Rethinking Ethnic Minority Agitations in the Niger Delta Region: An Examination of the Responses of the Nigerian State and Multinational Corporations

By
Newman Emmanuel Ubani, PhD
Department of Political Science
Ignatius Ajuru University of Education,
Port Harcourt, Nigeria
E-mail: newmanubani79@gmail.com
Phone Number: 08038674211

Abtract

Nigeria's Niger Delta region has been characterized by ethnic minority agiatations before October 1st 1960. This is largely due to political and economic injustices foisted on the Niger Deltans especially because of the discovery of crude oil in commercial quantities in the region. The increasing elasticity of ethnic minority agitations in the Niger Delta now calls for serious concerns geared towards maintaining the corporate existence of the Nigerian state and its trajectory has taken both violent and non-violent approaches. Against this backdrop, this paper being a derivative of a doctoral thesis submitted to Ignatius Ajuru University of Education in Rivers State, Nigeria, re-examines the responses of the Nigerian state and MNCs in the Niger Delta. It argues that the current political leadership of the country under President Bola Ahmed Tinubu must as a matter of political expediency genuinely welcome the restructuring question as the best political panacea in today's Nigeria for the entrenchment of true federalism. This is in order to consolidate on the achievements of minority agiatations in the Niger Delta and to continue to give the people of the region a due sense of belonging for a more peaceful coexistence in the country.

Keywords: Ethnic Minority Agitations, Examination, Niger Delta, Nigerian State, Multinatinational Corporations

1. Introduction

The Niger Delta region of Nigeria has over years become characteristic of ethnic minority agitations which are traceable to the colonial era with the setting up of Sir Henry Willink's commission of 1958 for the purposes of allaying the fears of the minorities in the country (Gahia, 2012; Eremie, 2015; Ishiaki, 2000; Moro, 2008; Uranta & Ogwola, 2022). This is also because of several concomitant circumstances and corollaries that have necessitated minority issues geared towards agitations. These may include political marginalization, econonomic deprivation, environmental degradation, resource ownership and control. Alapiki (2015, p.62) put it succinctly when he noted that corruption, impunity, poverty and unemployment, political domination and economic marginalization as key variables which instigate terrorism in Nigeria. For example, this is not unconnected to the issue of militancy in the Niger Delta region. According to Gilbert (2013):

> Ethno-nationalism in contemporary Nigeria arose as a result of the Nigerian National Question (NNQ), which has been a major challenge to the socio-political existence of the country. Fundamental to it is the clamour for the paradigmatic restructuring and redefinition of the defective, colonially-configured Nigerian federation, so as to ensure the elimination of fedro-centralism, hegemony, marginalization and injustice. Simultaneously, this would guarantee the rights of the constituent ethnic nationalities, justice, equity and fair-play in the framework of a congenial democratic environment. The NNQ gained prominence in Nigeria's political economy discourse during the long-winding political transition programme (PTP), the deceptive SAP and the general dictatorial governance foisted on the citizenry by the Babangida and Abacha juntas (P.51-52).

In Nigeria's Niger Delta however, ethnic minority agitation is directly targeted at addressing the issues of political emancipation, social and environmental justice, as well as giving the minorities a sense of belonging and the true practice of federalism in the country. It is also a pointer to both the Nigerian National Question (NNQ) and the Niger Delta Question (NDQ). In other words, the Niger Delta crisis is a vicarious crisis that is derived from a much more gargantum of the

Nigerian state crisis and this is why it has remained an offshoot of the major crisis of the Nigerian state (Moro, 2008).

It is against this backdrop, that this paper re-examines the general phenomenon of the responses of the Nigerian state and multinational corporations operating in the Niger Delta region. It further advances the argument that since colonial Nigeria till date, the politics of ethnic minority agitations in the country has engendered some phenomenal achievements for the region and probably portends great possibilities as well. Hence, both the Nigerian state and MNCs must remain committed to the yearnings and aspirations of the Niger Deltans so as to alleviate their plight in Nigeria due to political marginalization and environmental degradation and other attendant issues as they greatly affect the region.

