



Conflict Research Network West Africa

Gender Ideology and Militant Activities in the Niger Delta Oil Crisis

Esther Egele-Godswill

CORN West Africa Working Paper 01
June 2021

Conflict Research Network West Africa
www.cornwestafrica.org
Email: info@cornwestafrica.org

Gender Ideology and Militant Activities in the Niger Delta Oil Crisis

Esther Egele-Godswill¹

Introduction

Militancy evolved in Nigeria's Niger Delta originally as combative and aggressive activism and agitations against the Federal Government of Nigeria and multinational oil companies, specifically due to the environmental degradation, underdevelopment, and marginalisation associated with crude oil-related activities (Ikelegbe 2006, Obi 2009, Human Rights Watch 2008, Adebajoko 2017). Oil exploratory activities within the region have resulted in the pollution of the ecosystem, loss of traditional forms of livelihood, militarisation, and political upheavals. This underlining socio-economic, political, and environmental realities in the region, as argued by some scholars, was the stimulus that turned the region's people into militants (Inokoba & Imbua, 2010). Militancy or militant activities manifests in different forms, including violent actions like protests, abduction of foreign and local oil company workers, hostage-taking, kidnapping, piracy, pipeline attacks, pipeline vandalism, and oil bunkering activities. Studies in the region especially the gendered discourses have highlighted the various experiences and acts of men and women relating to militant insurgencies in Niger Delta. For instance, in the discourses of women's experiences and activities during militant insurgencies, some existing literatures have portrayed women as victims and the inactive ones carrying out or exhibiting their feminine roles of nurturers, mothers, caregivers, and encouragers of their husbands and sons to fight during insurgencies. By portraying women in these perspectives, men are seen as the active ones who fight and perpetuate militant acts (Ogege, 2009, Odoemene, 2012, Ukeje, 2002). On the other hand, other studies have also portrayed women as active participants of militancy both as combatants and non-combatants (Ekine, 2008, Oriola, 2012, 2017). In his analysis of female ex-insurgents in the Niger Delta oil insurgency, Oriola (2016) contends that women take up antithetical roles to their gender like serving as gunmen who defended insurgent camps, escorted their male colleagues in dangerous missions and engaging in shoot-outs with state security agents over oil infrastructure.

With the various roles women take up during militant insurgencies, the question of gender ideology in the Niger Delta comes to mind. Gender ideology here refers to society's beliefs or attitudes about men and women's roles, rights, and responsibilities (Kroska, 2007; Ponthieux & Meurs, 2015). These beliefs and attitudes are reflected in familial, economic, legal, political, and social domains. In the Niger Delta, traditional gender ideology about the family where men fulfil breadwinning roles and women performs functions of nurturing, homemaker, and carrying out household activities. Therefore, there is the need to focus is on women as a pointer to the discourse of gender ideology and militancy in the Niger Delta. The emphasis on gender ideology concerning the discourse of militant activities is necessary to understand how political violence in the Niger Delta can influence and shape the roles and responsibilities of women. This study seeks to contribute to the existing bodies of literature on political violence and gender studies. Hence, the question that informs this study is: To what extent has militancy or

¹ University of Edinburgh, s2027367@ed.ac.uk, Federal University Otuoke, egele-godswillee@fuotuoke.edu.ng, egele_esther@yahoo.com.

militant activities challenged and reproduced traditional gender ideology? Since gender is contextual, in the sense that meanings of masculinity and femininity differ across cultures over historical times (Kimmel, 2010), the understandings, ideas, and actions of men and women related to armed conflict will change across cases. As such, this chapter addresses the above question by using feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis to analyse newspaper articles and literature relevant to the study.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section begins with a discourse on the theoretical and methodological approach used in addressing the study question. It explains feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis as the approach used to analyse data collected from newspaper articles and literature. The second section is a review of literature which provides background information and a framework to understanding gender and militancy. The review considers the different feminist literature on security due to the multiple subject positions of women in the literature. The essence of the review is to highlight the multiple and dynamic experiences and engagements of men and women in different forms of political violence across different contexts to show that the discourse of political violence around gender cannot be binarised. The third section discusses the analysis and findings derived from the data, while the last section is a brief conclusion drawing from the study's findings.

