NIGER DELTA RESEARCH DIGEST VOLUME 14 NO 1 ISSN: 2141-1468 March 30, 2024

THE IRONY OF OIL WEALTH AND POVERTY IN THE NIGER DELTA BETWEEN 1998 AND 2022

Dr Ebilabo Obubo,
Department Of History and International Studies
University Of Africa, Toru-Orua, Bayelsa State, Nigeria.

and

Prof Ejitu N. Ota
Department Of History And International Study
Abia State University, Uturu
Nigeria.

==========

Abstract
The Niger Delta region of Nigeria has the highest concentration of crude oil deposits in the countrywhich has contributed emmensely to the nationaly economy. However, indigenes of the region have, over the years, had to contend with neglect from the federal government. This is in spite of the fact that crude oil exports from the Niger Delta provide the bulk of Nigeria's export earnings. Adopting the qualitative research methodology of content analysis and the historical descriptive approach, the paper has observed that a major fall-out of the activities of transnational oil companies in the Niger Delta in collaboration with the federal government is youth restiveness. This has resulted in the formation of such militant groups as the *Egbesu Boys*, whose modus operandi include the destruction of oil installations and the kidnapping of employees of the oil companies. The paper concludes that although the Presidential Amnesty Programme was set-up to address the grievances of youths from the Niger Delta regions, a lot more still need to be done, especially in the area of environmental management and control, as well as infrastructural development in the region.

Keywords: Oil wealth, Transnational Oil Companies, poverty, marginalization, Niger Delta, Presidential Amnesty Programme

Introduction

This essay is an examination of an aphoristic situation in the Niger Delta Region which produces the bulk of the wealth of the Nigerian state through its resources, especially oil and gas deposits. However, the region is denied all the good things

of life, such as access to good education, good roads, constant electricity supply, political offices and administration, and by implication, economic power and development. It is this evident marginalization of the people in the region in the distribution of the nation's wealth and their exclusion from vital political positions as well as reckless misrule and lack of responsiveness to the needs of the people by successive administrations that brought about youth restiveness and violence in the region.

The essay argues that the people, especially the youths, became so disempowered and frustrated because oil companies operating in the region continued to ignore them. Thus, the disgruntled youths also decided to turn their aggrievances into confrontations with the Federal Government in order to restructure the country. This was made manifest by the emergence of revolting movements such as the Ijo Youth Council (IYC) which proclaimed the Kaiama Declaration of 1998, . The IYC gave an ultimatum to oil companies operating in the region to quit the region between December 11 to December 30 1998.[1] With the expiration of the ultimatum, the Ijo Youth Council (IYC), through its military wing (the Egbesu Boys) revolted and engaged the military government under General Abdusalami Abubakar in armed confrontation. Worse still, while in Odi, some of these youths allegedly abducted and killed twelve police officers in the community, which development led to a reprisal attack and an unrestrained destruction of the community with evident massacre of its men, women and children by soldiers during the Olusegun Obasanjo–led federal government in 1999.[3] But the unpalatable experiences did not deter the youths who are disempowered economically, socially and politically. Consequently, oil installations and government apparatus located in oil yielding communities became easy targets of attacks by the frustrated youth of the Niger Delta.[4] The government did not also stop the bombing and destruction of communities and their inhabitants in the region, as they did to Oporoza, the home-town of a foremost militant leader, named Government Ekpomupolo (Tompolo). According to a source:

> The Joint Task Force (JTF) attack the village of Oporaza in Niger Delta. It is uncertain whether president Yar'Adua ordered or acceded to this attack-perhaps to test the waters for a longer engagement- or whether the JTF is operating outside the Federal government. Both scenarios are of critical concern in their implications about the Nigerian government, the likelihood of escalation and the collapse of any peace initiatives. Particularly alarming is the decision to target Tompolo, a MEND Leader who is said to have been active recently

in talks with the Federal government and who is seen as a political leader of the movement[5].

A Historical Dissection of Oil Exploration Activities in Nigeria before 1956

If there is any development of greater historical importance in Nigeria than electricity, it is petroleum. The petroleum industry has grown steadily over the years to become the cornerstone of the nation's economy. Since the 1970s, the nation's crude oil sector has contributed immensely to the government's revenue profile. In addition to dominating other sectors,[6] the oil sector accounts for the bulk of the nation's revenue, especially her foreign exchange earnings. However, its displacement of agriculture as the main-stay of the Nigerian economy has created a structural imbalance for the economy, undermining economic performance and national development. Nevertheless, the relevance of the petroleum sector in the economic stability of the Nigerian state cannot be underplayed.

