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Resource Control or Terrorism: Competing Perspectives on the Conflict in the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria.

Peter Ogoegbunem Opone
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Walden University
2014

Abstract

Resource Control or Terrorism: Competing Perspectives on the Conflict in the Niger
Delta Region, Nigeria.

by

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MBA, Kaplan University, FL. USA, 2010

BA (Ed), Delta State University, Abraka, NGR, 1992

Dissertation submitted in full fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Public Policy and Administration

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Abstract

A state of conflict has existed in the Niger Delta for fifty years. The nature of the conflict, whether it is terrorism or civil insurrection, has not been resolved by the respective legislative entities. This qualitative case study was designed to explore the nature of the Niger Delta conflict from the perspective of several members of the Nigerian National Assembly and determine whether terrorism in Nigeria is related to the general conflict. Social conflict theory provided the basis for the exploration. An ancillary question explored whether antiterrorism legislation in 2006 alleviated the Niger Delta conflict. Interview data were collected from 1 senator and 5 representatives of the Nigerian National Assembly. These data were inductively coded and manually analyzed for major themes, and then triangulated with a review of internal and public documents pertaining to the relevant legislation. The study established that the root causes of the Niger Delta conflict were economic inequities. Three conclusions were drawn from the case study and data regarding legislative attempts to address the conflict: (1) the antiterrorism legislation of 2006 did not criminalize the Niger Delta conflict, (2) the legislation did not have an impact on fiscal resource allocations to the region, and (3) no link between the conflict and current terrorism activities in Nigeria was evident. Recommendations are given for the Nigerian state to engage in fiscal federalism as a means of equitable allocations of resources to the region, thereby contributing to positive social change.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Augustina Odueze Opone, and Peter, Ekenechukwu Opone II, whose family time my doctoral program greatly impacted.

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First and foremost, I want to reverently acknowledge God Almighty for the grace, to start and complete this doctoral program. Second, I want to specially acknowledge my mentor and chair, Dr. Victor Augusto Ferreros, whose encouragement and support, spurred me to remain focused on my topic, and the entire dissertation process. Dr. Mia Moua, you have been an invaluable critic and balancer of my work, your painstaking observations placed the quality of this study on scholarly voice. I also want to say thank you to Dr. James Mosko, the meticulous URR reviewer who ensured my work passed for future resource on policy, conflict and terrorism studies in Africa.

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Table of Contents

List of Figures	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study.....	1
Background	2
Problem Statement	9
Purpose Statement.....	10
Assumption of Study.....	10
Research Questions	11
Nature of Study	12
Social Change Significance of the Study	14
The Social Conflict Theory of Research.....	15
Scope and Delimitation.....	16
Study Limitations.....	17
Definition of Terms.....	18
Acronyms	18
Summary	19
Chapter 2: Literature Review	20
Introduction.....	20
Literature Review Strategy Overview	21
Driving the Arguments on Resource Control	22
Land Use Act	27
Poverty	28

Marginalization	31
Leadership Failure in Sub-Saharan Africa.....	35
Corruption and Mismanagement of Oil Revenue	37
Competing Perspectives of Terrorism: Faith or Economic Consideration	40
Fiscal Federalism and Resource Control	41
Espousing Terrorism Argument.....	44
Dilemma of Interpretation and Policy Implications.....	50
Contrasting Models for Sharing Oil and Gas Revenue in the United States	52
Social Conflict Background Literature	55
Public Policy Gap and Intervention Instrument: The Failure Argument	62
Gap in Literature	65
Summary and Conclusion.....	67
Chapter 3: Research Method.....	69
Overview.....	69
Qualitative Research Method.....	69
Justifying the Qualitative Approach	70
Case Studies	71
Justifying the Case Studies Design.....	72
The Social Conflict Theory of Research.....	72
Aligning Social Conflict Theory With Case Study Design	75
Population and Sample Size.....	78
Recruitment Strategy	80

Data Collection Strategy	81
Interviews.....	81
Research Interview Questions.....	82
Debriefing/Feedback.....	84
Documents Review and Data Triangulation	85
Data Analysis	87
Treatment of Data	88
Reliability, Validity, and Challenges of Data Collection and Analysis.....	88
Demonstration of Scholarship.....	90
The Role of the Researcher in the Study	91
Ethical Considerations	92
Summary.....	92
Chapter 4: Results	94
Overview.....	94
Description of the Participants Pool	95
Description of Data Collection Process	97
Settings With Potential to Impact the Interviews or Members.....	98
Summary of the Findings of the Research Questions.....	99
Presentation and Discussion of Results	99
Theme 1: Niger Delta Conflict: Terrorism, not Resource Control	100
Theme 2: Niger Delta Conflict: Resource Control, not Terrorism	102
Theme 3: Niger Delta Conflict- Inequity, not Terrorism.....	106

Theme 4- Building a Loop: Cross Theme Analysis of Findings	109
Summary	112
Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations	115
Presentation and Interpretation of Findings	119
Comparing Findings with Existing Literatures	121
Fiscal Federalism and Resource Control	121
Espousing Terrorism Argument.....	124
Comparing Findings With the Content of the Antiterrorism Bill of 2006.....	126
Local Response to Terrorist Insurgency in Nigeria	126
Response to United Nations Convention on Prevention of Terrorism	128
Comparing Findings with Guiding Theory (Social Conflict Theory)	130
Inequality, Marginalization and Social Injustice	130
Public Policy Gap	131
Importance of the Study	137
Recommendations	137
Limitations and Implications for Future Research.....	140
Gaps in Study Literature	142
Effecting Positive Social Change.....	145
Conclusion	146
References	151
Appendix A: Voluntary Participation	172
Appendix B: Research Interview Questions	178

Appendix C: Forms.....	180
Curriculum Vitae	186

List of Figures

Figure 1. The geopolitical configuration of the Niger Delta Region5

Figure 2. LeMonde map depicting battle for oil in Nigeria6

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Over the past 5 decades, the Niger Delta region has been engulfed in internecine conflict. The impetus for the conflict between the Nigerian state and the Niger Delta is the discovery of oil and natural gas deposits, and the exploitation and distribution of income between the Nigerian state and the Niger Delta (Sampson, 2011). The Niger Delta conflict was an example of the antagonistic relationship between the Nigerian state with oil and the communities' engagement in violent conflict (Uzodike & Isike, 2009). The Niger Delta conflict was a medley of issues of self-determination for a region richly endowed with oil and gas minerals, yet shortchanged in the oil wealth. It is the complex expression of economic and political disparities (Obafemi Awolowo University Press, 2002).

According to (Ibaba et al., 2012), the roots of this conflict were genuine quests by the indigenous people of the Niger Delta for enhanced revenue allocation, sustainable development, and environmental protection, fairness, equity, and social justice. The paradox of abject poverty in the midst of plenty was a reflection of the centralized structure of Nigerian state, its fiscal federalism, official corruption, ethnodomination, marginalization, poor service delivery, and environmental degradation (Ibaba, 2012; Ukaga & Ukiwo, 2012).

The lingering situation in the Niger Delta fit the description of the conflict as an encounter with arms; a fight, or battle. Conflict also qualified for a situation devoid of order; the clashing or variance of opposed principles, statements, arguments, and interests (OUP, 2013). Social conflict presented as a struggle for power, dominion or access to and

control over scarce means (resources) or interest in society. In most cases, a section or party strove to gain control or prevent another from attaining such goals. The resource control clamor bore with it political, economic, cultural, and social considerations, which often resulted in conflicts, crises, scuffle or armed struggle in the Niger Delta (Schelling, 1980).

Background

In 2006, the Nigerian state in search for policy solution to the Niger Delta conflict, particularly the criminal dimensions, resolved to introduce the antiterrorism bill. Within the intellectual and policy administration circles, the bill was believed to have targeted the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism (Akinola, 2010; Sampson, 2009). Though an executive bill, the Nigerian National Assembly played critical legislative roles in the introduction of the bill (SB.315 Prevention of terrorism Bill, 2006 C1581; HB.288, Prevention of Terrorism Bill, 2006, C2649). It was assumed that the Niger Delta conflict was terrorism.

The bill failed to pass into law from 2006 to 2010 due to misconceptions and the stiff opposition mounted by the indigenous people of the Niger Delta (Sampson, 2009). However, subsequent policies and intervention mechanisms of the Nigerian state did not present real solutions to the Niger Delta conflict. Among such policies were the Amnesty program of 2009 and consequential Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) program, which were formulated and handed over to the mutinous youths of the Niger Delta by the Nigeria state (Davidheiser & Nyiayaana, 2011; Sampson, 2009).

In 2002, there was a shift in how the Nigerian state viewed the Niger Delta conflict. Such a shift was adjudged to have occasioned the new policy direction, which was the antiterrorism bill (Sampson, 2009). The Nigerian state, in addressing local terrorism, recorded its first-policy success with the enactment of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (Establishment) Act (Section 15) in 2004 (Devastating Impact of Money Laundering and other Economic ..., n.d.; Sampson, 2009). Section 15 of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (Establishment) Act stated that

Any act which is a violation of Criminal Code or the Penal Code and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause severe injury or death to any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental a cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to intimidate, put in fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing an act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint or to act according to certain principles, or disrupt any public service, delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency, or create general insurrection in the state, or any promotion, sponsorship of, contribution to command, aid, incitement, encouragement, attempt, threat, conspiracy, organizing, or procurement of any person, with the intent to commit any acts stated above. (p.33)

Subsequently, the successful enactment of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (Establishment) Act 2004 spurred other legislative actions designed to

criminalize the terrorist dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict (Sampson, 2009).

Violence, militancy, and criminal elements of the Niger Delta struggle yielded impetus partly to the introduction of the antiterrorism bill by the Nigerian state (Sampson, 2009).

The premise of the research was that the militants of the Niger Delta and later-day agents of the resource control struggle did not only deviate from the goal of achieving socioeconomic justice, but had assumed a terrorist status (Uzodike & Isike, 2009).

Sampson (2009) further stated that the Niger Delta people considered both the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (Establishment) Act of 2004, and the antiterrorism Bill of 2006 as policy actions conceived in bad faith by the Nigerian state. This line of argument became the rallying point for the stiff opposition against the antiterrorism bill, particularly from the Niger Delta. The enormous opposition from the Niger Delta led to a delay in scheduling the bill for second-reading and public hearing at the Senate and House of Representatives until 2010. Despite the failure of the antiterrorism bill from passing into law, it continued to drive the Nigerian state's further policy relations and actions towards resolving the Niger Delta conflict. Revenue allocation remained central in the conflict flashpoints between the Nigeria state, which refused to increase revenue allocation to the Niger Delta beyond 13%, and the Niger Delta, which felt shortchanged in the oil wealth (Akinola, 2011).

The Niger Delta incorporates the nine oil-yielding states in Southern Nigeria (Orogun, 2009). Figure 1 depicts the precise area classified as the Niger Delta states. However, for precise understanding of the areas impacted by the conflict, often described in history as the core Niger Delta, it is germane to classify it as including the states, local

governments and minority ethnic groups of the oil producing communities in the South-South Nigeria, see Figure 2 below. These are six of the nine oil and gas yielding states in Southern Nigeria. The states are Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross Rivers, Delta, Edo, and Rivers (Inokoba & Imbua, 2010; Natufe, 2006; Niger Delta, 2009). The other three of the nine oil and gas yielding states in the entire Niger Delta Gulf are Abia and Imo located in the South-East Nigeria and Ondo situated in South-West Nigeria, (Orogun, 2009; Fabiyi, 2008).



Figure 1. The geopolitical configuration of the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria NDPI, 2010.



Figure 2. LeMonde map depicting battle for oil in Nigeria.

Oil mineral and gas was first discovered in the Niger Delta at Oloibiri, Bayelsa State in 1956 and explored at commercial quantities both for local use and export in 1958, (Walker, 2009). The discovery and exploitation of oil and gas did not benefit the landowners (Closson, 2012). This gap illuminated unrestrained government corruption in the management of oil revenue, exclusion of the indigenous people from the oil economy, poverty, and environmental degradation (Akinola, 2011). Mismanagement of oil wealth and inadequate distribution of income to the Niger Delta became the rallying point of the peoples' complaints and frustration with the Nigeria State (Uzodike & Isike, 2009). There

was no commensurate compensation or income allocation to the Niger Delta by the Nigerian state due to poor management of oil wealth from the center.

According to Akinola (2010), the case with the Niger Delta was the quintessential paradox of lack, denial and tangible poverty in the midst of plenty, a reality that defined economic marginalization and government official corruption. Uzodike and Isike (2009) asserted that the frustration occasioned by inequities helped to trigger civil expression of grievances, coupled with government unmet promises which resulted in the demand for justice and equitable resource distribution and control by the minority landowners of the Niger Delta. Ubhenin and Aiya (2010) asserted that inadequate resource allocation to the Niger Delta, denial, exclusion from oil and gas business coupled with unmet promises gave birth to the mechanism of conflict and conflict recurrence in the Niger Delta.

The Nigerian state denied the Niger Delta gains of the oil wealth which accrued from its land and waters (Uzodike & Isike, 2009). The native people of the Niger Delta were excluded from the new petrol-economy, hence the frustration and grievance (Sampson, 2009). The poverty question reflected the statistics which estimated that 70% of the population of the Niger Delta lived below United Nations defined poverty level as an average Niger Deltan lived on less than 1USD per day (Niger Delta Partnership Initiative, 2010). Infrastructural development and social service delivery in the Niger Delta were weak and near nonexistent. Human capital development was far below global standard for quality life (NDPI, 2010).

The Niger Delta people accused the Nigerian state of using the instrumentality of government institutions and policies to subvert and manipulate the revenue sharing

formula to its advantage (Ako, 2012; Rustad & Binningsbo, 2012; Uzodike & Isike, 2009). Rustad and Binningsbo (2012) posited that unfair income distribution between the Nigerian State and the Niger Delta was the flashpoint of the conflict relations between the Nigeria state and the Niger Delta. The consequences of the above stated disconnects were incessant tension and conflicts among constituent communities of the Niger Delta on one hand, and the indigenes of the Niger Delta against the Nigerian state, and the oil multinational corporations, on the other. Unmet promises, neglect, poverty, and government mismanagement of the oil wealth presented as tenable issues of grievances, frustration and protests from the Niger Delta people (Rustad & Binningsbo, 2012).

The criminal dimension of the Niger Delta struggle did not only change the character and momentum of the conflict, but gave credence to the Nigerian state's introduction of the antiterrorism bill (Uzodike & Isike, 2009). While the Nigerian state frequently reneged in its promises for a reprieve to the Niger Delta, some misguided elements took laws into their hands by engaging the agents of the Nigerian state in fierce arms conflict. Some unguided self-styled freedom fighters (militants) engaged in crude oil theft, illegal bunkering and (Argh! Nigeria Pirates Recycle Government Guns | Danger Room | WIRED, n.d.); petrol terrorism under the toga of resource control agitation, and improved living conditions for communities in the Niger Delta (Orogun, 2009). The proceeds of illicit trade in oil and gas deal by the militants were applied to arms. This development also left a twist in the construction of the conflict, between genuine agitations for resource control and terrorism (Rustad & Binningsbo, 2012).

Purported construction of the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism by the Nigerian state via the antiterrorism bill was central in this study. Sampson (2009) drew a connection between the Nigerian state's classification of the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism, and the United Nations Security Council post 9/11 responses to all acts of terrorism. The UN passed several resolutions condemning all forms of local and international terrorism post 9/11 attacks on the United States. In the light of the foregoing, it sufficed to state that the focus of this study was to examine the underlying factors which motivated the antiterrorism bill, its connection with the Niger Delta conflict and ultimately determine whether the Niger Delta conflict was terrorism or resource control.

Problem Statement

The interpretation of the Niger Delta conflict by the political elites is central to the elusive nature of peace in the oil and gas-yielding Nigerian Niger Delta over the past 5 decades. The Nigerian state Antiterrorism Bill of 2006 was perceived to have classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. The classification was considered a problem because political elite interpretation of the Niger Delta conflict determines the Nigerian state policy intervention in the Niger Delta conflict. The critical problem of the study was determining whether the Nigerian state antiterrorism bill of 2006 classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. I focused on the policy dimension of the Niger Delta conflict.

Determining the relationship of the bill and the Niger Delta conflict was strategic in the study because the recommendations arising therefrom are required to facilitate the process of peace building in the Niger Delta. I examined the fundamentals that may have

motivated the Nigerian state's introduction of the bill. I also investigated the opposing arguments to the study, resource control agitation.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study was to determine whether the antiterrorism bill of 2006 classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. It was the assumption of this study that the bill was designed to classify the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. The elite perception which undergirds the constructivism of the conflict has affected the quality of policy solutions, and consequential elusive nature of peace in the Niger Delta. Examining the main issues of the conflict, dynamics and characteristics, and motives helped to explore the critical issues at stake in the Niger Delta and make recommendations for peace (Osaghae, Ikelegbe, Olarinmoye, & Okhomina, 2011).

Previous researchers on Niger Delta conflicts focused principally on the economic dynamics of resource-induced conflict. Sampson (2009) illuminated the policy disconnect factor in the Nigerian state's efforts at resolving the Niger Delta conflict. Results from this study reinforced Sampson's research especially from the standpoint of the anti-terrorism bill of 2006. The study also serves as a springboard for future studies in the area of terrorism legislation and policies on the Niger Delta, nay Nigeria.

Assumption of Study

The following assumptions guided this research:

1. The Antiterrorism Bill of 2006 was designed to classify the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism.

2. The study participants were required to provide a better understanding of the dynamics of the conflict, and motives of the Nigerian state in introducing the bill.
3. The research population provided adequate representation of the varying demographics of the Nigerian state on the study.
4. Nothing short of proper legislative intervention mechanism was needed to ensure attainment of lasting peace, security and sustainable development in the Niger Delta, Nigeria.

Research Questions

The nature of the study and research topic determined the type of questions I asked study participants. The study was planned to allow data collection and analysis provide relevant answers to the central question. The following critical questions were addressed in this study through face-to-face interviews:

1. What were the main events, ideas, and considerations that motivated the Nigerian state to introduce the Anti-Terrorism Bill of 2006?
2. Would you state that the Anti-terrorism bill classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism and why?
3. What significant events, factors and experiences would you say were the causes of the Niger Delta conflict?
4. Do you agree that the criminal dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict motivated the Nigerian state to introduce the antiterrorism bill and why?
5. Would you consider the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism, and why?

6. What do you think were the factors that led to the failure of the antiterrorism bill from passing into law in Nigeria from 2006-2010?
7. What would you consider as the biggest misconception of the Anti-terrorism bill of 2006, especially its connections to the Niger Delta conflict?
8. Would you consider the Niger Delta conflict a legitimate resource control struggle, and why?
9. How would you relate the impact of the Land Use Act of 1978, Petroleum Act of 1969, and persisting 13-% revenue sharing formula to the enduring conflict in the Nigerian Niger Delta?
10. What policy would you recommend as the best solution to ending the Niger Delta Conflict, and why?

Nature of Study

A qualitative approach was used to collect and analyze data from persons of experience in the Nigerian Congress: Senate and House of Representatives (Creswell, 2007). Qualitative research allowed me to examine complex set of factors surrounding the Niger Delta conflict, the antiterrorism bill, and presented the different views that participants held (Creswell, 2009). Data collection instruments focused on causal factors and the motives of the Nigerian state in introducing the antiterrorism bill. The bill allegedly classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. The information gathered enabled me to place in the context the arguments underlying the Niger Delta conflict: terrorism or legitimate resource control.

The study population was the Nigerian National Assembly. The National Assembly was chosen as the study population because of the critical roles the Congress played in the legislative processes in the introduction of the bill. The bill which the research examined was SB.315 Prevention of Terrorism Bill, 2006 C1581; and HB.288, Prevention of Terrorism Bill, 2006 (C2649) of the Nigerian National Assembly. The study started with the assumption that the antiterrorism bill classified the Niger Delta conflict and its resource control agitation as though terrorism. This assumption derived from the meaning which the political elites may have ascribed to the conflict hence data collection focused in understanding government's motives in introducing the bill (Creswell, 2007).

The case study design I adopted was best suited with information-oriented sampling. I used the Maximum Variation (Heterogeneity) Purposeful sampling method to recruit members. The maximum variation sampling method accommodated representation of divergence in Nigeria's demography. Representation in the study reflected the demographic and cultural differences of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. Serving Senators and Representatives of experience, with a minimum of 4 years of service in the congress with broad knowledge of the bill and the Niger Delta conflict were selected. Data were collected and analyzed within 1-month period. During and through data collection process, questions were asked to gather information from the participants on the fundamentals of the conflict, and the motives of the Nigerian state in introducing the antiterrorism bill.

Social Change Significance of the Study

Prior to the insurgence of the Boko Haram terrorism in Northern Nigeria in the early 21st century, the Niger Delta conflict constituted the greatest threat to peace, security and economic development in Nigeria. Poverty and poor quality of life resulted from the neglect of the oil and gas landlords in the revenue distribution from the Niger Delta. Proper policy recommendation from the study could lead to accommodation of the landowners in the sharing of oil wealth by the Nigerian state thus leading to enhanced quality of life. Adequate revenue allocation to the Niger Delta will improve standard of living and education, infrastructural development, and reduced frustration and tension. At the community level, equitable policy instruments would allow environmental restoration (land and waters) adversely impacted by oil activities, and enhanced quality of life and infrastructural development in the Niger Delta.

The findings and recommendations of the study are intended to swing new and all-inclusive policy direction in the Nigeria's effort at solving the problem of the Niger Delta conflict. Achieving an all-inclusive policy solution to the Niger Delta conflict was designed to engender new lease of peace, security, and economic development in Nigeria, and indeed the African sub-region. The results and recommendations of this study were intended to engender renewed dialogue in the Nigerian state's search for policy solution to the festering Niger Delta conflict, and possibly save the nation from either another civil war or outright break-up.

The Social Conflict Theory of Research

The Nigerian commercial space depicted socioeconomic interactions characterized by perennial struggle for race and ethnic dominance, with consequential strife for the control of financial resources. Such controls were usually achieved at the center by the powerful through government policies (Oberschall, 1978). The ensuing interaction was that the dominant ethnic groups exploited the minority groups with lesser powers. Exploitation sometimes took the form of brute force, such as the police or military, or instrumentality of government policies. Such exploitation had often elicited a response from whatever means from the minority groups, including violence and brute (Oberschall, 1978). In the light of the foregoing scenario, I adopted the social conflict paradigm as a roadmap to fitting the relational elements between oil exploitation and the consequential backlashes to the conflicts in the Nigerian Niger Delta.

The social conflict theory was the framework needed in drawing a parallel between the major components of oil discovery, actors, exploitation, environmental degradation, inadequate resource allocation, marginalization, unemployment, poverty, crises in the Niger Delta, and the social-conflict paradigm of these elements (Hammond, 2008; Kreis, 2000). The fundamental thrust of social-conflict paradigm was that the society was an arena of social, economic, and political inequity, capable of generating conflicts and change, (Orcutt, 1983; Harper, 2009). The social conflict theory as espoused by Karl Marx, German theorist and political activist who lived in the period (1818-1883) provided a great explanation of the phenomenon of this study (Kapstein, 2007).

Scope and Delimitation

The case study research design was adopted in conducting the study. Case study was planned to capture people of experience in recounting the conflict, and particularly information purportedly constructing the Niger Delta conflict as though terrorism. Case study in this inquiry offered the opportunity for the researcher to examine and describe data in the real-life environment (national assembly). Case study enabled me to explain the controversies that surrounded the antiterrorism bill as it connected with the Niger Delta conflict. Case study was used to examine the specifics of the divergent perceptions to the Niger Delta conflict, and also identified the underlying issues from members' perceptive standpoints. Case study was useful in gathering broad information through inductive, qualitative methods, such as, open-ended interviews, and representing data from the perspectives of members (Creswell, 2007, 2009).

The case study enabled me to blend the maximum variation with purposeful sampling method. Adopting case study in recruiting participants in this study entailed engaging representative sampling to ensure equity in Nigeria's demographic diversities. I selected six Congresspersons from the six geopolitical zones with experience in the national assembly, knowledge of the Niger Delta conflict, and the antiterrorism bill.

During the field work, data collection was done through open-ended interviews and documents review. I interviewed six legislators (one Senator and five Representatives) for data collection. The report, summaries, and conclusions formed the basis for the recommendations needed to resolve the Niger Delta conflict.

Study Limitations

Literature was available on the Niger Delta conflict. Nevertheless, information from previous studies was focused largely on economic dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict. The policy essays reviewed in balancing the argument between terrorism construction and resource control was limited. I reviewed peer-reviewed articles from the past 10 years as means of ensuring data integrity, validity, and study reliability. It was observed that greater parts of the studies previously done swayed towards resource-induced perspective of the conflict thus leaving a gap in the terrorism dimensions of the conflict.

Another limitation was that participants couched their stories and personal experiences along regional and ethnic divides. Ethnic inclinations largely determined how Nigerians saw themselves and interpreted events. An average Nigerian's loyalty and patronage on key national issues went first, to his ethnic background, as such, all issues of national interest including but not limited to legislation on matters affecting other regions, tended to toe similar biases.

Case study has been seen in different quarters as lacking in rigor and sloppy thus allowing unnecessary biases to influence the direction of results, findings and conclusions (Yin, 1984; Zaidah, 2007). Filtering information for authenticity was made difficult by the authors' interpolation. In other words, accuracy of the original narration was challenging, and my manipulation of data could not be entirely ruled out. The case study data merely provided anecdotal information. Member's personal bias in the account of

events sometimes obstructed accuracy, integrity, and objectivity in the process of revealing or accounting truthfully for the past.

The stakes of the other five Nigerian geopolitical zones on the Niger Delta South-South zone were high because of the nation's 95% dependency on oil and gas income accruing from the Niger Delta. Another potential challenge to case study was that it lacked a strong basis for scientific generalization given the small number of the sample population engaged during data collection (Yin, 1984). Case study proved too long and laborious to conduct, being that it dwelt mainly on voluminous data and documentation (Yin, 1984). However, the weakness of the case study in sampling and interview data collection was mitigated through documents review triangulation.

Definition of Terms

Egbesu Boys of Africa: Militant wing of the Struggle for emancipation of Niger Delta (Agwu, 2009).

Nigeria: Nation States within the River Niger Area.

Acronyms

African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR)

Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP)

Ijaw Youth Council (IYC)

Niger Delta (ND)

Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC)

Sovereign National Conference (SNC)

Kiama Declaration (KD)

Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF)

Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)

Oil Mineral Producing and Development- Commission (OMPADEC)

Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC)

Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR)

Amnesty Program (AP)

Resource Control (RC)

Niger Delta Conflict (NDC)

Nigerian National Question (NNQ)

United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR)

Summary

Chapter 1 included an introduction, background, purpose of the study, nature of the research, and the overarching question. I adopted the qualitative-case study strategy, and the assumptive framework to answer the central question of the study. The study aimed at determining whether the Niger Delta conflict was terrorism or not. The assumption was that the antiterrorism bill of 2006 classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. Perception and the classification of the conflict by the Nigerian state have greatly impacted the persisting conflict.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to determine whether the antiterrorism bill of 2006 classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. It was the assumption of this study that the bill was designed by the Nigerian state to classify the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. The available literature enabled informed decision on the topic, the need for the study, and also provided information on how to conduct the inquiry (Crosswell, 2009). The literature review provides insights on how to structure and shape the study topic, determine available materials, gaps, possible scope of research, and limitations.

