during oil spills. Apart from loss of farms oil spills have led to extensive deforestation with no adequate replanting practices. This in effect has shortened fallow periods compounded land degradation and led to loss of soil fertility and consequently erosion of the top soil.

In a similar argument Ikelegbe (2008:122) postulates that, the oil industry practices... have destroyed farmlands and crops. The creeks, swamps, rivers, lakes and other community waster resources have been poisoned and contaminated. Plant growth and crop production have been destroyed by acid rain

vegetation and animal life have been scorched, damaged or dwarfed. Crop yields have become so poor that farming the major occupation of the people has become unprofitable.

Furthermore, available information show that oil spillage by the oil companies in the Niger-Delta also contributes to the environmental damage in the words of Nwilo and Badejo (2008:1222):

Available data indicates that the country recorded a total of 9,107 oil spills between 1976 and 2005 alone, between 2005 and 2007, the Shell Petroleum Development Company alone recorded 1,243 oil spills. These incidents resulted in the spilling of oil into the environment, with the attendant damage to the ecosystem between 1976 and 2005. For instance a total of 3,121,909.8 barrels of oil was split into the environment.

The USA Department of Energy estimates that over 4,000 oil spills discharging more than two million barrels of crude have occurred in the Niger-Delta since 1960. In Nigeria for instance, 50 percent of oil spills is due to corrosion, 28 percent to sabotage and 21 percent to oil production operations. One percent of oil spills is due to engineering drills, inability to effectively control oil wells, failure of machines and inadequate care of loading and unloading oil vessels (Nwilo and Bango, 2001) cited by Onuoha (2007:1032). One of the most damaging effects of oil spills has been the loss of mangrove trees (source of both fuel and wood for the indigenous people) and habitat for the area biodiversity.

It is also recorded that the environmental degradation arising from oil spillage has resulted in the loss of lives and property. For example, the Jesse pipeline explosion fire killed over 100 people and the oil spill fire in Kalabileama community in Nember Local Government Area of Bayelsa State on September 17, 2003 among others (Udeh, 2008:1047). On the whole, a total of 549,060 barrels of oil representing 23.17% of the total oil spill into environment was recorded (Nwilo and Badyo, 2008:1217).

Apart from oil spillage, gas flare is another form of damage to the environment due to oil processing in the Niger-Delta. These scholars put it this way:

Gas flare is also noted to have caused several environmental problems. Nigeria flares 20 billion out of the global 150 cubic feet of gas that is flared annually (Uzoama 2008:29) meanwhile, there are about 275 flow stations where gas is flared in the region... gas flare have impacted on the local on the local economic largely based on fanning and fishing leading to occupational displacement/disorientation and forced migration (Ibaba, 2011:258)

From the above analysis, it is obvious that a significant percentage of gas flare still takes place in the Niger-delta. Such that, as Onuaha (2008:1031) puts it, "Most communities in the Niger-Delta live with gas stacks that flare gas 24 hours a day at temperatures of 13-14,000 degrees Celsius.. this makes the oil industry in Nigeria a significant contributor to global warming."

The main impact gas flare has on the environment comes in form acidic precipitation. The incineration of Sour gas produces sulphur oxide released into the atmosphere. Acid rain produces several negative effects on the Niger-Delta like physical destruction of plants around the flaring areas, thick soot being deposited on building roofs of neighboring villages. Whenever it rained the soot is washed off and the

black-ink like water running down the roofs is believed to contain chemicals which adversely affect the fertility of the soil and contaminates drinking water. Contaminated water has resulted to the disappearance of fish that was once in abundance which was used for food and recreation. Most of the fishermen who earned a living by it have been rendered unemployed.

The oil industry is also principally responsible for the loss of huge proportion of mangrove forest in the Niger-Delta. These forest are cleared off to give space for oil exploration under ground in effect, man has lost touch with animals in the forest which were hunted for food and commercial purpose. The hunters who earned revenue from hunting have been thrown out of business.

Health wise, many who consumed crops or drink water from swamps in the area displayed symptoms such as vomiting, dizziness, stomach ache and cough. Within two months, 93 people had died from the illness. Three laboratories and two Nigerian universities conducted independent researches a year after the health problem was identified. The entire test confirmed a poisonous concentration of lead, zinc and mercury in the dumped substance (Ofehe, 2008).

