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Orievulu, Kingsley Stephen

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NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE CRISIS OF NATION-BUILDING IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF OIL AND VIOLENCE IN THE NIGER DELTA REGION OF NIGERIA

A research report submitted to the Political Studies Department, Faculty of Humanities of the University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts (MA) in Political Studies.

BY

KINGSLEY STEPHEN ORIEVULU (479450)

prepared under the supervision of

PROFESSOR ANTHONY BUTLER

APRIL, 2011.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the government and people of Rivers State, and to the genuine struggle for the emancipation and socioeconomic growth of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria.

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

1. My name is Kingsley Stephen Orievulu and I declare that I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is using another's work and to pretend that it is one's own.

2. I have used the **Author Date** Method as the convention for citation and referencing. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this report from the work, or works of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.

3. This RESEARCH REPORT is my own work.

4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

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DATE: _____

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ABSTRACT

The preponderance of intrastate violent conflicts in natural resource rich states has been attributed to a number of causal mechanisms. Theorists of conflicts thus tend to explain these conflicts using different approaches, notably path dependency and rational choice. These approaches examine issues such as ethnicity and political marginalization, weak but repressive state capacity, strategic dilemmas, foreign instigators of conflict, and the very pervasive theory of the resource curse. Natural resources usually lie at the heart of many of these conflicts and the resource curse theory has helped explain the effects of states' dependence on the primary resource sector. This resource curse is therefore corroborated by the rational choice approach which insists that economic incentives explain the upsurge in rebellious activities within natural resource rich but poor and dependent states, especially in Africa. This research interrogates the rational choice approach of Collier and Hoeffler against the backdrop of issues in the Niger Delta conflict. It argues that the greed versus grievance theory remains inadequate in the light of the historical and sociological circumstances underlying political struggles in the region. The research report concludes that an integrated but eclectic approach be applied in the study of this crisis.

KEYWORDS: Conflict, Greed and Grievance, Niger Delta, Nigeria, Oil, Resource Curse, Youth Militancy.

ACRONYMS

C&H MODEL – Collier and Hoeffler Model

DRC – The Democratic Republic of Congo

EBA – Egbesu Boys of Africa

EFCC – Economic Financial Crimes Commission

EITI – Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

ICPC – The Independent Corrupt Practices Commission

IYC – Ijaw Youth Council

MEND – The Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta

MND – The Ministry of the Niger Delta

MNOCs – Multi-National Oil Corporations

MOSOP – The Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People

NDDB – The Niger Delta Development Board

NDDC – Niger Delta Development Commission

NDPVF – The Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force

NDV – The Niger Delta Vigilante

NEITI – Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

OMPADEC – Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission

PTF – Petroleum Trust Fund

SIPRI – Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

SPDC – Shell Petroleum Development Company

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