However, this history would be inadequate without examining the activities of the international oil companies (IOCs). Oil producing companies are inextricably linked with the nation's sustenance.[7] The Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria (SPDC) which is a product of the 1907 merger of the British Shell Trading and Transport Company and the Netherland Royal Dutch Group of Companies,[8] is known to be among the pioneer oil exploration companies in the country. In 1937, the company obtained an exploration concession from the British colonial administration with exclusive rights over the whole area of the country, including the Southern Cameroons which was then administered as part of colonial Nigeria.[9] Using Owerri in the present Imo State as its base, the company commenced the investigation of a totally unknown territory after merging with the D' Arcy Exploration activities in the country in the early twenties.[10]

By the period the Shell-D' Arcy Petroleum Development Company Limited started exploration in 1938, oil had not been found in commercial quantity anywhere in West Africa, and there was little indication of West Africa becoming a major oil-producing zone. Between 1939-1940, the Shell-D' Arcy survey party called the Thyssen Survey Party used Okwelle Okigwe in the present Imo State as its base, and undertook geological survey of the neighborhood of Okigwe, extending to about 12-15 miles south-west wards in the direction of Owerri. The Shell-D' Arcy exploration parties were forced to suspend activities in the 1940s as a result of the outbreak of the Second World War.[11]

At the termination of the Second World War in 1945, the British Petroleum Company joined Shell D' Arcy in the exploration activities in Nigeria in 1946. This led to the changing of the company's name to Shell-B.P. The company thus, became jointly financed by the Royal Dutch-Shell Group of Companies and the British Petroleum Corporation on equal basis.[12] In September 1946, exploration activities resumed in earnest with more ground and aerial surveys. It was during this period that the Niger Delta area was selected for intensive search for petroleum as it was considered a more likely area to contain hydrocarbon accumulation.[13] Suffice it to say that drilling of exploration wells by the company first took place in Owerri in 1951, and the second in Uyo province between 1953-1954. But it terminated further appraisal drilling due to the disappointing results from neighborhood appraisal results.[14]

By 1956 however, results of tests carried out at the company's exploration well at Otuabagi in the then Oloibiri District in Brass Division of present day Bayelsa State had shown a larger quantity of oil than so far discovered in the other exploration wells. More wells later drilled in the vicinity also confirmed a major oil field.[15] Before the end of the year, oil was also found in commercial quantity at Afam in the then Umuahia Province. The year 1958 saw the discovery of a much larger quantity of oil at Bonu, 14 miles south of Afam,[16] in the then Ogoni Division of present-day Rivers State. These early discoveries gave further impetus for the intensification of exploration activities and to the discovery of the Ebubu and Ughelli oil fields west of the Niger Delta in 1959. According to a source,[17] prior to this discovery, all discoveries were in the then Eastern Region of Nigeria. Following the initial discoveries at Oloibiri and Afam, Shell-B.P. Petroleum Development Company commenced oil production. Through pipeline connection between Otuabagi (Oloibiri) and Kugbo Bay with the support of cargo vessels carrying crude oil to Port-Harcourt, the Company was able to export its first cargo of crude oil in 1958 from the temporary oil export terminal at Bonny.[18]

The commencement of oil production at Otuabagi in the then Oloibiri district was followed by the transfer of Shell-B.P. headquarters from Owerri to Port-Harcourt in 1957. Apart from nearness to the oil fields, Port-Harcourt was chosen because of the availability of infrastructural facilities like adequate harbour and port facilities to handle materials and heavy oil equipments. The availability of air transport and communication links with Lagos, the then Federal Capital of Nigeria was a further advantage of Port-Harcourt over Owerri. As stated above, the movement to Port-Harcourt, which was completed in 1959, started in 1957 when the company began the construction of its office buildings, workshops,

training centres, material handling facilities and residential area of 400 housing units.[19]

In 1958, the rate of production was 4000 barrels per day. This figure doubled the following year with the beginning of production from the Afam and Bonu fields. To handle the increasing rate of production, a decision was taken to build an oil terminal at Bonny but at the entrance of Bonny River was a bar which even small tankers could not pass through when fully loaded. This made the dredging of the Bonny Bar inevitable between 1959 and 1961 to enable the movement of bigger tankers. A total of four tanks were constructed at the terminal with a total capacity of 30,000 barrels.[20]

With the success of Shell at Otuabagi (Oloibiri) other oil companies became interested in oil exploration in Nigeria. By 1958, the first export of crude oil of about 1.8 million barrels left the shores of Nigeria for Britain, valued at the equivalent of about one hundred and seventy million Naira (₦170 Million)[21]. With time, the production of crude oil rose considerably, with a lull experienced during the Nigeria-Biafra war of 1967 to 1970. After the cessation of hostilities in 1970, crude oil production increased and so did earnings from oil exports. Paradoxically, these have not impacted positively on the lives of the vast majority of Nigerians,[22] especially the people of the Niger Delta region.