Reactions to the Negative Impacts of Oil Production on the Niger-Delta

The reactions of the Niger-Delta people to the negative effects of oil production in the area have been resistance to the implications of environmental hazards. Principally the failure of the Nigerian government after independence in giving the desired attention to the development of the Niger-Delta region in spite of its enormous contributions to the wealth of the country, stimulated reactionary activities from the youths and the different militia groups.

Reactionary resistance in the Niger-Delta began before Nigerian got her independence in 1960. History has it that:

Resistance to injustice in the Niger-Delta began in the palm oil era when the likes of Jaja of Opobo, Nana Olomu of Istekiri fought the British on behalf of their people... The then Nembe Monarch, King Kokko unleashed his local militia on the Royal Niger Company port in response to the British evil scheme of displacing the local middlemen from the lucrative palm oil trade. The British reprisal siege on February 22, 1895 became a turning point in local resistance against British (Ukaogo, 2007:102)

Six years immediately after independence, Isaac Adaka Boro came up with Niger-Delta Volunteer Service (NDVS) in 1966 as a platform to fight the long aged marginalized Niger-Delta area and the crisis of infrastructural development in the region. It was against this background that Boro rolled out his Niger-Delta Volunteer Services to revolt against the Nigerian government in a war of liberation and declared a Niger-Delta Republic at 6:30pm on February 23, 1966 (Boro, 1984).

Twenty six years after Boro's protest movement, Ken Saro-Wiwa came up with the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) (1992/1993) among other issues to demand for the political self-determination for the Ogoni people; compensation for the pollution and destruction of their living environment as well as the right to protect the area from further degradation.

Other reactionary activities and groups that surfaced to protest the marginalization and injustice to the Niger-Delta region include: The Aleibiri Demonstration of 1997; the Egbesa war took place between 1998/1999; the Kaiama Declaration of 1988 which gave birth to about 20 militia groups. The militia groups that emerged afterward were: the Tone Gbomo-Led Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND) and the Asari Dokobo Muhahid led Niger-Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF) among other militia groups.

By the end of January 2009, it was estimated that the total number of youths involved in one form militancy or the other was close to 50,000... The youths were armed with over 250,000 assorted weapons made up of various rifles, bazookas, grenade launchers and rockets (Ekanem 2011:181).

The spate of violent response in the Niger-Delta today against the oil multinational corporations and the federal government by the militia groups in the early 1990s due to the tension between the foreign oil corporations and a number of the Niger-Delta's minority ethnic group who felt they were being exploited, particularly the Ogoni as well the Ijaw in the late 1990s, ethnic and political unrests have continued throughout 1990s and persisted up to 2007 (Bot, 2008:466).

As a consequence, there have been extensive social unrests. There were only 34 community disturbances in 1989. There were 169 community disturbances in 1993 which led to 1,432... in 1997 the MNOC lost 117 working days to community disturbance. SDPC reported more than 650 security threats within a two years period... Numerous MNOC staff, equipment, facilities and even pipelines and crude oil has become victims of the HCs deep and perverse grievances and consequent direct mass actions and resistance.

Between March and May 2003, about 7 MNOC staff were killed in the Warri region. The MNOC had to withdraw their staff and close down operations. Crude oil output declined by about 750,000 bpd. About 11 oil installations were held by militants (Ikelegbe, 2008:130)

The militants had vowed to go to any length to fight for the freedom of the Niger-Delta. According to Ofehe, the views of the NDPVF are very clear;

We are going back to armed struggle, and anybody who is caught in the line of fire will be treated as an enemy, whether he is American, a Dutchman, wherever he is from...(Ofehe, 2010:3)

Another pattern of the response to environmental degradation was the high wave of kidnappings that reigned in the area. Those kidnapped included staff of the oil companies, innocent citizens and government officials. Table 1 below shows a police record of some cases of those kidnapped and taken hostage for demands of different ransom.