Data and Methods

The study draws from feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis (FPDA) as a method and analytical approach within broader discourse analysis. Briefly, discourse analysis is a group of related methods for studying the use of language and its role in social life (Potter, 2008). FPDA, therefore, draws from a multi-perspectival approach that combines feminism and post-structuralism. The feminist aspect of FPDA helps in creating an understanding of the social category of gender by constructing through discourses the multiple ways in which women are portrayed to men. Whereas post-structuralism evaluates the differences between discourse or texts without claiming that only one is true or accurate (Mckee, 2003, p. 13). In other words, poststructuralist discourse analysis emphasises deconstruction by bringing out the diverse and endless layers that are perceived to form social reality (Fawcett, 2008). This is done by paying attention to the different expressions or voices revealed through language or text, clearly pointing out areas of contradictions and variations. By this, a text is scrutinised to reveal that which is not said or attended to, and included, through a process of reflexivity and positioning where the researcher or analyst is open to questions and accepting positions with shifting answers based on contexts (Weedon, 1997, p.83, Fawcett, 2008). Thus, poststructuralist discourse analysis becomes a continuous or an ongoing interpretive process, simultaneously and reflexively engaging the text or discourse in association with its positioning as there is no one perspective from which interpretation is made. This form of analysis produces different readings, meanings, and interpretations because of the emphasis placed on the inconsistencies, contradictions, avoidances, and absences prevalent in a discourse or text.

Therefore, Feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis draws from a poststructuralist perspective but places more emphasis and combines aspects of positioning theory and performativity theory in addressing issues involving women in society (Baxter, 2016). This positioning theory looks at how discourses position participants as 'subjects,' that is, individuals or one person taking multiple and contradictory subject positions within and across contexts. The performativity theory, on the other hand, refers to repetitive actions through experiences. Relating to Butler's (1988) claim on identity, she pointed out that gender identity

such as ‘feminine and ‘masculine behaviours are not really what we are, nor even traits we have, but the effects we produce by way of repetitive actions performed. Therefore, feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis critiques versions of women’s subjective, emotional, and cognitive experiences and describes how women are positioned in multiple, dynamic, and contextual relations with contesting discourses regarding their choice to adapt to, negotiate, contest or overturn predominant subject positions. Hence, the use of FPDA is not concerned with polarising males as villains and females as victims, nor even to presume that women are therefore powerless, disadvantaged, or even oppressed by the ‘other.’. FPDA looks at the differences in women by arguing that the female subject position is complex and multiple located even in times of violence (Baxter, 2003). Therefore, from feminist post-structural discourse analysis, it is right to argue that the discourses of gender and militancy in the Niger Delta that tend to place women based on a binarized, or polarised thinking can be deconstructed to a discourse where they are not polarised into pairs but analysed from a complex and multiple interdiscursivity that is negotiated, challenged, evolved, and adjusted through the lens of other discourses.

Data used for this study is drawn from the systematic search of newspaper articles and literatures, references and bibliographies of scholarly articles and retrieved from the internet using google with the keywords female political violence, Niger Delta militants, oil insurgency, and female militants. The data gotten from the search online were screened based on the research question posed: to what extent have militant activities challenged and reproduced traditional gender ideology? Data collection and analysis was an iterative process with a gendered coding strategy on text. The method involves breaking down the text into manageable units of analysis, looking at the common-sense narrative of females in militancy. Data were coded using the following terms:

Feminine Norms	Masculine Norms
Peaceful	Risk-taking
Nurturing	Emotional toughness/restraint
Motherhood	Power
Passivity	Dominance
Gentle	Self-reliance
Caring	Aggressive
Emotionality	Winning
Family	Protector
Deference	Competitiveness
Dependence	Virility
Empathy	Control

Modest	Heroism
Desirability	Courage
Compassion	Providing
Tolerance	Honour

Limitations

It is necessary to point out that, while this study was carefully prepared, there were some unavoidable limitations in the study. First, the choice of data collection method and the data such as media articles used were insufficient as data were gotten only from the internet. While these media articles provided valuable and relevant information needed to analyse and answer the research question, they did not provide sufficient information. These data were limited to what was made available online. Therefore, integrating other data collection methods such as interviews will help overcome this limitation and increase the depth of findings and analysis for further study.

Literature review

This section provides a brief review of the existing literature in areas of concern to the issue of interest to this article. The first section is a broad synthesis of feminist literature on the different approaches or perspectives in understanding security. Security is considered in this review because it explains how gender and political violence are related as violence most often is gendered and creates gender itself. Political violence and militancy are used interchangeably in this review. The second section reviews the discourse of political violence and how it relates to the issues of gender and women's roles in global politics. The last section is a more localised review of literature on the different perspectives of women and political violence in the Niger Delta. This review provides a framework for understanding the extent to which militancy in the Niger Delta has challenged and reproduced gender ideologies.