2. Conceptual Explications

In discussing the politics of ethnic minority agitations in Nigeria's Niger Delta region, it is therefore pertinent to first of all attempt to have the understanding of the two concepts of ethnicity and minority, before delving into the nitty-gritty of the subject matter. Ethnicity as a concept has a controversial meaning among scholars of political science and sociology. According to Nnoli (1978, p.5), it is a social phenomenon connected with the identification of members of the greatest conceivable contending communal groupings (ethnic groups) attemping to safeguard and promote their interest in a political system. In this regard, Nwaorgu (1999) agued that the phenomenon has gained considerable ground in Nigerian politics and also gathered its different definations and explanations. Therefore, ethnicity especially in Nigeria is a highly priced competitive political weapon for sectional pride, manipulation and benefits (Ubani, 2022). This is because Nigerians are more inclined than any other identity to describe themselves in terms of their ethnic affiliations (Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). While, according to contemporary sociologists, a minority is a group of people differentiated from others in the same society by race, nationality, religion or language-who both think of themselves as a differentiated group and are thought of by others as differentiated group with negative connotations (as cited in Ishiaki, 2000, p. 51). For example, in the context of Nigeria, minorities are small groups of people or ethnic identities with low numerical strength when compared to other ethnic groups with whom they coexist in a state or in the federation as a whole (as cited in Ishiaki, 2000, p. 52).

The historicization of the politics of ethnic minority agitations in Nigeria is directly associated with minority question and how it all began. However, Eremie (2015) noted that agitation for states creation was a minority's inspired movement, but the major ethnic groups have become the principal beneficiaries. As Eremie (2015) further aptly noted:

> The original justifications for creation of states were evolved by the minorities in presentations made at various fora as they made their case for states creation. The first major opportunity they had for rationalizing their demand was the Willink Commission of 1957/1958. Going through the Commission's Report reveals that the minorities demanded for separate states out of fear, the fear of political, social and economic domination by the numerically superior groups (p.68).

Similarly, Gilbert (2013, p.52) has argued that violent ethno-nationalism made invaluable contributions to the elevation of the plight of the Niger Delta in international discourse, ensured the focus of the global community on developments in the region and induced both the Nigerian state and the Multinational Oil Companies (MNOCs) to start changing their entrenched negative behavioural disposition towards the Delta people. Thus, ethnic nationalities have peculiar interests, which they consider as most vital to their survival and as such do not compromise them (Omemma, 2017). The growing concerns of ethnic minority agitations in Nigeria have over the years been well analyzed, researched and documented in several academic literatures especially about the Niger Delta region (Paul et al, 2017; Omemma, 2017; Rindap & Auwal, 2014). On the other hand, Mustapha (2003) while providing a clarification of the concept of ethnic agitation, considers "it as an expression of primordial interest by ethnic groups in a multiethnic state that is characterized by majority and minority ethnic groups dichotomy" (as cited in Omemma, 2017,p.106). This essentially means that there is always a competitive struggle politically, economically and socially among the existing ethnic groups in a sociopolitical and socioeconomic setting like Nigeria. This is perhaps the reason why Omemma (2017) observed that

ethnic agitation is inevitable in a multiethnic state characterized by inequity and dis-equilibrated social structure.

3. Responses of the Nigerian State and Multinational Corporations (MNCs) in the Niger Delta

Indeed, the responses by the Nigerian state and MNCs in the Niger Delta region are quite telling and have been well documented (Ojakorotu & Gilbert, 2010; Epelle, 2010; Adeyemo & Olu-Adeyemi, 2010; Gilbert, 2010a; Ojakorotu, 2010; Mukoro & Egbadju; Allen, 2010; Ikelegbe, 2005; Ubani, 2021). The responses could be better understood from both the negative and positive dimensions. Ojakorotu (2006) while emphasizing the responses observed that they have been in two-folds and contradictory as well as in hard and soft sides.

Consequently, it must be admitted that before the 21st century, the Nigerian government and MNCs have responded with brute force and denials to the issue of environmental degradation in the Niger Delta region. A good case in point is the Niger Delta Volunteer Force's attempt, led by Isaac Adaka Boro, to secede from Nigeria in 1966 and eventually crushed by the federal government forces (Ojakorotu, 2006). Again, when oil spillages were reported, the MNCS normally attribute it to vandals and would not pay compensation nor carry out clean-up on the affected area (Ikelegbe, 2010). Unfortunately, this went on for decades without being addressed.

As the Niger Delta people continued to register their dissatisfactions with the government through protests and demonstrations given the injustices meted out to them, such moves met stiff oppositions with brute force from the government and the MNCs. For example, in the early 1990s, the Ogoni's peaceful protest was met with genocide and the ill-conceived killing and dastardly hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight Ogoni activists by the Nigerian state on 10 November 1995 (Gilbert, 2010b). At one demonstration in Ogoniland, the Nigerian Mobile Police Force killed 80 villagers (Kabee, 2007).

