

Leadership Dynamics in Federal Government Agencies and Militant Groups in the Niger Delta: The Implications for Security

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Abstract

The study draws on the frustration aggression theory to examine the leadership dynamics in Federal Government agencies and militant groups in association with the threats to the economic security of the oil industry in Nigeria. The concepts of leadership dynamics and economic security were reviewed in tandem with Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC), Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs and the Federal Government Amnesty Programme as the primary facet and the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), The Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), and Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) as the secondary dimension. The study adopted a conceptual design and annualized data set were collected from Nigerian Petroleum Corporation, presented in table and graphical forms depicting incidence of pipeline vandalism, rupture, product loss in metric tons and value in naira for a decade spanning from 2007- 2016. It was found that changes in the leadership of Federal Government agencies for the development of the Niger Delta were due to the transition from one democratic government to another, agitations of militant groups and social movements for the failure of leadership to deliver statutory mandate and meet the needs of stakeholders, the dwindling of oil production is on account of militant activities. In this study, it was recommended among others that the appointment of people into the offices of the agencies and commission should be on the basis of proven integrity and impeccable character as against party affiliations, jobs should be created for the youths in Niger Delta to ensure economic reliance as against payment of stipends to ex-militants, the infrastructural development of the Niger Delta should not be substituted with provision of pecuniary gains for criminal elements in the façade of freedom fighters.

KeyWords: Leadership dynamics, Economic Security, Federal Government Agencies and Militant groups

Introduction

The Federal Government of Nigeria established agencies, commissions and a ministry to tackle the developmental challenges of the Niger Delta region consequent upon the plethora of violence and conflicts that bedevil the economic security of the oil industry in the country (Sunday, 2014; Ibeanu,2000; Ajodo-Adebanjoko,2017). The Niger Delta Development Board (NDB) 1960, River Basin development Authority 1976, Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC) 1992, Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) 2000, the Ministry of the Niger Delta Affairs (MNDA) 2009 and the Presidential Amnesty Programme (PAP) were created as a deliberate and concerted mechanism and machinery to address the development associated problems in the Niger Delta over the decades.

The Nigerian Government appointed leaders into offices of the agencies and ministries as director generals, chairmen, special advisers and ministers to direct the business of governance and deliver the mandate of such statutory bodies. The leaders of most public agencies failed the government and the people, culminating in frequent changes in the leadership with the attendant oppositions, social movements, conflicts and armed struggle from militant groups in the Niger Delta region. In view of the inadequate infrastructural development, environmental degradation and disequilibrium in the Niger Delta region, Watts (2007), Moses and Olaniyi (2017) and Aghero (2012) assert that there has been an upsurge of several militant groups from the Niger Delta region, making legitimate and illegitimate demands from the Federal Government and Oil Multinationals through peaceful demonstrations to violence and armed struggle that threaten the economic security of the petroleum industry. They further contend that the actions and activities among some militant groups towards Oil Multinationals and the Government were a brazen display of greedy and avaricious pursuits. The inordinate ambition and vested interest for power and control of resources from criminal militant group members and leaders polarize their ideological positions, causing schism among group members. This leadership dynamics in militant groups accounts for the proliferation and multiplicity of other rebel groups, galvanizing into vicious cycle of restiveness, violence and armed struggle over the years. The present circumstance threatens the integrity of the Nigerian oil industry. The social movements that challenged the federal government, its agencies and oil multinationals are the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People(MOSOP), the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta(MEND), The Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), and the Niger Delta People Volunteer Force (NDPVF)(Osaghae, 2008, Olabode and Olabode, 2018).

As a follow up of the crisis in the Niger Delta region, a considerable scholarly attention is devoted to security, conflicts, youth restiveness, resource curse, militancy, social movements, peace-building and amnesty (Omeje,2006; Watts, 2004, 2007; Osaghae,2008;Oluwaniyi, 2010;Wapmuk, 2012;Akpo, 2012). However, there is a minuscule or no significant research scholarship that concentrates on leadership dynamics in the Federal Government Agencies for the development of the Niger Delta region, ex-militant groups and the nexus with security implications for Nigeria. Therefore, the thrust of this paper bridges this knowledge gap through examination of the conceptual clarifications of leadership dynamics with respect to federal government agencies and ex-militant groups, security and its implications, theoretical approaches to conflicts and security, draw some general conclusions and recommendations for ensuring stability in the leadership of federal government agencies for the economic wellbeing of the country.