TABLE 1: POLICE RECORD OF SOME CASES OF KIDNAPPING AND PIRACY IN THE NIGER-DELTA

	ACTION DATE	MNC/OIL servicing Co.	Youth Group/Ethnic Group	Ascertain ed purpose	Outcome
1	Hostage taking of 10 workers/April 2002	Shell	Militant Youth Gang, Ekeremor LGA, Ijaw/Bayelsa	Ransom demand for NGN 3.1m	Resulted from failure to yield to alleged frivolous demands
2	Kidnap of staff/June 29-July 2003	Oil servicing Co. working for shell	Ijaw youth militants in Bomadi/Burutu LGAs/Delta State	Demand for NGN 25.4m	State Government Intervention/Negotiated release after 14 days
3	Kidnap of 9 crew & 4 military escorts of oil barges/November		Ijaw militants	Ransom/other demands	Released 2 days later after threats by state Government/Security Agencies.
4	Kidnap of 14 workers/November 2003	Chevron Texaco	Militant Ijaw Youths/Bayelsa	Ransom demands	Intervention of State Government.
5	Kidnap of 19 oil workers	Nobel Drilling/Prospecting	Ijaw Militias/Delta State	Ransom demands	Intervention of State Government.
6	Kidnap of 7 workers November 28 December 2003	Bredero Shaw Oil servicing Co. (Shell)	Militant Ijaw Youths Delta State	Ransom demands for USD 5m	State government intervention/negotiation.
7	Murder of 7 workers & Military personnel/April 2004	Chevron Texaco	Militant youths along Benin River Area/Delta State		

Source: Augustine Ikelegbe, 2005, "The Economy of Conflict in the Oil Rich Niger Delta of Nigeria", Nordic Journal of African Studies 14(2): 208-234

The implication of this response from the militia groups on the Nigerian economy is the short fall in the volume of oil exploited. The quantity of oil exported drastically dropped resulting to budgetary slashed revenue expected by the federal government.

Between 2005 and mid 2009, attacks against oil installations forced the shutdown of between 25% and 40% of Nigeria's oil production and exports leading to substantial loss of revenue profits by them state-oil multinationals alliance. These militia attacks have largely accounted for a drop in oil productions from about 2.6 million barrels in 2005 to 1.3 million barrels in June 2009. The resultant loss of revenue is estimated in billions of Dollars (Obi, 2010:220)

Table 2 below clear shows an estimated value of Nigeria's stolen and shut-in production from January, 2000 to September 2008.

Table 2: Estimated Value of Nigeria's Stolen and Shut-In Oil Production From January, 2000 to September 2008

Year	Average Price Of Bonny Light Per Barrel (In Usd)	Volume Of Oil Stolen Per Day In Barrels	Volume Of Oil Stolen Per Annum (In Usd)	Volume Of Oil Shut - In Per (In Barrels)	Value Of Oil Shut - In Per Annum (In Usd)	Total Value Of Oil Stolen Or Shut - Per Annum (In Usd)
2000	28.49	140,000	1.5 billion	250,000	2.6 billion	4.1 billion
2001	24.50	724,171	6.5 billion	200,000	1.8 billion	8.3 billion
2002	25.15	699,763	•6.5 billion	370,000	3.4 billion	9.9 billion
2003	29.76	300,000	3.2 billion	350,000	3.7 billion	6.9 billion
2004	38.27	300,000	4.2 billion	230,000	3.2 billion	6.4 billion
2005	55.67	250,000	5.1 billion	180,000	3.7 billion	8.8 billion
2006	66.84	100,000	2.4 billion	600,000	14.6 billion	17.0 billion
2007	75.15	100,000	2.7 billion	600,000	16.5 billion	19.2 billion
2008	115.81	150,000	6.3 billion	650,000	27.5 billion	33.8 billion

Source: Burdin (2009:6)

From table 2 above, between January 2000 to September 2008 the volume of oil stolen/bunkered per day total at 2,663,934 million barrels while 238.4billion represents the total quantity of oil that was stolen/bunkered for a period of nine years that is between January 2000 to September 2008. Relatively, the total volume of oil shut in per day for the period in question came up to 33,430,000 million while the total volume of oil shut-in per annum is estimated at 77 billion and a whopping sum of 114.4 billion dollars was lost to oil theft/bunkering due to militia activities.