Specifically however, Odisu (2015) noted that the powerful collaboration between the Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) and the state led to numerous human rights violations, including summary execution, beatings, arrests, unfair

trials, and detention. In the case of the Niger Delta's suppression and repression, it would appear that all of the oppressive measures employed were to ensure a continuous flow of crude oil since Nigeria is a rentier state. For example, it was also reported that the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) has for years maintained that in addition to environmental devastation that has resulted from SPDC operations, the company financed military operations in Ogoniland, bought arms for soldiers, bribed witnesses at Saro-Wiwa's trial, and provided logistics for military operations with the collaboration of the Nigerian state (Odisu, 2015, p. 27).

There is a general consensus among scholars lilke Ubani (2021), Epelle (2010), Gilbert (2010a), Mukoro and Egbadju (2010) that the Niger Deltans have brutally been on the receiving end due to several sponsored security operations by the Nigerian state and oil multinational companies in virtually all oil-bearing communities in the Niger Delta region. Infact, Ojakorotu and Gilbert (2010, p. 8-9) specifically identified the following state and MNCs sponsored attacks and brutalities in the Niger Delta:

- The Nigeria Mobile Police Force (MOPOL) was used to brutally quell a peaceful youth protest against Shell at Umuechem in Rivers State, and the Community was virtually destroyed on 31 December 1990; 80 people were killed and about 500 houses were leveled, thus triggering an unprecedented number of Internally Displaced People (IDP) in the history of that community.
- The Rivers State Internal Security Task Force, a well-armed military outfit, was primarily formed for the repression, suppression, harassment, humiliation, arrest and unlawful detention of members of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) and its supporters during MOSOP's campaign against Shell and self-determination in Ogoniland between 1993 and 1996. Apart from the unconstitutional execution of the Ogoni nine-Ken Saro-Wiwa and his eight Ogoni compatriots, the force, which metamorphosed to an army of occupation raped, tortured, maimed, looted, and summarily executed about 2000 people extra-judicially.
- A combined team of MOPOL and the Nigerian Army was used for the invasion of Choba community to suppress a protest against WILBROS (a

foreign oil servicing firm) in 1999; 10 people were killed, 25 women raped, and the communities were temporarily deserted.

- In January 1999, the Federal Government of Nigeria in Bayelsa state, and heavily armed military personnel with armoured vehicles were deployed to fight the Niger Deltans, especially the IYC and Egbesu Boys of Africa.
- Also, in November 1999, the Nigerian state, through an operation codenamed Hakuri 2, embarked on one of its most sordid genocidal escapades in the Delta region by using the army to invade Odi community, the second largest town in Bayelsa state after Amassoma; at least 1000 people were brutally murdered, several others were declared missing, all houses except three were destroyed, the community was deserted, and property worth millions of naira were destroyed.
- In 2003, an army of occupation known as Joint Task Force (JTF) codenamed Operation Restore Hope was formed in 2003 for the consistent, persistent, and aggressive suppression of oil-related process in the Niger Delta. The JTF is made up of about 4,000 troops.
- In October 2005, Odioma was also invaded by the JTF, and at least 17 people were killed, including a two-year-old child.

The above explains how barbaric and worrisome the situation has appeared to be over the decades. Therefore, the state's hostile responses and the oil firms had made the oil-bearing communities to conclude that the oil firms connived with the state to wage war of economic exploitation, environmental degradation, and the institution of internal colonialism (Odisu, 2015, p. 27). Akinbi (2012), for example, has argued that the government's response to the crisis in the Niger Delta also manifested in the declaration of war against the militants. He went further to rationalize that this line of action was embarked upon as a result of the killing and kidnapping of some officers of the JTF by the militants, which the federal government of Nigeria sent to the region. Besides, both the state and the oil multinationals have overtly and covertly continued their hard response of militarizing the region under the guise of security, thereby inflicting more violence on the people (Ojakorotu, 2006, p. 12).