Injustice and Frustration in the Niger Delta Region

Oil exploration in real sense brought about frustration in the Niger Delta as the indigenes were excluded from the wealth of oil. They were marginalized and abandoned like other southern Nigerian groups, The Niger Delta peoples constitute the largest ethnic minorities spread across the so-called South-South geographical zone. The implications of this political imbalance, according to a newspaper source,[23] have been manifested in unfavourable recurrent revenue-sharing formulae that put the oil-bearing communities of the Niger Delta at a disadvantage. This has in turn, resulted in agitations for "True Federalism" and "Resource Control".

This infavourable distribution of the nation's revenue accruing from oil and the political imbalance have created the background of hunger, anger, illiteracy and unemployment[24a] which have combined to produce an army of restive youths in the Niger Delta. In a way, this is an indication of an apparent lack of any sense of corporate social responsibility on the parts of the multinational corporations (government inclusive) to their host communities. The situation is compounded by the evident disparities in the infrastructural development of cities

like Lagos and Abuja vis-à-vis the deplorable living conditions in the Niger Delta. This is best captured in the words of C.R. Amaechi thus:

> there are two kinds of injustices in the Niger Delta. The first is the one the Nigerian country inflicts on the people of the Niger Delta. We are denied our rights to existence, our rights to own our God-given resources to solve our difficult terrain and to develop ourselves in the committee (sic) of the states. That is the larger picture: the smaller picture is the inability of people like us, those who are in government to manage the resources that we manage to squeeze out from the Federal Government.[24b]

As repeatedly stated, this is the crux of youths' restiveness in the Niger Delta region. In order to retain and sustain its dominance of Nigeria's oil wealth, the ruling class has entered into unholy collaborations with Western Europe and the United States. According to a newspaper report:

> the Nigerian government under president Musa Yar'Adua entered into agreements with Britain and the United States on the training of Nigerian policemen. The purpose of the training, according to the report, is for the trainees "...to be the arrow-heads of the war against terrorism which menace has been on the rise especially in the Niger Delta region".[25]

With such kinds of training of the country's military and quasi military architecture, it is not surprising that, rather than solving the people's genuine demands, they are constantly harassed, maimed, and communities destroyed as they did to Umuechem in old Rivers State, Kaiama and Odi, and recently, Oporoza in Bayelsa and Delta states, respectively.

Social and Economic Impact of Oil Exploration in the Niger Delta

Instead of benefiting from oil explorations in the Niger Delta, the region has, rather, suffered from oil exploration induced poverty in the region. While it may not be possible to have a comprehensive analysis of the negative impact of oil exploration-induced poverty on the peoples social and economic activities, evidence abound that the Niger Delta communities wallow in object poverty. The

commercial-scale oil discovery in Otuabagi in 1956 and its growth into other areas of the Niger Delta transformed the source of conflict from palm oil to fossil and placed the area in a vital position on a national and international scale. The discovery of crude oil deposits completely changed the Niger Delta region, with more than 400 oil production and storage facilities, 600 oil fields dispersed throughout its swamps and creeks, and operated by Transnational Oil Companies (TOCs) such as Shell, ExxonMobil, Total, Chevron, Elf, Agip (Eni), and Texaco in joint ventures with the Nigerian National Petroleum Company (NNPC) [26]. Consequently, the region acts as a hub for both international relations and worldwide oil production, as it also provides context for understanding the issues in the Niger Delta[27].

With this development, the Niger Delta region rose in significance in Nigeria's oil political economy, with export earnings increasing from 1% in 1958 to almost 98% in the state's total revenue in the 1990s[28]. In spite of the benefits of the oil and gas economy to the Nigerian state, the oil rich Niger Delta region has to contend with neglect from the federal government, reinforced by the progressive downward review of the derivation principle of revenue allocation with each regime, and reduction in the 'share' of federal allocation of oil-producing ethnic minority states from 50% in 1966 to 3% in the mid-1990s[29]. It wasn't until 1999 that it underwent another assessment and was increased to 13% derivation[30].