Conflict, conflicts springing issues, resource control and terrorism stood out amongst the literature reviewed. These factors were aimed at understanding the concept of terrorism, the Nigerian state antiterrorism bill of 2006, and how it connected with the Niger Delta conflict. The literature reviewed helped to determine the fundamental factors that motivated Nigerian state's introduction of the antiterrorism bill. This chapter also includes a critical look on opposing sides of the argument in order to explain how other factors may have related to the conflict, particularly resource control.

Varying understanding of terrorism by different authorities worldwide made difficult the unilateral classification of the Niger Delta conflict as though terrorism. The violence which characterized the Niger Delta agitation for resource control fitted it for war is either conflict or terrorism. The literature provided balanced arguments as to the appropriateness of the concepts of war, conflict, freedom-fight, or terrorism.

I reviewed essays on economic and resource control agitation, terrorism, conflicts, freedom-fights, war, and social conflict studies, as a means of balancing the debate. In all, the essays helped me to narrow the discussion to terrorism and resource control despite other factors. Critically, literature on the different accounts of events surrounding the Niger Delta conflict: causative and characteristics presented as roadmaps required in placing the arguments along scholarly model (Creswell, 2009).

Literature Review Strategy Overview

Literature was replete on the Niger Delta conflict, particularly on the oil and gas-induced conflict. However, information on public policy focusing on the motives of the Nigerian state in introducing the antiterrorism bill was limited. Therefore, exercise of diligence was essential in browsing through works on the Niger Delta in creating footage for this study, especially on public policy. I reviewed literature on oil exploration, environmental degradation, agitation for resource control, conflicts, and terrorism being the paradigm for understanding the Nigerian State's motives in introducing the antiterrorism bill.

In searching the Walden University library and sponsored databases, I initially concentrated on literature published over the past 5 years, which dealt on conflicts and crises. However, due to a dearth of focus on public policy, I expanded the search to articles published over the past 10 years. This provided needed insight on the study. Expanding the search back to 10 years was due to insufficient peer-reviewed journals on Niger Delta conflict, particularly public policies, terrorism and social conflicts. To achieve a vast use of peer-reviewed articles, I explored various databases through the

Walden University library, ranging from EBSCO Host, ProQuest Central, Google Scholar, Dissertations, Dictionaries, and Verify Peer Review. By typing *Niger Delta conflict, terrorism, and social conflict* on the different databases, I found relevant articles. Much of the literature was focused on the oil and gas revenue-induced conflict, rather than the policy thrust of the study. It sufficed to say that there was very limited research focused on policy dimension of the Niger Delta conflict. Specifically, Sampson (2009) focused on the policy gap in the Niger Delta conflict. Sampson's study drove my passion for concentrating on the policy dimension of the conflict. I made a deliberate effort to use the available literature to summarize and synthesize the divergent ideas presented, particularly between terrorism and resource control. In all, available literature helped to organize data summaries that strengthened the argument for gaps in previous studies, particularly from public policy perspectives.

Driving the Arguments on Resource Control

Resource control is the opposing assumption of this study. The Niger Delta conflict was the fall-out of the Niger Delta peoples' agitation for increased access to revenues from oil and gas. Resource control in the context of this study meant agitation for increased access to a substantial proportion of oil and gas revenue accruing from the Niger Delta (Ako, 2012). Resource control was a demand made by people of the Niger Delta, who felt shortchanged and marginalized in the income distribution accruing from oil and gas which the Nigerian state explore from the Niger Delta (Arowola, 2011).

Agitation for increased allocation of revenue was necessitated by the feeling of frustration due to poor allocation of oil wealth to the Niger Delta by the Nigerian state.

Power imbalance was often the case in a sociopolitical arrangement where the process of minimalism dominated; in which case, a group of lesser people (minority) was excluded by the larger (majority) in the society (Ferguson, Gever, Minh-ha, & West, 1992). From another context, resource control was a social mechanism adopted or created by the Niger Delta, in all intents and purposes, to harness its human and natural resources to its fullest advantage, leading to sustainable development (Arowola, 2011). Ascertaining the motives for the clamor for resource control by the Niger Delta was the quintessential question that authors on this divide of argument addressed in the literature reviewed.

The Niger Delta history is replete with agitation for resource control, either from the British natural resources-based colonialism or Nigerian nation state petrol-economy imperialism (Agwu, 2011). In the beginning, the agitation started with civil mobilization by the communities towards perceived injustices and marginalization against the oil companies over environmental pollution. The natives' anger was also directed at the Nigeria state over inadequate revenue allocation to the Niger Delta (Osaghae, Ikelegbe, Olarinmoye, & Okhomina, 2011). According to the authors, the paradox of the definition of the conflict by government as though terrorism depicted the negative impact of violence associated with the youth-led wing of the resource control agitation. Osaghae et al. (2011) established the foundation necessary for me to examine the main issues of the conflict, the parties to the conflict and the perceptions, values and attitudes they held.

In driving his argument on resource control, Arowola (2011) asserted that Nigerian federalism was deliberately designed to be centralism. By implication, federating units were constrained to be subservient and reliant on the central government

of Nigeria. With mineral resources in mind, public policies, particularly the oil and gas, the 1978 Land Use Act and Petroleum Act of 1969 were crafted to minimize the minorities. These policies were deemed to have been designed to wrestle all rights to land ownership and resource therein, from the native landowners, families, and communities. The fiscal arrangement was contrary to the pre oil economy in Nigeria where the federating units which economies were largely agrarian managed their resources and paid taxes to the Nigerian state.

The financial arrangement at the early stage of the fuel economy was such that allowed the oil and gas prospecting companies to rent or purchase land from the landowners directly and paid compensation, rents and royalties (Arua & Okorji, 1998; Francis, n.d.). Exploitation, oppression and marginalization often expressed through the Land Use Act, and Petroleum Act became the flashpoints for agitations and struggle for increased access to oil and gas revenue by people of the Niger Delta (Agwu, 2011). The struggle for resource control was intended to ensure increased revenue distribution thus leading to enhanced quality of life for the Niger-Delta people. Increased revenue would help to promote egalitarianism, peaceful coexistence, and accelerated development of the Niger Delta (Omotoso, 2010).

Understanding Nigerian federalism illuminated the saga of resource control and incessant clamor for secession by different aggrieved and marginalized minority ethnic nations. The Igbo (Biafra) succession fight from 1967-1970 and the Major Adaka Isaac Boro 1966 mutiny and secession of the Niger Delta Republic illuminated the resource control struggle in Nigeria (Agwu, 2011). Consensus was among prominent resource

control scholars on the Niger Delta conflict, prominent amongst who were Uzodike and Isike (2009), Akinola (2010), Akinola (2011), and Sampson (2009). The position of these scholars was that the Niger Delta conflict was nothing but legitimate resource agitation movement. These authors argued that oil discovery and exploitation, revenue sharing between the Nigerian state and Niger Delta was tangent to the Niger Delta conflict. They also identified environmental degradation arising from oil exploration, physical underdevelopment of the Niger Delta, poverty in the midst of plenty, and youth unemployment as causal. Government corruption, exclusion from petrol-economy as proximate to the conflict also dominated the conflict backgrounds in the Niger Delta. The authors also recognized that socioeconomic injustices and marginalization were central to the agitation for resource control and resultant conflict.

Experiences and literature on the resource control debate tended to favor the argument that the Niger Delta conflict was precipitated and sustained by the exploitation of oil in the Niger Delta. This school of thought also agreed that infrastructural underdevelopment, unrestrained government corruption, poverty, marginalization, and social injustice engendered the conflict (Uzodike & Isike, 2009). The foot soldiers and elites of the struggle agreed that the Niger Delta conflict was a genuine struggle for resource control, intended to address the many years of inequity and inequality (Akinola, 2011). This assumption reinforces the resource control debate of the study. According to Uzodike and Isike (2011), unmet promises and historical neglect of the developmental needs of the Niger Delta by the Nigerian state in such a manner that undermined the interest of the people provoked wide resentment from the natives.

In making the case for resource control, Akinola (2010) framed theoretical assumption on previous studies on the Niger Delta crises. Akinola gave relevant literature in the background section of the paper, as a roadmap in his case for resource control, not terrorism. In his constructivism, Akinola made extensive use of the institutional framework to build a case for his discussion, such as failure of the antiterrorism bill to pass as law from 2006-2010. Akinola cited examples of failed intervention agencies of the Nigerian state designed to address Niger Delta questions. These intervention instruments were the OMPADEC, NDDC, and the Ministry of Niger Delta (Omotola, 2009). Akinola's use of statistics in his study to demonstrate the issue of neglect especially in the areas of health (infant mortality rate), teacher-student ratio on education and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the Niger Delta made his account of oppression credible. Akinola noted that neglect, poverty, policy disconnect, environmental degradation, underdevelopment, and power imbalance between the minority and majority ethnic groups were reference points for protracted clamors for equity, fairness, equality, and consequential insurrections and conflicts in the Niger Delta.

The underlying controversy over resource control was the conceptual ambiguity characterizing the conflict (Ako, 2012). To some, resource control should be absolute, while the federating states including the Niger Delta contribute a fraction of their income for federal upkeep. True fiscal federalism was in consonance with the (Ijaw Youth Council) Kaiama declaration stance on resource control (Ako, 2012). The other proponents of resource control agitated for proportional access to the revenues accruing

from the Niger Delta. Such increases will allow citizens of the Niger Delta opportunities to enjoy access to the resources and benefits of their ancestral land (Arowolo, 2011).

The struggle for oil-based resource control started from the 1960s. The people of the Niger Delta embarked on peaceful and violent struggle for the emancipation of the Niger Delta from the economic exploitation of the Nigeria state (Agwu, 2011). The 12-day protest in January-February 1966, headed by a trio of Major Boro, Owonaro, and Duke was the sign of resource control struggle (Davidheiser & Nyiayaana, 2011; Omotola, 2009). The Nigerian state employed state violence in protecting its core national interest (oil revenue) from the Niger Delta, which a few elites from the majority ethnic groups masquerade as state interest benefited (Uzodike & Isike, 2011).

In all, various authors on the resource control argument buttressed their points on policy gaps. There was lack of all-inclusive government policies designed to ensure equity and justice in the distribution of oil and gas revenue to the Niger Delta. Again, the authors cited failed policies and intervention instruments as critical to the grievances and mutinous agitations of the Niger Delta natives. The resource control agitation also bore some connections with the Land Use Act of 1978 as explained below.

Land Use Act

The Land Use Act presented a stream of explanations geared towards sustaining the resource control debate. The discussion drew a connective historical account of oil exploitation, deprivation, exclusion, resentment, and conflicts between Nigerian state policies and the Niger Delta conflict. The Petroleum Act of 1969, the Land Use Act of 1978 was a redefining point in the oil and gas mineral conflict in Nigeria. The Land Use

Act vested all rights on land ownership and resources on the Nigerian state (Adumbi, 2011; Agwu, 2011). The Land Use Act was designed by the Nigerian state to make acquisition of land accessible for its partners, the oil proprietors (The 1978 Nigerian Land Use Act, 2010). Before 1978, the relationship between the oil landowners in the Niger Delta and the oil companies was direct, (Agwu, 2011). Centralizing the ownership and control of land and oil resources via the Land Use Act of 1978, ushered in a new era in the resource control fight. The Land Use Act heightened the agitation for resource control, and a motivation for the conflict in the Niger Delta, (The 1978 Nigerian Land Use Act, 2010).

Poverty

Poverty as ascribed to the Niger Delta was the paradox of scarcity and destitution in the midst of plenty. Oil mineral deposits and exploitation in the Niger Delta rather than being a blessing became a curse to the natives (Inokoba & Imbua, 2010). According to Akinola (2011), poverty in the Niger Delta was a deliberate and organized neglect and cruelty to the Niger Delta by the Nigerian state. To an average Niger Delta person, oil was a curse and symbolism of hunger, poverty, marginalization, exclusion, and social injustice. Enduring poverty in the area became the driver of resentment, and frustration that resulted in agitations for resource control and conflicts (Rustad & Binningsbo, 2012). The puzzling political dynamics in Nigeria failed to consider and accommodate the improvement of the lives of people in the Niger Delta. The resultant neglect was the occasional flashes of rebellions and conflicts between the agents of the Nigeria state, oil companies and the youths of the Niger Delta (IDS, 2009).

Oluwaniyi (2010); and Uzodike and Isike (2011) made a case for poverty as a driving factor to the Niger Delta conflict. They linked poverty to exploitation, marginalization, corruption, and exclusion from the oil wealth from the Niger Delta. These authors connected the Nigerian state's economic and social neglect of the Niger Delta in centralizing ownership of land oil and control of resources therefrom, to the conflicts in the Niger Delta. An estimated 70% of the population of the Niger Delta lived below United Nations' defined poverty level (NDPI, 2010). Most communities of the Niger Delta lacked basic amenities such as running water (PLATFORM - Oil & Poverty in the Niger Delta, n.d.), electricity, sanitation, health care, and schools. The Niger Delta cities and Nigerian cities overflowed with slums, garbage, overpopulation, crowded spaces, and traffic congestion. Poverty was considered a reasonable factor that provoked resentment, frustration, and restiveness among the army of jobless and impoverished youths in the Niger Delta (Ibaba, 2012; Rustad & Binningsbo, 2012).

Still on poverty, Akinola (2011) decried the antithesis of rich mineral deposits and associated property in African Sub region particularly the skewed pendulum of poverty defining the economies of nations endowed with natural mineral resources. The author attributed corruption and inadequate leadership leading to endemic poverty as causal factors to the numerous conflicts in Africa, including Nigeria's Niger Delta. Akinola referenced Sierra Leone and Liberia where diamond exploration became a harbinger of poverty, distress and conflict, and the Congo Democratic Republic and Sudan. In these African countries, oil minerals were illegally bunkered and stolen by disgruntled and oppressed landowners. These landowners due to frustration turned militants, and

sponsored arms as a means of liberating their land from rampaging government looters. Akinola showed the potential for humanly induced poverty in the midst of plenty, to engender resentment, grievance and conflicts, such as in the Niger Delta.

Inokoba and Imbua (2010) examined the vexing issues that inflamed the Niger Delta conflicts. They traced the history of the once peaceful, predominantly agrarian, fishing and hunting Niger Delta situated in one of the world's richest Delta-rainforest, superfluously endowed with oil and gas minerals. The purpose of analogy was to build a connection between oil exploitation, marginalization and human-induced poverty, leading to frustration, outbursts and significant conflict in the Niger Delta. The authors stated that prior to the discovery of oil at Oloibiri, Bayelsa state in 1956, which commercial exploitation and export commenced in 1958; the Niger Delta once enjoyed the quietude and serenity of nature and mankind. Agbonifo (2009) described the antithesis, and the dilemma of a region so naturally endowed with mineral resources, which, accounts for about 95% of the nation's export earnings. Yet, Niger Delta is least developed, with its people rated as the poorest among oil-producing regions of the world.

Poverty illustrated the paradox of a blessing in disguise, a situation that shattered the equilibrium of peace between man and nature. Poverty was the fallout of exclusion, denial, reckless environmental degradation, displacement of the natives from their agricultural land, and fishing waters. Inokoba and Imbua (2010) stated that the refusal of the Nigerian state to hearken to the yearnings, and aspirations of the Niger Delta people for equity in the distribution of oil and gas wealth to the area fueled the frustration, deep anger, desperation, restiveness, insurgency, militancy and conflicts in the Niger Delta. In

summary, the delicate political dynamics in Nigeria failed to create policies necessary to consider and accommodate the improvement of the lives of people in the Niger Delta people. Policy gap which perpetuate poverty and attendant frustration fueled the agitation for resource control in the Niger Delta.

Marginalization

Marginalization in this study refers to how something, someone or group is pushed to the edge or in a geopolitical setting and accorded inferior, or minimized relevance. Marginalization is often attributed to group relations particularly in the economic equation and political, economic processes. Marginalization is essentially the case in a social setting which minority ethnic groups such as the Niger Delta Nigeria were excluded, diminished and shortchanged by the majority ethno groups, including the neglect of their needs (Akinola, 2011). Marginalization conveys the implicit implication of rendering lesser group powerless by the majority group. The converging point of the issue of marginalization in this debate was the consciousness that drove demand for greater distribution of revenues to the oil-producing Niger Delta (Agwu, 2011). The need for increased revenue allocation was designed to enhance employment opportunities, reduce poverty, address environmental degradation, and enhance infrastructural development (Arowolo, 2011; Omotoso, 2010).

Understanding the concept of marginalization in the Nigerian setting especially since oil development, and its commercial exploitation, as the principal revenue-base of Nigerian economy, was crucial in grasping the fundamentals of the Niger Delta conflict. Marginalization in this sense portrayed extreme forms of inequity and inequality where

minority ethnic groups of the Niger Delta were accorded social forms of disadvantage and relegation by the powerful, particularly in the distribution of oil and gas revenue (Ako, 2012).

Marginalization, since the 1960s, has been a simultaneous process of economic, social, political, psychological and physical diminishing of the minority ethnic groups of the oil-bearing Niger Delta by the elites of the majority ethnic groups of Hausa/Fulani, Yorubas and Igbos (Ibaba, 2012). The Nigerian state since independence had successfully used the instruments of state powers via policies to wrestle the rights of indigenous people to land and oil wealth (Ako, 2012). With the emergence of the petro-economy since the 1960s, the Nigerian economic and social terrain had witnessed the process of distancing, minimizing and stigmatization of the Niger Delta in oil revenue sharing (Arowolo, 2011). Economic minimalism was achieved through the instrumentality of state power's policy.

Idemudia (2009) described the Niger Delta conflict as interactive confluence of extenuating factors, predominant marginalization, which longevity increased the escalating violence and mode of delivery on both the Niger Delta and on the side of the Nigerian state. Idemudia supported Oluwaniyi's position by citing marginalization and deprivation as vexing issues that fueled the tempo of the agitations for resource control, leading to conflicts. Idemudia concluded his work by making recommendations for the return of Nigerian state to true fiscal federalism as a veritable means of ensuring socioeconomic justice and peace.

Barring the violent and criminal characteristics of the struggle, Akinola (2010) in his case for resource control stated that, what the Nigerian state and its western allies constructed as terrorism or hastened to brand terrorism was nothing but the Niger Delta's resistance to oppression. The Niger Delta in its protest rejected in totality marginalization, denial, exclusion, minimalism, environmental degradation and abuse, bureaucratic corruption, and extreme forms of economic injustice. In his assessment, these were the issues that characterized the management of oil-dollars from the Niger Delta, and the driver of the conflict, too. Nigerian state's visible presence of an army of occupation, stationed in the Niger Delta, to suppress uprising and agitations for increased revenue to the Niger Delta sufficiently proved minimalism (Akinola, 2010). Such military presence and policing in the Niger Delta elicited resentment and aggression from the youths of the Niger Delta, who took up arms against the Nigerian state (Agwu, 2011). According to Akinola, the youths' resort to arms and militia against the agents of the Nigerian state was nothing short of deliberate acts of defense of their land and waters, subjected to exploitation, degradation, marginalization, and neglect. Agwu described Resource Control, as a passionate and desperate quest by oppressed citizens for expanded access to oil and gas revenues. The unmet promises of the Nigerian state culminated in the clamor for enhanced revenue allocation, recognition, accommodation and inclusion in the oil economy.

In finalizing his argument, Akinola (2010) presented the gaps between the Nigerian state policies, regulations, institutions and intervention agencies from the windows of institutional frameworks, exemplified by failures and none responsiveness. In

the light of such gaps, Akinola proffered policy recommendations towards lasting peace in the Niger Delta through institutional reforms. He recommended a true fiscal federalism in Nigeria. According to him, a decentralized federal system presents the prospect of accommodating the oppressed minorities from bottom-up and ensures adequate representation and economic justice (Arowolo, 2011).

Akinola (2011) engaged a diversified approach in framing the causal factors to the Niger Delta conflict. Akinola built a relationship between the ingrained poverty in the Niger Delta despite overwhelming wealth from oil and gas explored from their land and waters. Akinola cited environmental degradation; underdevelopment; joblessness among teeming youths and graduates, marginalization, as causal to the Niger Delta conflict. Akinola showed a causal link between dysfunctional federal government, characterized by bureaucratic corruption, poor service delivery, and violence and conflicts. Military oppressive instrument employed by the Nigerian state to cow, intimidate, harass, alienate, dislocate, marginalize, disenfranchise, disenchant, disorient and suppress the indigenous oil and gas landowners were considered flashpoints for grievances and conflict (Ubhenin & Aiya, 2010). According to Akinola, the vexing issue was that rather than respond to calls, aspirations, yearnings and agitation for the improvement of living conditions of the people, the Nigerian state resorted to aggressive military air and land operations against the natives. The author's account confirmed the infamy of the Nigerian state military offensive on Ayakoromo Community, Odi massacre of 1999, the brutal killing of the Ogoni Nine of 1995, annihilation of Isaac Boro led the mutiny of 1966, to mention but a

few (Agbonifo, 2009). In connecting policy gap to literature, there is greater emphasis among authors on resource elements of the conflict than policy instruments.

Leadership Failure in Sub-Saharan Africa

Olaniyi (2010) narrated the conflict in the Niger Delta as part of the overall failure in statehood and management, in the African continent. He stated that endemic poverty, official corruption, social and economic injustices, bad governance, poor service delivery in the public sector and neglect played prominent roles in conflict situations. In substantiating the African leadership failure, Olaniyi drew a connection between the African rhythm and the Nigerian National Questions (NNQ) of social injustice, bad governance and resentment. Akinola (2010) shared Olaniyi's position that the Niger Delta conflict identified with the failures inherent with the Nigerian state. Among such elements of failures were class inequalities, defective centralized arrangement, corruption and dysfunctional service delivery. Akinola stated that the dysfunctional centralized system of government in the Niger Delta revealed the gaps between the needs and aspirations of the indigenous people in the Niger Delta and the Nigerian state policy directions. The resultant policy failure offered the opportunity for people to vent their displeasure through violence. Akinola further argued that marginalization, neglect and exclusion of the Niger Delta citizens from oil wealth and petrol-economy by successive corrupt regimes of the Nigerian state, were the principal reason for the conflict in the Niger Delta.

The environmental impact of reckless oil exploitation in the Niger Delta, and its attendant poverty issues, health hazards, and hardship potentially constituted a flashpoint

in the Niger Delta conflict. Akinola (2011) highlighted the ecological damage factor in the Niger Delta, where the looting-style reckless oil exploitation for over five decades by the oil majors is reprehensible. Environmental neglect by multinational oil companies led by Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) became a sore-point in the relationship between the landowners of the Niger Delta, on one hand; the Nigerian state and the multinational oil companies on the other. In his assertion, Akinola averred that the environmental violation of the Niger Delta qualified for criminal bi-lateral petrol-capitalism perpetrated by the Nigerian state and multinational oil companies against the inhabitants of the Niger Delta. Resultantly, fishing and farming economies became extinct due to environmental abuse. Akinola further stated that systematic dislocation of natives through the promulgation of the Land Use Act in 1978 by the then military government also drove the conflict (Aghedo, 2010). The consequences were frustration and grievances that propelled the natives to fight back for compensation. Akinola described the situation with the Niger Delta as a wanton case of unrestricted oil spill, gas flaring, and crisscross of pipelines, transporting oil and gas. The network of pipelines dislocated the landowners, and also displaced their economic mainstay without commensurate replacement. Instead of accelerated development and affluence from the 50 years of oil and gas exploitation in the Niger Delta, the natives were rather more impoverished by the pollution, corruption and conflict that oil production brought in their midst (PLATFORM - Oil & Poverty in the Niger Delta, n.d.). These imbalances occasioned widespread resentment in the Niger Delta (Akinola, 2011). Nigerian state policies failed to address the nagging issues of poverty and unemployment in the Niger

Delta, corruption in the management of oil revenue, environmental abuse in the region, and physical underdevelopment in the Niger Delta. Such policy gaps fueled frustration, rebellion.

Corruption and Mismanagement of Oil Revenue

Central to the many issues of conflict in the Niger Delta was corruption and gross mismanagement of oil and gas revenue accruing directly to the Nigerian state (Aghedo, 2010). The income from oil and gas explored from the Niger Delta has made the race for occupying public offices at the center lucrative. Because policies are the unrestricted, instruments for appropriating public funds for personal gains in Nigeria. Nigeria operates one of the most porous public accountability systems in the world, where inherent loopholes allow for unrestricted stealing, and embezzlement of public funds (Oarhe & Aghedo, 2010). The collusion of the oil democracy as championed by the West, which offers international system of tax relief to thieves of Nigerian oil-wealth creates the convenience for Nigerian elites to embezzle and steal billions of oil wealth without trace (PLATFORM, n.d). The consequence of organized oil-wealth corruption is that what the Niger Delta gets in return for their acquired land and waters is impoverishment, environmental degradation, pollution and attendant health issues.

Maiangwa (2012) in characterizing the Nigerian scenario stated that, corruption is the curse militating against the development and political stability in the Niger Delta, nay Nigeria. Maiangwa examined the characteristic features of corruption that is the cankerworm eating far into the fabrics of Nigerian sanity. Corruption enables impunity in

Nigeria particularly its patrimonial tendencies that allow elites to privatize the state and its abundant oil wealth (Inokoba & Imbua, 2010; Oarhe & Aghedo, 2010).

In eliciting reference from the World Bank report, Afiekhena (2005) estimated that 1% percent of Nigeria's population receives about 80% of Nigeria's oil and natural gas revenues. In other words, 99% of Nigeria's population receives the balance 20% of the oil and gas wealth. The attendant implications of the widening income inequality have groomed grievances, frustration and resentment thus leading to what fits a class struggle exemplified in the Niger Delta conflict. The disaster that surrounds Nigeria's stolen oil money by the 1% elites is that these funds are laundered abroad into foreign accounts, where they further develop western economies (Afiekhena, 2005). The class struggle emanating from inequality in petro-economy is explained better in the dictum of the social conflict theory of the study.

Marginalized sub ethnic groups such as the Niger Delta share a cultural grievance about minimalism, exclusion and unfair treatment, sociologically, and are more likely to develop strong group identity against the source of such oppression (Omotola, 2006). Such identity engenders a solidarity that is capable of breeding mutiny and violent outbreak of conflict in response to perceived and real oppression and marginalization. Apparently, this was the quintessential case with the constituent minority ethnic communities of the Niger Delta (Omotola, 2006; Osaghae, 2005).

Amuwo (2010) shared the position of Omotola (2006) and Osaghae (2005), especially on shared group solidarity which tends to drive the Niger Delta conflict as resource control. Amuwo further associated the conflict with the Nigerian nation state,

which was programmed in the beginning by its erstwhile colonial master, Britain, to fail. Amuwo situated his case on corruption from the point of view that Nigeria was a nation state built from inception to fail. This notion derives from his postulation that Nigerian state was selfishly created by Britain along ethnic lines, with power-key handed over to elites from the majority ethnic groups, as a reconnecting point economically and politically.

Corruption became a rallying point for power relations, conflict and corruption, with majority ethno groups dominating, minimizing and oppressing the minority groups (Ibaba, 2012). Amuwo (2010) posited that the status quo, supported by the skewed public policies were orchestrated to dominate, oppress and marginalize the minorities including but not limited to the Niger Delta. He concluded that marginalization and oppression were factors that made civilly and legitimate protest impossible, hence to him, resistance in such atmosphere, is only possible in a radicalized struggle, in the form of militia, which was a language that could only resonate with the oppressors (Amuwo, 2010). Omoyefa (2010) connected with corruption factor by substantiating it further from views expressed by Amuwo, particularly from the lens view of foreign influence, deemed causal to the conflict.