Interestingly, as a result of the continued ethnic minority agitations in Nigeria, different groups with their different ethno-nationalist motives and agendas have

emerged to champion the political, economic and environmental justice of the Niger Delta region geared towards addressing its overall development question and challenges. For example, several groups including Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Niger Delta Strike Force (NDSF) and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) also materialized in the Niger Delta (Gilbert, 2013; Gilbert, 2010a; Gilbert, 2010b; Ubani, 2021, Ubani & Gilbert, 2021).

Table 1: Profile of Some Local Justice and Environmental Movement Organizations in the Niger Delta

S/N	Organizations	Objectives and Grievances	Mode of Political Action
1	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)	Resource control; development; environmental justice; marginalization; neglect; lack of access to the oil business; repression by the Nigerian state	Hostage taking; violent confrontation; press statements; conflict with state security; physical attacks on oil company facilities; killing of state security personnel
2	Ijaw Youth Council (IYC)	Militarization and repression by the state; destruction of the environment by oil exploration and production company activities (gas flare and oil spillage); resource control; poverty and political marginalization (faulty federal structure)	Was responsible for Kaima Declaration; Confrontation with state security; press statements; wants oil firms to leave the Niger Delta
3	Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF)	Neglect and marginalization; underdevelopment; access to benefits from oil; militarization.	Attack and seizure of oil facilities; armed confrontation with state security; press statements

4	Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP)	Environmental justice; marginalization; neglect; underdevelopment; poverty	Protests; youth militancy; press statements; ejection of shell from Ogoni land
5	Chiccoco Movement	Environmental rights; state violence; militarization; ecological damage	Call for vacation of oil companies; press releases, demonstrations; education and mobilization; resource control.
6	Federated Niger Delta Izon Communities (FNDIC)	Marginalization; underdevelopment; militarization; resource control; faulty federal structure; equity; ecological damage.	Seizure of oil facilities; violent encounters with security; demand for withdrawal of oil companies.

Source: Allen (2010, p. 153).

4. Examining the Achievements and Benefits of Ethnic Minority Agitations in Niger Delta Region

It is however, important to mention that the Nigerian state has also been compelled to respond to the Niger Delta conflict by the establishment of various interventionist agencies, notably the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDB) in 1961 based on the recommendations of Willink's Commission, the Oil and Mineral Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC) in 1992, the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) in 2000 and of course the Ministry of Niger Delta affairs in 2008 by Umaru Yar'Adua led Nigeria government, the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) in 1994 (Gilbert, 2010a; Mukoro & Egbadju, 2010; Ojakorotu, 2010; Akinbi, 2012; Odisu, 2015; Uranta & Ogwola, 2022). These agencies were established by successive military and civilian administrations in Nigeria. All in a bid to ameliorate the plight of the Niger Deltans and address the burning issues of overall development in the region. Uranta and Ogwola (2022) also maintained that the chronicle of the foregoing developments in the Niger Delta region provide a detailed survey of the attitude of the Nigerian state to the crisis in the region. Whereas, worthy of note also is that the Henry Willink's Commission Report and

the establishment of the NDDB, OMPADEC and NDDC are obvious responses by the state and remarkable achievements occasioned by ethnic minority agitation in the region (Uranta & Ogwola, 2022).

Furthermore, the persistent agitations also forced the Nigerian state to create more states for the region, increase to 13% the funds of the Niger Delta states derivable for crude oil sales, and concede the vice president's position to an Ijaw man from the region in the 2007 general elections, on the platform of PDP (Gilbert, 2010a; Gilbert, 2010b). Yet, members of the political elite have not been able to translate such resources into meaningful development for the amelioration of the plight of the populace and the justification of the costly and sacrificial agitations embarked on by ethno-nationalist groups like MOSOP, NDPVF and MEND. In the area of corporate social responsibilities (CSR), the MNCs have also responded by awarding scholarships to some students and contract for the construction of some public facilities (Hennchen, 2015). Whereas, Ojakorotu (2008, p. 109) opined that whatever atrocities Shell has committed, it is important to note that it has played significant roles in employment opportunities, the provision of scholarships, and project assistance to some individuals and communities in the Niger Delta. Infact, some of the oil majors (SPDC for instance) have doubled their corporate support for community development and adopted an ethos of social responsibility (Ojakorotu, 2006, p. 12).