Feminist Approaches to security

While the meaning and study of security have been dominated by the views of the realist thinkers in which state power, sovereignty, and national security are the primary referents of security (Morgenthau and Thompson, 1948), the academic mainstream of security studies took a different turn with Buzan in 1983. He argued in his book *people, states, and fear* that security is about the state and encompasses the military, political, economic, social, and environmental concerns of humans. Booth (1991) also argued for a broad conceptualisation of security.

With the call for broadening the concept of security that takes into consideration issues of domestic violence, rape, human right abuses, poverty, gender subordination, climate change, social injustice, oppression, and inequality, there have been more epistemological debates that seek to question the state-centric assumptions of realist-rationalist approach. This debate coincided with the critical side of the third debate in International Relations (Tickner, 2001, p.44). Among the critical side of the third debate are the feminist thinkers or scholars who have drawn attention to the importance of gender as a category of analysis in security (Shepherd

2007). They focus their attention on the emancipatory goal of understanding and ending women's subordination and introducing a gender-differentiated analysis that focuses on the individual (Whitworth, 2008, p.105, Tickner, 1992, 2001, Shepherd, 2007, Sjoberg, 2009). By this, feminists' approach on security highlights the importance of women and gender in a changing global security environment using a diverse or multidimensional approach. This explains what security is, what counts as security, whose security is referred to, and how security can be achieved (Williams, 2008, p.5, Whitworth, 2008).

Following this, feminist approaches to security challenge the dominant understanding of security and generate new perspectives and possibilities from which security can be understood (Wibben, 2011, p.12). Using the approach of narrative and language, feminists pay attention to the impact of security policies on the lives of people daily and how the language and actions of national security think-tanks, nuclear strategies, and the military around gender assumptions are impacted by and impact on these processes (Wibben, 2011, p. 21, Whitworth, 2008, p.112). Notably, Cohn and Ruddick (2004) examined how ideas about gender affect efforts in stopping the proliferation of small arms, weapons of mass destruction, and foreign policy decision-making. They argued on how 'symbolic' associations of weapons and foreign policy decisions with masculinity impact government policies, that is, the idea that men are more likely to own and purchase arms. Based on this argument, it can be suggested that in associating masculinity with weapons and making policy decisions based on masculinity, ideas and decisions about security, rationality, and protection taken by the Government are based on patriarchy and shows the invisibility of women in global politics. This can also imply that where women are actively involved in international politics or militancy and political violence, it is often seen based on gendered distinctions. Thus, having an impact on the functioning of society in general.

For this reason, in her curiosity, Enloe questioned foreign policy as to whether 'key actors are motivated by a desire to appear "manly" in the eyes of their principal allies or adversaries and what could be the consequences?' (Enloe, 2005). Similarly, Whitworth argued that the consequences of this kind of masculinist frame could lead decision-makers to a path that can be avoided and possibly focus on other policy options simply because they are not 'manly' enough (Enloe cited in Whitworth, 2008, p.112). Drawing from the above, Enloe, on the issue of security locates ordinary women's lives in a masculinised military and explores the point of gender differentiation and sexual harassment women face because they are 'women' and how militarisation in a globalised world is mixed with domestic violence. This is because militarization and warfare produce men who do not only visit violence on their 'enemy' but also on their wives, partners, and children (Enloe cited in Peterson and Runyan, 2010, p.146). In like manner, Turshen (2001), using empirical analysis on the conflict in Rwanda and Mozambique, examined the issue of women's security regarding rape and sexual harassment, which traditional security studies are often silent on. Turshen argued that rape is a systematic and deliberate strategy of war employed by the state, where rape on women is based on their economic identity regarding their assets and properties. This argument and some studies such as Carpenter, 2005, Lindsey, 2001, U.N. Secretary-General Study, 2002, and Odoemene, 2012, revealed that women are more susceptible to wartime rape and are more physically and sexually assaulted by the police, aid workers, peacekeepers, and guards who are sent to 'protect' them. Therefore, these studies question the extent to which the state protects the security of women in times of war and peace. These literatures are relevant and helpful in understanding what women undergo during conflict times in some part of Africa and the world. However, one

limitation is that the studies portray that women alone are victims of sexual violence during wartime and armed conflict and men as aggressive and perpetrators of violence.