Omoyefa (2010) premised his study on two theoretical assumptions, structure and agency. Construction, based on programmed British neocolonial construct and strategic interests; and the company in terms of Nigerian national question defined by contemporary capitalism as pinned on class rumbles, majority control and minority resistance. The article is in five sections. The first section described the elements of

British colonialism. The second section critically interrogated the specificity of the Nigerian postcolonial state, whilst the third discovered the transition from economic nationalism to economic globalization, thus showing how the ruling elite protect its interests. The fourth section discussed resistance politics by the dominated classes and the fifth, the conclusion, with the way forward. Copious issues of corruption in the management of oil wealth could not be addressed by the Nigerian state policies. The oppressed people of the Niger Delta who felt the brunt of poverty and environmental degradation resorted to resource control agitation for equity.

Competing Perspectives of Terrorism: Faith or Economic Consideration

Onuoha (2008, 2010a, 2010b) traced the history of terrorism in Nigeria by making comparison between the Niger Delta agitation for resource control and Boko Haram insurgency. Onuoha stated that distinction could be made from the Niger Delta conflict in terms of causal factors from the Boko Haram uprising. He viewed the Niger Delta conflict as a pure interplay of economic oppression, suppression, domination and marginalization by the leadership elite via public policy instrument. The author interpreted the Boko Haram uprising as merely ideological, featuring fundamentalists who were merely canvassing for 100% implementation of Islamic Sharia Code in the whole of Nigeria. According to him, the motivating factor to the latter failed to place the two points in the same contextual discussion. The casual reference to Niger Delta conflict and Boko Haram insurgency by Onuoha did not reflect any policy instrument. This again left a gap on literature in terrorism policy in Nigeria.

Fiscal Federalism and Resource Control

To some, the Niger Delta conflict emanated from oil and gas exploitation, revenue generation and distribution between the Nigerian state the Niger Delta. The composition of Nigeria into a centralized system, military and democratic, made the federating states and regions subservient to the central government (Arowolo, 2011). The centralized system of Nigerian government dates back to the colonial era. The geopolitical expression put together by Britain in 1914 along Northern and Southern Protectorates as amalgamated became modern day Nigeria in October 1960 (Agwu, 2011). In the new nation, Nigeria, three dominant ethnic groups, Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbos emerged, with pockets of minority ethnic nations including but not limited to the Niger Delta ethno groups. The skewed structure gave birth to a sociopolitical arrangement that promoted marginalization and feeling of injustice, especially in the political and economic power equation (Inokoba & Imbua, 2010).

Ojeleje (2011) gave the oriental antecedent of the militancy and the resource control struggle which dates back to 1958 when oil mineral assumed prominence in the Nigerian income base. He took a more comprehensive view of the crisis particularly from the perspectives of wealth generation and distribution. Ojeleje cited the Raisman Commission of 1958, which mandate amongst others was the determination of the nature and relationship between the main competing tribes in Nigeria; the review of the fiscal and revenue distribution particularly from oil and gas. The commission was required to make a recommendation for a fair appropriation method needed for national viability. According Ojeleje, the recommendation of this Commission laid the foundation of the

conflict in the Niger Delta, which is loudly economic. The Commission in its report recommended the deviation from the status quo where the federating states earned 100% revenue accruing from their resources to a new arrangement. The emerging new fiscal arrangement prescribed that the federating regions had to contribute 50% of their resources for general upkeep of the federal government. The recommendation excluded revenues accruing from agricultural resources, which supposedly were the significant contributions from the Northern and Western regions. The new plan drew the ire of the Eastern region, and of late, the South-South States of the Niger Delta that were oil and gas producing. A faithful implementation of this fiscal agreement would not have generated economic tension leading to the Niger Delta Conflicts (NDC), but for the proliferation of subsequent income distribution commissions and draconian decrees by successive military regimes. The ensuing revenue distribution formulas seemed to shortchange the Niger Delta natives, so blessed yet poorest, by allocating first 3% and the persisting revenue formula of 13% to the Niger Delta.

The debate on Nigeria's fiscal federalism, and inter-ethnic relations rest on the fundamental question of how the Nigerian state distributed the oil and gas revenue from the center (Orokpo, 2012). The issue of equity and justice in the distribution of oil revenue from the Niger Delta continues to drive the contextual discussion that undergirds Nigerian federalism, and the conflicts in the Niger Delta (Ojo, 2010). Understanding the politics of petro-economy and the intrigues that undergird revenue distribution and resource control is important in appreciating the development of the Niger Delta conflicts. Right from Independence in 1960 the distribution of oil revenue and the need

for justice have dominated the Nigerian national question. Several constitutional reviews and confabs have been convened to examine the skewed wealth distribution between the Nigerian state, the federating states, and the oil producing states. Each conference further escalated the anger, sharp bitterness and grievance of the people of the Niger Delta who felt shortchanged in income distribution. Ojo (2010) argued that sharing of oil wealth should reflect and ensure national unity, economic growth, balanced development, self-sufficiency, poverty reduction, and high standard of living for the citizens. Again, he enthused that oil wealth distribution should accommodate derivation, ecological impact, and other socio-economic indexes that provoke resentment and conflicts between the Nigerian state and the states of the Niger Delta. Failure to achieve these goals by successive governments became the harbingers of the grievances, frustration and anger of the region, leading to conflicts (Orokpo, 2012).

The Niger Delta conflict presents with symbolism of resource-induced politically destabilizing and national security threats in 50 years of Nigeria's political independence (Orogun, 2010). A consensus of studies has it that the Niger Delta conflict offers quite intricate explanatory dynamics adjudged to construe as factors of the Niger Delta conflict. Prominent among which are oil exploration with environmental degradation implications, militia insurgent, political entrepreneurs, societal schisms, ethnic bigotry, and most importantly, resource-based crises. The purpose of resources agitation is to have reasonable percentage of the oil revenue allocated to the Niger Delta that produces over 80-% of Nigeria's foreign exchange (Orokpo, 2012). The resultant argument for what portion or percentage of the revenue accrues to either the Nigerian state or the Niger

Delta became the sensitive issue that drove the conflict. The feeling of marginalization in the distribution process left the Niger Delta aggrieved thus leading to agitations for expanded share of the income. Failure on the part of the Nigerian state to increase the share of the Niger Delta states beyond 13% in 50 years led to an exponential increase in crimes, such as kidnapping of oil workers, abduction, vandalism of oil installations, and arms struggle with the agents of the Nigerian state.

A casual reference to terrorism from the activities of the Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria by Onuoha and Ojeleje failed to focus on terrorism policies. A passing reference to terrorism by several literatures here could not provide knowledge needed to place the arguments for this study on sound debate on terrorism policies.

Espousing Terrorism Argument

The notion of terrorism recently ascribed to the Niger Delta conflict is fast assuming a redefining and definitive parlance in the way the Nigerian state is relating to the Niger Delta conflict. The purported appellation of terrorism to the Niger Delta insurrections, vis a vis the Antiterrorism Bill 2006, tends to derive from the extreme characteristics of the conflict. The resource control agitation and attendant insurrections bore with it proportional criminality and violence, which apparently tends to define government's judgment in its policy response and development (Omotola, 2009).

Terrorism as a concept was synonymous with the use of force as a voice to making a point or canvassing the objectives, import, relevance or pains of an issue or phenomenon by people or sect (THE IRANIAN: Iran's guerrilla movement, Maziar Behrooz, n.d.). The

appellation of terrorism is appropriately and or inappropriately used by the constructor in any given circumstance to pursue set goals (Bongar, Brown, Beutler, Breckenridge, & Zimbardo, 2007).

Achieving a consensus definition of terrorism is unlikely as it is impossible. Failure to produce a standard definition is because Nation-states substate organizations; scholars and nonstate actors have often rejected definitions that undermine their modus operandi in any insurrectionary situation (Chase, 2013). The underlying definitional argument here stems from an idea which has it that terrorists are groups or individuals pursuing legitimately just end with the only means (violence) available to them (Bongar et al., 2007). In exploring all sides to the definitional dilemma, it is imperative to understand the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) definition of terrorism. Terrorism as defined by FBI is the illegitimate use of force, violence, intimidation, and coercion against persons, the civilian population or any segment thereof, by a group to elicit a response intended to achieve desired goals. The deployment of the instrumentality of violence could be used in furtherance of political, economic or social objectives (Chase, 2013; Nacos, 2012; What We Investigate, n.d.). The danger in adopting the sweeping appellation of terrorism on any individual or groups, as defined by FBI, is that it evokes demeaning emotions and incites ideological mindset that seems to alter the very fundamentals at stake in any contextual scenario.

Nacos (2012) in tracing the origin and definition of the term terrorism gave an account of the 18th century French Revolution. Nacos described violent actions as tools of oppression engaged by those in state power to oppress, cow, minimize, and suppress

oppositions during the reign of terror. However, by the middle of the 19th century the definition of terrorism seemed to have been extended to mean use of force by the seemingly oppressed class against those in power in order to challenge, stop or overturn the reign of terror (Nacos, 2012). The latter definition reflects the feud often between the reign of terror and fight-back as a defense mechanism of freedom-fighters. The semantics of constructing the aggressor as a freedom-fighter, militia, terrorists, and or government, becomes a function of propaganda and dialectic bias. Whoever is the aggressor usually engages extreme forms of violence-bombings and assassinations. The characteristics of the violent activities that drive the crises largely shape the perception and construction of the relationship between both parties. Rubenstein (1988) stated that definitively, terrorism portrays violent action of individuals or small groups, with implicit connotation of illegitimacy.

The definitional haze surrounding the definition of terrorism is not just limited to the international community, but also the Nigerian situation on the Niger Delta conflict. The contextual dilemma equally impacts policy formulation, particularly regarding issues of conflict, nature and characteristics of conflict. Such dilemma has often determined terrorism classification in a conflict situation, and subsequent policy intervention (Nacos, 2012). Observers of the Niger Delta conflict seem to identify with the confluence of extenuating factors, such as political, economic, social, and human right violations, and these are not any different from the many issues that define societal daily interactions. To this extent, terminologies used in defining the characteristics of rebellions and conflicts, are by no means different from the dilemma inherent with the construction of terrorism,

(Nacos, 2012). The dictum of one's terrorism is another person's freedom fight, and self-determination that dominates globally definitional debates on terrorism makes the argument as to what party constitutes a terrorist, more complex. The contextual circumstances of interplaying forces in political and economic scenarios of conflict tend to worsen the definitional argument for terrorism.

Juxtaposed with Nacos's (2012) position on state use of force to oppress, the argument for who is a terrorist becomes unclear and muffled. In the Niger Delta case, where petro-economy is and who gets what percentage of oil income from the Niger Delta, is central to the conflict. It may be the Nigerian state which, fiscal federalism, and use of state instrument to appropriate resources from the Niger Delta without commensurate revenue allocation, or the Niger Delta that is fighting back with extreme forms of violence as a justifiable option. If terrorism is not a mass or collective violence, but a direct activity of small groups, who engage in active acts of violence in pursuit of the stated goal, then the militants of the Niger Delta qualify for terrorists (Nacos, 2012). If a violent action championed by a few or small groups with mass and widespread support from majority whose jeopardized interest evokes the metaphor of self-determination, liberation and freedom fights.

Another twist to the definition of terrorism is who has an edge in the power equation, government or the small groups. The government in most cases deploys the bulwark of its media propaganda machine to sway public opinions in constructing the opponents as terrorists (Nacos, 2012). Dominance in the media propaganda game seems to be the case until the proliferation of modern day social media which has become a

fight-back propaganda mechanism for small and disadvantaged groups. Media war seems further to mystify the definitional and construction dilemma of terrorism. Conversely, if violence is a State tool used to oppress, minimize, and marginalize individuals or groups in driving a cause, then the Nigerian state qualifies for a terrorist against the Niger Delta over their oil and gas mineral resources. The definitional antithesis surrounding terrorism seems tangent to the subject of this study, Niger Delta conflict-terrorism or resource control.

If the definition of Bonager et al. (2007) of terrorism, that terrorist acts are forms of violence strategically used by aggressors to incite fear, terror or fright in civilian populations, is anything to go by then the Niger Delta conflict fails to pass for terrorism. Because the definition creates a classification ambiguity, in which case, Niger Delta freedom-fighters' sheer focus on multinational oil companies and government perceived as enemies to their petroleum resources, insulates the conflict from terrorism. The author's view that terrorists are rational, purposeful and directional in their goals and objectives draws another definition attention. Definitional haze brings the Niger Delta resource control struggle to rational constructivism analysis, in which case, the demand for increased allocation of income accruing from oil and gas explored from their lands and waters, the Nigerian state neglect leading to insurrections fails to make it terrorism.

Although Onuoha (2009) focused on the violent crimes associated with the activities of the Niger Delta militants, the definitional haze that surrounds the concept and construction of terrorism lack strong sound literature reference-base on terrorism. None withstanding the key elements to terrorism which are violence, noncombatant targets,

intention of spreading fear, and political aims, crafting a watertight, commonly accepted definition has proven elusive.

In all, proponents of terrorism school of thought relied heavily on the violent and criminal characteristics of the conflicts to buttress their position (Inokoba & Imbua, 2010). The literature reviewed here also offered opportunities for exploring studies already done, required in balancing the arguments, and also to draw a conclusion. The conclusions are intended to demonstrate that one side of the argument may be stronger than the other, allowing for a reasonable conclusion. However, available literatures failed to address the policy dimensions of terrorism subject as connected to the Nigerian state antiterrorism bill of 2006 and the Niger Delta conflict.

Orogun (2010) added a new dimension to the criminal perspective of the conflict by drawing attention to the highly organized domestic oil bunkering and a well-coordinated international smuggling of illegal crude oil from the Niger Delta. This crude is transported from the creeks through light crude barges and emptied into tankers of international pirates stationed in high seas outside of Nigeria's territorial waters. From here, bunkered crude from Niger Delta enters the international market. The grim side to this development was that the self-styled freedom fighters engaged in the illegal bunkering of crude as means of raising funds to prosecute the fight. The benefits of the illegal trade merely accrued to a few criminals, insurgents and corrupt government officials, whereas millions of real people of the Niger Delta still wallowed in abject poverty and other related issues of the conflict. While the criminal elements to the conflict could be adjudged localized, it sufficed to conclude that it qualified for

transnational criminal cartel given the volume of international pirates and multinationals remotely and overtly involved.

Dilemma of Interpretation and Policy Implications

There was the ambiguous issue of interpretation leading to government response and intervention in the Niger Delta conflict. Sampson (2009) examined the contextual issues of the conflict from the perspectives of resource control, terrorism, justice, violence, militancy, and terrorism legislation. Sampson portrayed a great deal of relevance to this study because of its focus on the persisting perceptive paradoxes between resource control and terrorism, which was the hub of his study. Sampson stated that the underlying arguments largely shaped the Nigerian state's interpretation and construction of the conflict including its policy response and intervention in the Niger Delta. In substantiating his claim of government use of institutions and policy to assert its position on the Niger Delta, Sampson cited President Umar Musa Yar'adua amnesty program as a classic case of how interpretations helped to focus on solutions.

In 2009, the Yar'adua government was greeted with the dilemma of the constructing of the Niger Delta conflict as though terrorism. The consequence was the granting of amnesty to unprosecuted freedom-fighters (militants) as a strategy in addressing the conflict (Davidheiser & Nyiayaana, 2011). The antithesis of providing legislative solution to the conflicts was one of the greatest challenges to Nigerian government and a threat to international peace and security in the African sub regions. In his attempt at solving the Niger Delta conflict President Musa Yar'adua in a seven-point

agenda, Sampson (2009) acknowledged that the Niger Delta crisis gave his administration nightmares.

The Nigerian state in yielding to the international community's pressure was hasty to dub the Niger Delta conflict, terrorism (Umejese, 2012). According to Umejese (2012), the Nigerian state in response to the pressures from the international community introduced legislative processes that purportedly classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. From 2006-2010, the Congress failed to pass to law the antiterrorism bill intended to classify the Niger Delta struggle as terrorism. Albeit, in finding a safe ground in order not to escalate the conflict, President Yar'dua settled for civil resolution, termed amnesty, which was not a mutually negotiated truce between the feuding Nigerian state and the Niger Delta.

Akinola (2010) presented the two sides of the equation defining the two assumptions that guide the study: terrorism and resource control struggle. On terrorism, Akinola explained the failure of the Nigerian state to use public policies effectively in addressing the conflict. The Nigerian state found reason in the violent and criminal aspects of the conflict. Just like other proponents of terrorism assumption, the Nigerian state could be right based on the violent and criminal characteristics of the struggle. Akinola made a reasonable contribution to the existing body of knowledge by ushering another dimension of terrorism and legislation in Nigeria. The author's work connected with this study particularly on terrorism, by citing two failed attempts by the Nigerian state in branding the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. He decried international community's bully on Nigerian state to classify the conflict as terrorism, based on the

former's overt interest in Niger Delta oil and gas. Such classification move found further credence from the violent nature of the Niger Delta conflict, especially perpetrated by the militants. However, but for the morality of colonialism and petro-capitalism, the Nigerian government capitulated to the whims of the West by dubbing the struggle terrorism (Umejese, 2012).

Davidheiser and Nyiayaana (2011) added a new dimension to the debate. According to him, since 1999 political entrepreneurs' engaged the services of the militants. The politicians of one party used militants to intimidate violently and harassed their political opponents in a bid to curry votes and earn cheap electoral victories. The political hooliganism presented by politicians ushered another violent and criminal dimension to the Niger Delta conflict. Politicians recruited jobless youths as foot soldiers for oil stealing and bunker, from which monies were raised to buy arms for the Niger Delta conflict. In advancing the factors of terrorism, literatures on this school of thought reasonable referenced the Nigerian state policy intervention instruments. However, there was no appreciable connect between the antiterrorism bill and the Niger Delta conflict, which is central to this study.

Contrasting Models for Sharing Oil and Gas Revenue in the United States

Marx model of capitalism introduced the issue of modern day economic-democracy as obtained in Nigeria nay Niger Delta. No single definition or approach may totally consummate the full understanding of economic-democracy. However, some meanings could be derived from the resource struggle between competing economic interests, social classes and ethnic groups, at the various levels of government in the

economic-democracy of Nigeria. Proponents of modern day economic democracy agreed that modern property relations externalize costs, subordinate the general well-being of many. Moreover, modern property relations deny the citizens a democratic voice particularly in economic, social and political policy decisions (Ladislau, 2011). The Land Use Act of 1978 and Petroleum Act of 1969 created the atmosphere which denied citizens the rights to private ownership of mineral resources derived from their land. According to Ladislau, classical liberals posited that ownership and control over the means of production (oil and gas in Nigeria) should belong to individual landowners, firms, state and federal government. Such ownership rights defined by consumer choice are exercised daily in the marketplace through the forces of demand and supplies. The moral side of the debate tended to nullify the Nigerian state's sole claim to land, oil and gas resources.

The traditional land tenure system which promoted private ownership of land and resources in Southern Nigeria was in existence before the colonial era. The Land Tenure arrangement did not entirely preclude federal and state government's ownership of lands, and claims to oil and gas rights from the onshore and offshore arrangements. The economic-democracy stipulated that the revenue from oil had to be retained by the Nigerian state and distributed between the national systems and agencies. The Nigerian state was expected to keep all of the profits on state-owned land and use it to fund its expenditures-no income tax, free health care, and occasionally redistributes income via the federation account.

In the same vein, individuals with claims to land and mineral resources via the traditional land tenure systems have to manage the resources on their land and pay taxes to both the federal and state governments. This arrangement explained the true meaning of economic-democracy and fiscal federalism in the real sense of capitalist social order. It sufficed to argue that a deviation from the foregoing ethically sound economic-democracy arrangement resulted in financial crises leading to internecine conflicts in the Niger Delta. Economic-democracy as a socioeconomic ideology with full ethical compliments offers greater economic rights to both the state and individuals. Economic-democracy guarantees greater peace and prosperity for all. Valid economic-democracy affords the government enough resources from direct participation in the oil business. The government uses the proceeds to render collective services and tackle issues of common interest. Similarly, private and individual ownership rights to mineral resources create personal wealth thereby addressing the issues of poverty, unemployment and enhancement of quality of individual lives (Ladislau, 2011). With personal income and wealth guaranteed, tension resulting from poverty, inequity, real and imaginary oppression and marginalization will either reduce or abate in Nigeria.

Whereas, in the United States the Mineral Management Service (MMS) was responsible for the management and distribution of the revenues accruing from the national bloc of oil and natural gas resources. MMS distributed the funds from the royalty it collected from oil and gas leasing and production on government lands to three recipients (Oil and Gas Development, n.d.). More than half of the revenue went to the US treasury. The remaining fraction was distributed to the Land and Water Conservation

Fund. Lastly, MMS distributed income accrued from the central portion of territorial land and waters (oil and gas) to the states. There was transparency in the distribution of income, and demand for accountability from both the states and federal sectors (API, 2013). The rationale for this contextual opposite scenarios in our literature is to highlight how equity and fairness guarantee security and or inequity triggers grievances, violence and conflict.

Social Conflict Background Literature

McClelland (2000) the social conflict theory derived from the German theorist and political activist, Marx, who lived from 1818-1883. From Marx's materialistic analysis of human society, McClelland critically interpreted human life from the old. McClelland based his analysis on social arrangement and interaction, and the consequential political program of revolution and reform. He stated that the most critical determinant of social life and the arrangement rest on labor (the work people are doing). McClelland narrated how these arrangements define human interactive structures in terms of who gets what, pursuant to meeting the necessities of life, namely food, clothing, and shelter affect security or conflicts. The author posited that the social engineering and structuring of work, the technology applied in production, and the benefits, largely determine the social process and how society and human interactions evolve. The ensuing relations from human labor and production formed the hub of social and underlying economic structure of society. The economic structures create the real foundation, upon which derives the legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite

forms of social consciousness (Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy n.d. Grinnell: Conflict Theory, n.d.; McClelland, 2000).

Marx divided his historical account of materialism into three stages: feudalism, capitalism and socialism. However, I focused on the socioeconomic interaction in the Niger Delta from the lens view of economic determinism. Drawing a parallel from Europe in the 19th century, the Niger Delta story was replete with the materialist model of society, which capitalism constituted the dominant form of economic and social development. Marx's model in Europe exemplified a situation where the dominant features of capitalism and materialism were money, machines, factories and other material objects used in the production (Karl Marx Structural Functionalism - Research Papers - Kari1477, n.d.). The minority (rich and powerful) controls the capitalist institutions; they dictated and shaped the system. Contrastedly, in Niger Delta case, the Nigerian state (dominated by elite at the center) witnessed the conversion of private property (land, waters, and mineral resources-oil and gas) to state and collective assets via the Land Use Act of 1978. Marx central system of capitalist society hinged on his advocacy and model for private property (estate), usually controlled by a dominant minority elite.

The reality of the power game created two opposing social classes in the society- the stupendously rich and the social underclass-the workers. In the Nigerian scenario, there was a seeming deviation in concept, as the Nigerian state was seen to have usurped the economic rights of citizens through government policies (Agwu, 2011). In Marx's model, exploitation was the dominant point of friction, tension and conflicts between the

bourgeoisie (owners of capital) and the preliterate (weak and powerless) who received little or nothing from the proceeds from oil and gas revenue. In the Niger Delta case, the elites which constituted the power-brokers (fairly represented in the majority ethnic groups) in the Nigeria State used the instrumentality of government institutions and policies to exploit, displace, oppress and marginalize the weak and poor oil and gas landowners. In this case, the Land Use Act 1978 and the Petroleum Act of 1969 were the tools of legal acquisition of lands and waters bearing the oil and gas minerals in the Niger Delta.

In contrast, the Nigerian Niger Delta situation varied from the civilized environment like the United States where eminent domain is the order for land acquisition. Eminent domain is the power of the State to acquire private property for public use provided for reasonable compensation of landowners. In the reverse order, the landowners in Nigeria Niger Delta were neither compensated nor engaged in the oil and gas businesses. The consequential dislocation and displacement of landowners had often constituted the flashpoint for grievances, social injustice and inequity. The significantly inherent poverty often engendered tension and conflict in the social interaction between the opposing classes. The Fifth Amendment in the US Constitution provided that a private property may not be taken for public use without payment of just compensation. (Frequently Asked Questions - NC Eminent Domain Law, n.d.). In California, Article 1, Section 19 of the State constitution provided that a private property may not be taken or damaged by the government (Just Compensation in Eminent Domain -- California Eminent, n.d.) without paying just compensation (Hazarabedian 2013; Moore, 2006).

Economic exploitation defined the class relationship, where the political elites used State powers to shortchange the oil and gas landowners in the Niger Delta. The elites achieved this feat by gaining absolute control of government resources (income) accruing from oil and gas wealth (Akinola, 2011). The state had used the constitution, the law, public institutions, the military, the court and the police power to enforce unfair property rights. The purpose was to ensure reposition of uncontested rights of the State holds over mineral resources exploitation (Sampson, 2010). The proceeds were usually arrogated by the elites and mismanaged at the center for self-aggrandizement. The elites at the center spent a greater part of State time, resources and institutional frameworks in justifying the existing social and economic arrangements often negatively skewed against the oppressed (Ako, 2012; Rustad & Binningsbo, 2012; Uzodike & Isike, 2009).

Central to this study was the perceptive construction of the Niger Delta conflict from Marx's social conflict theory. The economic structure entrenched by the elites in the Nigeria state helped to develop a superstructure. The superstructure had shaped ideas, morality, ideologies, art, history, literature, and social institutions that drove and supported the class structure of society. These organizations had built a mindset that defined how the society tilts over the years, thus entrenching oppression and marginalization in the Niger Delta. The elite and powerbrokers developed ideas and managed the social relations that entrenched perpetually uncontested State exploitation of oil and gas, and revenues in the Niger Delta. The Nigerian capitalist society was that of the ruling class. Marx's view of the exploitative economic arrangements of Nigeria's capitalism formed the real foundation upon which the superstructure of social, political,

and intellectual consciousness, (Conflict Theory, n.d.) illuminate the conflicts in the Niger Delta.

Marx in his optimism imputed that any stage of State history based on exploitative economic arrangements was capable of igniting inevitable feuds leading to conflicts and self-destruction. This was the reality in the Nigeria Niger Delta. Marx referenced feudalism in Europe in the 19th century, in which landowners' exploitation of the peasantry. The fall-out of persistent exploitation of the peasantry by feudal lords gave rise to a class of town-dwelling merchants, whose dedication to making profits led to the bourgeois revolution and the modern capitalist era, (Conflict Theory, n.d.; Marx, 1971). Marx's sociological construct vividly described how the social, political and economic pendulum, unequally skewed between the elite power-brokers, and the oppressed poor could change the course of human events in society including conflicts. Conflict and competition between the two opposing classes were among the fundamental social processes that engineered the Niger Delta conflict.

The neo-Marxist theorists posited that the economic structure of society, class relations and ethnic groups' rumbles was the precursor of most resource-based conflicts as it were in the Nigerian Niger Delta. There was agreement that the socioeconomic interest in the large-scale, helped to develop a political processes that perpetuate inequity. Policy injustice incurred deviance from the oppressed, resulting in the culture of abuse, violence, reprisals and militia as in the Niger Delta (Orcutt, 1983).