The extraction and exploitation of oil by various TOCs since the 1960s has had negative environmental impact on the soil, forest, and waterways of the Niger Delta communities, through oil spills and gas flares committed by the TOCs, and by implication, the Nigerian Government. This unwholesome situation has rendered the agricultural and aquatic endeavors which are the main sources of the livelihood of the Niger Delta inhabitants prostrate[31]. There has been some form of regulations on oil spillage and gas flaring acts in Nigeria since January, 1984. Some of these government regulations are, Oil in Navigable Waters Act (1968); Petroleum Drilling Regulation Act (1969); Oil Pipeline Act, 1956 (amended 1965) Oil Pollution Act (1990), and the National Oil Spill Detection and Response Agency (NOSDRA). In spite of these, the socio-economic life of the people of the remains in misery because of insincerity and non-commitment by the Nigeria government, and the TOCS. It is against the backdrop of these challenges faced by the oil rich communities in the Niger Delta that various Ijo groups were born and nurtured to engage the federal government to correct these injustices, but in response, the federal military government of 1966 under Aguyi

lronsi, and the Olusegun Obasanjo led civilian administration in 1999, barraged the region with troops to suppress the people's legitimate demands.

Protestations of the Ijo Youth Council

Revolutions take place not because the initiators of such crises are malignant or demented criminals, but because they are victims of exploitation and deprivation which resulted in widespread poverty. Just like the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), the Ijo Youth Council (IYC) was formed because of the insensitivity of both the oil-producing companies and the federal and state authorities in respect of the despoliation of the environment of the Niger Delta. The IYC, among other factors, was formed by the youths of the Niger Delta to confront the federal government and the oil-producing companies for largely ignoring their communal and individual rights. Thus, the crux of their struggle was in relation to the social neglect, economic and political marginalization, and underdevelopment of Ijo land in particular and the Niger Delta area in general.[32]

Although the movement was older than December 11, 1998, it reached its climax on that date, as the name IYC is greatly associated with the 1998 Kaiama Bill of Rights or Declaration. On this date, a large number of Ijo Youths, including intellectuals like T.K. Ogoriba, and Felix Tuodolor, converged at Kaiama, Isaac Boro's home town in Kolokuma/Opokuma Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, in a general meeting to discuss the future of the Niger Deltans. After discussing exhaustively, they issued a document, otherwise known as the Kaiama Bill of Rights or Declaration, addressed to the state and oil companies operating in the region, requesting for local control of oil revenue and better management of environmental practices. In the document, they suggested the need for the federation to be run on the basis of equality of ethnic nationalities and social justice.[33]

Except for its radical approach, this Movement has the same ideological base with that of the Ken Saro Wiwa-led MOSOP, as their documents contain demands for a political restructuring of the country to reflect the principles of 'true federalism', especially in respect to control over local resources, politics, and economic engagements. In that convention, they gave ultimatum to the oil companies up to December 30,1998. With the expiration of the ultimatum, the "Egbesu Boys of Africa" which was, (and still is), organised as the fighting arm of the Council or Movement, revolted and engaged the military government under General Abdusalami Abubakar in a very fierce arm confrontation. In spite of their organised and cohesive form, the "Egbesu Boys" was crushed and subdued by the federal military might, and its members dispersed to different places in the state

including "Black market" at Ovom in Yenagoa and Odi, a neighbouring community to Boro's home town, Kaiama in Kolokuma/Opokuma local government area of Bayelsa State.

Because the youths were not deterred by this genocide, (since the epic Kaiama Declaration has instead exacerbated their desire for the struggle), they later renewed their struggle with the oil companies on protracted war on hostage taking, destruction of oil installations et cetera. The federal government and the oil companies have not only refused to honor these genuine demands of the people, but they have used their military might and apparatus to kill and destroy communities and intimidate the people to maintain the status quo, as blood and sorrow is still prevalent in the region. Hence, in the midst of plenty (oil), the people live in abject poverty and tears.