Conceptual clarifications of leadership dynamics and security

Leadership dynamics

For several decades, research in Leadership has attracted abundant scholarship and contentious debates, growing a trajectory of theoretical roots and conceptual foundations to

expound the complex nature and processes of leadership dynamics (e.g. Bass, 1990; Rost, 1992; Bryman, 1992; Bryman, Collins, Grint, Jackson and Uhl-Bein, 2011; Day and Antonakis, 2012). Accordingly, the concept of leadership has diverse meanings and definitions in the current body of leadership literature across disciplines, constituting various types, styles, approaches, tools and models and consequently deficient of consensus definition among scholars (Sienkiewicz-Malyjurek, 2015). In line with the perspective of this paper, leadership is a process whereby an individual possesses the ability to influence the behavior and attitude of others (Dipboye, 2018). Northouse (2016:7) asserts that "leadership is a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal". Leadership is conceived "as the process of influencing others to understand and agree about what needs to be done and how to do it, and the process of facilitating individual and collective efforts to accomplish shared objectives" (Youlk, 2006: p8). The conceptualization indicates that leadership arises from group and organizational settings where leaders, followers and a group of people must crystallize goals and approaches to realize collectively agreed aims. The scholar further means that a leader directs and initiates an entire process but with cooperation of organizational and group members to utilize resources and apply skills and efforts for attainment of goals.

Leadership theorizing began in the 19th century with "the great man" theory which evolved from the evaluation of impact of great leaders in history from all spheres of life (Halaychik, 2016). The fundamental assumption of the great man paradigm is that leaders are born and not made. However, the actions of such leaders can be learnt. A further extension of the great man theory is the trait approach to the study of leadership which evolved in the mid 20th century. The trait theory focuses on qualities and capacities of leaders and that a leader who possesses a general set of characteristics has the potential to be an effective political, social and military leader as opposed to others deficient of certain innate personality traits (Northouse, 2016; Burke and Barron, 2014; Stogdill, 1948; Argyris, 1955; Kirkpatrick and Locke, 1999).

The trait approach to the study of leadership was severely criticized following the inability of scholars to pigeonhole and identify consistent patterns of leadership personality characteristics. In accordance with this difficulty, there was the study of behavioural theories of leadership which shifted emphasis from the personality characteristics of leaders, who they are and concentrated on leaders' behaviours, styles, what leaders do, how they act and in fact, it is believed that leaders could be made. The behavioural theorists of leadership have dual general perspectives of leader disposition towards task accomplishment and relational disposition towards members in groups and organizations. In summary, these theorists were in search of 'the one best way' of leadership (Northouse, 2016; Harris and Ogbonna, 2000; Dipboye, 2018, and Greenwood, 1999).

The behavioural theorists advance a diverse leadership behaviours but with no conclusion of one universally best form of leadership style and behavior for effective group or organizational performance (Northouse, 2016). As a consequence, the contingency approach to leadership study emerged. The contingency theory to leadership focuses on external factors as determinants to effectiveness and performance of leaders and these exogenous situational variables are not within the ambit of the leader's control (Dipboye, 2018; Hersey and Blanchard, 1969). The theory underscores environmental factors that dictate the leader's behavior, actions and leadership style and these principal necessitating factors are the followers, the task, pressure to perform, organisational structure and many others. This presupposes that different situations require differing leadership styles and this demands leaders to conduct in-depth analysis and understanding of situations to adopt an appropriate leadership approach (Ogbonna, 2000; Burke and Barron, 2014; Dipboye, 2018).