The social conflict theory in the study was beneficial in understanding the interplay of exploitation of oil and gas in the Niger Delta for over 50 years. The social

conflict paradigm examined above showed that, within these 50 years, the natives of the oil-yielding Niger Delta had been unfairly treated. The region was exposed to tangible poverty, exclusion from oil wealth and business, environmental degradation, youth unemployment, and lack of necessary infrastructural facilities. The Niger Delta was exposed to war, wealth and poverty, economic inequality, revolutions, political strife, exploitation, economic and social injustices, and conflict. Evidence abounds in the literature that these were vexing issues capable of making the most loyal, naïve, calm, docile and obedient persons, restive, rebellious, and reactionary. The paradox of abject poverty and denial in the face of apparent plenty and affluence fuelled the frustration and rebellion. The oil and gas wealth were solely enjoyed and amassed by the elite dominant and majority ethno groups (Ako, 2012; Rustad & Binningsbo, 2012; Uzodike & Isike, 2009).

The Social Conflict Theory placed in context that the Nigerian community in the past 56 years when oil was discovered and exploited in commercial quantity in the Niger Delta. The theory indicated that the Niger Delta had been in a state of perpetual conflict and competition for oil and gas revenues. The deductive approach explored the conflict theory to collect data needed in constructing the conflict in the Niger Delta as either legal resource control struggle or terrorism. Below are some of the significant features of the conflict situation in the Niger Delta:

- Differences lied at the core of the society which leads to conflict.
- Resources were limited; underdevelopment of the region, lack of social infrastructures was rife.

- Power was a source of conflict, given the ethno political composition of Nigeria.
- Power structure minimized the expression of actual issues of conflict in the Niger Delta.
- The legitimacy of power lied in its support by social norms that helm the society created and perpetuated structural inequalities, by providing differential opportunity structures.
- Power was not evenly distributed, as exclusion, denial, and marginalization amply abound.
- Competition was inevitable (winners & losers), oppression, oppressed, frustration.
- Negotiations based on force, threats, promises, broken-promises and consensuses were rife.
- Threats and coercion, militancy, foot soldiers, extrajudicial killings, abduction, kidnaps, dominated the Niger Delta conflict.
- Oil mineral Resources became tools of control or exploitation.
- War and conflicts were naturally inevitable in the face of inequity.
- Economic inequality between the social classes.
- Privileges were protected by the rich.
- Exploitation of resources without commensurate compensation to landlords often resulted in conflicts.
- Order was challenged by have not, reprisals, and army of occupation.

- Bureaucratic corruption was unchallenged.

The justification of the social conflict theory partly derived from the understanding that, in a federation and democratic setting, such as in Nigeria, no one ethnic group or institution should dominate the other groups. The power of all institutions and organizations, particularly the larger groups, was limited by the force of law and social contract. Cultural traditions, interactions and custom, and compromise were required in working out changes in socioeconomic arrangements, thus guaranteeing social equities in the process. Social justice theory was about collaborative ethnic groups in Nigeria using social justice theory to handle the dynamics of socioeconomic conflicts engendered by the exploitation of oil and gas minerals and control of their revenues. The social conflict theory presents prospect for achieving greater social and economic justice especially for a group or groups of marginalized people (the Niger Deltans).

Public Policy Gap and Intervention Instrument: The Failure Argument

Understanding the historical background of Nigeria's sociopolitical dynamics, causal factors, nature and context of the Niger Delta conflict helped to illuminate the policy directions and intervention mechanisms of the Nigerian state (Ubhenin & Aiya, 2010). The Nigerian national questions of colonial antecedents, complex ethnic diversities, interethnic relations, identify with the overall African experience. However, copious consensus of issues of inequities, corruption and mismanagement of natural resources tended to reflect the various conflicts and conflict issues in Nigeria nay the Niger Delta (Oarhe & Aghedo, 2010; Umejese, 2012).

Since the 1960s when oil and gas was discovered and exploited in commercial quantities, the indigenous people of the Niger Delta had protested unfair treatment, ranging from environmental abuse to inadequate revenue distribution to the area. These among others, qualified for the NDQ, thus illuminating the Marx social conflict theory applied in this study.

Akinola (2011) presented the gaps between the Nigerian state policies, regulations, institutions and intervention agencies from the windows of institutional frameworks, exemplified by failures and nonresponsiveness. In the light of such gaps, he proffered policy recommendations towards lasting peace in the Niger Delta through institutional reforms that will enable true federalism in Nigeria. A decentralized federal system presents the prospect of accommodating the oppressed minorities from bottom-up and ensures adequate representation and economic justice (Arowolo, 2011).

According to Akinola (2011) the vexing issue was that rather than respond to calls, hopes, yearnings and agitation for the improvement of living conditions of the citizens, the Nigerian state resorted to aggressive military air and land operations against the Niger Delta. The author's account corroborated the infamy of the Nigerian state military offensive on Ayakoromo Community, Odi massacre of 1999, the brutal killing of the Ogoni Nine of 1995, annihilation of Isaac Boro led the mutiny of 1966, to mention but a few. The gaps between the needs and aspirations of the residents in the Niger Delta area and the Nigerian state policy directions revealed the dysfunctional centralized system of government in Nigeria (Akinola, 2010)

Amuwo (2008) posited that the status quo, supported by the skewed public policies were orchestrated to dominate, oppress and marginalize the minorities including but not limited to the Niger Delta. Onuoha (2008, 2010a, 2010b) viewed the Niger Delta conflict as purely economic oppression, suppression, domination and marginalization by the leadership elite often orchestrated through public policy instruments.

According to Ako (2012), the amnesty and DDR programs instituted by the Nigerian state were laudable; however, there was a seeming disconnect between genuinely addressing the fundamentals of the conflict, often attributed to economic, environmental, and poverty factors and the implementation of the amnesty program. To the extent of these gaps, the Nigeria state in its DDR implementation spent billions of Naira (local currency) in stipend payment, educational and vocational programs for the criminal wings (militants) of the struggle. Ako considered the Nigeria's state amnesty intervention as a strategy intended to pacify the protesters (militants) on one hand, and a weapon of intimidation on the other, to discourage the militants from further arms conflicts. Ako clarified that the Nigerian state efforts did not ensure justice in the Niger Delta by remedying years of perceived neglect; rather, the Nigerian state's policies and intervention instruments were designed to ensure uninterrupted exploitation of oil and gas from the region. In other words, the amnesty and DDR programs were not honestly crafted projects meant to institute enduring peace and security in the Niger Delta (Ako, 2012). Ako declared that the twin-program failed to address the cardinal issues of economic exploitation, poverty, and unemployment, and poor service delivery, mismanagement of resources, corruption, environmental degradation and physical

infrastructural underdevelopment in Niger Delta. The project was bound to collapse from the start (Davidheiser & Nyiayaana, 2011).

Davidheiser and Nyiayaana (2011) examined Nigerian state's implementation strategies of the amnesty and the DDR programs. Knowledge of implementation of these intervention tools was necessary to understand how government saw the Niger Delta conflict, related to it and responded through policy and intervention instruments. The definitional haze surrounding the construction of terrorism was not just limited to the international community, but also the Nigerian situation on the Niger Delta conflicts. The contextual dilemma equally impacts policy intervention, particularly regarding issues of conflicts, nature and characteristics of conflict (Nacos, 2012). The accounts of Sampson, (2009) and Davidheiser and Nyiayaana (2011) of Nigerian state's policy and intervention instruments on the Niger Delta failed to address the Niger Delta conflict. To the extent of this failure, papers reviewed were expected to further push for policy examination, and explanation of Nigerian state's decision to classify the Niger Delta conflict as though terrorism.

Gap in Literature

The critical problem of the study was determining whether the Nigerian state antiterrorism bill of 2006 classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. I focused on the policy dimension of the Niger Delta conflict. In selecting literature as roadmap for conducting the inquiry, I examined the focus of the problem. The problem, research question, assumptions, and theoretical framework constituted bases for literature selection and review. The preliminary study of literature, vis a vis the problem statement,

helped to determine existing writings and possible relevance to the research. Determining the importance of selected writings and their significance revealed possible gaps in research particularly the policy dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict.

A series of research had been done on the Niger Delta conflict. However, evidence showed that a greater percentage of previous researchers focused on the economic factors of the Niger Delta conflict rather than policy analysis. Sampson (2009) partially addressed the Nigerian state antiterrorism bill of 2006. No copious analysis had been done on terrorism and terrorism policies, particularly as they connect with the Niger Delta.

Sampson's (2009) assumption was that the antiterrorism bill categorized the Niger Delta conflict as though terrorism. However, Sampson's failure to put the argument in real scholarly framework created the need for this study. This study was designed to probe the antiterrorism bill whether it classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. Sampson produced footage for this study. Having defined the problem of research, selecting literature to set the inquiry in a scholarly voice became a problem. A search for literature in various sponsored websites failed to provide researches on the policy and terrorism dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict as mentioned in Sampson's study.

The delicate political dynamics in Nigeria failed to create systems necessary to consider and accommodate the improvement of the lives of people in the Niger Delta people. The irony of the truth of this assertion is that authors would have taken advantage of inadequate policies directed at resolving the conflict to conduct several inquiries. Conducting researches would have perhaps examined public policies and terrorism as

they appertain to the Niger Delta conflict. Lack of focused policies, lack of directed policy researches on Niger Delta conflict created gaps in writings needed to examine further the policy dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict. Gaps in research on Niger Delta also created gaps in literatures on the terrorism dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict.

Casual reference to terrorism from the activities of the Niger Delta militants and Boko Haram insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria by (Ojeleje, 2011; Onuoha, 2009) failed to focus on policies on terrorism. A passing reference to terrorism by several literatures could not provide knowledge needed to place the arguments for this study on sound debate on terrorism policies. Although Onuoha (2009) focused on the violent crimes associated with the activities of the Niger Delta militants, the definitional haze that surrounds the concept and construction of terrorism lacked reliable reference on terrorism and terrorism policies.

Summary and Conclusion

The body of literature reviewed for this study were focused on the Niger Delta conflict, resource control and terrorism, however, lacked detailed significance to the terrorism policies dimension of the study. Besides, Sampson, Onuoha, Ojeleje and Arowola, who made passing reference on terrorism, no other study made copious analysis on the antiterrorism bill. However, Sampson presented the Nigerian state's antiterrorism bill of 2006 as attribution of the Niger Delta conflict to terrorism formed the footage of this inquiry. Inability of any other author to follow a queue with Sampson's attribution of the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism from the lens view of the antiterrorism bill became the impetus for this study.

Though some portions of the peer-reviewed articles drew great relevance to this study in terms of assumptions and countered arguments, lack of focus on terrorism and terrorism policies by several literatures made the study very challenging but important. Although the study did not break new grounds, because Sampson's assertion that the antiterrorism bill classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism provoked my curiosity and drive for this inquiry.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Overview

The purpose of the study was to determine whether the Nigerian state antiterrorism Bill of 2006 classified the Niger Delta clamor for agitation for increased access to oil and gas revenue (resource control) as terrorism. I assumed that the Nigerian state anti-terrorism Bill of 2006 aimed at classifying the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. I examined the motives of the Nigerian state in introducing the anti-terrorism bill of 2006, and the relationship between the Bill and the Niger Delta conflict. The qualitative case study research method was selected to conduct a study (Patton, 2002).

Qualitative Research Method

I chose the qualitative approach in collecting and analyzing data (Creswell, 2007) in the Nigerian National Congress, to achieve the goal of the study. Qualitative research enabled me to examine complex set of factors surrounding the motives of the Nigerian State in introducing the antiterrorism bill of 2006. Creswell (2009) noted that qualitative research can illuminate the different views; as such, this process helped to explain the divergent views held by the politicians on the Niger Delta conflict, leading to the antiterrorism bill. I collected data from people with knowledge of the legislative processes on the antiterrorism bill vis a vis the Niger Delta conflict (Patton, 2002). The in-depth based information nature of the case study enabled me to place in the context the arguments underlying the conflict: terrorism or legitimate resource control.

The Maximum Variation (Heterogeneity) Purposeful sampling method was used to recruit participants for the study (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The choice for maximum

variation method suited the complex heterogeneous demography: ethno, racial, political, and religious composition of Nigeria. A combination of purposeful and maximum variation sampling models provided the diversity and information needed to illuminate the research problem from persons of experience (Creswell, 2007). The decision of who participated and how many people participated derived from the nature of the study set-up. Creswell noted that persons of experience with broad knowledge of the subject-matter, willing to provide information needed to participate in the study. Representatives of the people in the Nigerian Congress (Senators and Representatives) spread across the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria were polled. Data collected from participants revealed the motives of the Nigerian state in introducing the antiterrorism bill, and its connection with the Niger Delta conflict. The decision to recruit the congresspersons also emanated from their participation in the legislative processes on the antiterrorism bill.

Justifying the Qualitative Approach

Qualitative approach helped me to examine the position of the Congress and the varying reasons that informed the introduction of the antiterrorism bill (Creswell, 2007; Golafshani, 2003). A small sample of the national assembly, being the study population was interviewed. Adopting small sample size and open-ended interviews was congruent with the qualitative approach, which was detail-oriented (Janesick, 2011). Qualitative research offered me the opportunity of drawing sample population, data collection tools, data management, and useful data analysis processes needed in reporting findings in a continuous, iterative cycle (Patton, 2002).

Case Studies

The decision to conduct the study was central to my contribution to the search for a lasting solution to the Niger Delta conflict. I was motivated to conduct this inquiry based on his in-depth understanding of the conflict and the underlying motives behind the antiterrorism bill. The case study was focused on examining whether the Niger Delta conflict was terrorism or resource control. In addressing the purposes of the Nigerian state in introducing the bill, the case study design investigated the sociopolitical, economic, race and ethnic dynamics of the Niger Delta conflict. These dynamics defined how an average Nigerian thought and responded to issues, including policies on the Niger Delta conflict.

On terror construction and causal explanation of the conflict, proponents of the terrorism argued that the extreme characteristic of the conflict and or oil exploration and revenue allocation factors were tangent to definitive classification of the conflict, as though terrorism (Inokoba & Imbua, 2010; Orogun, 2010). The explanatory model created a causal chain (direct and indirect) in the inquiry. The subsisting 13% revenue allocation to the Niger Delta was adjudged equitable. Consequently, any violent and criminal actions, group, or self, by people of the Niger Delta, inimical to Nigerian state's continued oil exploitation qualified for terrorism and sabotage, punishable under the proposed antiterrorism bill if passed to law.

The policies referenced above were argued to have been ill-conceived by the Nigerian state, particularly on the platforms of racial and ethnic bigotry. The racial undertones of these policies, Inokoba and Imbua (2010) explained, were intended to

minimize, exclude, and marginalize the minority oil landlords of the Niger Delta. The explanatory model helped me to separate the thin line of misunderstanding between causal relationship of the conflict and the motivations of the Nigerian state in the introduction of the bill. In all, violence and crime associated with the agitation for resource control correlated with the conflict and terrorism appellation of the bill (Inokoba & Imbua, 2010). Similarly, oil and gas exploitation, environmental degradation, exclusion, marginalization and poverty were causal, however, did not justify the crime and the absolute dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict (Omotola, 2006).

Justifying the Case Studies Design

Yin (1994) described a case study as an empirical inquiry that examines the phenomenon in its real life context, particularly when the borderline between the phenomenon of study and the context is very fluid. It was congruent to investigate the motives of the Nigerian state for introducing the antiterrorism bill, particularly as related to the Niger Delta conflict (Rowley, 2002). Response from participants enabled me to determine whether the conflict was terrorism or resource control. It was also logical to construe case study as an action plan intended to navigate from question to conclusions. This case study offered me the opportunity to collect and examine data from the real-life context (national assembly), and also explained the numerous controversies surrounding the Anti-terrorism bill and its relationship to the Niger Delta conflict.

The Social Conflict Theory of Research

I shared the view of Harling (1995) on the use of theory in a case study that existing theory serves as a starting point that gives direction and structure to the initial set

up of the study questions. Adopting a theory in a case study allowed me to react to the data collected during interviews, and also to filter and organize the data received. The use of theory in this case study helped in using data to place in perspectives the social conflict theory as it relates to the Niger Delta conflict. The degree of truth and relevance of this assertion depended on my sensitivity, so as not to allow an existing theory in unduly determining the research results (Harling, 1995). In this study, the social conflict theory was designed to help in building new knowledge, reinforced existing knowledge and or modified grand generalization on the topic of study (Stake, 1995). The rule was noting the weaknesses of the social conflict theory so as to avoid unnecessary generalization (Harling, 1995). The social conflict theory guided me through data collection and analysis.

Social conflict theory presented the Niger Delta conflict as a struggle for power, dominion or access to and control over scarce means (resources) or interest in society, where a section or party strives to gain control or prevent another from attaining such goal. The arms struggles in the Niger Delta derived some expressions from the political, economic, cultural and social factors in the entire Nigerian environment. I adopted the social conflict paradigm as a roadmap in fitting the relational elements between oil exploitation and the consequential backlashes to the conflicts in the Niger Delta. The social conflict theory was the catalyst needed in drawing a parallel between the major components of oil discovery, exploitation, environmental degradation, perceived inadequate resource distribution, marginalization, unemployment, poverty, crises in the region, and the social-conflict paradigm of these elements (Hammond, 2008; Kreis,

2000). The antiterrorism bill was better placed in context among other variables of violence and crimes in the Niger Delta nay Nigeria as means of answering the study question.

The fundamental thrust of social-conflict theory was that the Nigerian society was an arena of social, economic, and political inequity, capable of generating conflicts and change (Harper, 2009; Orcutt, 1983). Knowledge of this theoretical concept helped in clarifying the relationships between oil explorations in the Niger Delta, revenue derivation and distribution, resultant conflicts and the Congress' introduction of the antiterrorism bill. As stated earlier, the social conflict theory as espoused by Marx, German theorist and political activist who lived in the period (1818-1883). Social conflict theory provided an explanation of the Niger Delta conflict, crime and violence, and the introduction of the antiterrorism bill (Kapstein, 2007). Conflict theory was about interest, access struggle, and competition over scarce resources, rather than ethics, norms and values. The history presented in the social conflict theory was captured in two assumptions below:

1. There are divergent ethno and racial groups in Nigeria competing for common, scarce and exhaustible resources (oil mineral revenue from the Niger Delta region).
2. That the Nigerian society, although was seen as one united nation, it presented with unending power struggles and conflicts between majority ethnic groups, which craved for access, control and domination on oil mineral wealth and the minority groups. Such domination featured

prominently on the instrumentality of the Nigerian state. Certainly, the power struggle had often manifested as the flashpoints for the conflict in the Niger Delta region, nay Nigeria.

Understanding the demography of Nigeria and how the intricate diversities connected with the social conflict theory helped in looping the issues of conflict in the Niger Delta. There were about 350 major ethnic groups and different minority ethnic groups in 36 states and 774 local government areas. In a unitary federalism where oil mineral from the Niger Delta region accounted for about 95% of the nation's income, with revenue sharing formula perceived by the minority ethnic groups of the Niger Delta as unfair, there was bound to be perpetual conflicts. The social conflict theory as espoused by Marx had it that the justice system, often enshrined in government policies and legislation favored the rich and powerful. The concept of ownership of oil mineral and accruing income and resource control agitation by the minority ethnic groups of the region substantiated the Niger Delta conflict. Access, control and dominion dictum of the majority ethnic groups which formed the leadership elite in Nigeria also explained the conflict history in the Niger Delta.

Aligning Social Conflict Theory with Case Study Design

Reynolds (2007) asserted that the "majority of research projects are designed to produce evidence for the use of an argument or one set of statements. If these statements are part of an interrelated set of statements or if they are part of the theory, then the empirical support for them increases the confidence in the entire set of statements." According to (Kinkpb, 2011) Theory in a case study research is the statement of

relationship between two or more variables. Statements that represent theories are based upon evidence for the validity of the concepts of the theory and the relationship between them.

Conflict is an inevitable part of the human relatedness process. In a competitive sociopolitical economy as Nigeria's, government policies must not only focus on mutually beneficial sociological elements of ethnic and interethnic relationships, but on increasing peace, harmony, and sustainable development. Policies must focus on internal conflict management and sustainable development, as well. Such internal conflicts bothered on the various elements of the society's interrelationship, particularly reflected on leadership and power sharing, mineral oil resource and revenue derivation and distribution.

The use of theory in a case study like any other research model is relevant because researchers must have concepts that guide them in the decisions they make in sample selection, the data they collect, analyze, summarize, and the results and recommendations they make in the study. To the extent of the truism of this assertion, adoption of the social conflict theory in this study provided that the Nigerian state's introduction of the antiterrorism bill mirrored the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism, that justice system, often enshrined in government policies and legislation, favored the rich and powerful (majority).

The concept of ownership of oil mineral resource, accruing income and resource control agitation by the minority ethnic groups of the Niger Delta region underlined the conflict. Access control and dominion dictum of the majority ethnic groups which formed

the leadership elite in Nigeria illustrated the conflict history in the Niger Delta. Interview questions, data collection and analysis were designed to reinforce, justify or reject the study hypothesis as it appertained to the antiterrorism bill (Kinkpb, 2011). The investigator adopted the analytic induction (AI) in my case study, by starting the inquiry with the social conflict theory as a guide in sample selection, data collection and analysis methods. This approach offered a clear focus from the beginning of the investigations, including literature for review. The assumption of the study acquired relevance from some previous studies done on the Niger Delta.

Sampson (2009) confirmed presumptions for this study, which main thrust was the analysis of the contextual features of the conflict as appertained to terrorism or resource control. In Sampson's study, there was the admission of crossing of the line, no doubt, from demand for real resource control to criminality, given the grandiose arms struggle, violence, attacks, kidnapping, hostage taking, ransom, and extra-judicial killing by the militias of the Niger Delta. However, the social conflict theory held that the inherent criminal dimensions of the conflict were more of the interplaying characteristics of events of inequity, rather than causal factors to the conflict (Orcutt, 1983). In any case, there was more copious consensus of diagnosis by previous works which established that militia in the Niger Delta region was a response to the federal government's skewed public policy in the Niger Delta (Omotoso, 2010; Sampson, 2009). Nevertheless, this argument did not authenticate the assumptions of this study until data were collected, analyzed and presented in results.

Researchers have agreed that bureaucratic corruption, frustration of the teeming army of jobless and restive youths in the Niger Delta was part of the conflict (Aghedo, 2010; Oarhe & Aghedo, 2010). The corruption and inequity factors were also subject to further analysis by data collected and analyzed. The choice of the case study in social conflict design from the explanatory lens view was to balance the two sides of the argument by aggregating knowledge and stories on either side, to a shared meaning, which drove the construction or interpretation of the conflict (Patton, 2002).

Population and Sample Size

The study population was the Nigerian Legislature, and the chosen location for the study was the Nigerian National Assembly (Senate and Representatives), Abuja, Nigeria. Determining the study population took into account the role played by the national assembly in the processes of introducing the antiterrorism bill. Members were recruited across board to reflect the different ethnic and racial backgrounds of Nigeria, which economic stakes on the oil and gas mineral and revenue from the Niger Delta region was high.

Six members from the National Assembly: one from the Senate, and five from the House of Representatives) participated in the study. Data collection lasted for one month. The Maximum Variation (Heterogeneity) Purposeful sampling method was used to recruit participants for the study. The choice for maximum variation method suited the complex heterogeneous demography: ethno, racial, political, and religious composition of Nigeria. Nigeria comprised about 350 major ethnic groups and diverse minority ethnic groups-all represented in the Congress (PBS News, 2007). The purpose of the maximum

variation method was to capture and describe the extreme themes of the study from the lens views of race, religion, economy, culture, education, politics, and other diversities that cut across the country (Patton, 2002). Though, using this method to elicit participation was not easy on account of small sample size, where six Congresspersons covering the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria. The appropriateness of the maximum variation sampling was that it helped me to ventilate the diversities that participant from each zone brought to bear in the introduction of the antiterrorism bill. Maximum variation sampling in this study accommodated the quota system, which, was Nigeria's paradigm for equity at the center. The method was intended to increase confidence in analytic findings and generalization on grounds of representation (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The critical side of this sampling model lied in the researcher's ability to synch the maximum variation method with a case study in making generalization. A small but diversified sample with participants whose goal of illustrating the fundamentals of the phenomenon derived from their different views, values, inclinations, persuasions, biases, and prejudices. My community partner liaised with the leadership of the house in performing the initial process of identifying members based on the heterogeneous model utilized in this study. However, I personally approached the prospective members to consent to the research, and administered the interviews.

Another intricate factor in establishing saturation in the study from the maximum variation (heterogeneity) purposeful sampling model was the quota system adopted in members' selection. Nevertheless, the problem was addressed by codes and themes since the axiom of attaining saturation was when no new information seemed to emerge from

any subsequent respondent or question (Given & Saumure, 2008). I was aware of likely new developments in the field in terms of members who may either decline to interview or may be unavailable despite initial interest, hence the need to flexibly sample 16 prospective participants.

Recruitment Strategy

I started data collection process by selecting my community partner, an employee of the Nigerian state in the office of the President. The community partner facilitated the process of members' selection. To obtain respondents for the interview, I began by sending a letter of partnership to the offices of the Senate President and Speaker of the House of Representatives, both in the National Assembly. The letter was intended to secure the cooperation of the national assembly in partnering in the study. On approval and indication to partner with in the study, letters of invitation to potential recruits were forwarded to the leadership of the Houses for onward transmission to the potential participants. The letter of partnership indicated the purpose of the study, rationale for partnering with the national assembly as the study population, and eligibility criteria for the potential participants. Similarly, the invitation letter to members spelt out the eligibility criteria for the potential recruits. Samples of the invitation letter and consent form were approved by Walden IRB before they issued. A letter of solicitation was sent to 16-potential participants, even though six members participated in the study. The initial large number was intended to accommodate for eventual back-outs during the actual interviews. On arrival in Nigeria, I personally determined original members who participated in the interviews.

Data Collection Strategy

For this study, I used the interviews and documents review tools in collecting data. These tools were considered relevant in triangulating sources and also in providing valid and relevant information needed to achieve the goals of the study.

Interviews

The discussion tool for data gathering was planned to capture essential information that supported the accomplishment of the study objectives. The questions were standardized to assure that relevant information were identified and captured prior to the interview. The questions were designed to be open-ended so as to encourage respondents to volunteer their views on questions willingly. The participant chose the venue for each interview session. The choice of safe and quiet venue for interview encouraged conversation in a relaxed and secure atmosphere. I adopted the open-ended, one-on-one interview method in collecting data. Ten open-ended questions yielded about an hour tape-recorded interview session with a single participant (Janesick, 2011). I tape-recorded the interview sessions with the participants' permission. During the interview process, field notes were also be taken on a note pad with the transcripts typed into a word document. After the interviews, data were transcribed and analyzed, and member checked for results, summaries, and recommendations made.

Prior permission was obtained from participants before the interviews. In addition to verbal explanation, the informed consent had provisions that explained to participants that their participation in the study was voluntary and that they were required to understand the benefits and risks before consenting, signing and dating. I told members

beforehand that there were no compensations for participating in the study. The whole processes of data collection and analysis lasted for one month. Interview questions were reviewed by the dissertation committee to enhance the quality of the instrument before administration.

The interview method offered the following strengths to the inquiry:

- I collected data from people (Legislators) who either had experienced the conflict or were part of the congressional processes of the anti-terrorism Bill (Creswell, 2007, 2009).
- In using an open-ended interview, I collected information from participants who were not limited to yes or no answers.
- Participants were asked broad questions as they were not conditioned to narrow answers.
- The snag to the case study interview approach to generating data was volumes, jotting and tape recordings, which analysis also was cumbersome. Nevertheless, my experience helped minimize the inherent drudgery.
- Corroborating and validating data was done iteratively throughout the qualitative data gathering, analysis, and write-up process.