The Frustration-Aggression Theory: Theoretical Explanation to the Oil Industry and Civil Unrest in the Niger-Delta

Frustration-aggression theory was first developed by John Dollard and his research associates in 1939. These research associates were: "Leonard Doob, Neal Milles, O.H Mowrer and Robert Sears" (Ibaba, 2011: 242). Later the frustration aggression theory was modified and expanded by other scholars, including Aubrey Tates "Frustration and Conflict" (1962); Leonard Berkowiz "Agression: A Social Psychological Aggression" (1961) and Ted Robert Gur "Why Men Rebel" (1970),

Frustration simply means the act of preventing someone from making advancement, progress or success in life, this blockage likely results to dissatisfaction in an individual or groups who turn to react in a violent manner (aggression) as an indication of protest against hindrance to succeed. When this occurs, it can produce feelings of anger, which in turn can generate feelings of aggression and aggressive behavior" (www. Alledog.com).

Major Assumptions of Frustration-Aggression Theory

The first popular premise of frustration-aggression theory is that violent behaviour is as a result of frustration, by frustration is when an individual or group of individuals are deliberately or inadvertently barricaded from realizing a particular desired expectation in life or in an environment, this hindrance results to abnormal behaviour. In the word of Anifowose (1982:4):

The Central premise of the frustration-aggression theory... is that aggression is always the result of frustration. Given the requisite conditions, an individual, whose basic desire are thwarted and who consequently experiences profound sense of dissatisfaction and anger is likely to react to his condition...

It presupposes that any hostile attitude put up by an individual or a group must have been instigated by an element of frustration. According to Dennen (2005), "Frustration produces instigations to a number of different types of response, one of which is an instigation to some form of aggression... frustration is necessary condition for hostility and aggression... frustration is used to refer not only to the process of blocking a person's attainment of a reinforce but also to the reaction to such blocking".

The second premise of frustration-aggression theory is closely related to the first assumption but divergent in some sort. This time, aggressive behaviour is perceived to be as a result of the difference between what one has physically got and what he has expected to get. This implies that people put up aggressive behaviour when what has been given them is not commensurate to what their expectation has been. The difference between the first premise and the second premise is that, in the first there was total hindrance to access something one desires, but in the second premise, one is granted access to a particular desire, but what he is allowed to get is not measured up to what he really desires to obtain. This is what Faleti (2006:47) explains with the "want-get-ratio", that is to say aggression results due to expected need satisfaction actually need satisfaction. Ibaba (2011:242) shades more light on the want-get-ratio when he puts it thus:

The explanation is that the gap between what people feel they want or desire and what they actually get sets in frustration that culminates into aggression and violence. The disappointment arising from not getting what an individual wants or deserves, and the impaction thus brings to bear on him, triggers frustration and aggression.

The explaining factor for aggression in the second premise has to do with the quantity or quality of what one gets, if the difference in quantity or quality of what one gets is less than what he expects, aggression would be motivated in him. This is how Anifowose (1982:6) puts this second premise:

A second variant of the frustration-aggression theory is the notion of relative deprivation, interpreted to mean a state of mind where there is a discrepancy between what men seek and what seems attainable. The greater this discrepancy, the greater their anger and their propensity towards violence.

This effect means that frustration is no longer seen as the blockage of present goal-directed activity, but as anticipated frustration, engendered by discrepancies between what is realistically attainable, given the social context, and what is sought (Lupsha, 1969:288).

The third assumption of frustration-aggression theory here is closely related to the second but they are not the same. The third assumption is summed up in what is called "The Revolution of rising expectations." In the second assumption for instance, the genesis of violence is located in the feeling of dissatisfaction arising out of the comparison between what one currently enjoys and what one expects, what one thinks one ought to have or what one regarded as idea. While the third assumption which is on the revolution of rising expectation places the causes of aggression on hope, not despair, which instigates violent behaviour (Anifowose, 1982:6-7).