The theoretical roots of leadership considered thus far focus on leader trait, behaviour, style and situational factors. A departure from these theoretical foundations is the transactional and transformational leadership paradigms that emphasize on socio-economic exchange relationships and interactions between the leader and follower (Ogbonna, 2000; Halaychik, 2016 and Northouse, 2016). The transactional leadership theorizing draws on path-goal, leader-member exchange theories which stress the performance of followers through motivation with the instrumentality of goal direction, contingent reward system and aversive reinforcement. Transactional leadership theoretical framework considers meeting follower needs contingent upon the adequate performance of subordinates (Antonakis and House, 2014; Northouse, 2016; Wofford and Goodwin, 1994). For transformational leadership, it is devoted to charisma and vision of the leader to examine, stimulate and gratify the followers' motives, values, higher needs, and engage the full person and potentials of the subordinates beyond their expectations. Transformational leaders set themselves as guides, role models and demonstrate exemplary behaviours to motivate subordinates to attain self-actualisation needs, organizational visions and transcendental needs. Transformational leadership style is aimed at inspiring, engaging followers and transforming the behaviours of subordinates (Antonakis and House, 2014; Northouse, 2016; Halaychik, 2016; Wofford and Goodwin, 1994). In examination of the body of the leadership literature, several other overlapping conceptual constructs and theoretical philosophies abound but the above presentation is a concise review of predominant leadership styles and dynamics over the years (Raich, 2006; Northouse, 2016; Antonakis and House, 2014; Lemoine, Hartnell and Leroy, 2019).

Leadership dynamics in consonance with change of leadership, leaders, and leadership positions is a common denominator and phenomenon in organizational entities but this remains sparse and inadequately explored in the leadership scholarship. Leadership is principally influence and leaders exert influence and perform a set of functions in the leadership process as a significant requirement in teams, groups, organizations, states and countries (Dipboye, 2018; Antonakis and House, 2014). As diverse critical stakeholders are directly and indirectly affected by the decisions and actions of leaders, stakeholders assess the leadership behaviours, style, ethical matrix, effectiveness, and performance outcomes of leaders in public and private sector organizations. The activities of leaders have cycles of positive and negative effects on organizational members, group members, agencies and the general public. These circumstances generate favourable and adverse reactions leading to change of leaders and leadership. A few studies captured the concept of leadership dynamics in the lens of changing of leaders in organisations (Jappinen, 2017; Kernic, 2017) but did not provide definitions. The scholars examine leadership dynamics in the light of coordination while others analysed the concept by considering "tensions" in educational entities arising from changes that transpire internally and externally. They further evaluate organisations' response to death of a leader without warning signs particularly in military settings. In the dimension of changing of leaders, Leadership dynamics lacks conceptual anatomy in the leadership literature. Leadership dynamics is conceptualized as the changes in the leadership of organisations and agencies propelled by the forces of internal and external stakeholders. In the context of this study, there have been frequent changes of leaders in the federal government agencies and militant groups in the Niger Delta.

Leadership dynamics in the context of Federal Government Agencies in the Niger Delta

Governmental agencies were established to address the developmental problems of the Niger Delta arising from the protests. The Federal Government of Nigeria under the leadership former President Ibrahim Babangida established the Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC) in November, 1992 to address the grievances of the

people (Omeje, 2004; Omotola, 2009 & Amaraegu, 2011). The time frame within which the commission existed, several leaders were appointed into the office as chairmen but with fluidity of change in the leadership of the commission, losing sight of its statutory function and responsibility to the people of the Niger Delta region. Following the failure of the leadership of OMPADEC to meet its statutory obligations and the change of political leadership of the federal government, Olusegun Obasanjo in 2000 created the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) as an interventionist approach to saddle the responsibility of infrastructural and human capacity development of the region with the intent to stem the tide of escalating violence and criminality (Isidiho, 2015; Isidiho and Sabran, 2015). The commission has undergone changes in its leadership in the eighteen years of establishment ranging from 2000 to 2018.