Research Interview Questions

The following questions were designed to collect information from participants during data collection interviews:

1. In your opinion, what were the main events, ideas, and considerations that led to the Nigerian state proposal of the Anti-Terrorism Bill of 2006?
2. As a Congressperson, would you consider the Anti-terrorism bill a policy that aimed at criminalizing the Niger Delta conflict and, why?
3. Would you consider the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism, and why?
4. It was the assumption of the research that the criminal and violent characteristics of the Niger Delta conflict informed Congress' development of the anti-terrorism Bill? How would you relate this assumption to the real factors of the bill?
5. What do you think were the factors that led to the failure of the anti-terrorism bill from passing into law in Nigeria from 2006-2007?
6. What would you consider as the biggest misconception of the Anti-terrorism bill of 2006, especially its connections to the Niger Delta conflict?
7. What significant events, factors and experiences would you say were the causes of the Niger Delta conflict?
8. Would you consider the Niger Delta conflict a legitimate resource control struggle, and why?
9. How would you describe the impact of the Land Use Act of 1978, Petroleum Act of 1969, and persisting 13-% revenue sharing formula to the enduring conflict in the Nigerian Niger Delta?

10. What policy would you recommend as the best solution to ending the Niger Delta Conflict, and why?

Debriefing/Feedback

Hereunder is sample of participant's debriefing form, which was applied to members at completion or exit.

Resource Control or Terrorism: Competing Perspectives on the conflict in the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria.

April, 2014

Thank you for participating in this study. Your time and effort are much appreciated. This study investigated the Nigerian state Anti-terrorism Bill of 2006 and examined how it related to the development of the Niger Delta conflict; and motivations of government in introducing the bill. The procedure included the application of ten open-ended questions that yielded about an hour tape-recorded interview session with a single member. During the interview processes, field notes were also taken on a note pad with the transcripts to be typed into a word document. Prior to the interview, participants were requested to consent to the study. Consenting procedures involved the full explanation of the study topic, objectives, methods, study population and rationale, benefits and risks, voluntary participation. The consent also detailed the right to participate or discontinue at any point in the study without any repercussion. On a full understanding of the study protocol in English language, the participant freely consented to research by signing and dating the consent form.

All interview sessions were audio-recorded, such audio files and word documents were secured in a computer (and will be destroyed 5 years after completion of the study). The confidentiality of participant's information was strictly observed through assigned participant's code numbers, not personal information. This study received ethics clearance from the Walden University Ethics Committee, and the Nigerian Ethics Committee via the National Health Research Ethics Committee, Nigeria (NHREC). If you wish to talk privately about your rights as a participant, you can contact the National Health Research Ethics Committee of Nigeria via their e-mails: chairman@nhrec.net or deskofficer@nhrec.net or by calling these phone numbers: +2348033520571, +2348065479926. You can also call Dr. Leilani Endicott on 001612-312-1210. He is the Walden University representative who can discuss this with you.

Documents Review and Data Triangulation

It was possible that the information needed to augment the interview data would have been collected and documented during congressional sessions from 2006 to 2010. Hence, reliance on oral interview of six congresspersons would not have been enough to balance the debate, data collection and analysis, presentation of results and recommendations. For instance, similar data arising from interview questions had been collected for other purposes particularly during congressional second reading of the bill as captured in the verbatim reports of the House. In other words, selecting six participants from the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria was deliberately designed to shore-up the inherent diversities of the country. The maximum variation sampling method

accommodated the diversities that Nigerians in the congress brought to bear on the antiterrorism bill and the Niger Delta conflict.

Data from six participants may not be enough to present a balanced investigation of the study hence the need to triangulate resources with documents review. It was necessary to supplement the discussion tool with documents review. Triangulating data sources was intended to address the weaknesses of the oral interview by reducing biases in the conclusions (Maxwell, 2005). Employing documentary evidence was aimed at cross-validating information obtained from the oral interviews (Noor, 2008). Information obtained from extant documents, such as the House gazette and verbatim reports of congressional debates are independently verifiable. Documentary evidences served as guidelines during the interview processes and in applying the questions on subjects. Documentary evidence also helped me to gain a deeper understanding of the motives of the Nigerian state in introducing the antiterrorism bill in 2006, how the bill connected with the Niger Delta conflict. Triangulating documentary analysis with an oral interview further helped me to deal with validity threats associated with an oral interview. Documentary evidence helped to minimize time and expense in transcribing data.

Central to the documentary evidence was the draft copy of the antiterrorism Bill of 2006, verbatim report of the House proceedings and deliberations on the Bill at the National Assembly, and other necessary allied documents (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 2002). The process of obtaining documents entailed formally obtaining permission in writing from the National assembly to combine documents review and members' participation in the study. I wrote the letter ahead of time to the National Assembly for access to its

library, particularly official and unofficial documents, and members' participation. This process commenced months ahead before the investigator's arrival in Abuja, Nigeria (Creswell, 2007).

Despite the benefits of the documentary evidence tool, it is germane to state that it was also fraught with some weaknesses. Critical in its limitations was the time needed to search through heaps of documents and papers for valuable pieces of information. Securing public data was encumbered with bureaucracies and frustrating processes. Finally, it was sometimes difficult to differentiate between authentic and inaccurate pieces of evidences and how they helped to validate the information leading to conclusions (Creswell, 2009).

Data Analysis

Critical to data analysis was the decision of how to represent the data collected in tables, matrices or case study forms (Creswell, 2007). Processes of data analysis entailed careful planning, organizing, and analyzing, so as to make sense out of the text and image data (Creswell, 2009). Precodes were developed before data collection from literature and assumptive theory. During the process of data analysis, I coded data manually using some form of filing. Coding enabled me to establish a firm control through memoing, entry, storage, and transcription, (Saldana, 2009). Although, there were various data analysis tools designed in the field of qualitative studies, I chose the Bazeley (2009) approach which supported the integration of different approaches to data analysis in describing, interpreting, constructing and presenting results. The versatile nature of a qualitative study allowed me to accommodate various data analysis tools as applicable. However, it

was instructive to say that such processes did not include all known methods rather the researcher selected methods which were deemed relevantly to the inquiry (Creswell, 2007, 2009). I also adopted the Theme Approach. Theme was the advanced stage of coding; it encapsulated precoding, coding, enumeration, stitching patterns together, and themes (Saldana, 2011).

Treatment of Data

Interviews were tape recorded with the participants' permission. During the interviews processes, field notes were taken on a note pad with the transcripts typed into a word document. All audio files and word documents collected were stored in a secure computer (to be destroyed five years after completion of the study). The hand-written notes were destroyed by shredding immediately after I had finished transcribing the information into a word document.

Data were stored in flash drives dedicated solely to the study and safely secured in a locked cabinet. I stored all data and recordings in a password protected computer that he alone had sole access. While in transit, all data (including note pads) and my digital recorder were stored in a lockable briefcase. I preserved all written documents in his home office file cabinet.

Reliability, Validity, and Challenges of Data Collection and Analysis

As part of its weaknesses, the case study has often been seen in various quarters as lacking in rigor and sloppy thus allowing unnecessary bias to influence the direction of results, findings and conclusions (Yin, 1984; Zaidah, 2007). Filtering information for authenticity was made difficult by my interpolation. In other words, accuracy of the

original narration was very challenging, and my manipulation of data could not be ruled out. Case studies merely provide anecdotal information. Offering objective and accurate account of events as they affected other ethnic groups by members was difficult. In Nigerian situation, where every average person's loyalty and patronage goes first, to his or her ethnic and racial background, rather than the country, filtering biases was necessary. Service to the nation, including law making at the national level, fall along ethnic divides. As such, generating honest and untainted data from an average Nigerian via a case study on the emotion-laden subject of the Niger Delta conflict could not go unbiased, unexaggerated and skewed (Langellier, 1989). The issue of how standard for measuring the accuracy, integrity and objectivity of a story and its teller obstructed the process of revealing or accounting truthfully for the past on the Niger Delta conflict. Another potential challenge to case study was that case study lacked reliable basis for scientific generalization given the small number of the sample population engaged during data collection (Yin, 1984).

The case study was too long and laborious to conduct, being that it is focused mainly on voluminous data and documentation (Yin, 1984). Notwithstanding the weaknesses of the case study model, it offered the strength of answering the questions of motive in the study. The case study explained the motives of the Nigerian state in introducing the antiterrorism bill in 2006 (Rowley, 2002; Yin, 1994).

Triangulation enabled me to combine the interview and document review tools. Triangulation helped in gaining a holistic view of the fundamentals of the Niger Delta

conflict-causal and relationships (Noor, 2008). Moreover, the following allowed for greater validity and reliability:

- Construction of the result of the finding from themes, codes and clues on data collected based on participants' experience.
- Eliminated or tamped own preferences to the barest minimum.

Research result corresponded with the presumptive framework or question of the study, either authenticating the assumptions that Niger Delta conflict was terrorism or legitimate resource control. Generalization in this case study was not statistically based; hence the social conflict theory was adopted partly as the lens view for analyzing data and generalizing results and summaries. Pattern matching and explanation building were used to verify data

Effort was made to balance the constructive argument of the research essentially from the participants' view, not my opinion. In this study, data were collected and interpreted from natural opposing points of view captured in themes, in order to form clusters (Creswell, 2007). The ideas were often aligned to the lenses of social conflict theory for validity.

Demonstration of Scholarship

I showed a mastery of the referencing of materials referred in a write-up. There was a comprehensive establishing of the subject matter of study by presenting a lucid introduction and summary.

The Role of the Researcher in the Study

There is no one standard approach to conducting a qualitative study. In other words, I was the central architect of the end product of this qualitative study. Hence, there was imperativeness of versatility in approach and ingenuity all through the inquiry. I knew that dealing with a full range of subjective views from members, personal biases and prejudices called for great ethical self-consciousness on his part. In all, I needed extensive experience in planning, setting boundaries, collecting data, analyzing, and interpreting data from interviewees' perspectives, not essentially mine, (Creswell, 2009). Invariably, the study called for personal involvement through identifying sample members, designing data collection tools (interview questions and document review). I also demanded conducting interviews in data collection, transcription, and coding, validating data, analyzing data, interpretation and presentation of results/findings.

In dealing with human subjects, I received permission from the Walden University Institutional Review Board (IRB), and the Nigerian Ethics Committee, to ensure the protection of the rights of human subjects during data collection process. I collected and processed data collection, in an environment which he was quite familiar with, even though it involved traveling from the United States to Nigeria. The need for personal involvement particularly at data collection was very pressing, to ensure that the right members as identified participated in the study, and questions were asked to the right participants. My own experience with the Nigerian terrain and members' added impetus to the quality of the research.

Ethical Considerations

Acknowledging sources and resources stood very prominent in starting and concluding this study. I used the doctrine of fair-use and copyright within the academic community. In order to ensure compliance with ethical requirements for a doctoral research, consent was required from Institutional Review Board (IRB), both in the United States, and Nigeria, prior to the collection of data. The ethics committee approval ensured the safety of human subjects who participated in the study, and also guaranteed data integrity needed to confirm my conclusions and recommendations. The process of consenting assured that members freely offered their approval through a uniform Informed Consent Form (ICF) that was applied on all subjects before interviews. The ICF bore a summary of the research, objectives, benefits, minimal risk that applied to a member which were not any different from their daily life, and study duration. Moreover, subjects were assured, verbally and in writing of their liberty to withdraw from the study at any stage if they felt so, without any consequences. I assured the participants of the confidentiality of their identities and information.

Summary

Chapter 3 served as a standard for justifying the qualitative approach, case study design and social conflict theory adopted in the study. Case study was an action plan designed to navigate from question to conclusions. Case study in this research offered the bases for the investigator to collect examine and describe data in the real-life context (national assembly). Case study also placed in perspectives the numerous arguments surrounding the antiterrorism bill of 2006 and how it connected the Niger Delta conflict.

Case study described the specifics of the divergent views to the Niger Delta conflict, identified the underlying issues from the lens-views and perceptive points of members. I recruited participants who either experienced the conflict or were part of the legislative processes of the Bill. I gathered comprehensive information and ideas through inductive, qualitative methods, such as, open-ended interviews in this study, and represented data from the perspective of the participants (Creswell, 2007, 2009).

The case study was best suited with information-oriented maximum variation purposeful sampling. I chose representation via the maximum variation method to enable his sample cover the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. I recruited Senators and Representatives of experience with extensive knowledge and information on the Niger Delta conflict and the antiterrorism bill for the study. In illuminating this study from policymaking perspectives, the case study design proved an appropriate model for drawing a more inclusive summary and conclusions. It sufficed to say that data collected during the study were considered sufficient for answering the research question and accomplishing the research objectives.

Chapter 4: Results

Overview

This section includes the summary of the data and findings of the case study. I presented the tools and processes of data collection. I gave my report in text data by summarizing the findings from the participants through themes (Creswell, 2007). Data were collected data for the study through interview discussion and documents review tools. I presented results of the six interviews conducted by summarizing members' responses to interview questions, as replicated below:

1. What were the main events, ideas, and considerations that motivated the Nigerian state to introduce the Anti-terrorism Bill of 2006?
2. Would you state that the Anti-terrorism bill classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism and why?
3. What significant events, factors and experiences would you say were the causes of the Niger Delta conflict?
4. Do you agree that the criminal dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict motivated the Nigerian state to introduce the antiterrorism bill and why?
5. Would you consider the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism, and why?
6. What do you think were the factors that led to the failure of the antiterrorism bill from passing into law in Nigeria from 2006-2010?
7. What would you consider as the biggest misconception of the Anti-terrorism bill of 2006, especially its connections to the Niger Delta conflict?

8. Would you consider the Niger Delta conflict a legitimate resource control struggle, and why?
9. How would you relate the impact of the Land Use Act of 1978, Petroleum Act of 1969, and persisting 13-% revenue sharing formula to the enduring conflict in the Nigerian Niger Delta?
10. What policy would you recommend as the best solution to ending the Niger Delta Conflict, and why?

Description of the Participants Pool

The study group was the Nigerian National Assembly, including three Senators and three members from the House of Representatives. Each member was required to represent one of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria as a means of reflecting the quota system that guides the inter-ethnic relationship between the majority and minority ethnic groups. The reality on the ground determined who participated in the study. In other words, five members of the House of Representatives and one Senator were interviewed. Getting the Senators to interview was more difficult than members of the House of Representatives. The only changes in the participant pool as earlier planned were the tilt in the number of Senators.

I planned to interview three Senators and three Representatives. However, five members of the House of Representatives and one Senator participated in the study. The skew was due to the inherent difficulty associated with getting the Senators of experience to participate in an interview. Most of the Senators proposed for the study were either on

foreign assignments or constituency committee tours. I found it reasonable to recruit Representatives of immense knowledge on terrorism and the bill under review. Three participants were members of the anti-terrorism committee which considered the consolidated version of the House Bill (H.B.288) of 2006 and Senate Bill (SB.315) 2006 on terrorism prevention. Each member represented one of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria and also met the eligibility criteria established for the study. The six participants had a minimum of 4-year experiences in the congress, a factor that made the quality of information provided very tenable and valid to the study. There was no significant deviation from the inclusion criteria for recruiting members as replicated below:

1. Member must be an experienced lawmaker who may have served a minimum of one legislative term of 4 years.
2. Participants must be between 25 years of age and above.
3. Each member must represent one of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria Participant.
4. A participant must be a serving Senator or Member of the House of Representatives of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
5. Participant could be man or woman.

Through the study, no personal identifiers were used to describe or represent the opinions or positions of the members. Participants were coded and represented according to the geopolitical zones which they represented at the national assembly. I coded each of the six geopolitical with two letters that described their geopolitical regions. For instance, the coding was designed below:

Zone	Key
North-East	NE
North-Central	NC
North-West	NW
South-East	SE
South-West	SW
South-South	SS

Description of Data Collection Process

Two set of tools were used to gather data for this study: the interview method and document review. I developed the interview tool, using the research topic, purpose statement, the overarching question, and the guiding theory. The dissertation committee and Walden IRB approved the research instruments prior to the data collection. The study population was the Nigerian National Assembly. The only change that took place was during the actual interview process in the recruitment of members. During the data collection process, the researcher interviewed six members: five representatives in the Federal House of Representatives and one senator from the House of Senate. When I discovered that two proposed senators were not going to be available for an interview, I quickly replaced them with two available and willing members of the House of Representatives. I anticipated such change hence arrangement had been made earlier during the planning process to remediate any unforeseen development. There was no adverse effect on the quality of data collected; validity of the conclusion and the results presented. There was no adverse effect because all the participants had a minimum of

four legislative year experiences and had either served or were serving in key congressional committees on either anti-terrorism bill or the Niger Delta region. Notwithstanding their disparate backgrounds, the respondents vividly shared one thing in common, reasonable knowledge of the antiterrorism bill and the Niger Delta conflict.

Each member was contacted by my community partner through a request letter. There was a deliberate polling of 16 potential members so as to accommodate for eventual back-outs during the final interview process. I could not get the entire potential recruits who showed interest to participate in the study. Some of the senators could not present for the interviews due to exigencies of duties. I conducted a post transcription member-check. All the transcripts were accepted by the members as an accurate reflection of their views and positions during the interviews. On the confirmation of the transcripts, I reviewed and analyzed the data as communicated, to ensure proper organization of research analysis and result presentation.

Settings with Potential to Impact the Interviews or Members

I conducted the interviews in mutually agreed venues, which were deemed safe, serene and convenient. Five of the interviews were held in the offices of the members at the National Assembly complex, Abuja, Nigeria while the remaining one held in private law firm of one of the members, also in Abuja. Each interview session lasted an hour or slightly less, as the case was. The six-interview sessions were digitally audio-recorded with prior permission from the respondents. The polled members who met the eligibility criteria and indicated willingness to participate in the study voluntarily gave their written and signed consents. The audio recordings of the interviews were stored first, in the

digital recorder, and later transcribed and saved in personal laptop computer which was password protected.

I did not have any misunderstanding or disagreement with participants or interruption of the proceedings or adverse impact during the interviews. Transcription of raw data, processing and analysis, were made at the comfort of my home study office, which offered the needed serenity, safety, privacy and convenience required to focus and concentrate. In the same vein, no adverse influences were recorded during this process.

Summary of the Findings of the Research Questions

The goal of the study was to determine whether the Nigerian state antiterrorism bill H.B. 288 of 2006, classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. The study was designed to investigate the assumption that the Nigerian state introduced the Anti-terrorism bill of 2006 to classify the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. The study addressed the interpretation of political elites that the Niger Delta Conflict was either a problem with terrorism or resource control. Data were collected and analyzed to answer the overarching question and hypothesis of the study.

Presentation and Discussion of Results

I added this section to address the fundamental question, whether the antiterrorism bill (H.B 288) of 2006 classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. Findings from interviews data and reviewed documents provided answers to the overarching question. The study data and responses were analyzed in themes, with supporting evidences from excerpts of data collected and documents reviewed. I presented the study results in four themes in answering the fundamental question of whether the antiterrorism bill classified

the Niger Delta agitation for resource control as terrorism. Although there is no standard for reporting case study research, the researcher in presenting his result aggregated into themes, the data from the central interview questions, reviewed documents, literatures and study theory (Creswell, 2007).

I triangulated interview data and documents reviewed to capture multiple perspectives of data findings in order to present a consensus report (Patton, 2002). Interpretation of the two sides of data entailed making sense of the data and lessons arising from insights (Creswell, 2007). In summarizing the results, I systematically choreographed in the fourth theme, a loop around the fundamental elements of the discussions and document in the three initial themes in relation to the hypothesis and the social conflict theory. The four themes which I presented the results reflected central interview questions, assumptions of the study and the theoretical orientation. These are:

1. Niger Delta Conflict: Legitimate Resource Control, Not Terrorism;
2. Niger Delta Conflict: Terrorism, Not Resource Control
3. Niger Delta Conflict- Inequity, Not Terrorism
4. Building a Loop: Cross Theme Analysis of Findings

Theme 1: Niger Delta Conflict: Terrorism, not Resource Control

Four of the respondents agreed that the natives of the Niger Delta had legitimate reasons to agitate for increased access to oil and gas revenue. According to findings, the agitation for resource control was precipitated by perceived unfair distribution of oil and gas income from the federation allocation account to the Niger Delta for over five decades.

Despite a majority view which considered Niger Delta conflict as legitimate agitation for resource control, two out of the six respondents deviated that the criminal dimension offered by the Niger Delta militants corresponded with crime and terrorism. The disagreement stemmed from the violent and criminal characteristics of the Niger Delta militants' modus operandi for the fight for equity and social justice. From the standpoints of the two respondents, adoption of violence and crime by the militants in the fight for resource control bothered on terrorism. The NC member demonstrated some members' dissent to resource control debate of the Niger Delta conflict.

We also need to understand that a new method that surfaced in the course of that legal fight, which I want to say with all due sense of responsibility that the criminal dimension of the agitation for resource control had taken it out from the context of a legitimate struggle. The criminal dimension tweaked the struggle from legal means to an absolute deviation from how civilized dialogue ought to. Where you have instances where for lack of a better word, some levels of crime will appear in the agitation. Economic sabotage with regards to willful destruction of oil installations, cutting off oil pipelines, kidnapping, and in some cases, of either foreigners and or any other person who had businesses with the oil exploitation in the Niger Delta contradicted the original motives. But like I said earlier, when a set of people, the latter-day converts of the fight, added criminality to the struggle for resource control, the fight lost its original mission thus deviating into violence, crime and terrorism.

In further advancing the opposing views as to the underlying case of the study, the respondent from NW stressed the criminal, violent and terrorist dimensions of the struggle to buttress the position that the Niger Delta conflict was not entirely a resource control struggle but terrorism.

In the days of Isaac Boro, and Ken Saro Wiwa, the motive of the resource control fight was to ensure that the Niger Delta region received a fair share of the oil revenue. However, the purity of that agitation has been infiltrated by the criminal elements. But the truth of the matter was that the struggle as it was in its purest form as in the days of Isaac Boro and Ken Saro Wiwa had been infiltrated by criminals.

Honestly, I do not think that the Niger Delta struggle was still in its rustic and precinct elements; it has been infiltrated by criminal elements. That is why the Nigerian State must rise to the challenge the terrorist dimension presented by the Niger Delta conflict, and ensure terrorists did not threaten Nigeria's security.

Though there was a majority view that the Niger Delta conflict was largely a resource control struggle, minority opinion based on the criminal dimension, classified the fight as terrorism.

Theme 2: Niger Delta Conflict: Resource Control, not Terrorism

The Niger Delta conflict was examined from the lens view of the Nigerian State Antiterrorism Bill of 2006. A principal assumption of the study was that the bill classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. Four respondents in the study agreed, separately

from the interviews that the antiterrorism bill (H.B288) of 2006 was neither targeted the Niger Delta conflict nor its agitation for resource control.

Four of the participants noted that the bill was an executive (presidential) response to the criminal insurgency, violence and crimes across the country. Conversely, two participants asserted that the bill was targeted at the Niger Delta conflict which they considered as terrorism. The overall findings of the data failed to support the primary hypothesis of the study, which had it that the antiterrorism Bill 2006 focused on classifying the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. In an interview, the NW member provided context for this finding in the following way.

I certainly do not believe that the antiterrorism bill targeted the Niger Delta agitation for resource control. I do not think that anybody will set up, I mean, to start up to criminalize such thing. So, I do not think, in any case, it cannot be anything aimed at criminalizing anyone or group in the Niger Delta because they have their representatives in the Congress. And so you would expect that if they felt the Bill targeted the Niger Deltans, their Representatives in the Congress would have risen up to challenge the Bill, particularly during the public hearing.

The SW member response summarized the majority views of the participants “The conflict was not explicitly categorized by the antiterrorism bill as terrorism even though some of the activities of some of the proponents of the resource control struggle crossed the line of legal struggle to criminality.” The SE responded supported the view that the bill did not classify the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism, “I do not believe that

the bill focused on criminalizing the Niger Delta conflict.” In the same vein, the NE respondent echoed the real reason of the Nigerian state in introducing the bill.

No! The assumption that the bill targeted the Niger Delta is not correct. I think it is...not targeted at the Niger Delta; rather it was introduced to ensure that every one of us including the Niger Delta people have a right to live, access to healthy and quality life: clean water, electricity, employment, education, what have you.

Even though the criminal dimension of the conflict featured significantly in the response of members, there was a concurrence that the real purpose of the Nigerian state in introducing the bill was not to criminalize or target the Niger Delta conflict or the region's agitation for resource control. As further highlighted in the response of the NC member, crime and criminality bothering on terrorism was grossly condemned in the content of the Bill. In all, the respondents noted the deviation from the motive of the original crusaders of the Niger Delta agitations for resource control to crime and terrorism by the militants.

The militant wings of the Niger Delta resource control agenda introduced criminal method in the course of that legal fight. I want to say with all due sense of responsibility that it had taken the fight from the context of a genuine struggle to one that was being waged in a manner that did not conform to how civilized dialogue should be. Where you have instances where for lack of a better word, some levels of crime surfaced. There was economic sabotage especially with regards to vandalism of oil installations, the breaking of oil pipelines, and

kidnapping of oil workers, in some cases, of either foreigners or any other person who had businesses with the oil exploitation in the Niger Delta.

Moreover, five of the respondent agreed, separately, that the antiterrorism bill did not target the Niger Delta conflict. Rather, Nigerian state was responding to the series of events across the world post the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States. In triangulating my sources, the excerpt from the verbatim report of the House's second reading of the bill on Tuesday, March 11, 2010, corroborated the positions held by five members from the interview. The 9/11 incident necessitated the call by the United Nations to member countries to join hands in addressing all acts of terrorism across the globe. The call by the United Nations was placed in perspective on the verbatim report of the House debate on the antiterrorism bill:

Honorable Speaker, terrorism that was hitherto similar to a misdemeanor under our Miscellaneous Offenses Act, assumed a troubling global dimension in the wake of the September 11 attacks on the United States.

Much as global efforts are being made to check this menace, terrorist acts have rather, unfortunately, assumed devastating ideological bends pervading some countries thus the necessity for stringent Municipal Laws to augment global responses.

The Prevention of Terrorism Bill, which was completed in October, 2008 with the help of the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee, seeks to provide for measures for the prohibition and combating of acts of terrorism. It also provides curtailing of funds for terrorist financing, effective implementation of the

Conventions and Protocols on the prevention and combating of terrorism and the prescription of penalties for violations of the provisions of the Bill.

From the foregoing debates and consensus position held by five members out of the six respondents, it sufficed to conclude that the antiterrorism bill did not classify the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. The bill was introduced to address all forms of terrorism including, the militia and terrorist activities of the Niger Delta militants.

Theme 3: Niger Delta Conflict- Inequity, not Terrorism

In responding to the question whether the Niger Delta conflict was terrorism, four out of the six respondents agreed that the Niger Delta conflict was the consequence of decades of social injustice, inequity and marginalization of the area. According to members who supported this argument, the Niger Delta had suffered denial, deprivation and marginalization for over fifty years that oil was discovered and exploited in the Niger Delta area. The Niger Delta had not received a fair share of the revenue accruing from oil and gas (Nigeria: Oil and Gas Revenue Has Not Brought Development, n.d.) explored on their land by the Nigerian state (Oil Spills in Niger Delta: Amnesty International Challenges, n.d.). The study established that the Niger Delta environment was degraded by oil pollution and spill for over 5 decades.

The respondents also acknowledged that the Niger Delta clamored for increased revenue to address poverty, environmental degradation and other developmental factors. The NC member agreed "Eh...my recording of the history of the Niger Delta and indeed the legitimate agitations that had been there for a long time, regarding the environmental degradation that the Niger Delta area had been exposed to due to petroleum exploitation."