Government's Response to Poverty in the Niger Delta, 1998-2022

Government's response to the plight of the people of the Niger Delta since 1998 is far from satisfaction. Instead of genuinely assuaging the people's fears and misery, the federal government authorised the military to barrage the region with troops, killing and shooting the inhabitants, especially the youths who form the socio-economic organization such as the Movement for the survival of the Ogoni people (MOSOP), the Ijo Youth Congress (IYC) et cetera to demand for the control of their God given resources, correct the imbalances of the federal structure, or to outrightly stop the marginalization that has been going on for too long.

A number of palliative measures has been adopted by successive administrations. For instance, Olusegun Obasanjo sent a bill to the National Assembly for the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) as the agency to implement programmes of sustainable development for the region. However, the setting up of the NDDC did not reduce the crises in the region; crises that has assumed intercommunal, intra-communal, inter-ethnic, communal-oil companies and communal-government dimensions. The situation, no doubt, portends a great threat to the future of the Nigerian state as a political entity[34]. It is the escalating crises in spite of the establishment of the NDDC that compelled late president Yar' Adua to establish the Amnesty programme in 2008, which seems to have considerably lessoned the crisis in the Niger Delta, but have not completely resolved it. Not-withstanding, the creation of the Federal Ministry of the Niger Delta is a further boost to the peace deal in the region. However, these laudable initiatives have not yielded the expected development for the

people due to a number of problems including bureaucratisation, underfunding, and corruption.

Conclusion

This paper has, dissected the evident plundering of the God-given oil and gas resources of the Niger Delta region by the federal government and international oil companies operating in the area. This has caused the people of the region to wallow in a life of want, misery, and hopelessness which forms the background to youth restiveness in the zone. The study has revealed that youths in the oil-producing communities feel aggrieved that their land and resources have been looted for a commodity that earns money for other Nigerians except themselves, who have, instead, become disempowered, and by implication, impoverished.

The paper further exposed that it was as a result of this economic marginalization and political exclusion of the region that the Ijo Youth Council was born and nurtured to demand for "true federalism". But this revolution for the local control of the resources of the Niger Delta was mindlessly and ruthlessly resisted by successive governments of the federation, especially the 1998 Kaiama Bill of Rights or Declaration, and the 1999 Odi massacre. However, one could say that although the people were defeated in all of these, they were not deterred, and since the government refused to assuage their grievances, most of the militant groups have resorted to guerrilla warfare by hitting at oil installations as well as kidnapping high profile oil workers, especially foreigners. Oil pipelines are also routinely blown up, and this forced many oil companies go out of production and subsequently led to occasional drops in Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings due to declining oil production in the Niger Delta.

Instead of government to holistically address the genuine concerns of the people and assuage their pain and sorrow, they decided to engage them in armed confrontations which have resulted in many deaths and destruction in the region. In conclusion, it is important for the government to give a listening ear to the demands of the people, especially the restructuring of the country or 'true federalism' in order to arrest the structural imbalances that have bedeviled Nigeria for long. Otherwise, no measure of intimidation or killings would deter these youths, for a man who is already down fears no fall.

Endnotes

1. Ebilabo Obubo and E. C. Emordi, "A Historical Review of Isaac Adaka Boro Revolution and the Niger-Delta Question", In *Niger Delta Research Digest* (NDRD), Journal of the Institute for Niger Delta Studies (Niger Delta University), vol. 13, no. 1, March 2023: 110; E. C. Emordi and Julius Azelama, "The Egbesu Boys and Kaiama Declaration, 1998-1999". *Confluence Journal Jurisprudence and International Law*, Vol. 2, Kogi State University, Anyigba, 2009; See also Tell, Lagos, Nigeria's Independent Weekly, October 8, 2004, 19 for more details.
2. Obubo, E. and Emordi, , "A Historical Review of Isaac Adaka Boro Revolution and the Niger-Delta Question"…: 110; *Tell*, Lagos, Nigeria's Independent Weekly, October 8, 2004, 19.
3. Peter Akpona, "On a war path", *The Week*, May 29, 2000, 13; Waves Oki, Obasanjo and the Bayelsa Tragedy", *The Guardian*, Sunday, December 5, 1999 39; Hammed Brainah, "ODI: One year of sorrow, tears and blood", *The Weekend Observer*, Sunday, November 25, 2000, 18.
4. E. N. Ota, *Nigeria*: The Challenges of Statehood, (Umuahia: Eastern Renaissance Publishing Limited, 2020), 39.
5. *Sahara Reporters*, May 15, 2009. https//saharareporters.com/2009/05/15/Nigerian-military-jtf-attacks-village-oporoza-niger-delta
6. L.O. Uzoigwe, "Mining Coal and other Fossil Fuels: A Case of Conventional Uses from Prometheus to the Oil Embargo", *Egede International Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies,* Volume 1, Number 1, June, 2019, 51.
7. Udechukwu Udeke and James Okolie-Osemene, "Dissecting the activities of oil producing companies in Nigeria: Historical Analysis", *Kpakpando: Journal of History and International Studies,*Vol. 1, No. 1, October, 2012, 190-191.
8. Udeke, and Okolie-Osemene, *Kpakpando Journal of History and International Studies,* 190-191.
9. NAE/CSE 1/85/10587, Question by Mr. M.W. Ubani Regarding the presence of Shell Company in Owerri and Okigwe Division. See also accompanied answer to this question from the Secretary Eastern Province.
10. NAE/OKIDIST 5/1/19, Shell D' Arcy Exploration Parties. See attached Programme of Activities of the Company in Eastern Province. See also N.A.E. C56 3/13/6 Proposal to investigate Petroleum Prospects of Eastern Nigeria