President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua assumed office after the Presidential General Election and on the 10 September 2008, established the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs with the mandate and responsibility to coordinate the development, security interventions and programmes for the Niger Delta States in Nigeria. From the time of establishing the Ministry, several ministers have been appointed and relieved in sympathy with the transition from one democratic administration to another. This dynamics of leadership of the ministers have partly accounted for the bane in the realization of the cardinal objectives of the Ministry and the Federal Government Amnesty Programme (Ukiwo, 2011, Ubhenin, 2013)

Table1: Appointments and Changes in the Leadership of Federal Government Agencies in Nigeria

S/N	Date of Appointment & change	Leader of OMPADEC	Leaders of NDDC	Leaders of Ministry of Niger Delta	Leaders of Amnesty Programme
1	10 October, 1992	Albert, Korubo Horsfall			
2	25 February, 2008		Chairman, Onyema Ugochuku		
3	July, 2009		Chairman, Retired Air Marshall, Larry Koinya		
4	2016		Victor, Ndoma Egba		
5	2008 December			Ufot Ekaette	
6	2010 April			Godsday Orubebe	
7	2015 to Date			Usani Uguru Usani	
8	July, 2011				Chairman, Mr Kingsly Kuku
9	July, 2015				Co-ordinator, Brigadier General Paul Boro
10	March 2018				Co-ordinator, Prof. Charles Quaker Dokubo

Source: Compiled by the Authors, 2018

Proliferation and Leadership dynamics in the context of Militant Groups

The Niger Delta is widely acclaimed with the history of struggle for freedom from the shackles of oppression from the state-oil multinational alliances in the 1966 by Isaac Boro who declared Niger Delta Republic while Ken Saro Wiwa championed the course for the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) in 1990. Other militant groups and social movements like the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), The Niger Delta People Volunteer Force (NDPVF) and Niger Delta Vigilante (NDA) and many more have proliferated largely due to ethnic domination and the failure of the Federal Government and Oil Multinationals to develop the Niger Delta region (Naanen, 1995; Boele, Fabig, Wheeler, 2001; Courson, 2009; Asunni, 2009; Ugwuanyi, Obaje, Ohaeni, Ugwu and Ohhagwu, 2014; Ujunwa, Okeyeuzu and Kalu, 2018). In response to address the violence and armed struggle of militant groups, the Federal Government established several agencies and commissions over the years. Reasons abound for the emergence of the militant groups and the possible reasons are selfless and commitment to attract the attention of the Federal Government and Oil Multinationals to the development

the Niger Delta while others are for selfish gains, greed and avarice with criminal tendencies (Watts, 2004; 2007, Ikelegbe, 2008, Obi,2010). The splitting of militant groups with the leaders such as AsariDokubo,Ateke Tam, GbomoJomo and others are based on ideological differences and discrimination of some militants in the compensations and financial gains. These situations have culminated in the emergence of other militia and rebel groups, and leaders of such groups fight to gain recognition and attain pecuniary gains from Oil Multinationals and the Federal Governments (Obi, 2009; Joab- Peterside, 2007)

Table 2: Proliferation of Militant Social Movements, Groups and the leaders in the Niger Delta

S/N	Movements/ Groups	Names of Leaders	Year of formation
	The Niger Delta Force	Isaac AdakaBoro	1966
1	Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF)	AlhajiMujahidDokuboAsari	2004
2	Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP)	Ken SaroWiwa	1990
3	Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND)	Henry Okah, DokuboAsari and others	2005
4	Niger Delta Avengers (NDA)		2016
5	Niger Delta Vigilante(NDV)	Ateke Tom	2003
6	Movement for the Survival of the Izon Nationality (MOSIN)	TimiO goriba	1998
7	Movement for the Survival of Isekiri Ethnic Nationality (MOSIEN)	P. Fregene	1998
8	Bayelsa Youth Federation of Nigeria (BYFON)	Nengi James	1999
9	Ijaw Youth Council (IYC)	Isaac Osuaka	1999
10	Ijaw National Congress(INC)	Joshua Formudoh	1991
11	Ijaw Elders Forum	E. K. Clark	1998
12	Niger Delta Oil Producing Communities (NDOPC)	Saturday Eregbene	1998
13	Federation of Niger Delta Izon Communities	Fred Orubebe, Daniel Ekpebide	1998