The social justice dimension of the conflict and resource control also featured in the response of NW member below.

During our post-election victory trip to the United States, we found that the resource control was the order of the day in the oil-yielding States. If you find oil anywhere in the United States, even the State where Sarah Palin comes from, I mean, Alaska, if you find oil around, you take control, but you remit something to the federal government, okay. And that is, you see we cannot take these things in piecemeal, federalism must be total; we realized that it was only pure and absolute federalism that can secure the right to control resources in whatever form or manner.

From the social conflict theory knowledge the Nigerian state was considered as a theater of inequalities and inequity, thus leading to conflicts in the Niger Delta. From the views of these respondents, the people of the Niger Delta could not have been adjudged terrorists, rather were seen to be reacting to social and economic injustices of the Nigerian state. The social injustice factors were captured in the response from SS member as replicated below.

I do not consider the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism because the area had used and exhausted all known civil approaches to register their protests yet the Nigerian state did not listen to them. So, going it the military way was also considered the last option available to the Niger Delta to be heard by the Nigerian state.

These respondents agreed that marginalization of the Niger Delta since the discovery and exploitation of oil at Oloibiri in commercial quantities in 1956 by the Nigerian state was causal to the agitation for increased access to oil revenue. In substantiating their argument, the respondents concurred that the failure of the Nigerian state to meet with the Niger Delta demands for equity and justice led to a series of protests that culminated in the Niger Delta conflict. The unitary system of government designed by successive military governments in Nigeria created a fiscal policy regime that was perceived inimical to regional autonomy including resource control by the federating regions. As part of their recommendations to the study, the respondents called for the return of the Nigerian State to true federalism. According to members, return to true federalism was a cure to the issues of inequality and marginalization, which in the first place, engendered the Niger Delta conflict. The NW member placed it in context below:

True federalism is a cure to all of those things; when we have a truly federalist situation in place, some of these challenges will fizzle out and then

Nigerians will begin to get the benefits of democracy. The Land Use Act of 1978 had a connection with the factors of inequity and conflict in the Niger Delta.

The SW member corroborated NW position that the inequity was central to the conflict history in the Niger Delta:

Because of the apparent disparity in the Niger Delta, the agitation will still continue to linger despite the degree of success attained. But the people are

still agitating because there is no justice, no fairness; this time in a different way because there is no justice, no fairness, but not in a military fashion.

The respondent from NC also placed it thus, “I think to me, a better argument as we go forward is to argue for a real restructuring of our federation. So, I think power devolution is a better argument than the continuous clamor for increase percentage in revenue allocation, which is a piecemeal measure.” The NC respondent's recommendation corroborated Akinola's position in his article, where he earlier recommended institutional reforms that could enable real fiscal federalism in Nigeria. According to Akinola (2011), true federalism was central to instituting a lasting peace in the Niger Delta and indeed the entire Nigeria. Arowola (2011) shared the views of Akinola on true fiscal federalism; a decentralized federal system presents the prospect of accommodating the oppressed minorities from bottom-up and ensures adequate representation, accountability, and economic justice. Ako (2012), in reflecting on the landmark Kaiama declaration, concurred with Arowola, Akinola, and the NC respondent on the need for Nigeria to return to true federalism as a solution to the Niger Delta conflict. True federalism was in consonance with the (Ijaw Youth Council) Kaiama declaration stance on resource control.

Theme 4- Building a Loop: Cross Theme Analysis of Findings

In reflecting on the fundamental issues which the study was designed to address vis a vis the interview questions, it is proper to develop a loop across the central themes and the findings. The primary phenomenon of study was the Niger Delta conflict, however, examined from the antiterrorism bill of 2006. The central hypothesis of the

study was that the antiterrorism bill of 2006 classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. The opposing assumption was that the Niger Delta conflict was legitimate resource control. Data was collected to examine these assumptions, particularly the motives of the Nigerian state in introducing the bill and how the bill related to the Niger Delta conflict.

Before the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria, the Niger Delta conflict remained the greatest security threat to the Nigerian state. Several policies and intervention instruments had been established to address the conflict yet to no avail. From the policy gap perspective, the study also examined the policy instruments as appertain to the Niger Delta conflict. In the light of the central issues of the study, developing a loop from the findings helped to make meaning of the study reports.

On whether the Niger Delta conflict was terrorism, data collected, analyzed and presented indicated from majority views that the antiterrorism bill of 2006 did not focus on the objectives of the Niger Delta conflict, which was resource control agitation. The study also concluded that the bill did not categorize the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. Findings of the investigation revealed that the antiterrorism bill focused on addressing the criminal and terrorist dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict, particularly referencing the activities of the militant wings of the fight for resource control and economic justice. It is imperative to state that the overall findings of the data failed to support the primary hypothesis of the study. The primary hypothesis was that the antiterrorism Bill 2006 classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. Even though the criminal dimension of the conflict featured prominently in the response of members, there was agreement that

the Nigerian state antiterrorism bill did not classify the Niger Delta conflict as though terrorism. From the social conflict theory knowledge the Nigerian state was considered as a theater of inequalities and inequity, thus leading to conflicts in the Niger Delta. From the majority views of these respondents, the people of the Niger Delta could not have been adjudged terrorists, rather were reacting to social and economic injustices arising from the distribution of oil wealth. Hence, the recommendation for the Nigerian state to return to true fiscal federalism as a solution to the issues that engendered and sustained the Niger Delta conflict.

On policy gap of the study, the study noted that the elite positions on the opposing assumptions of the analysis were critical to the several failed policies and subsequent policies on the search for peace in the Niger Delta. Findings revealed that fundamental to the enduring nature of the conflict were the skewed policies that failed to address the critical issues of the conflict. In order to address the policy gap, the research from majority views recommended the return of Nigeria to true fiscal federalism. In line with the recommendation, true federalism was considered a solution to all the issues of inequity and grievances that drive the Niger Delta conflict, and many more in Nigeria. It is only in a truly federalist situation that Nigerians will begin to get the benefits of democracy. In adding to literatures and policy on terrorism in Nigeria, the study recommended that real factors of crime and terrorism be separated from genuine clamors for social and economic justice.

Summary

I gave the results of the six interviews and reviewed documents from the research data and analysis in chapter four. The data collection tools and analysis were described, discussed, and the findings presented based on evidences and contributions from participants, and transcripts of verbatim reports of the congressional debate on the consolidated antiterrorism bill (H.B322). Chapter 4 included an answer to the overarching research question under three themes. Particularly outstanding in Chapter 4 was the step by step answer to the central interview questions, captured in Themes. In the process, the study interrogated the motives of the Nigerian state in introducing the antiterrorism bill.

All the members agreed, separately, from the interview reports that the Nigerian state antiterrorism bill (H.B. 288) of 2006 was not in all intents and purposes targeted at the Niger Delta clamor for resource control. Four out of the six respondents also agreed that the Niger Delta conflict and the agitation for resource control could not be terrorism. However, events in the years preceding 2006 both at the Niger Delta region and North Eastern Nigeria where militants and extremists of Islamic persuasion sprung up bothered on terrorism. Two members, however, differed in opinion by stating that the criminal and terrorist activities posed serious security and safety concerns to the Nigerian state. As such, the Niger Delta conflict fitted into terrorism. Nonetheless, it was the majority position of the respondents that the criminal dimension introduced by the latter-day converts (militants) of the Niger Delta struggle motivated the anti-terrorism bill. In addition, some of the respondents agreed that the terrorist activities of the Boko Haram

insurgents in the North Eastern Nigeria were also part of the spur and real motivation of the Nigerian state antiterrorism bill.

It was the consensus of the respondents that the Nigerian State through the antiterrorism bill was responding to the series of events across the world including Africa, post the 911 terrorist attacks on the United States. Consequent upon which, there was a call by the United Nations to member countries to join hands in addressing all acts of terrorism across the globe.

The information gathered through interview and transcripts of the H.B 288 as consolidated in H.B 322 explained the premise of the executive bill, which, was designed to address all forms of terrorism both locally and internationally in Nigeria. The infiltration of the Niger Delta resource control struggle by criminal elements (militants) was a spur to the antiterrorism bill. Another potential factor to the bill was the extremist radical Boko Haram insurgence in Northern Nigeria.

There was a difference between genuine agitations for fairness, equity, and justice as predicated on resource control battle, and the criminal tendencies, violence and terror associated with the self-seeking agenda of the Niger Delta militants. The findings showed that the antiterrorism bill did not target the Niger Delta struggle for fairness, equity, and justice. Rather, the bill was targeted at the criminal activities of the militants and latter-day converts of the self-seeking resource control struggle. The focus of the bill was also on the other forms of emerging acts of terrorism as established in the Northern part of Nigeria.

I also established a relationship between oil exploration, economic injustice, and the resource control struggle in the Niger Delta region. Insensitivity, neglect, marginalization, and mismanagement of the oil revenue by the Nigerian state became the rallying points of the Niger Delta conflicts. Violence was far from the original method of protest and agitation by people of the region. However, violence and crime became potent voices that drew both the International Community and Nigerian state attention to the plight and injustices of the Niger Delta region. The criminal dimension of the fight elicited government response with the creation of the NDDC (Niger Delta Development Commission), Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs and the Amnesty Program (Ijaw youths reject 13-% derivation - The Punch - Nigeria's, n.d.). These were state intervention instruments aimed at addressing the decades of neglect and deprivation of the Niger Delta area. The Nigerian state introduced the antiterrorism bill as part of the legal statutes to address the emerging trends of terrorism sweeping across Nigeria. To the extent of the criminal characteristic of the struggle for resource control, the respondents alluded that the Nigerian state would have initiated the antiterrorism bill of 2006.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Determining whether the Nigerian state antiterrorism bill of 2006 classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism was central in the study. I focused on the policy dimension of the Niger Delta conflict. The study question focused on reviewing the antiterrorism bill of 2006 H.B288 as consolidated in 2010 (H.B322). My assumption was that the antiterrorism bill targeted at the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. I focused the study questions on the purpose of the study and its primary assumption that the Nigerian state antiterrorism Bill of 2006 constructed the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism.

Two instruments were used to gather data needed in answering the overarching question: interview and document review. I conducted interviews with members of the Nigerian National Assembly to collect data. I reviewed documents related to the bill, particularly the content of the bill, and used the verbatim recording of the 2010 consolidated bill to triangulate my sources.

The study results showed that the antiterrorism bill of 2006 did not target the original focus of the Niger Delta conflict, which spirit was the agitation for resource control. Results also showed that resource control stood prominently at the background of the Niger Delta protests against marginalization. However, there was a consensus on the deviation from legitimate agitation for equity and social justice to criminality, violence and terror on the part of the latter-day converts (militants) of the Niger Delta region. In placing the underlying issue of terrorism within the paradigm of the antiterrorism bill, the Nigerian National Assembly via H.B.288 (H.B.322) defined terrorism to reflect both local circumstances and international dimension. The broad definitions entailed violence,

crimes, safety and security of lives, property, critical infrastructures, economic base of the nation, and by extension global understanding of terrorism. Simply captured, the concept of terrorism in Nigeria statutes terrain incorporated the following.

1. Acts that purposely may severely damage the country or an international organization.
2. Acts that may unduly compel, coerce, influence or intimidate a government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act.
3. Act or set of plans intended to intimidate a population seriously.
4. Action that is capable of seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of the country or an international organization.
5. Willful attacks upon a person's life which may cause serious bodily harm, death, or attacks on the physical integrity of a person and or kidnapping.
6. Willful destruction of a state or public facility, transportation system, critical infrastructures, including an information system; platform located on the continental shelf, a public place or private property, likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss (Latest Nigerian Supreme Court Cases, n.d.).

7. The seizure of aircraft, ocean vessels or other means of public transportation or goods, and the conversion of such means of transportation for any terrorist activities.
8. The manufacture, possession, acquisition, transport, supply or use of weapons, explosives, or of nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons, as well as research into, and development of biological and chemical weapons without lawful authority (Latest Nigerian Supreme Court Cases, n.d.).
9. The release of dangerous substances, or causing of fires, explosions or floods, the effect of which is to risk life (The Prevention of Terrorism Act 2002* Act No. 2 of 2002, n.d.).
10. Propagation and dissemination of information or information materials in any form or mode whether true or false calculated to create panic evoke violence or threaten the state or a group of persons (Here comes the 'Terrorism' Bill, n.d.).
11. Any person who arranges, organizes, manages or assists in arranging or managing or participates in a meeting, or activity, which he knows is bothers [sic] on terrorism is considered a terrorist or concealed, any person whom he knew to have committed, or to have been convicted of an act of terrorism, or again whom he knew that a warrant of arrest or imprisonment for such action had been issued, commits an offence (The Prevention of Terrorism Act 2002* Act No. 2 of 2002, n.d.).

12. Any person who offers financial or material support, weapons including biological, chemical or nuclear weapons, explosives, training, transportation, false documentation or identification is considered to have committed offence of terrorism (Latest Nigerian Supreme Court Cases. (n.d.);
13. Any person who offers moral support, including an invitation to adhere to a proscribed organization which activities bother [sic] or seeming affiliates with terrorism is considered to have committed offense of terrorism;
14. Any person who willfully and unlawfully directly or indirectly provides or collects funds with the intention, or knowledge, that they will be used, in full or part in order to:
 - Commit and offence in breach of an enactment specified in the antiterrorism law.
 - Or do any other act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian or to any other person not taking an active part in the hostilities in a situation of armed conflict, when the purpose of such action, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing an act, commits an offence of terrorism (The Prevention of Terrorism Act 2002* Act No. 2 of 2002, n.d.).

15. Any person who:
- Solicits, receives, provides or possesses money or other property;
 - Enter into or becomes concerned in an arrangement; as a result, of which money or another property is made available or is to be made available, for the purposes of terrorism, or for a proscribed organization, commits terrorism offence (The Prevention of Terrorism Act 2002* Act No. 2 of 2002, n.d.).
16. Any person who enters into, or becomes concerned in, an arrangement which facilitates the retention or control by, or on behalf of, another person of terrorist property, in any manner, including by
- Concealment
 - Removal from the jurisdiction
 - Transfer to any other person commits an offence of terrorism (The Prevention of Terrorism Act 2002* Act No. 2 of 2002, n.d.).

The Nigerian state classified terrorism as a criminal offence against the State. It is punishable under the (Terrorism Prevention Act, 2011). The bill passed to law in 2011, amended in 2013.

Presentation and Interpretation of Findings

Evidence abounds supporting the findings of this study that the antiterrorism bill H.B 288 (C2651), of 2006, consolidated in H.B. 322 (C3709) of 2010, did not criminalize the Niger Delta agitation for resource control. Facts from interview results and the

verbatim report of the second reading of the consolidated bill showed that the premise of the H.B 322 derived from the president's decision to join ranks with the international community in addressing all forms of terrorism in Nigeria. I triangulated his sources with excerpts from the National Assembly Debates (House of Representatives) on Thursday, March 11, 2010, as follows:

The Bill has been carefully aligned with international standards based on the UN benchmarks. It is comprehensive and will certainly provide a veritable tool for the prosecution of terrorism and related offences in Nigeria when it was given to law. Recently, our country was listed by the United States among its watch list of countries harbouring [sic] or sponsoring terrorism. Beyond the discussion generated by this action, this Bill restates our country's commitment to the international community that we are a people averse to terrorism in its entire ramification. Mr. Speaker, this is one of our international obligations and Nigeria is a state party to the convention on the prevention and combating of terrorism. Already, there are provisions in our several laws which have already passed on the floor of this House, which relate to this Bill. For instance, if you look at the Second Schedule to the Act, you will find the Banks and other Financial Institutions Act, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission Act, the Money Laundering Act; all of these have provisions which, in one way or the other, seek to talk about and punish or confiscate the proceeds of acts of terrorism.

Results showed that ditto the antiterrorism bill, Nigeria was responding to local manifestations of acts of terrorism, however closed ranks with the International

Community in combating terrorism post 9/11 attacks on the United States. This assertion was captured clearly in the excerpt of the consolidated bill verbatim report below:

For me, I believe that it is important to highlight the fact since 9/11 it has been visible to people that issue of terrorism is a serious problem and that there is no hiding place for anybody and that weapons used for terrorism could be anything. You can also imagine the quantum of people killed during the 9/11 activity can compare [sic] favourably with those killed by the detonated atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan. The importance of the adoption of this particular Bill is to the effect we will be prepared ourselves for those things that we do not know and must come. Terrorists are developing all over the world; we must prepare to anticipate their actions. Not only do we have to predict their actions, we also have to counter their activities. So, I believe that it is important to support the Bill and give it a favourable [sic] hearing.

Comparing Findings with Existing Literatures

Comparison of findings with existing literature was given in two subheadings with a brief review of each, particularly as they combined with the goal of the study.

Fiscal Federalism and Resource Control

Agwu (2011) and Ojeleje (2011) revealed that prior to oil and gas economy, following the discovery and exploitation of oil in Oloibiri, Bayelsa State in 1956; resource control was the financial arrangement in Nigeria. The federating regions controlled revenues from their areas and merely paid taxes to the federal government of Nigeria. However, the composition of the Nigeria state postoil development witnessed a

new federalism which was more of a centralized system with unitary fiscal federalism regime. The new financial agreement made the federating states and regions subservient to the federal government of Nigeria, (Arowolo, 2011).

By implication, the Niger Delta, which contributes about 95% of the nation's income, was stripped off its oil revenue-base ditto the unitary monetary arrangement devised by the military government. The unitary fiscal federalism derived mainly from the Petroleum Act of 1969 and the Land Use Act of 1978 arrangements (Oil companies and gas flaring in Niger Delta-Alexander's, n.d.). Ojeleje (2011) attributed the frustration and restiveness of the Niger Delta region which felt shortchanged in the economic equation that left its environment degraded, its infrastructures underdeveloped and its people ostensibly impoverished to the conflict. The skewed revenue distribution between the Nigerian state and Niger Delta region became the driving impetus to Niger Delta agitation for resource control (Orokpo, 2012; Sampson, 2009).

Resource control in the context of the study meant agitation for increased access to a substantial proportion of oil and gas revenue accruing from the Niger Delta region to the Nigeria state (Ako, 2012). Resource control was a demand made by people of the Niger Delta who felt shortchanged and marginalized in the income allocation accruing from oil and gas which the Nigerian central government, explore from the Niger Delta (Arowola, 2011). The native's anger was directed at the Nigeria state over inadequate income distribution to the Niger Delta (Ikelegbe, Okhomina, Olarinmoye & Osaghae, 2011; and Orokpo, 2012). The underlying submission of the findings of the study was that resource control was a social mechanism adopted as the spirit of the Niger Delta

conflict to allow the state, region or community, to harness its human and natural resources to its fullest advantage, leading to sustainable development (Arowola, 2011).

The study findings indicated that there was a connection between the resource control struggle in the Niger Delta and the recommendation of the study. According to (Akinola, 2010; Akinola, 2011; Omotoso, 2010; Sampson, 2009; Uzodike & Isike, 2009) the struggle for resource control was intended to ensure a better future for the Niger-Delta people. True federalism was also intended to achieve real financial arrangement, egalitarianism, peaceful coexistence, and accelerated development of the Niger Delta. The central recommendation of the research is that the Nigerian state should recourse to actual fiscal federalism, as a solution to the Niger Delta conflict, and other issues of inequity in Nigeria. The recommendation did not diminish the thrust of the antiterrorism bill which was intended to address all forms of terrorism, while the Nigerian state pursued the path of peace and sustainable development in the Niger Delta.

As it were, the study on Nigeria's fiscal federalism, revenue sharing, and relations rested on the formula for the distribution of the oil and gas revenue between the Nigerian state and the oil-bearing Niger Delta (Orokpo, 2012). The issue of equity and justice in the distribution of oil revenue from the Niger Delta continued to drive the contextual debate that undergirds Nigerian federalism, and the conflicts in the Niger Delta (Niger Delta Militants-GAMJI, n.d.; Ojo, 2010). Understanding the dynamics of the politics of petro-economy and the intrigues that undergird revenue distribution and resource control was critical in appreciating the construction of the Niger Delta conflict. The SW member

in responding to the question whether the Niger Delta conflict was resource control placed it thus,

Of course, because you see what I have just explained to you now. People from the Niger Delta are merely fighting for their civil, economic and political rights. The oil comes from the Niger Delta and what is given to them is very minimal. They felt that the money coming from oil compared to the allocation given to them is nothing to compare to the oil hazards and quality of life.

The Niger Delta conflict was pretty much resource control, because development of the region was weak in relation to the wealth. As much as I would have wanted to call people from the Niger Delta terrorists, because am not in support of any group that takes arms against its country, but for the issues at stake: neglect, marginalization, disenfranchisement and abuse. They were not asking for secession, they were not asking for 100% resource control, they were only saying, they want a fair share of the oil revenue.

Espousing Terrorism Argument

The infiltration of the ranks and files of credible activists of the Niger Delta agitation for socioeconomic equity and resource control by militants, unfortunately, altered the focus and characteristics of the agitation. Four out of six members concurred that crossing of the line from civil approach initially adapted by well-meaning activists, such as, Isaac Adaka Boro and Ken Saro Wiwa and the Ogoni Nine, to violence, crime and terrorism by the latter-day self-seeking militants spurred the anti-terrorism bill. Omotola (2009) asserted that the resource control agitation and attendant insurrections

bore with them proportional criminality and violence. The deployment of the instrumentality of violence particularly by the militant wing was paradoxical to the achievement of the set objectives of the Niger Delta people. The criminal dimension sufficiently drove the argument for the antiterrorism laws, intended to provide the legal instruments needed to curb, address and prosecute all forms of terrorism (Sampson, 2009).

Juxtaposed with the assumption of terrorism, the results of the study drew a parallel with the motives of the Nigerian state in pushing for a legal framework needed to address the growing trend of terrorism in the country. There was a need for a careful distinction between entirely classifying the Niger Delta agitation for resource control, and the criminal dimension of the fight as hijacked by the militants. Nacos (2012) stressed the danger in adopting the sweeping appellation of terrorism on any individual or groups (such as the Niger Delta) as defined by FBI. A generalization of such nature could evoke demeaning emotions and incites ideological mindset that seems to alter the very fundamentals at stake in any contextual scenario of the conflict. The violence engaged by the State to oppress, cow, minimize, and suppress oppositions during the reign of terror (Nacos, 2012); and a fight-back defense mechanism of freedom fighters (Rubenstein, 1988), muffled the comprehensive classification of the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism.

However, five members agreed that the antiterrorism bill was neither targeted at the Niger Delta region nor its agitation for resource control. Rather, the bill was an executive (presidential) response to the criminal insurgency, violence, and criminality bothering on terrorism and nefarious activities of some miscreants (militants) in Niger

Delta. The agreement by members that the antiterrorism bill did not classify the conflict as terrorism was corroborated by a consensus that from year 2000 the Nigerian state had begun witnessing pockets of insurgency, violence and crime including the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria. Hence the need to institute legal framework (antiterrorism bill) required in controlling the growing trend.

Comparing Findings with the Content of the Antiterrorism Bill of 2006

The comparison of findings with antiterrorism bill of 2006 was substantiated in two subheadings with a brief analysis of each, particularly as they related to the purpose of the study.

Local Response to Terrorist Insurgency in Nigeria

The Nigerian state in early 2000s decided to tackle issues of insurrections and insurgency bothering on terrorism in its homeland. A conscious effort was required to make provisions in Nigeria's laws to preempt, curb, and address all activities related to terrorism. However, the Nigerian state was confronted with definitional haze beclouding the classification of acts relating to terrorism in the globe. Lack of uniform definition of terrorism was particularly concerning given the mix between actual acts of agitations for fairness and resource control by the marginalized people of the Niger Delta, and criminal activities of the militants in the Niger Delta struggle. Nacos, (2012) framed the dilemma surrounding the definition of terrorism thus, “dictum of one’s terrorism is another person's freedom fight, and self-determination, which dominated globally definitional arguments on terrorism.” The definitional quagmire made the conversation as to what party formed a terrorist, more complex. The contextual conditions of interplaying issues

of equity in the political and economic scenarios of conflict especially in the Niger Delta region tended to worsen the definitional argument for terrorism.

The definitional dilemma further impacted the Nigerian state policy formulation, particularly regarding issues of conflicts, nature and characteristics of conflict, leading to development and policy intervention (Nacos, 2012). Observers of the Niger Delta conflict seemed to identify with the confluence of extenuating circumstances, such as, political, economic, social and human right violations. These factors were not any different from the many issues that defined societal daily interactions. In all, the fundamentals of the Bill from SE respondent perspectives mostly explained the motives of the Nigerian state in initiating the anti-terrorism bill as follows.

I do not believe that the antiterrorism bill criminalized the Niger Delta conflict, but it perhaps could be a spur, and the cause that brought about the Bill, but yet there could be something that triggers one thing, and it may inform something, such as this bill. Nevertheless, what obtains in the Niger Delta legally may not fall outside the definitions of terrorism.

The proponents of the terrorism school of thought relied on the violent and criminal characteristics of the militants of the Niger Delta agitations and conflicts, to buttress their support for the Nigerian state antiterrorism bill H.B.288 of 2006 as consolidated in H.B 322, 2010 (Inokoba & Imbua, 2010). From the criminal dimension it was logical to contend that the bill aimed at preempting, forestalling, curbing and addressing all forms of terrorism activities in Nigeria. These terrorist acts included but

not limited to the activities of the Niger Delta militants, and the Boko Haram insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria.

Orogun (2010) highlighted the criminal perspective of the conflict by drawing attention to the highly organized domestic oil bunkering and a well-coordinated international smuggling of illegal crude oil from the Niger Delta. The crude was transported from the creeks through light crude barges and emptied into tankers of international pirates stationed in high seas outside of Nigeria's territorial waters. The proceeds of the illegal oil bunkering were used to sponsor arms, crimes and terrorism against the oil majors and Nigerian state. Data from the NC member substantiated local terrorism in the conflict "We also need to understand that there was a new method in the course of that legitimate fight, crime, violence and acts of terrorism dominated the local content of the struggle."

NE participant reinforced the position of the NC member on local terrorism in the Niger Delta.

Activities that bothered on crime and terror threatened our economy. At a point, oil production ceased; the oil majors started leaving Nigeria, oil workers were being kidnapped and held hostage. Violence was almost institutionalized, with militants' frequent engagements with Nigerian military and law enforcement agencies.

Response to United Nations Convention on Prevention of Terrorism

While the criminal elements to the Niger Delta conflict could be adjudged localized, it sufficed to conclude that it qualified for transnational criminal cartel given

the volume of international pirates and multinationals remotely and overtly involved in oil theft and bunkering in the Gulf of Guinea. The NC member asserted

The agitation from the South-South over oil resource would have been fair and understandable if they had elicited the attention of other stakeholders. However, with the introduction of crime and terrorism, the fight lost its original motives.

According to him, anything that threatens Nigeria security and safety is deemed terrorism.

The Nigerian state and international market incurred high economic losses from the activities of oil bunkers and pirates, who bunkered crude out of the Nigerian seashores into the international market, courtesy, the Niger Delta conflict. The local decision to fight terrorism was complemented by the United Nations' call to member states including Nigeria to close ranks with the global body in combating terrorism, regional and cross borders, particularly referencing the events of the 9/11 in the United States. The researcher placed in context the United Nations' call with the verbatim report of the House debate on the consolidated H.B 322 bill on March 11, 2010, as follows.