Another remarkable issue is the presidential amnesty programme. This is traceable to the administration of late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua in order to chart pathways of peace in the Niger Delta region. For instance, the initiative was borne out the Ledum Mitee Technical Committee on the Niger Delta in 2008 (Ikelegbe, 2010). Its proclamation was done on June 25th 2009, by late President Yar'Adua.It was presented as a major effort to resolve the Niger Delta crisis and end the region's militancy (Ikelegbe, 2010).On the other hand, Gilbert (2010b, p.61) asserted that characteristically, the state responded with a high level of militarization, violence and repression, until on 25 June 2009, when President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua granted amnesty to all youths involved in militancy in the Delta region. Hence, many militant leaders embraced the amnesty, having been pardoned for all offenses committed in the course of their militant agitation. This is the latest of government's response to the crisis (Akinbi, 2012).

Again, the Nigerian government recently took a keen interest in the matter of environmental degradation by accepting to clean up Ogoniland in conjunction with MNCs. To this effect, it requested and commissioned the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) to carry out an independent assessment of the level of damage to the environment. That report indicted MNCs to a large extent and recommended immediate clean-up of Ogoniland and other Niger Delta communities (UNEP, 2011; Ubani, 2021; Ubani & Gilbert, 2021). This led to the setting up of the Hydrocabon Pollution Remediation Project (HYPREP) to undertake the clean-up of Ogoniland. Furthermore, the federal government had previously set up NOSDRA (National Oil Spill Detection Response Agency) to tackle the problems of oil spills in the Niger Delta. Above all, the existence of the six states such as Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo and Rivers in the South-South geopolitical zone of Nigeria is a clear justification and achievement of the Niger Delta agitations as a minority region in the country.

5. Concluding Remarks and the Way Forward

This paper has clearly provided an examination of the responses of the Nigerian state and the multinational corporation vis-à-vis rethinking ethnic minority agiatations in the Niger Delta region of the country. Of course, it is interesting to note that despite all political cum administrative inadequacies and negativities as well as defective constititutional provisions in the Nigerian federal arrangement, ethnic minority agitations have come a long way in the country's political history to accord both national and international prominence to the region as the disadvantaged goose that lays the "golden eggs" largely due to the abundance of oil and gas resources. The Delta region has infact continued to occupy other strategic political and adminstrative positions in Nigeria like Senate President, Minister of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), super federal permanent secretaries, managing directors of federal agencies, commissions and parastals etc. The ongoing construction of the East-West road in the region especially the Eleme Ogoni axis and other consequential considerations in the administrative and governance structures and architectures of the Nigerian state. Rcently, another positive response of the Nigerain state and multinational oil companies (MNOCs) in the Delta region is the passage of the Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) and its subsequent implementation in the oil bearing communities. Infact, the current political leadership of the country under President Bola Ahmed Tinubu must as a

political expediency genuinely welcome the restructuring question, as the best political panacea in today's Nigeria for the entrenchment of true federalism in order to consolidate on the achievements of minority agiatations in the Niger Delta and to continue to give the people of the region a due sense of belonging for a more peaceful coexistence in the country.

References

Adeyemo, D. & Olu-Adeyemi, L. (2010). Amnesty in a vacuum: The unending insurgency in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. In Ojakorotu, V. & Gilbert, L.D. (eds.). *Checkmating the resurgence of oil violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria.* Lap Lambert Academic Publishers.

Akinbi, J.O. (2012). The Niger Delta environmental crisis in Nigeria: A perspective analysis. *African Research Review, 5(2),* 150-164.

Alapiki, H. (2015). The state and the culture of terrorism in Nigeria: Unveiling the real terrorists. *An Inaugural Lecture Series No. 117 University of Port Harcourt.*

Allen, F. (2010). *Implementation of oil-related environmental policy in Nigeria: Government inertia and conflict in the Niger Delta.* PhD Thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Epelle, A. (2010). Taming the monster: Critical issues in arresting the orgy of youth restiveness in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. In V Ojakorotu, & L.D Gilbert (eds.), *Checkmating the resurgence of oil violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria.* Lap Lambert Academic Publishers.

Eremie, V. T. (2015). *Issues in Nigerian federalism.* Ano Publications.

Gahia, C. (2012). *Nigerian government and politics: Political processes and political dilemma.* Ano Publications Company.

Gilbert, L. D. (2010b). *Ethnic militias and conflict in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. The international dimensions. (1999-2009).* Doctoral Thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Gilbert, L.D. (2010a). Youth militancy, amnesty and security in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. In V. Ojakorotu, & L.D Gilbert (eds.), *Checkmating the resurgence of oil violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria.* Lap Lambert Academic Publishers.