Source: Compiled by Author, 2019

Security

The Niger Delta region has been a cauldron of violence and armed struggle that ultimately results in fatalities, through the emergence of multifarious militant groups that threaten the security of the region and the Nigerian state (Ushie, 2013, Ay Chukwuma and Sunday, 2013, Ujunwan,Okeyeuzu and Kalu, 2018). The concept of security is of various dimensions. Traditionally, security is a state-centric effort to prevent external military attacks. Accordingly, the state procures military arms and ammunition to maintain sovereignty and stem territorial aggression. This notion of security presents the state as the monopoly of the referent object. In this direction, security is a national affair and the state is the sole actor and player of security (Hama,2017; Glasius, 2018 andKrahmann, 2018). Viewing from the current societal reality, state security is myopic and is not all encompassing. Consequent

upon the challenges and multifaceted nature of security threats, the state as the reference object is no longer tenable but the individual as the epicentre of security (Hama, 2017). Human security as a concept was first couched in the *Human Development Report* 1994 (UNDP, 1994). The report did not provide a precise conceptualization of the term but enumerated economic security, food security, environmental security, health security, personal security, community security and political security as elements of human security. From the report, human security has the dual dimensions of freedom from want and freedom from fear (Howe and Jang, 2013). Thus, security is to establish legal norms and capacity building for the purpose of enforcing legal frameworks to ensure freedom from pervasive threats to safety, rights and lives of people. Holistically, human security is composed of freedom from fear, want and protection from terrorism, crime, preventable disease and income loss (Glasius, 2008). Otto and Upkere (2012:6767) conceptualise security as “presence of peace, security, happiness and protection of humans and physical resources or absence of crises, threats to human injury among others”. Hornby, Wehmeier and Ashby (2002) see security as series of activities aimed at protecting lives, property and the territorial integrity of a country from future threat and destruction. The foregoing definition of security implies the measures adopted by agencies and individuals to prevent threat and destruction of property and lives. In this paper, security means absence of conflicts, armed struggle and war in a family, community, local government area, state, a region and a country. However, from the body of literature, security cut across diverse areas and thus scholars attempted to conceptualise security from the multidimensional prisms of economy, food, health, environment, politics and several others (Adebakin and Raimi, 2012). Security from the facet of the environment constitutes complex dynamics, consisting of protection of natural resources and the ecosystem from dangers, directly and indirectly related threats to human existence emanating from natural catastrophes, hazards and environmental degradation (Grenade, House-Peters, Scott, Thapa, Milla-Nova, Gerlak and Verbist, 2016). From the economic standpoint, security means that which “requires an assured basic income for individuals, which manifests as provision of productive employment opportunities and adequate remuneration” (Adebakin and Raimi, 2012: 9). Economic security has a broad spectrum intertwined with environmental and food security. Conflicts and armed struggle resulting in destruction of oil facilities and pipeline vandalism affect the aquatic life and food production through oil spillage which translate into economic downturn in Nigeria (Afangideh, Ujunwan & Ukemnan, 2018).

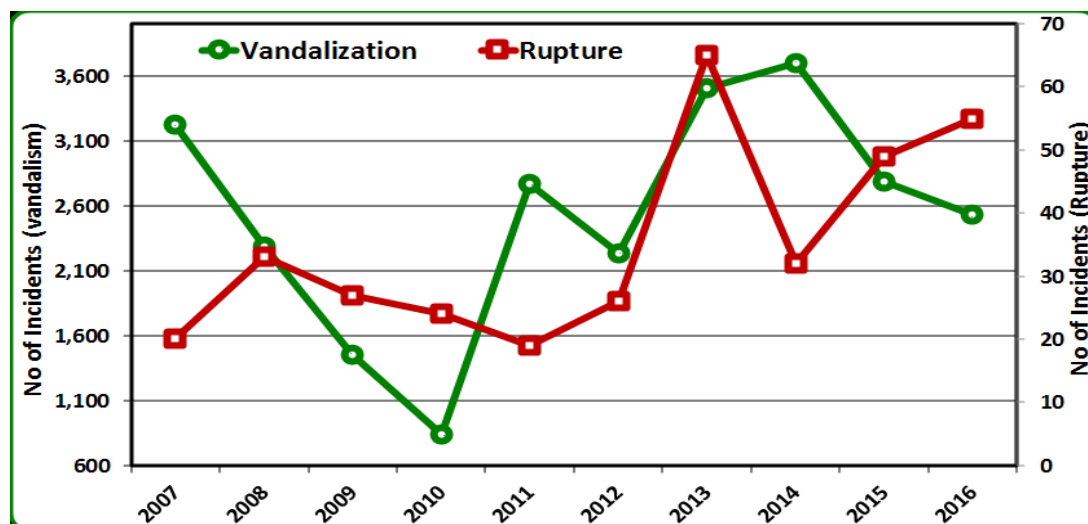
Implications for Economic Security of the Oil Industry