Further studies have revealed that men are also victims of sexual violence and abuse, and women have been perpetrators of violence (Zarkov, 2001, Eisenstein, 2004). For this reason, Ehrenreich (2004) contends that women's participation in the torture of men in the photos from Abu Ghraib reveals a form of gender equality and shows that women can also do the unthinkable as well as not being innately gentler or less aggressive than men. Thus, these studies have portrayed the pluralistic nature of feminist approaches on security by challenging the discourse on how women are hastily linked with peace, their participation in political violence, and the issue of security from an individual point of view rather than the state. While some feminist scholars have written on the aggressive side of women in times of armed conflict, more literature on women as perpetrators of violence will be addressed in detail in the next section of this review.

Contrary to Zarkov and Ehrenreich's argument on sexual violence, some feminist scholars report differences in their writing on sexual violence and abuse meted out on men. They argued that sexual violence and abuse on men reveal the politics of labelling on victims of sexual violence, and the message on imperialistic masculinity manipulating the gendered assumptions of masculine and feminine behaviours, thus portraying the site of power (Clark and Moser, 2001. p.8, Whitworth, 2008, p.110, Richter-Montpetit 2007, Sjoberg 2007). Eisenstein (2004), for instance, found out that the torture of men at Abu Ghraib reveals the politics of labelling on sexual violence. Rather than 'rape' or 'torture' on men who were sexually dominated, the phrase 'humiliation' was used because they were treated like women as thought by society. She also argued that Abu Ghraib revealed the anachronistic sites of power where women are used as gender decoys to create confusion on the sexual domination women undergo. Thus, revealing the insecurity women face because of power exposure, which is embedded in a masculinised frame. Therefore, feminist perspectives on security point to the different ways of understanding men and women's experiences of violence. They help to contribute to the thinking and studying of the gendered framings of militancy in the Niger Delta from multiple perspectives. The following section clarifies these various experiences of men and women in violent times by exploring the deconstruction of political violence.

Deconstructing Political Violence and Women's Roles

From the above, it is evident that among the different perspectives used by feminist scholars to examine the concept of security, political violence is one area through which feminist scholars have produced an understanding of security. This is because security is performative. This means that security is constituted through actions and is known through attending to experiences (Innes, 2016). As a performative that forms the social and political structure, it is inherently related to violence, which plays an ordering function in the theory and practice of security in the international system and reproduction of gender discourse (Shepherd, 2007). In other words, security and violence are made meaningful through the repetitive actions or 'performances' of social and political interactions. What then do scholars say about political violence, and how can it relate to gender and women's role in global politics? While the concept of political violence tends to be ambiguous, a detailed review of the literature would not be considered. This goes beyond the purview of this study and might also exceed the limit of this study. However, scholars agree that it involves the use or threat of force to either effect

decisions or attain ends within or outside political order (Della Porta, 1995, p.2; Gurr, 1970, p.4). Analysis on political violence was traditionally focused on understanding different forms of political violence arising from conflict of interest between the government and opposing groups (Gurr, 1970, Collier and Hoeffler, 2004) without taking into cognizance the micro-level bedrock of political violence. However, emerging, and subsequent literature have used a wide array of research methods and levels of analysis to shed more light on the complex micro-level nature of political violence by developing relevant theoretical and empirical understandings in several vital developments in global politics. For instance, Grosz (1999) has added to this theoretical and analytical understanding by using a section of Derrida's '*of Grammatology*' called 'The Violence of Writing' to deconstruct the writing and nature of violence from the moralistic and ethical condemnation most literature often adopt. In using Derrida, she argued that the deconstruction of violence is not accepting a position but an openness to a force of difference. It is important to carefully analyse and understand violence instead of considering outrightly any straightforward or binarized model of violence such as good/evil or front/home front. Cooke and Woollacott (1993), in the way of deconstructing war, also pointed out that by placing gender at the centre of any analysis of war, a form of political violence, confirms and challenges existing images or ideologies of women as pacifists, or even patriotic mothers; or that men are essentially aggressive. By this, Cooke and Woollacott have added gender and developed a transformative discourse in the analysis of violence. Relating to the latter, Munck (2008) also argued for a more transformative understanding of the role of violence in contemporary society. He contends that violence from a Foucauldian power-analytic sense (power comes from everywhere) can be 'productive' and not just 'repressive' as sometimes political violence in the form of civil war, revolutions, rioting, insurgencies, etc., have been a decisive factor or means that has fostered social transformation as well as regime change in Africa, Asia, and Central America. While violence, Munck argued, from a Foucauldian power is 'embodied,' Butler (1993) confirmed that the body is socially (or discursively) constructed, and a cultural focus of gender meanings where political violence is experienced differently by individuals in society. Therefore, from her argument, it seems fitting to suggest that since political violence is experienced differently by individuals in a society, attempting to use a single construct in the discourse of political violence around gender does not portray the reality inherent in political violence. Also, it can be argued that the gendered body, which is socially constructed, becomes a site where the discourse of political violence is framed, and the stereotypical categorisation and generalisation of perpetrators and victims can be questioned. Hence, the ontology, epistemology, and methodology of political violence can be transformed into a context where women's active participation in political violence and the entrenchment of political violence in politics have challenged the stereotypically gendered ideologies.