This assumption implies that aggression will intensify with the wave of persistent increase in expectation. Human expectations are not constant, the more they are satisfied the more new forms of their expectations are generated and presented for attention. The expectations of the citizens for instance of what the state should live up to and do increase day by day, as these expectation are increasing without a correspondent response by the state, the polity gets heated up with frustration and tension that would likely generate aggression. To Anikpo (1998):

Indeed psychologist attributes conflict to frustration arising from unresolved challenges or obstacles, suggesting that conflicts would always occurs as long as such challenges are not resolved.

Indirectly, the inability of government politics or programs to address the real causes of frustration, aggression goes on unabated. Therefore, the fact, that certain expectations of the people are met at a point does not stop other expectation to arise, and when they do and attention is not given to such risen expectation aggressive behaviour are most likely to surface.

Another assumption of the frustration-aggression theory is that, aggression is usually directed, towards the cause of the frustration, but if this is not possible, the aggression may be displaced unto another person or object (Adeyemo and Adeyemi, 2010). This assumption simply implies the effort of the aggressor to attack and remove the cause of aggression. The aggression put on is to attract attention and sympathy of the appropriate channel needed to quell the frustration tendencies. Sometimes the clash between the aggressor and the perceived frustrating factor spark more violence. So, Faleti; (2006:47) argues that:

The targets of violence in this content are the individual, institution or organization, perceived to be the cause of deprivation or those related to it.

Faletic opinion agrees with Gurr (1970:24), "... when we feel thwarted in an attempt to get something we want, we are likely to become angry, and when we become angry the most satisfying inherent response is to strike act at the source of frustration."

The fifth premise of frustration-aggression theory is that frustration sometimes may not lead to aggression due to perceived sanctions (Berkomitz, 1989:59). This premise assume that although an individual could be frustrated but the existence of threat and sanction will repress aggression and any kind of violent behavior that would have emanated due to frustration. The frustration-aggression theory has been found helpful in explaining the relationship between the oil industry and the Niger-Delta civil unrest in Nigeria.

Theoretical Application

In applying the frustration-aggression theory to the civil unrest in the Niger-Delta, the major assumptions of the theory are picked and the premises are substituted into fitting the realities in the Niger-Delta. Basically five assumptions of the theory have been raised and they will form the thrust for analysis.

Assumption I:

The first assumption of frustration-aggression theory postulates that, violent behavior is as a result of frustration. When an individual or groups of people are prevented from realizing certain desire of theirs they get frustrated and their reaction will be aggressive. The major desire of the Niger-Delta people have desperately been social amenities like pipe-borne water, electricity, road, bridges, ferries, schools, hospitals and a safe environmental condition. The inability of the oil multinational corporations to live up to their social corporate responsibility and government inability to draw up a programs that will fulfill these desire of the people, has been responsible for their violent and aggressive behavior of the militia. Such aggressive behaviors like hostage / kidnapping, oil bunkering and the proliferation of ammunitions is only a pro test behavior.

Assumption II:

The second assumption holds that, aggression in behavior is due to the difference between what one has physically got and what he actually expects to get. It implies that, if what has been given or provided for an individual or group of people is not commensurate to what they expect, they will become aggressive much more.

The Niger-Delta as a geographical political zone (South-South) has being allocated with more funds from the federal government account more than the other geographical zones. Despite these large sums of money the region gets it feels it is below the damage that has been inflicted on the region by the oil industry. Take a look at table 3 below, the zonal breakdown of revenue allocation from June 1999- to December 2005 shows that the Niger Delta collected more than the other zones for the period in question.

Table 3: Zonal Breakdown of Revenue Allocation: June 1999 To December 2005

ZONES	AMOUNT OF
South-south (Niger-Delta)	N 1,259, 349, 337, 581
North-west	N627, 887. 924. 953
South-west	
North —east	N 550, 525, 715, 451
North-central	N458, 194, 734, 800
South-east	N425, 398, 456, 87
	N 374, 502, 676, 653

Source: Enweremadu, D.U (2003)" The vicious circle: oil, corruption and Armed conflicts in the Niger-Delta"

Besides the largest chunk of federal allocation to the Niger-Delta region, the Niger-Delta Development commission (NDDC) between 2000 to 2008 executed the following projects in the Niger-Delta: 417 building; 18 canalization projects; 154 electrification projects; in the Niger-Delta (NDDC, 2004). All these efforts are deemed in sufficient by the Niger Delta.