The antiterrorism bill recognized the fact that most of these merchants are not within Nigeria's territory and the Bill must extend the structure of the definition as to how to get at these foreign merchants who by their very powerful network have been able to penetrate and dilute a fragile country like Nigeria.

The international response dimension to this bill is reflected in another section of the verbatim report on House debate on the anti-terrorism bill as below:

The Bill has been carefully aligned with international standards based on the UN benchmarks. It is comprehensive and will certainly provide a veritable tool for the prosecution of terrorism and related offences in Nigeria when it was given to law.

Comparing Findings with Guiding Theory (Social Conflict Theory)

A comparison of findings with the guiding theory (social conflict theory) 2006 was presented in two subheadings with a brief analysis of each, particularly as they connected with the purpose of the study.

Inequality, Marginalization and Social Injustice

I examined the Niger Delta conflict and the anti-terrorism bill from the socioeconomic interaction in the Niger Delta and the lens view of economic determinism. Drawing a parallel from Europe in the 19th century, the Niger Delta story was replete with the materialist model of society, which capitalism constituted the dominant form of economic and social development. Marx's model in Europe exemplified a scenario where the dominant features of capitalism and materialism were money, machine, tools, factories and other material objects used in the production (Karl Marx Structural Functionalism, n.d.) The proponents of the social conflict theory concurred that the minority and influential dictated and shaped the capitalist system (Idemudia, 2009). In Nigeria's Niger Delta, the state (dominated by elite at the center) saw the conversion of private property (land, waters, and mineral resources-oil and gas) to state and collective assets via the Land Use Act of 1978 and Petroleum Act of 1969. The elite and powerbrokers shaped ideas and managed the social relations that undergird the state

exploitation of oil and gas, including the funds from the Niger Delta. The Nigerian capitalist society was that of the ruling class. Marx's sociological construct vividly demonstrated how the social, political and economic pendulum, unequally skewed between the elite power-brokers, and the oppressed poor could influence the course of human events in society including conflicts. Conflict and competition between the two opposing classes were among the fundamental social processes that engineered the Niger Delta conflict (Marx, 1971). The SW member placed the position in context below:

Well, in 2006, in my own opinion, it would have sufficed to categorize the Niger Delta conflict arising from agitation for resource control as terrorism, judging from the conflicts that began during the era of Ken Saro Wiwa in the Niger Delta environs. However, the government tried to be very careful not to classify the Niger Delta peoples' uprising as terrorism, knowing full well that the people had cogent reasons for agitating for resource control in the Niger Delta environment. The conflict was not explicitly categorized by the bill as terrorism even though some of the activities of some latter-day activists (militants) in the agitation for increased access to oil revenue from the region crossed the line of a legitimate struggle to criminality.

Public Policy Gap

Understanding the historical background of Nigeria's socio-political dynamics, causal factors, nature and context of the Niger Delta conflict helped to illuminate the policy directions, intervention mechanisms of the Nigerian state, and possible policy gaps (Ubhenin & Aiya, 2010). Critical to appreciating policy gaps in the Niger Delta conflict

were copious issues of inequities, corruption and mismanagement of oil wealth, which reflected the various conflicts and conflict issues in Nigeria nay the Niger Delta (Oarhe & Aghedo, 2010; Umejese, 2012). The SE member placed in context the issues of inequities below.

We have to go back to the drawing table and with all honesty. Whether you are from the Niger Delta or any other region of the country, we should be ready to address the region's problems. When you go to the Niger Delta, you will weep, because of the magnitude of the environmental degradation and poverty. The local and state governments in the region cannot remediate the decay in the Niger Delta hence the need for real political will on the part of the federal government to intervene. So, we have to look at environmental degradation.

Second, we have to look at the livelihood of the people, the fact that people can no longer farm or fish. So, we have to give them alternative means of livelihood. We have to resolve that gap, give them something in return for their economic displacement on their land and waters. We either have to give them alternative means of livelihood or place them on social welfare or give them something that people from other parts of the country do not have, which should be considered part of the amnesty program. We should give them something that will ameliorate their hardship. If we do all that...there will not be any reason for anyone will agitate. But we should come with all honesty, if you are a human being and you go to some part of the Niger Delta, you will cry.

The study analyzed the public policy gap which underscored the Niger Delta conflict from the lens view of the social justice theory. Proponents of modern day economic justice agreed that the recent property relations externalize costs, subordinate the general well-being of many, to own profit, and by extension, denying the citizenry a democratic voice particularly in economic, social and political policy decisions (Marx, 1971). Denying the citizenry the rights to private ownership of mineral resources derived from their land through the instrumentality of public institutions (Land Use Act, 1978; Petroleum Act, 1969) as evident in Niger Delta are of grave moral concerns to watchers of Nigerian democracy. Classical liberals have posited that ownership and control over the means of production (oil and gas in Nigeria) should belong to individual landowners and firms while state should be sustained and supported by taxes from resources. The economic and social injustice visited on the Niger Delta via policies that were designed to arrogate oil revenue benefits to the Nigerian state were placed in context in the response of the SS member below.

Yeah, I think the Land Use Act was targeted at the Niger Delta region because of the oil resources. The Act was not in the best interest of the Niger Delta people, not in the best interest of Nigerians, and there is no way the Land Use Act... That is why everybody is clamoring for the abolition of the Land Use Act, because, in developed societies, the regions, states and local governments control their own resources and pay taxes to the federal government, but in Nigeria, the reverse is the case. I think that the Land Use Act should be abolished entirely, so as to create a viable state called Nigeria.

The Petroleum Act you are talking about also derived its principles from the Land Use Act, so all of them put together are creations, I mean, policies designed to diminish the Niger Delta. Before the Land Use Act existed, Nigeria's federalism revolved around the federating regions, and these regions controlled their resources...The Land Use Act, Petroleum Act, designed to shortchange the Niger Delta region. These statutes were employed by the Nigerian state to deprive the people of the Niger Delta region of revenues from oil. The Nigerian state created the Petroleum Act of 1969 and used the same principles to enact the Land Use Act of 1978. So, I believe that is why the present government initiated a different Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB). The new PIB is all encompassing, and I think that the bill when passed will accommodate various communities that produce oil, and we will jettison the Land Use Act and the Petroleum Act.

Akinola (2010) presented the gaps between the Nigerian state's policies, regulations, institutions and intervention agencies in the Niger Delta conflict from the windows of institutional frameworks, exemplified by official corruption, failures and nonresponsiveness. Akinola (2011) engaged a diversified approach in framing the causal factors to the Niger Delta conflict by connecting a relationship between the ingrained poverty, corruption and the conflict in the Niger Delta. Despite overwhelming wealth from oil and gas explored from the area, environmental degradation; underdevelopment; joblessness among teeming youths and graduates, marginalization, defined the Niger Delta. He showed a causal link between dysfunctional Nigerian state's policies characterized by bureaucratic corruption, poor service delivery, and violence and

conflicts in the Niger Delta. The military options employed by the Nigerian state to address protests and agitations for improved revenue distribution, poverty questions, infrastructural development and environmental restoration was considered a flashpoint for grievances and drivers of the conflict (Agbonifo, 2009; Ubhenin & Aiya, 2010).

Corruption was critical in explaining policy gaps needed in addressing the Niger Delta conflict. Central to the many issues of conflicts in the Niger Delta was corruption and gross mismanagement of oil and gas revenue accruing directly to the Nigerian state (Aghedo, 2010). Aghedo built a connection between oil wealth, power, public policies, and corruption in Nigeria. Power became the vehicle for constructing policies required to arrogate public money for self-aggrandizement hence the craze for power at the center. The income from oil and gas explored from the region made the race for occupying public offices at the center very lucrative. Nigeria operates one of the most porous public accountability systems in the world, where inherent loopholes allow for unrestricted stealing, embezzlement of public funds for personal aggrandizements (Oarhe & Aghedo, 2010). The paradox of organized oil wealth corruption in Nigeria was that what the Niger Delta landowners received in return for their acquired land and waters was impoverishment, environmental degradation, pollution and attendant health issues.

Maiangwa (2012) in characterizing the Nigerian scenario stated that, corruption was the curse militating against the development and political stability in the Niger Delta nay Nigeria. Corruption enabled impunity in Nigeria particularly its patrimonial tendencies that allowed political elites to privatize the state and its abundant oil wealth (Inokoba & Imbua, 2010; Oarhe & Aghedo, 2010). In eliciting reference from the World

Bank report, (Afiekhena, 2005) estimated that, 1% of Nigeria's population received about 80 percent of Nigeria's oil and natural gas revenues. In other words, 20% of Nigeria's population received the balance 20% of the oil and gas wealth. The attendant implications of the widening income inequality were grievances, frustration and resentment, leading to what fitted a class struggle exemplified in the Niger Delta conflicts.

The cumulative consequence of corruption was that policies were not designed to address the very issues that engendered, and sustained the Niger Delta conflict. NE member's account corroborated the corruption factor of the Niger Delta conflict below.

What did the Niger Delta states do with the amount of oil revenue they received in 12 years of democratic rule? Has the amount of income become a major catalyst for development in that region? So, before they begin to talk about increased distribution of income to the Niger Delta, which in any case is a constitutional matter, let us focus on accountability for public funds by public office holders.

In the light of such policy gaps, Akinola (2011) proffered policy recommendations towards lasting peace in the region through institutional reforms that will enable true fiscal federalism in Nigerian. According to Akinola, a decentralized federal system presents the prospect of accommodating the oppressed minorities from bottom-up and ensures adequate representation, accountability, and economic justice. Akinola's recommendation found reinforcement in data from NC respondent thus, "True federalism is a cure to all of those things; when we have a truly federalist situation in

place. There and then, some of the challenges facing us Nigeria will abate. Then, Nigerians will begin to get the benefits of democracy.”

Importance of the Study

The primary relevance of the study was that it helped to answer the overarching question on the antiterrorism bill of 2006 and the Niger Delta conflict. The study also described the assumption that the Anti-terrorism bill of 2006 classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. The study helped to illuminate, and separate the numerous ambiguities/assumptions underlying the bill, primarily as it related to the Niger Delta conflict. The research was helpful for terrorism policies in Nigeria, because it helped to clarify issues of conflict, interpretation, and the borderline between conflicts and terrorism.

Recommendations

My recommendations on this study perfectly reflect the majority opinions and positions of my interviewees. Again, the data collected through oral interview were triangulated via documents review for reliability. Therefore, my personal opinions and biases do not constitute any aspect of these recommendations.

There was a consensus of opinion among members that the best policy solution to the Niger Delta conflict like any other conflict issues and the Nigerian National Question are the restructuring of Nigerian state to true fiscal federalism. True federalism will offer the federating states and regions real autonomy including the right to control the resources and revenues accruing from their land and waters. True federalism will enable the federating states, regions, local governments, communities and individuals to pay

taxes to the Nigerian state from resources and revenues generated from their lands and waters. According to general opinions from the respondents, returning to true federalism, predicated on through monetary arrangement, was the only sure way of addressing the ever nagging Nigerian national question, which is, the problem of lack of fairness, justice, and equity at the center.

The concept of true fiscal federalism as muted by Richard Musgrove in 1959, German-born American economist, entails the division of governmental functions and financial relations among levels of government: national, region, state, local and city governments, communities and individual landlords. Real fiscal federalism as recommended by members will reflect revenue base, resource endowment, exploitation and control by the federating tiers of government. Real fiscal federalism encourages fiscal decentralization, while promoting regional and local differences in planning, and development, and healthy competitions in innovations, efficient politics and good governance. The method allows all the federating units to contribute a fraction of their resources/revenue to the center (federal government) for national administration. The NW member placed the argument in the context as follows.

We went to Baton Rouge in New Orleans. During our tour, we discovered that the resource control was the order of the day in the United States. If you find oil anywhere, you are, even the State where Sarah Palin comes from, I mean, Alaska, if you find oil around, you take control, but you remit something to the federal government, okay. You see, we cannot take these things in piecemeal,

federalism must be total; we realized that it was only pure and absolute federalism that can secure the right to control resources in whatever form or manner.

Moreover, the response from the SS respondent reinforced the call for true fiscal federalism in Nigeria, as a lasting cure for conflicts and insurrection arising from revenue sharing and resource control.

True federalism is a cure to all of those vices and injustices. When we have a truly federalist arrangement in place, some of these challenges will be solved. Then, Nigerians will begin to get the benefits of democracy. It is my conviction that the Land Use Act, which I am working on, is supposed to produce positive results on economic method for Nigeria. I hope at the appropriate time Nigerians will realize how defective some of these things are, and if we have a holistic, wholesome approach to it as against the piecemeal attitude, we would be able to cure some of these ills. Resource control is just an isolated thing; we should take it en bloc, have a holistic perspective and deal with it at that. You cannot take Land Use Act, Resource Control and all of that in isolation; these are issues that connectedly bother on true fiscal federalism.

The following position was further strengthened by the response from the NC respondent below.

Yeah, I would suggest that first of all that we need to restructure our federation. Again, we should send more of our resources to the regions, states and local government areas that provide the resources and revenues that sustain the Nigerian state. I think, for me, restructuring to true federalism is just the answer

to the issues of conflict in Nigeria including the Niger Delta conflict. If we can do equity and justice to all, including our brothers in the Niger Delta, I would be optimistic that the Nigerian National question, including the Niger Delta questions could.

I think to me, and a better argument as we go forward is to argue for a real restructuring of our federation. So, I think power devolution is a better argument than the continuous clamor for increase percentage in revenue allocation, which is a piecemeal measure.

The recommendation of members for true fiscal federalism resonated with the positions articulated in peer-reviewed articles by Arowola, Akinola, Idemudia and others. Arowola (2011), in concluding his article, proffered policy recommendations towards lasting peace in the region through institutional reforms that will enable true fiscal federalism in Nigerian. According to him, a decentralized federal system presents the prospect of accommodating the oppressed minorities from bottom-up and ensures adequate representation and economic justice (Arowolo, 2011). Similarly, Idemudia (2009) supported Oluwaniyi (2011) in recommending the return of Nigerian state to true federalism as a veritable means of ensuring socioeconomic justice and peace.

Limitations and Implications for Future Research

I focused on congressmen who had a minimum of 4 years legislative experiences. Unfortunately, given the 8-year time lag of the bill, not many of the respondents were in the 6th Assembly when the President introduced the bill to the house. To this extent, data collected could best rank for second-hand information based on follow-up legislative

actions on the consolidated version of the bill, H.B.322 during the 7th Assembly from 2007-2011. In order to remediate the gap, data obtained from the congressmen were triangulated with a verbatim report of the debate on H.B.322 and the official gazette of the Nigerian National Assembly on A BILL FOR an Act for Measures to Combat Terrorism and for Related Matters (C2651), 2010. It is the recommendation of this study that the inclusion criteria for future research be expanded to embrace congresspersons with a minimum of 10 years legislative experience.

Out of the three proposed senators for the study, only one participated in the study due to exigency of legislative duties. The development perhaps limited the level of input from their experience needed to provide the account from the upper chamber of the National Assembly. Nonetheless, the gap was covered with two versatile members of the House of Representatives, whose contributions were invaluable to the study. With a better understanding of the impact of crowded timetable for data collection, especially for international research, more time should be allocated for data collection, especially given the highly bureaucratic work environment and hectic standard for public data collection processes in Nigeria.

The standard process of documentation of public records in the Nigerian National Assembly made the process of partnering with the Nigerian National Assembly from the United States somehow challenging. The poor Internet culture and floppy filing and documentation of official correspondences between the researcher and management of the national assembly made communication difficult. Although, this gap was reduced by my community partner, nevertheless, ineffective information medium delayed the process

of data collection. The manual and indiscrete manner of documentation of public records in the national assembly library made document review cumbersome. It is my recommendation for future research that researchers should allocate more time to international research in Nigeria especially research that has to do with government organizations.

Gaps in Study Literature

Identifying gaps that needed further research on in the Niger Delta conflict seemed difficult mainly because so much had been studied, researched and written on the Niger Delta conflict yet not on terrorism policy. The essence of locating gaps in the research field was to enable me to focus substantially on voids in knowledge in a particular area, where he could make valid contributions in body of knowledge. Literature mapping revealed that most previous studies leaned towards economic interpretation of the Niger Delta conflict, rather than policy directions. When I realized that most authors failed to address the terrorism and policy dimensions of the Niger Delta conflict, he quickly identified a gap. From works done already, it was the study of Sampson (2009) alone that made copious reference to the terrorism aspect of the conflict, yet, not it was not a focused work on antiterrorism policy.

It was one thing to identify a gap in previous studies done on the Niger Delta yet it was another to narrow subsequent research on the Niger Delta conflict from the lens view of the antiterrorism policy perspective. The need for the study became very compelling during literature mapping. In the past 50 years, the Nigerian state had enacted

several policies and implemented a series of intervention instruments aimed at resolving the Niger Delta conflict to no avail.

A literature review helped me in summarizing existing data sources relevant to the study. At the early part of the study, I conducted a gap analysis map in available literatures on the Niger Delta conflict with a particular focus on terrorism and counterterrorism policies in Nigeria. The maps were designed to illuminate the constraints that the researcher might encounter in harnessing resources to begin and conclude the study. As stated earlier, Literature amply abounds on the Niger Delta conflict, particularly on the oil and gas-induced conflict. However, information on public policy focusing on the motives of the Nigerian state in introducing the antiterrorism bill seemed very limited. I exercised diligence in browsing through works on the Niger Delta as means of creating footage for this study, especially on public policy.

In searching the Walden University library and sponsored databases, I initially concentrated on literatures dating 5 years, which dealt on conflicts and crises. However, due to a dearth of focused literatures on public policy I was constrained to select publications dating ten years, which provided needed insight on the gaps which precipitated the study. Expanding literatures back to 10 years was due to insufficient peer-reviewed journals on Niger Delta conflict, particularly public policies, terrorism and social conflicts which were necessary to create the basis for terrorism analysis.

To achieve a vast use of peer-reviewed articles, I explored various databases sponsored by Walden University library, ranging from EBSCO Host, ProQuest Central, Google Scholar, Dissertations, Dictionaries, and Verify Peer Review to generate research.

By typing Niger Delta conflict on the different databases, I generated relevant articles, however, not so much on terrorism. Literature review provided the researcher with an overview of scholarly information published on the Niger Delta conflict yet not so much on terrorism and policies.

Sampson (2009) focused on the policy gap in the Niger Delta conflict, which drove my decision to concentrate on the policy and terrorism dimension of the conflict. I made a deliberate effort to use the available literature to summarize and synthesize the divergent ideas presented, particularly between terrorism and resource control. In all, available literature helped to organize data summaries that strengthened the argument for gaps in previous studies, particularly from public policy perspectives. The gaps identified also helped the researcher to find the right voice for his work, especially on terrorism policies in the Niger Delta and Nigeria.

The literature revealed that the Nigerian state introduced the first-antiterrorism bill in Nigeria on October 19, 2002 to the national assembly as HB.255 (Anti-terrorism, Economic Crimes Commission Bill). The National Assembly consolidated the antiterrorism bill HB255 with HB.236. The antiterrorism bill was a novelty in policy formulation and policy studies in Nigeria. Several researchers had a direct connection with Niger Delta conflict had very little reference to terrorism and policies on terrorism. Writings revealed that two-landmark policies exist in Nigeria since 2002 to present: the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission Act of 2002 and the Terrorism Prevention Act of 2012, revised in 2013.

Effecting Positive Social Change

Before the advent of the Boko Haram terrorist insurgency in Northern Nigeria, the Niger Delta conflict constituted the greatest threat to peace, security and economic development in Nigeria. Poverty was central to the frustration of the natives and the resultant tension and conflicts in the Niger Delta. Poverty and poor quality of life resulted from the neglect of the oil and gas landlords in the revenue distribution from the Niger Delta. An all-inclusive policy recommendation from the study could lead to accommodation of the landowners in the sharing of oil wealth by the Nigerian state thus leading to enhanced quality of life. Adequate revenue allocation to the Niger Delta will improve standard of living and education, infrastructural development, and reduced frustration and tension. At the community level, equitable policy instruments would allow environmental restoration (land and waters) adversely impacted by oil activities, and enhanced quality of life and infrastructural development in the Niger Delta. Life expectancy in the Niger Delta would be enhanced, resulting from improved environmental care.

The findings and recommendations of the study are intended to swing new and all-inclusive policy direction in the Nigeria's effort at solving the problem of the Niger Delta conflict. Achieving an all-inclusive policy solution to the Niger Delta conflict was designed to engender new lease of peace, security, and economic development in Nigeria, and the African sub-region. The results and recommendations of this study were intended to engender renewed dialogue in the Nigerian state's search for policy solution to the

festering Niger Delta conflict, and possibly save the nation from either another civil war or outright break-up.

Conclusion

The conclusions of this study derived exclusively from the majority opinions of the interviewees, and documents reviewed. According to Orcutt (1983), socioeconomic interest in the large-scale helped to shape political processes that perpetuate inequity through government instruments thus incurring deviance from the oppressed. The emergence of a culture of oppression, violence, reprisals and militia, such as the case in the Nigerian Niger Delta was the fallout of the skewed state policies undergirding oil revenue in Nigeria. I reinforced the statement with the report of the SE member below.

The biggest thing is that the people of the Niger Delta are not being taken care of; this is a fact, environmental degradation of the Niger Delta is a humongous point, and the peoples' means of livelihood are being destroyed. These are facts! Now, whether you can trace any of these details to government negligence, the oil companies themselves which shirk their corporate social responsibility to the people of the region or to the leaders of the oil-bearing communities. The community leaders go to the oil companies on behalf of the people that have lost their farmlands and means of livelihood, and receive hundreds of millions of Naira without sharing it with the people. These are three things we should look towards resolving. When impacted indigenes of the oil bearing communities go the oil companies to complain of spill and the need for clean up, the oil companies

respond that it was not their responsibility to fix pipelines that were maliciously vandalized by miscreants and terrorists.

I placed in context the public policy disconnects with the NC participant's report below.

Eh...my recording of the history of the Niger Delta and indeed the legitimate agitations that had been there for a long time, regarding the environmental degradation that the Niger Delta had been subjected to; as a result of petroleum exploitation. We will make clear that there were legitimate complaints from the region; that the condition that the area was subjected to was unbearable. If there were legitimate complaints from the Niger Delta, I would think within the context of this legitimate construct why the Niger Delta and indeed the agitation have been as long as it has being.

The social conflict theory was beneficial in understanding the interplay of the exploitation of oil and gas in the Niger Delta region for over 50 years and the resultant restiveness, and conflict. The agreement reached from interviews data and reviewed documents supported the social conflict model. That, in the past fifty years, the indigenous people of the oil-yielding Niger Delta was exposed to poverty. The people were also excluded from oil wealth and businesses, exposed to unending environmental degradation, youth unemployment, and lack of essential infrastructural development. Moreover, the Niger Delta was also confronted with war, the paradox of wealth and poverty, economic inequality, revolutions, political strife, exploitation, economic and social injustices. According to (Sampson, 2010), marginalization was the vexing problem

capable of making the most loyal, naïve, calm, docile and obedient people, restive, rebellious and reactionary. A contrast where the grim reality of abject poverty and denial in the face of apparent plenty and affluence, was enjoyed and amassed by the elite dominant and majority groups.

To the extent of economic and social injustice in the Niger Delta, the respondents concurred that the best policy solution to the Niger Delta conflict like any other conflict issues and situations in Nigeria were the restructuring of Nigeria to true fiscal federalism. True federalism would offer the federating states and regions genuine autonomy including the right to control the resources and revenues accruing from their land and waters. The federating states and regions would pay taxes to the Nigerian state from resources and revenues generated from their lands and waters. According to general beliefs, returning to true federalism was the only sure way of addressing the ever nagging Nigerian national question, which was, the problem of lack of fairness, justice and equity at the center. I placed in context members' consensus call for Nigeria's return to true federalism below.

True federalism is a cure to all of those things; when we have a truly federalist situation in place, some of these challenges will be addressed, and then, Nigerians will begin to get the benefits of democracy. Resource control is just an isolated thing; we should take it en bloc, have a holistic perspective and deal with it at that. You cannot take Land Use Act, Resource Control and all of that in isolation; these are issues that connectedly bother on real federalism.

On the antiterrorism bill and the conflict in the Niger Delta, different accounts of the respondents, cues and emerging themes, concluded that the anti-terrorism bill did not target the Niger Delta or the resource control agitation, as terrorism. Rather, the bill was aimed at instituting in the Nigerian statute books legal instruments needed to curb and address all issues of crimes bothering on terrorism. The Nigerian state was also responding to the United Nations call to member states to address the issue of terrorism that was a worrisome emerging trend in the world especially post 9/11 attacks on the United States. While the conflict emanating from the Niger Delta focused on equity in revenue sharing and resource control, the activities of the latter-day activists (militants) reasonably crossed the line of real civil agitations for resource control and economic justice to crime and terrorism. As such, it sufficed to say that the anti-terrorism bill aimed at addressing the criminal dimension inherent with the Niger Delta conflict.

Nonetheless, several consensuses attested that the Niger Delta conflict was a social and economic justice fight fitting for the clamor for resource control and search for equity. This statement was situated properly from the social conflict theory model of this study. The researcher placed in context members' separate but consensus call for equity, fairness, and social justice from SS member's response below.

I do not consider the Niger Delta conflict and agitation for resource control as terrorism because the Niger Delta had used and exhausted all known civil approaches available to register their protests yet the Nigerian state did not listen to them. So, going it the military way was also considered as a last option available to the Niger Delta region to be heard by the Nigerian state. The larger

ethnic groups will always dominate the minority ethno groups, like the saying goes, "the minority has a say but the majority will always have its way." So, the issue is that we will continue to strive for justice, equity and fairness.

In all, the social conflict theory proved a veritable paradigm for the researcher to start and conclude the research. The theory also served as a window for data collection, analysis, result presentation, and recommendation

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Appendix A: Voluntary Participation

Subject NW: Request for voluntary participation and consenting process

Dear Sir/Madam,

Request for voluntary participation and consenting process

My name is Peter Opone. I am a PhD student of Walden University, Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States, in the school of Public Policy and Administration. I am conducting a research study titled, “Resource Control or Terrorism: Competing Perspectives on the Conflict in the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria”. The study is aimed at determining whether the Nigerian state Anti-terrorism bill of 2006 constructed the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. The intent is to use the findings from the study to provide recommendations that will enhance terrorism policies especially as they may relate to conflict across Nigeria.

I have obtained Walden University IRB approval, reference number (Walden IRB Approval No. 03-27-14-0271411. (Exp. Date: 03/27/2015); and the National Health Research Ethics Committee of Nigeria (NHREC), with approval number NHREC/01/01/2007-10/07/2013. I am writing to request your voluntary participation in the study. The anticipated timing would be April, 2014, and will be a one-time interview that will last an hour.

The interview will take place at agreed location that will be convenient to you and secure for the purpose. The confidentiality of your contributions is assured. If you can confirm your interest in participating, I will work with you to find the most convenient

timing, location, and strategy for the interview. I would appreciate if you can provide any other contact information that you would rather prefer to be reached.

To participate, it is expected that you are 25 years and above and a serving Congressperson in the Nigerian National Assembly (Senate or House of Representative). Your invaluable experience will provide insight that will aid the accomplishment of the research goals, hence my request.

If you are interested in learning more about this study, please contact me on peteropone@yahoo.com

Thank you for your kind consideration. I sincerely look forward to working with you on this study.

Peter Opone,

Scholar-practitioner

Walden University, Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States.

IRB Research Approval Number: NHREC/01/01/2007

Approval Expiration Date: 18th July, 2014.