The emergence and activities of militant groups in the Niger Delta have had devastating impact on the Nigerian Petroleum industry over the decades (Adebakin and Raimi, 2012; Al Chukuma & Sunday, 2013 and Asuni, 2009). The violence, vandalism of oil facilities, pipelines, kidnapping of expatriates, high jacking of ships and armed struggle have resulted in security threat and high cost of security, loss of man and machine hours over the years. Besides, the product loss and dwindling production of crude oil accounted for depletion of national income and foreign exchange earnings. The table and the graphical presentations demonstrate the evidence of deepening security threat to the oil industry and the economy at large.

Table 2: Economic Loss Arising from Insecurity and Militancy Activities

Years	Incidence of Pipeline Vandalism	Incidence of Pipeline Rupture	Product Loss(000mt)	Product Value Loss (₦millions)
2007	3,224	20	242.23	17,240
2008	2,285	33	191.62	14,594
2009	1,453	27	110.38	8,195
2010	836	24	194.42	6,848
2011	2,786	19	157.81	12,526
2012	2,230	26	181.67	21,484
2013	3,505	65	327.48	38,881
2014	3,700	32	355.69	44,749.96
2015	2,783	49	482.81	51,282.07
2016	2,538	55	80.93	12,362.15
TOTAL	25,340	350	2325.04	228,162

Source: Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation Annual Statistical Bulletin (NNPC, ASB, 2016)



Source: Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, Annual Statistical Bulletin, 2016

Table 2 is the trend of incidence of pipeline vandalism, rupture, product loss and value in a decade ranging from 2007 to 2016. From the level of militant activities in 2007, incidence of pipeline vandalism declined from 3,224 to 836 in 2010 with the introduction of the Ministry of the Niger Delta Affairs and the Presidential Amnesty Programme with the Yar'Adua and Goodluck's Administration in Nigeria. In 2011, the incidences of pipeline vandalism rose from 2,786 to 3,783 in 2015 and declined to 2,538 in 2016. There was a corresponding trend in the value product loss within the decade under review. From 2007, the product value loss declined from 17,240 to 6,848 in 2010 and rose again to 51,282.07 in 2015 before declining to 12,362.15 in 2016. The trend of the incidence of pipeline vandalism and rupture of pipeline is also presented in the line graph. Watts (2007) asserts that violent activities and attacks on the oil installations and facilities by the Movement for the Survival of the Niger Delta (MEND) accounted for the loss of 700,000 barrels of oil per day in 2006 and 2007. This clearly underpins the 3,224 incidences of pipeline vandalism in the table and the corresponding graph. The above statistics demonstrate and underscore the implications for economic security of the country. In the year 2000, the oil industry in Nigeria contributes

over 98 % of export earnings, an estimate of 83% of Federal Government revenue and about 90% of the country's gross earnings. The petroleum industry is crucial to employment generation, energy supply, foreign exchange reserves, government revenues, local expenditure on goods and services and gross domestic products as a web of economic vitality in Nigeria (Odularu, 2008, Afangideh, Ujuwan & Ukemenan, 2018), but with militant activities and the depletion of oil production, undoubtedly, the country suffers a colossal loss. The crude oil spillage in the Niger Delta region due to pipeline vandalism results in pollution and environmental degradation leading to extinction of aquatic lives and bastardizing the fertility of the soil for agricultural purposes. The high jacking of helicopters, oil vessels, kidnapping of expatriate and request for ransoms have caused loss of lives and man hour. All of these portray implications for dimensions of human security of the Nigerian State.