In the light of the second assumption, you will notice that despite these provision, the region still experiences crisis. The reason according to this assumption is that the projects and funds allocated to the area does not measure up to the expectations of the people when in comparative terms is placed side by side with the hazards the oil industry has inflicted on the region. In this case, aggression by the Niger-Delta people is as a result of the gap existing between what they have been given and what they expect. They want resource control and true federal principles where state generate funds and give to the central government.

Assumption III:

The third assumption holds that, aggression is caused by persistence rise in human expectation. This expectations are not constant, when they are met others surface. Therefore, the more the expectations come up and are not met, it is likely to generate aggressive behavior. The nature of demands and desires of the Niger Delta has been rising over the years. Initially, their demand was adequately compensation, employment of indigenes on management cadre, the regularization of indigenes in contract or temporary appointments and the hiring of contracts from the community and particularly to execute projects in the communities (Ikelegbe 2008:121). Other demand were social amenities like road/bridges, electricity, water, hospital etc. the demand has graduated to the quest to have absolute control of the resources in the Niger-Delta. What the Niger Delta demand for today is the implementations of true federalism in Nigeria in which the states will have full autonomy over the resources in their areas.

Assumption IV

The fourth assumption states that when people are frustrated they would usually direct their aggression towards the cause of the frustration and if this is not possible it will be displaced unto another person or object. According to the Niger-Delta people, the federal government and the multi-oil multinational corporations are the major causes of their frustration and underdevelopment in the Niger-Delta. The environmental pollution is due to oil production and the federal government has not come up with specific policies and programs to guarantee good living condition for the Niger-Delta people. In effect, the militia has targeted the oil company workers and their facilities. Several vandalizations has been done to the machinery of the oil companies, pipe blown off, host/kidnapping of the workers has been on the rise in the past years. These attacks were channeled to the presumed cause of the frustration or plight of the region which is supposed to be the oil industry. The militia also influenced the short-falls in oil exploration which reduced the quantity sold per day. This was deliberate to cut- down federal government revenue since the militia could not attack the federal government directly it attacks its source of revenue.

Assumption V

The last assumption of the frustration aggression theory is that frustration sometime does not lead to aggression due to the perceived threats and sanctions from the source of frustration. During the military regime fewer crises were experience in the Niger-Delta because of threat of sanctions from the military government. Ken Saro Wiwa for instance was killed along side with eight others in 1994 when they protested against the marginalization of the Niger Delta people. This created fear among the people and hardly attempted wide spread violence during the General Abacha regime. Yar Adua announced the amnesty program (unconditional pardon) to militia the period for the programs was August 3, 2009 to October 4, 2009. The implication was that any militant who did not show up during the amnesty grace will be radically dealt with after the expiration of October 4,2009. The fear of sanction made majority of

the militants to respond. Currently, there is hardly any case of serious civil disturbance in the region again.

Concluding Remarks

The result of the analysis in this paper shows that the Niger-Delta region which has hosted the Nigeria's most precious mineral resources-the crude oil, has suffered a lot of environmental damage which has resulted to social, political and health implications for the Niger-Delta people. In response to the negative implications the region has risen up to different forms of reprisal attacks on the oil industry and its workers by Bunkering/stealing oil and hostage taking. The impacts of militia activities resulted to the drastic drop in the quantity of oil produced and sold by the federal government which meant revenue depletion.

The frustration-aggression theory was found useful in explaining the root causes of the Niger-Delta civil unrest, chiefly, frustration or blockage to the realization of desires of the Niger-Delta has been the main reason for the reprisal attackers by the militia as protest outcry.

If the federal government and the oil companies do not get up on time to start responding adequately to the development crisis in the Niger-Delta region, it is most likely that the civil unrest will surface again. The issue here is very simple, the Niger-Delta people have a genuine need for infrastructural development which needs a radical attention until the amnesty programs which seems to be successful for the moment address the needs of the Niger-Delta, human development and capacity building going on in the region is not good enough to totally eradicate the civil unrest in the area hence the damage to the environment is an on-going thing as long as oil production is in progress.

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