CONSENT FORM

You are invited to take part in a research study titled, "Resource Control or Terrorism: Competing Perspectives on the conflict in the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria". The researcher is inviting Senators and Representatives who meet the following criteria:

- i. Must be experienced lawmakers who may have served a minimum of one legislative term of four years;
- ii. Participants who are between 25 years of age and above;
- iii. Each participant must represent one of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria Participant; and
- iv. A participant must be a serving Senator or Member of the House of Representatives of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

to be in the study. This form is part of a process called "**informed consent**" to allow you to understand this study before deciding whether to take part.

This study is being conducted by a researcher named Peter Opone, who is a Scholar-practitioner at Walden University, Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States.

Background Information

The purpose of this study is to determine whether the Niger Delta conflict was terrorism or resource control. The study is aimed at determining whether the Nigerian state Anti-terrorism bill of 2006 constructed the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. This is predicated on the assumption that the Nigerian state initiated the Anti-terrorism bill of 2006 purportedly labeling the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. The intent is to use the findings from the study to provide recommendations that will enhance terrorism policies especially as they may relate to conflict across Nigeria.

Procedures

If you agree to be in this study:

- You will be asked to participate in an audio recorded oral interview which will last for an hour;
- You will be asked questions meant to elicit information that will help the researcher answer the over arching question of this study;
- You could be requested by the researcher to review the transcript post data collection, transcription and analysis. This is to ensure that your views and position were properly.

Walden University, Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States.

The following questions will be used to collect data from participants during the oral interviews:

1. In your opinion, what were the main events, ideas, and considerations that led to the Nigerian state proposal of the Anti-Terrorism Bill of 2006?
- ii. As a Congressperson, would you consider the Anti-terrorism bill a policy that was aimed at criminalizing the Niger Delta conflict and, why?
- iii. Would you consider the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism, and why?
- iv. It is assumed that the criminal and violent characteristics of the Niger Delta conflict informed Congress' construction of the anti-terrorism bill? How would you relate this assumption to the real factors of the bill?
- v. What do you think were the factors that led to the failure of the anti-terrorism bill from passing into law in Nigeria from 2006-2007?
- vi. What would you consider as the biggest misconception of the Anti-terrorism bill of 2006, especially its connections to the Niger Delta conflict?
- vii. What major events, factors and experiences would you say were the causes of the Niger Delta conflict?
- viii. Would you consider the Niger Delta conflict a legitimate resource control struggle, and why?
- ix. How would you relate the impact of the Land Use Act of 1978, Petroleum Act of 1969, and persisting 13% revenue sharing formula to the enduring conflict in the Nigerian Niger Delta?
- x. What policy would you recommend as the best solution to ending the Niger Delta Conflict, and why?

Voluntary nature of the study:

This study is voluntary. I am the sole researcher on this study and will respect your decision to or not participate in the study. I will not treat you differently if you decide not to be in the study, as well. If you decide to join the study now, you can still change your mind during or after the study. You may stop at any time, and that will not in any way be held against you.

Risks:

Being in this type of study involves some risk of the minor discomforts that can be encountered in routine daily life, and processes not any different from your daily routine. Participating in this study would not pose any extraordinary risk to you, your safety or wellbeing; neither will it jeopardize your job or position in government.

Benefits of being in the Study:

Walden University, Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States.

Please be informed that there are no direct benefits from the study for participants. However the recommendations of the study have some social change benefits to the overall population of Nigeria and indeed the people of the Niger Delta. The results and recommendations will proffer policy directions needed to bring lasting peace to the beleaguered Niger Delta.

The only proposed gift to participants is the copy of John C. Maxwell Business Week Bestseller Book, "TODAY MATTERS", which the researcher will present to each participant at the point of debriefing.

Payment: There is no payment for participation in this study

Privacy and Confidentiality:

Any information you provide will be kept confidential. The researcher will not use your personal information for any purposes outside of this research project. Please note that the Researcher will not include your name, personal information or anything else that could identify you in the study. Data will be stored in flash drives dedicated solely to the study and safely secured in a locked cabinet. I will store all data and recordings in a password protected computer that only I have access to. While in transit, all data (including note pads) and my digital recorder will be stored in a lockable briefcase.

What happens to research community when the study is over?

The participants will be informed of anything that may affect their continued participation in the study. Again, the researcher will communicate the participants with transcript of their interview to ensure that their position was appropriately captured. Results of the study will be disseminated to interview participants via email. Second, the study results will be presented to the Principal Officers of the National Assembly through formal meetings (both chambers) at the National Assembly Complex, Abuja, Nigeria. The Federal Government of Nigeria may also be furnished with the results of the study through academic publication of the study. I intend to publish the findings of the study through academic journals.

Statements about sharing of benefits:

The research is purely for academic purpose as such, has no pecuniary underlying purpose in the immediate terms.

Any apparent or potential conflict of interest:

The researcher shall be neutral in the conduct of the interview, and will not unduly influence the process, procedures and outcome of the data and results therein.

Statement of person obtaining informed consent:

I have fully explained this research to.....and given sufficient information, including risks and benefits, intended to help him/her make an informed decision.

DATE..... SIGNATURE.....

Walden University, Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States.

NAME.....

Statement of the person giving consent:

I have read the description of the research which is essentially in English language and is well understood to me. I have also talked it over with the Principal Investigator. I understand that my participation is voluntary. I know enough about the purpose, methods, risks and benefits of the research study to judge that I want to take part in it. I understand that I may freely stop being part of this study at any time. I have received a copy of this consent form, and additional information sheet to keep for myself.

DATE.....SIGNATURE.....

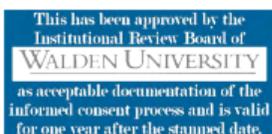
NAME.....

Contacts and Questions:

You may ask any questions you have now or if you have questions later, you may contact the researcher via peter.opone@waldenu.edu or +1-404-532-8920; +234-809-7615992. If you wish to talk privately about your rights as a participant, you can contact the National Health Research Ethics Committee of Nigeria via their e-mails: chairman@nhrec.net or deskofficer@nhrec.net or by calling these phone numbers: +2348033520571, +2348065479926. You can also call Dr. Leilani Endicott, on 001-612-312-1210. She is the Walden University representative who can discuss this with you.

Walden University’s approval number for this study is 03-27-14-0271411 and it expires on March 26, 2015.

A copy of the signed informed consent will be given to the participant.



Appendix B: Research Interview Questions

Central Question-Resource Control or Terrorism: Competing Perspectives on the Conflict in the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria.

Procedural Sub-questions

The following questions will be used to collect data from participants during the oral interviews:

- i. In your opinion, what were the main events, ideas, and considerations that led to the Nigerian state proposal of the Anti-Terrorism Bill of 2006?
- ii. As a Congressperson, would you consider the Anti-terrorism bill a policy that was aimed at criminalizing the Niger Delta conflict and, why?
- iii. Would you consider the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism, and why?
- iv. It is assumed that the criminal and violent characteristics of the Niger Delta conflict informed Congress' construction of the anti-terrorism bill? How would you relate this assumption to the real factors of the bill?
- v. What do you think were the factors that led to the failure of the anti-terrorism bill from passing into law in Nigeria from 2006-2007?
- vi. What would you consider as the biggest misconception of the Anti-terrorism bill of 2006, especially its connections to the Niger Delta conflict?
- vii. What major events, factors and experiences would you say were the causes of the Niger Delta conflict?

- viii. Would you consider the Niger Delta conflict a legitimate resource control struggle, and why?
- ix. How would you relate the impact of the Land Use Act of 1978, Petroleum Act of 1969, and persisting 13% revenue sharing formula to the enduring conflict in the Nigerian Niger Delta?
- x. What policy would you recommend as the best solution to ending the Niger Delta Conflict, and why?

Appendix C: Forms


**National Health Research Ethics Committee
of Nigeria (NHREC)**

Promoting Highest Ethical and Scientific Standards
for Health Research in Nigeria



Federal Ministry of Health

NHREC Protocol Number NHREC/01/01/2007-05/06/2013
NHREC Approval Number NHREC/01/01/2007-10/07/2013
Date: 20th December 2013

**Re: Niger Delta Conflict Nigeria: Legitimate Resource Control Struggle, not Terror-
Implications for Policy Resolutions**

Health Research Ethics Committee (HREC) assigned number: NHREC/01/01/2007

Name of Student Investigator: Peter O. Opone

Address of Student Investigator: PhD Student at Walden University,
Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States of America
poo2012@ymail.com

Date of receipt of valid application: 16-12-2013

Date when final determination was made: 20-12-2013

Notice of Modification Approval

This is to inform you that the change in the wordings of the above titled has been reviewed and given approval by the National Health Research Ethics Committee. The new title on record for this study is thus: **Resource Control or Terrorism: Competing Perspectives on the Conflict in the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria**

The approval dates for this study still remains as 19/07/2013 to 18/07/2014. Note that no participant accrual or activity related to this research may be conducted outside of these dates. All informed consent forms used in this study must carry the HREC assigned number and duration of HREC approval of the study. In multiyear research, endeavor to submit your annual report to the HREC early in order to obtain renewal of your approval and avoid disruption of your research.

The National Code for Health Research Ethics requires you to comply with all institutional guidelines, rules and regulations and with the tenets of the Code including ensuring that all adverse events are reported promptly to the HREC. No changes are permitted in the research without prior approval by the HREC except in circumstances outlined in the Code. The HREC reserves the right to conduct compliance visit to your research site without prior notice.

Signed



Clement Adebamowo BMChB Hons (Jos), FWACS, FACS, DSc (Harvard)
Honorary Consultant Surgeon, Director, West African Center for Bioethics and
Chairman, National Health Research Ethics Committee of Nigeria (NHREC)



West African Bioethics

Friday, July 12, 2013

NHREC/TR/02/06/2007a

Certificate of Completion

In recognition of successful completion of the human-subject protection education requirements based on the Collaborative IRB Training (CITI) Program - an online training program of the West African Bioethics Training Program and the University of Miami, Florida. This certifies that

Peter Opono

AS A SOCIAL AND BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE INVESTIGATOR

- ◆ *reviewed regulatory and informational documents on human-subject protection*
- ◆ *passed a quiz on the responsible conduct of human studies*
- ◆ *signed a statement of commitment to the protection of the rights and welfare of human subjects participating in research.*

Dr. Clement A. Adebamowo
BM ChB (Hons), FWACS FACS ScD
Professor of Surgery
Director, West African Bioethics Training Program

Cc: Program Administrator, WAB

THE PRESIDENCY
**REVENUE MOBILISATION ALLOCATION
AND FISCAL COMMISSION**



Headquarters:
Plot 210, Tafawa Balewa Way,
Central District, P.M.B. 054,
Garki, Abuja, Nigeria.
Tel: 09-2348923

Date: January 8, 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Peter,

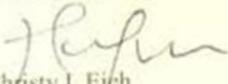
Re: Community Partnership in a research: Resource Control or Terrorism: Competing Perspectives on the conflict in the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria.

I wish to refer to your email dated January 7, 2014, requesting that I partner with you as a community liaison at the Nigerian National Assembly, Abuja Nigeria, and to accept your request. I consider it an honor to accept your request and to partner with you in the data collection process of your research at the Nigerian National Assembly. I am aware that my role which is liaison with the National Assembly (Senate and House of Representatives) as detailed in your request letter is in respect of your study on the above academic research.

I am to clarify that my decision to partner with you is in consideration of your request, and also as a public servant in the office of the president, Federal Republic of Nigeria. Kindly communicate to me any assignment you would want me to assist you with, including but not limited to identifying, sampling and mobilizing of research interview participants.

I look forward to seeing you on arrival in Nigeria, sometime, February 9, 2014.

Yours Sincerely,


Christy I. Ejeh.
SEO (Oil and Gas Dept)



RESTRICTED

OFFICE OF THE SPEAKER
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NIGERIA

NASS/SPK/ADM/VOL.III/493

Thursday 20 February 2014

Peter Opono
Doctoral Researcher
Walden University
USA

**LETTER OF COOPERATION/PARTNERSHIP ON A STUDY RESEARCH
WITH THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter dated December 23, 2013 on the above subject matter and to inform you that you have the permission to commence data collection among the selected participants in the Nigerian National Assembly.

2. Please note that the participation of the respondents will be voluntary and entirely at their discretion.
3. You are further informed that the data collected shall remain confidential and not accessible to anyone outside the research team without permission from the National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) of Nigeria.
4. Please accept the Honourable Speaker's assurances and warmest regards.

Honourable Sada Soli Jibia
Chief of Staff to the Honourable Speaker



**OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE**

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COMPLEX
Three Arms Zone, P.M.B. 141, Garki, Abuja, Nigeria.

NASS/SP/SA/PA/COMPT/03/I/1279

9th January, 2014**Peter O. Opone**

10262 Littlebrook Court,
Jonesboro, GA30238,
United States of America.
Poo2012@ymail.com

**RE: RERQUEST FOR COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP / PARTICIPATION
IN A RESEARCH STUDY: RESOURCE CONTROL OR TERRORISM.**

His Excellency, the President of the Senate, Distinguished **Senator David A.B. Mark**, *GCON* is in receipt of your letter on the above subject matter.

Your letter has been referred to the Senate Leader for further necessary action.

Please accept the assurance of His Excellency's high regards and best wishes.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Victor Abang', written in a cursive style.

Victor Abang
Special Assistant Public Affairs

Curriculum Vitae

Peter Opone

PROFILE

Seeking to transfer Broad-Based Skill Sets, spanning over 20 years of experience in Public Policy Administration, Human Resource Management & Resourcing, Teaching, Airport Security Management, Church and Corporate Security Management, Conflict Management, Mediation and Peace Building Management, Clinical Research Monitoring, Security Training, Database Administration, and Recruiting/Staffing into Human Resources Position.

SUMMARY OF PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

I am a result-oriented, focused, quality-driven professional with extensive experience in teaching, security consulting, database administration, administration and management positions, and human resources. I have demonstrated consistent achievement of objectives, goals, results, multi-tasking and service skills with strong dedication to organizational goals. I am outstandingly practical and sensible, possessing strong ability to gather technical information, which gives me excellent potential as a great manager, teacher and researcher. Peter welcomes tough, accurate, unrelenting critiques which he considers as helpful to achieving the highest level of performance and objectivity. I am open-minded to untested and unconventional solutions, and have great tolerance for differences and diversities in workplace environment. Life and learning present to me as an intellectual challenge which needs thinking things through before deciding.

EDUCATION

Walden University, Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA: Public Policy Administration, PhD (December, 2014)

*Specialization: Anti-terrorism, Homeland Security, Mediation and Peace Management
Dissertation: Resource Control or Terrorism: Competing Perspectives on the Conflict in*

the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria, (Abstract Attached).

Chair: Dr. Victor Augusto Ferreros, GPA: 3.73.

Pacific institute of Technology, Morrow, Georgia, USA

Database Administration-MSCA (Dec., 2014)

Kaplan University – Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, USA: Business Management & Administration, MBA. (August, 2010).

Thesis: Wal-Mart's Competitiveness; GPA: 3.53

Delta State University, Abraka, NGR: Education, (B.Ed), (June, 1992).

Chair: Dr. B.J.E Itsueli, GPA: 2.97

Specialization: History

Project: The History of Ndokwa Nation

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Umuaja Mixed Secondary School, Umuaja, Delta State, NGR; Student Teacher, (1991)

Taught Social Studies, History and Civic Education Subjects in both Middle and High School Classes.

Helped to improve the academic performance/graduation rate by 89% of the final year students in 1991

Victory Secondary School, Obiaruku, Delta State, NGR, Student Teacher, (1992)

Taught Social Studies, History and Civic Education Subjects in both Middle and High School Classes.

Helped to improve the school's academic rating among private schools at 75% in 1992

Government Day Secondary School, Oloje, Ilorin, Kwara State, NGR, 1993

Taught Social Studies, History and Civic Education Subjects in both Middle and High School Classes.

Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development Vocation/Skill Acquisition Training Institute, Asaba, Delta State, NGR, 1997-2001.

Taught English Language and Civic Studies at Ordinary Diploma & Advance Diploma Levels

Helped to develop the academic/vocation curriculum for the institute in 1999

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

Linkway Diplomats Inc. www.linkwaydiplomat.com (Jan, 2012-Present)

Consultancy:

- i. Provide consulting, resourcing and training services, both in-class and on-site to suit our corporate clients, locally and overseas;*
- ii. Design, draft and prepare training and consulting services with packages that allow our clients to define the programs that precisely match their corporate needs;*
- iii. Design, draft, prepare and provide business or technology programs from foundation to advanced level, in-class, on-site, instructor-led workshops to distance learning;*
- iv. Offer consulting, resourcing and training services, designed to enable our clients achieve their corporate goals by developing the skills, knowledge and performance of their people in maritime, trade & logistics, ports & terminals, energy sectors and security;*
- v. Design, provide and offer aviation, maritime/marine and piracy security; investigative security; security analysis; threat assessment; business security; homeland security; counter-terrorism and hostage taking security; environmental, civil and auto security; customs, boarder and immigration security; and safety consulting, resourcing and training services;*
- vi. Conduct, assess, and research extensively on businesses, organizations and governments' local content of terrorism, physical asset, maritime and marine,*

aviation and airport, schools and educational institutions, companies and community safety and security vulnerabilities;

vii. Design and manage resourcing and outsourcing training, security and management programs for organizations and government agencies; and

viii. Design and offer school security and safety programs, including training and resourcing.

**Covance Clinical Development Services, Jonesboro, Georgia – Sept., 2013- Dec., 2013
As a Senior Clinical Research Associate, Early Clinical Development – Sept., 2013- Dec., 2013**

- *Managed all aspects of site monitoring responsibilities for clinical trials, according to Covance standard operating procedures*
- *Identified, qualified and initiated new sites for early clinical development*
- *I have successfully conducted reviews of sites, including site equipment, subjects recruitment capabilities, personnel experience, and site SOP to ensure patient safety, data integrity and adherence to protocol*
- *In consultation with Sponsor/CRO selected investigators appropriate for the therapeutic area and protocol*
- *Managed all aspects of site monitoring responsibilities for clinical trials, according to Covance standard operating procedures, ICH guidelines and GCP, including pre-study qualification, initiation, routine/interim monitoring and close-out visits*
- *In the course of my duties I have helped sites to enhance their subject recruitment capabilities*
- *Liaised between the sponsor and sites to track progress of projects and initiated appropriate actions to achieve target objectives, including fiscal responsibility for cost control and tracking of monitoring expenses against the project budget*

PAREXEL International, Jonesboro, Georgia – January, 2013-June 2013**As a Senior Clinical Research Associate– January, 2013-June, 2013**

- *Managed and monitored different aspects of clinical trials in accordance with study protocol, SOPs, ICH and GCP guidelines for clinical trials*
- *Conducted reviews of sites, site equipment, and site SOP to ensure patient safety and adherence to protocol*
- *In consultation with Sponsor/CRO selected investigators appropriate for the therapeutic area and protocol*
- *Assessed study site facility, patient population and staff were sufficient to support the protocol*
- *Met with Investigator and personnel and reviewed study requirements (protocol, CRFs, Sponsor policy and procedures, investigator responsibilities, staffing and pertinent recruitment*
- *Conducted site qualification, initiation, routine monitoring and close/termination visits on regular basis*
- *Resolved questions, issues and queries with PI and Study Coordinator*
- *Ensured site compliance to drug safety and regulatory affairs*
- *Investigated and wrote reports on patient safety and site safety issues*
- *Instructed sites on how to document and report AE, SAE, and safety concerns*
- *Attended study start-up meetings*
- *Reviewed and monitored CRFs against source documents*
- *Assisted sites in completion and submission of queries and deviation reports*
- *Performed phone screen interviews for identified trial sites*
- *Assisted in trial site selection*
- *Performed PQV, SIV, IMV, RMV, and COV on a regular basis*
- *Made sure regulatory binders were up to date*
- *Ensured site complied with patient safety by adhering to protocol and abiding by the inclusion/exclusion criteria,*

- *Ensured that written informed consent was obtained appropriately and prior to any procedures*
- *Wrote and submitted visit reports in a timely manner*
- *Devised avenues for motivating site staff*
- *Acted as liaison between sponsor and site*
- *Ensured that Principle Investigator and site staff had a proper understanding of the protocol*

TBI Airport Management, Hartsfield Jackson Int'l Airport, Atlanta, GA

As an Encoder/Customer Service Agent, from May, 2006 –December, 2012

- *Handled the most complex customer service issues with dexterity as a result of my exceptional ability to promptly resolve concerns and satisfy customers. I contributed immensely to the company's recognition as an upbeat company in customer service delivery at the airport in two seasons.*
- *Brought orderliness and organized way of doing things to bear in encoding, baggage handling and routing that conserved time and ensured quite in time departure of airplanes and passengers from the hub and gates.*

Royal Connections Realty, Inc from Oct., 2007-January, 2011,

As a Business Manager,

- *Developed a clear strategy for the organization to recover from the meltdown in the real estate from 2007-2010,*
- *As a team leader, designed strategic plan that ensured the organization's capability of acquiring 45% competitive market share in the changing real estate market in our business farm area in the first eight months.*
- *Networked with other companies in the industry, and established a support group.*

Delta State Government, Nigeria, from Jan. 1994-May, 2006,

As an Administrator, Human Resource Manager/Conflict Resolution Manager,

- *Maintained progressively responsible experience in human rights and social rights work in the Niger Delta oil-producing region in Nigeria, with full experience of human rights monitoring and research.*
- *Demonstrated strong sense of duty at work and displayed systematic approach in tackling and resolving the crises and industrial conflicts between multinational oil companies and communities in the Niger Delta Gulf, Nigeria,*
- *Headed the Human Resource Management Department, hired, trained and maintained discipline among employees*
- *Represented the Delta State Government in the Shell Petroleum Development Company and other Multinational Oil producing companies' bilateral committees which yielded reasonable revenue returns to government and delivered equity and fairness to the host communities.*
- *Supervised the junior, middle and senior staff recruitment, training, welfare and discipline exercises. This led to reduction in manpower turnover, enhanced productivity and efficiency.*
- *Implemented efficiently the Platforms of Action for the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women, which witnessed the elimination of female genital mutilation, obnoxious practices against women and girl-child,*
- *Served as the Desk Officer and anchored the UNDP/UNICEF/UNESCO-Assisted programs on women, children and families in the State.*
- *Prepared departmental annual budget and fiscal policy proposals*
- *Handled the Governors details, schedules, appointments, protocol, and itinerary impressively.*

I served as Administrative Secretary to the State Ex-lepers rehabilitation and resettlement program in the State. I also served as the State Project Manager for Apiculture, modern Bee-keeping and honey production program in Delta State that boosted the women income potential by reducing the poverty index.

TRANSFERRED SKILLS FROM POST-GRADUATE STUDIES/COURSES

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- *Public Policy Implications of Terrorism Legislation and Policies*
 - *Terrorism: A Systemic Approach for Emergency Preparedness*
 - *Critical Incident Planning and Leadership*
 - *Disaster, Crisis, and Trauma*
 - *Psychology of Terrorism*
 - *Coordination Specialization*
 - *Terrorism, Mediation, and Peace Specialization*
 - *Leadership and Organizational Change*
 - *Governance and Public Policy*
 - *Strategic Planning, Collaboration, Cooperation & Coordination*
 - *Disaster, Crisis and Trauma*
 - *Public Safety Issues*
 - *Research Theory*
 - *Ethics and Social Justice*
 - *Quantitative Reasoning & Analysis*
 - *Finance & Budget for Pub Security*
 - *Qualitative Reasoning & Analysis*
 - *Writing a Quality Prospectus*
 - *Advanced Qualitative Research Method*
 - *Academic Residencies*
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RESEARCH INTEREST

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- *Conflict and conflict bearing issues especially as they relate to public policies, terrorism, and homeland security*
 - *Inter-ethnic relations, and social conflicts, mediation and peace management*
 - *Cultural diversities*
 - *Diversity Management and Cultural Plurality*
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PUBLICATIONS

Papers Under Review

- *Financing of Election Campaigns in Africa; Pro-Journal (Humanities and Social Science)*
- *Financing of Election Campaigns in Africa: A Factor to Electoral Fraud and Political Tension- A Comparative Analysis; Public Policy Administration Review (ASPA)*

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

Abstract

The interpretation of the Niger Delta conflict by the political elites is central to the elusive nature of peace in the oil and gas-yielding Nigerian Niger Delta over the past five decades. The manner in which the political elites understood and interpreted the issues of conflict in the region impacted the nature of Nigerian state policies and intervention instruments. The purpose of the study was to explore whether the Niger Delta conflict constituted acts of terrorism. The relevant literature does not address this issue. The central question addressed in this study was whether the antiterrorism bill of 2006 classified the Niger Delta conflict as terrorism. Social conflict theory provided the approach to the study. A qualitative case study approach was used in the inquiry. Data was collected from 6 members of the Nigerian National Assembly, One Senator and Five Representatives. Interview data were triangulated with documents review. The maximum variation, purposeful sampling method was used to select the participants. Data were content analyzed manually, with major themes constituting the basis for analysis, results, and recommendations. Key findings showed the antiterrorism bill neither criminalized

the Niger Delta conflict nor the Niger Delta's agitation for resource control. Rather, the bill targeted the activities of the Niger Delta militants. Results also showed that the bill focused on the Boko Haram insurgency in the Northern part of Nigeria. The study recommended that Nigeria should return to real fiscal federalism to allow fair revenue allocation to Niger Delta. In adding to literatures and policy on terrorism in Nigeria, the study recommended that real factors of crime and terrorism be separated from genuine clamors for social and economic justice both in the Niger Delta and Northern Nigeria.

TEACHING INTEREST

- ❖ *Public Policy Administration & Coordination*
 - ❖ *Terrorism, Anti-terrorism and Homeland Security*
 - ❖ *History, Politics and Intergovernmental Administration*
 - ❖ *Civic, Cultural Diversities and Social Studies*
 - ❖ *Business Administration & Management*
 - ❖ *Mediation and Peace Management*
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VOLUNTEERING

- Serves as Head of Department, Safety and Security, Redeemed Christian Church of God, Lake City, Georgia
- Serves as President, Nigerian Community in Walden University, 2013-Present
- Served as Secretary and Community Organizer to Ndokwa Association in America, Atlanta Chapter from 2006-2012
- Served as Head of Department, Family Connection/House Fellowship Scheme, Redeemed Christian Church of God, Lake City, Georgia

- Served as Administrative Secretary, Poverty Alleviation Program International (NGO), Asaba, Delta State, Nigeria, 1998-2003
- Served as Secretary, Nigerian Red Cross Society, Ebologu Grammar School, Utagba-Uno, 1980-1983
- Served as Administrative Secretary, Symbol Organization, Umutu, 1990-2000
- Put in over 5,000 hours community service

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

- Technology Association of Georgia (TAG)
2014-Present
- ASIS International
2014-Present
- Institute for Association for Counterterrorism & Security Professionals (IACSP)

2014-Present
- American Society for Public Administration (ASPA)
2011-Present

SPECIAL RECOGNITIONS/AWARDS AND HONORS

- *Distinguished Leadership Award (Ndokwa Association in America)-*
2012
- *Distinguished Academic Award (Pi Alpha Alpha)-*
2013

CERTIFICATIONS

GREC- State of Georgia Real Estate Commission Certification-
2007

LANGUAGES

English-United States & British

Nigeria-Ukwuani

Nigeria-Ibo

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE-DIVERSITIES

Nigeria: 1964-2006

United States: 2006-2014

Travel (Less than One week)

Benin Republic- 1996

Holland- 2006

Germany- 2014

REFERENCES

REFERENCES LIST- To be presented on request.