Sea Licence granted to D' Arcy Exploration Company Limited on the 28 of February, 1921.

11. Udeke and Okolie-Osemene, "Dissecting the activities of oil producing companies"…, *Kpakpando Journal of History and International Studies,*192.
12. Udeke and Okolie-Osemene, "Dissecting the activities of oil producing companies"…, *Kpakpando Journal of History and International Studies,*192.
13. NAE, OKIDIST 6/1/16 Shell D' Arcy Petroleum Development Company. Press Release on "First Oil Show in Delta" 1956.
14. Udeke and Okolie-Osemene, in *Kpakpando Journal of History and International Studies*,193.
15. Udeke and Okolie-Osemene, "Dissecting the activities of oil producing companies"…, *Kpakpando Journal of History and International Studies,*193.
16. Shell Oil Terminals (Undated Palmphlet); 3. See also Udeke and Okolie-Osemene, 193-198 for more details.
17. Udeke and Okolie-Osemene, "Dissecting the activities of oil producing companies", *Kpakpando Journal of History and International Studies…*,193.
18. Udeke and Okolie-Osemene, "Dissecting the activities of oil producing companies", *Kpakpando Journal of History and International Studies…*,193.
19. Udeke and Okolie-Osemene, "Dissecting the activities of oil producing companies"…: 193
20. Udeke and Okolie-Osemene, "Dissecting the activities of oil producing companies"…: 193
21. Ota, *Nigeria*…, 121.
22. Ota, *Nigeria*…, 121-122.
23. Ota, *Nigeria*…, 124.

24a. Obasi Kalu, "The Niger Delta Question" (Port-Harcourt: Shaddai Publishers, 2004), 9, 125.

24b. Saturday *Independent Newspaper*, February 7, 2007, 1, "The Oil drum/ drumbeat".

25. The Nation Newspaper, Saturday, January 10, 2009 "Shell Oil Spills in the Niger Delta", 1 and 12.
26. Amadu Sesay, Charles Ukeje, Olabisi Aina and Adetunwan Odebiyi, "The Phenomenon of Ethnic Militias in Nigeria", In Amadu Sesay, Charles Ukeje, Olabisi Aina and Adetanwa Odebiyi (eds.) *Ethnic Militias and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria*, (Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press, 2003), 44.

27. Chris O. Ikporikpo, "From Adaka Boro to the Niger Delta Avengers: The Dynamics and Management of the Revolt in Nigeria's Niger Delta", *International Journal of African and Asian Studies*, 2018:39.
28. Ikporikpo, "From Adaka Boro to the Niger delta Avengers…" 39.
29. A Ikelegbe, and N. Umokoro, "Exclusion and the challenges of peace Building in the Niger delta: An Assessment of the Amnesty programme", *CPED Monograph Series, No. 11:12.*
30. Ikelegbe and Umokoro, "Exclusion and the challenges of peace building in the Niger delta…" 12
31. Ikelegbe and Umokoro, "Exclusion and the challenges of peace building in the Niger Delta…" 12
32. Ikelegbe and Umokoro, "Exclusion and the challenges of peace building in the Niger delta…" 12
33. Bena Abiri, "The Niger Delta Environmental Problems from Oil Exploration and Intervention by the United Nations, 1956-2016", *A Long Essay, Department of History and International Studies*, (University of Africa, Town-Orua, Bayelsa State, April, 2023): 14-16.
34. Ota, *Nigeria*…, 126.