Theoretical underpinnings of conflicts and security

Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis

Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears (1939) enunciated the frustration-aggression hypothesis. The fundamental proposition of the thesis states that human aggression is a consequence of frustration (Berkowitz, 1989). The theorists argue that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration and that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression (Dollard et al, 1939). Frustration means a condition that arises if goal directed efforts and acts are delayed and inhibited while aggression is a deliberate violation of an organism or organism substitute.

The theory is the seminal work of aggression, which stimulated scholarly interest and attention over the decades. Accordingly, the theory has gained wide application in the fields of psychology, sociology, criminology and medicine (Bresner and Elson, 2017). Although, the frustration-aggression foundation has its theoretical root in psychology, the hypothesis has been applied to study individual behaviour as well as group and societal level of behaviour. At the macro level, frustrations can be economic recession, inhibition to resources, institutional and socio-economic discriminations against ethnic and minority groups. The vicious cycle of frustrations grows into aggressive inclinations and resultant aggressive behavior against the perceived source and object of frustration. The aggressive proclivities and behaviours are manifested in forms of anger, anxiety, verbal attack and outright violence (Bresner and Elson, 2017).

A considerable number of youths have not realized their potentials due to the failure of the Federal Government agencies and Oil Multinationals in the development of the Niger Delta region. The peaceful means to call the attention of the Federal Government and the Oil Multinationals over the years never yielded expected results. In response to this scenario, the Niger Delta youths galvanized into social movements and exhibited the growing intensity of frustrations with peaceful demonstrations to outright violent human aggression against the Federal Government and Oil Multinationals. Thus, the Niger Delta Region has been the home militancy and militant groups who engage in armed conflicts with the Federal Government and violently attack the expatriates and oil facilities to truncate crude oil production (Afangideh, Ujuwan and Ukemenan, 2018). The different efforts of the federal government to develop the Niger Delta region is far from expectation and this is partly due to corrupt and bad leadership at the level of federal government agencies established. These scenarios have been generating further conflicts in the region.

Theories of Realism and constructivism

There are a number of competing theoretical foundations and perspectives in security studies, and such theoretical roots are realism, liberalism, constructivism, humanist approach which have attracted scholarly attention and contentious debates in the mainstream literature (Peou, 2002; Hama, 2017; San, 2006; Tanaka, 2019). In the context of security and this study, a

binary theoretical lens of realism and constructivism is germane and thus considered. Realism is a traditional theoretical paradigm, and contributed significantly to the field of security from the commencement of World War II to the termination of the Cold War (Hama, 2017). The fundamental proposition of realism is to protect state from external military aggression by other states, which is the sole responsibility and exclusive right of a state. Realists are concerned with state centered and power-political configuration for the provision of security and with the overarching doctrine of conflict as an integral of international security, world politics and foreign policy (Buzan, 2015). Realism as a security ideology is with composite nuances and related underpinnings. Realists uphold the perspectives that order and security emanate from distributed or balanced architecture of power and that states oppose domineering disposition of other states. The theory expounds the effort of a state to establish and develop military might and competencies for the preservation and defense of state interest as against external interference. Further, the realist theoretical framework underscores the wielding and concentration of power by a state, and equilibrium of power that provides a platform for international order and stability (Simon, 1995; Ikenberry and Deudney, 2017). However, the realist school of thought is fraught with deficiencies to deal with the multifarious complexities of security in contemporary society. Security threats are not only traceable to external territories but originate and emerge from within states, regions, ethnic groups and communities (Hama, 2017). Besides, security challenges and threats arise from and assume the dimensions of religion, disease, hunger, environmental pollution, street crimes and domestic violence (Newman, 2001, Onuoha, 2009, 2010) In examination of the security threats in the Niger Delta region, the origin of the security challenges is from the Izon ethnic nationality following the underdevelopment of the region and marginalization of the people. The youths of the Izon nation are part of the Nigerian state that attacks Oil multinationals and the military forces of the Federal Government over the decades. Contingent upon these circumstances, the orthodoxy of realism is severely criticized, leading to paradigm shift and the theoretical foundation of constructivism (Onuoha, 2009) Constructivism was introduced in the 1980s of mainstream literature of international security study as a facet of international relations discipline (Ericksson and Giacomello, 2006), and constructivism as a predominant school of security supplemented and supplanted the realist paradigm of national security in contemporary times (Peou, 2002). The constructivists conceive security as social actions with state interest and identities, and the state interests are structured by values, cultures and institutions (Reus-Smit, 2002). The view of constructivism underscores the interpretation of reality and understanding of political and social activity. The theory upholds the necessity of distinction between social reality and material reality. Social reality accentuates identities, interest, norms and institutions which are embedded in society and are in a state of fluidity and dynamism. Accordingly, the interplay of the social factors of identities, norms, values and institutions shape and influence security stakeholders and key players internally and externally of a given state, region and ethnic nationality (Ericksson and Giacomello, 2006; Buzan, 2015) Hama (2017) draws a distinction between state security and societal security. Hama asserts that state security is concerned about protection of its sovereignty while societal security is the preservation of social identities. The societal security is akin to constructivism which lay emphasis on self-conception of communities and individuals as members of a given community. The security threats to society are migration from outside, cultural dominance, integration or disintegration, loss of lands tied to a particular identity, prevention of use of language, killings of members of a community and others. Accordingly, constructivism is further expounded by the Copenhagen School of security. Drawing on the constructivist paradigm of security explained, the people of the Niger Delta are under security threats of seizure of ancestral lands by the Federal Government and the extraction of mineral deposits