Drawing from the above, some feminist scholars have examined the diverse roles women play in political violence away from the dominant discourse and images of women as victims of political violence (Clark and Moser, 2001; Turshen and Twagiramariya, 1998; Parashar, 2014;). The deconstruction of political violence points out that political violence is beginning to undo and challenge the binary structure of popular gender ideologies such as soldiers-mothers, protectors-protected, aggressive-passive, battle-front-home-front, batterers-victims, have put in place (Peterson and Runyan, 2010, p.152).

Cooke and Woollacott (1993) examined women's roles in war as an analytical tool to explore the implications of the different forms of political violence perpetrated against men as opposed to against women and how the inclusion of women as participants in war in contemporary times

has blurred the divisions between gender roles. Therefore, they argued that the certainties created by gendered binary thinking are subject to question as war becomes negotiable seeing women play active roles. Vogel et al. (2014) examined the generalised diverse roles women play in four thematic models: active, representing fighting and leadership activities; caring, representing traditional feminine tasks; support, representing logistically based tasks; and ideology, representing activities that propagate the ideology of the group. Thus, the woman figure in political violence is not limited to a single experience but comprises multiple experiences. They also argued that women's involvement in these diverse roles, especially those commonly conceived gendered roles of support and care, are crucial to the group's success. Apart from being active in armed combat and fighting on the front line in the militaries and guerrillas, women also play the role of suicide bombers and sexual torturers (Ibanez, 2001, p. 120; Sjoberg and Gentry, 2007, pp. 58-73). Women are known to involve in masterminding activities such as protests that resulted in armed violence. Wipper (1985), in his analysis on three women riots and rebellions in Africa: the Harry Thuku Disturbances in Kenya, 1922; the women's war or Aba riots in Nigeria, 1929; the Anlu uprising in the British Cameroons, 1958-59; argued that in certain circumstances, female militancy has achieved political voice and have therefore challenged the stereotype of women as bound to home and hearth, submissive to male authority, politically passive and irrelevant. This stereotypical argument of women being politically inactive and irrelevant is challenged as during times of war, women are actively engaged in fighting on the field and involved in the production of arms (Achebe, 2010). They are further involved in spying, kidnapping, and enemy befriending in support of political violence. Oriola (2012) argued that women's role in the Niger Delta during the militant insurgents did not constitute violent protest. Yet, they engaged in befriending oil company workers to get information for the group, acting as couriers, spying, and kidnapping.

Apart from these studies on the diverse roles women play in political violence, some scholars have also explored a gendered analysis of political identity formation and political agency in the context of political violence using a poststructuralist perspective. Honor (1999) argued that in using this perspective, one could understand the everyday practices of gendering and warring, the formation of political identities, and the complex intersection of gender processes, and the different forms of political violence which are culturally constituted. She argued that where narratives of gender and war intersect, there is an increasingly complex negotiation in forming political identities. Constructs of masculinity and femininity are negotiated, reformulated, and political agency arises out of this complexity. This complex intersection of gender and war is often observed from the discourse of motherhood. Gentry (2009) argued that the motherhood frame is used to equate women's participation in political violence based on their expected gender roles as mothers (peaceful, ability to give life, and non-violent). This implies that because women get involved in political violence on the gendered assumption that they are mothers, their sense of agency to engage in political violence is either subordinated or denied.

On the other hand, Ahall (2012) reveals this complexity by arguing that this motherhood frame can be regarded as a myth where discourses of female agency in political violence are not limited to their denial. But, it is necessary to understand how female agency in political violence is also enabled. In describing motherhood as a myth, she argued that myths are culturally relative formations of meanings that cannot be regarded as universal but constitute multiple discourses where some are dominant and others are marginalised. In other words, the motherhood myth can be considered a set of discursive practices that are culturally specific

where the female bodies can give life and take life. This argument portrays how female political violence is complex with multiple subject positions in various discursive practices (Ahall, 2012).