Gilbert, L.D. (2013). Revisiting ethno-nationalism in the Niger Delta of Nigeria: An interrogation of its achievements and prospects. *International Affairs and Global Strategy, 16, 50-56.*

Hennchen, E. (2015). *The political role and responsibility of multinational corporations: The case of Royal Dutch Shell.* PhD Dissertation, Institute for Social Innovation.

Ikelegbe, A. (2005). The economy of conflict in the oil rich Niger Delta region of Nigeria. *Nordic Journal of African Studies, 14(2),* 208-234.

Ikelegbe, A. O. (2010). *Oil, resource conflicts and the post conflict transition in the Niger Delta region: Beyond the Amnesty*. *A monograph*. Centre for Population and Environmental Development (CPED).

Ishiaki, L.N. (2000). *Fundamentals of Nigerian government and politics.* Emhai Publishers.

Kabee, K. (2007). *The role of multinational corporations in the Niger Delta crisis. A case study of Shell Petroleum Development Corporation (SPDC) in Ogoni Rivers State*. MSc Thesis, University of Nigeria.

Moro, A. I. (2008). *The Niger Delta crisis. Beyond employment and physical development: The critical issues involved.* Mind Quest Resources.

Mukoro, A. & Egbadju, O.A. (2010). Security contradictions: Bane of reactions of oil producing communities and the unending crisis in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. In Ojakorotu, V. & Gilbert, L.D. (eds), *Checkmating the resurgence of oil violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria.* Lap Lambert Academic Publishers.

Nnoli, O. (1978). *Ethnic politics in Nigeria.* Fourth Dimensions Publishers.

Nwaorgu, O.C. (1999). Ethnicity and development: A case against its underdevelopment. In Tamuno, S.O., Girigiri, B.K., Anele, K.A., Onuchuku, O. & Obafemi, A.S. (eds.), *Ethnicity conflict and development prospects in Nigeria: A book of readings.* Corporate Impressions.

Ojakorotu, V. & Gilbert, L. D. (2010). Understanding the context of oil violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. In V. Ojakorotu, and L. D. Gilbert (eds), *Checkmating the resurgence of oil violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria*. Lap Lambert Academic Publishers.

Ojakorotu, V. (2006). The dynamics of oil and social movements in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. *Journal of Multi-Disciplinary International Studies, 3(1),* 1-14.

Ojakorotu, V. (2008). The internationalisation of oil violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. *Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Relations, 7(1),* 92-118.

Ojakorotu, V. (2010). Militants and oil violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria: Any implication for security in Nigeria? In V. Ojakorotu, & L.D. Gilbert, (eds.),

Checkmating the resurgence of oil violence in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. Lap Lambert Academic Publishers.

Omemma, D. (2017). Ethnic agitations and arms proliferation: Threats to Nigeria's national security. South East Journal of Political Science, 3(1), 105-117.

Osaghae, E.E. & Suberu, R. (2005). *A history of identities, violence and stability in Nigeria.* (RISE Working Paper, No.6).

Paul, S.O., Audu, E. & Kayode, E. (2017). Ethnic agitations and restructuring question in Nigeria: The aftermath of 2015 general elections. International Journal of Innovative Social Sciences & Humanities Research, 5(3), 14-24.

Rindap, M. R., & Auwal, M. I. (2014). Ethnic minorities and the Nigerian state. An International Journal of Arts and Humanities (IJAH), 3(3), 89-101.

Ubani, N.E. & Gilbert, L.D. (2021). Environmental degradation in the Niger Delta: A re-appraisal of the politics of environmental remediation in Ogoniland. *Niger Delta Journal of Gender, Peace & Conflict Studies, 1(4), 325-348.*

Ubani, N.E. (2021). *Environmental degradation and the politics of remediation: An appraisal of the implementation of the report of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in Ogoniland, 2011-2019.* PhD Thesis, Ignatius Ajuru University of Education.

Ubani, N.E. (2022). Political leadership struggle in Nigeria's fourth republic: An ethno-religious analysis. *Port Harcourt Journal of History & Diplomatic Studies, 9(1), 87-103.*

UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) (2011). *Environmental assessment of Ogoniland. UNEP Report*. Oxford Press.

Uranta, I.B. & Ogwola, R.D. (2022). *Political economy of minority questions in Nigeria: The Niger Delta perspective*. Familia House Publishers.