without adequate payment of rents and royalties. The actions of Oil Multinationals and the Home Government are counted as suppressions of the Izon ethnic minority rights (Hama,2017).

Conclusions, Recommendations and Limitations

The review of available literature and the description of relevant data provide penetrating insights into the leadership dynamics in Federal Government agencies for the development of the Niger Delta. The proliferation of militant groups for egocentric purposes is imminent threat to the bedrock of the Nigerian economy. The study concludes that changes in the national government are the motivations for the appointment of leaders into offices of Federal Government agencies and commissions for the Niger Delta Development. Also, it further concludes that agitations of social movements also account for leadership changes in agencies for the Niger Delta. Besides, appointments of ministers for the Niger Delta ministry, Chairmen for NDDC and Coordinators for the Federal Government agencies are on the basis of political party affiliations instead of merit, character and integrity. These circumstances are responsible for the failure of the agencies to fulfill their statutory obligations. It is also glaring that the militancy and resurgence of rebel groups bedevil the economic security of the oil industry in Nigeria on the grounds that the militants and rebel groups seek government attention and realize the pecuniary objects through their nefarious activities of violence and armed struggle, vandalizing oil facilities, pipelines and kidnapping of expatriates. The study recommends that the Federal, State and Local Governments should collaborate to engage in advocacy to disabuse the minds of youths from criminal tendencies and eschew violence. This can be realized through the establishment of a taskforce consisting of members drawn from the Federal government agencies, technocrats from the State and Local Governments to meet regularly with a view to engage the youth by moral suasion. The appointment of leaders into the offices of the agencies and commission should be on the basis of proven integrity and impeccable character as against party affiliations. Besides, the term of office should be fixed and not subject to political changes. Change of leaders should be on the basis gross misconduct after thorough investigations and they are found culpable. Federal, State and Local Governments should formulate and implement strategies for job creation by selecting youths for training in the oil and gas industry and engage the youths to ensure economic reliance as against payment of stipends to ex-militants; the Federal Government and Oil multinationals should provide basic infrastructure to boost the standard of living rather than substitute infrastructural development of the Niger Delta for providing pecuniary gains to criminal elements in the façade of freedom fighters. The ex-militants who engage in criminal activities should be arrested and face jail terms. The study had limitations in some respects. The study adopted a conceptual and theoretical design and deficient of the benefits from quantitative methodology, primary data collection and analysis for drawing conclusions and proffering recommendations. However, significant contributions have been advanced in the public leadership, management and economic literature

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