Therefore, these literatures are relevant because, in the study of political violence where masculinity dominates, they can help recognise the complexities of women's roles and participation in political violence and global politics in general. It can also help avoid a stereotyped gendered assumption based on biological and identity distinctions of what women 'do' or 'experience' during political violence.

Perspectives on Women and Political Violence in the Niger Delta

Popular discourses on women and political violence in the Niger Delta focuses primarily on the stereotypical portrayal of women as mothers, home managers, calm, and lovers of peace (Ogege, 2009); as encouragers of their husbands and children to fight (Ukeje, 2004); and victims of political violence. These viewpoints are held because of the well-highlighted and publicised violence meted on women during this period of insurgency. Odoemene (2012) examined how the Nigerian armed forces raped women in Ogoni land as a tactic to suppress the agitations of the people over environmental degradation, political marginalisation, economic strangulation, and a possible extinction due to severe pollution caused by the exploration of crude oil. While these studies are necessary and are relevant in academic discourse, they do not portray a broad reflection of the happenings during political violence. They represent a unidimensional reality that portrays women as mainly victims and the inactive ones in political violence and politics. On the other hand, Ekine (2008) took a different dimension in her analysis by examining a variety of women's responses to political violence from the Nigerian Government and the activities of multinational oil companies. She pointed out that these responses took the form of silence, protest in the form of singing solidarity songs, and going naked. She contends that in a cultural context, the use of nakedness by married and older women is regarded as a way of shaming men, especially by those men who believe that seeing women's naked bodies in public will make them go mad or suffer significant harm. While Ekine (2008) also pointed out the violence women face, it also brings to the understanding that the entrenchment of political violence in the Niger Delta through the acts of the Nigerian armed forces, the structural violence brought about by the activities of these oil companies, and the actions of militia groups, has made women highly politicised and actively engaged with elders and youths in the struggle against political autonomy over their lands. Put differently, women in the Niger Delta are often empowered by the events and experiences of political violence by becoming politically active and taking on new roles, contrary to the argument that portrays women as politically inactive. Therefore, political violence in this context plays a transformative role for women in the Niger Delta.

Following this, Oriola (2012) investigated the oil insurgency in the Niger Delta and identified several roles women played during the insurgency. From his argument, it is evident that women actively participated in the insurgency as combatants and non-combatants. Contrary to arguments on sexual violence meted out on women during political violence, Oriola found out that the women in the Niger Delta are different as women have some personal power associated with their sexuality concerning menstruation and post-menopause. This is because spiritual fortification is done by post-menopausal or older women who perform rituals on the men for protection in which any form of sexual interaction with women would destroy the protective

cover given by the gods against their enemies or opponents. It will be suitable to suggest that his findings portray the extent to which men acted in solidarity with women.

Hence, this study examines women's different experiences and militant activities during the Niger Delta oil crisis. The study points out the multiple, diverse, and complex reality of women in the Niger Delta rather than a single construct of women often portrayed by traditional gender ideology.

Analysis and Findings

The study adopted a gendered coding strategy to analyse data collected from online media articles and literature related to the oil insurgency in the Niger Delta. The findings are thematically structured into three sections. The first section discusses how militancy has challenged gender norms with quotes derived from the data. The second section discusses militancy as reproducing gender norms. The third section reveals how militant activities in the region have challenged and reproduced gender ideologies and have simultaneously reproduced and challenged traditional gender ideology in the Niger Delta.

Militancy and the Challenge to gender norms

Traditional gender norms or ideologies have underestimated or underrated the place of women in society. These ideologies portray women as docile and passive political citizens, mainly preoccupied with domestic issues such as nurturing, caring for the family, and depending on the man; peace-lovers, and victims of political violence. Findings from this study agree with Oriola (2012) and Ukeje (2004) that political violence resulting from oil production in the Niger Delta has challenged these stereotypical gender ideologies and women's identity through their mobilisation and active participation in protest and insurgencies. Women tend to possess bravery, boldness, courage, and control, which are regarded as 'masculine values' and taking the frontline in political violence:

Now, in 2002, women in the Niger Delta have shunted their male youths aside, marched onto the frontlines, and become the hostage-takers. For 10 days, Itsekiri women from Ugborodo in Warri area of Delta State took over ChevronTexaco's multibillion-dollar tank farm and terminal in Escravos... While it lasted, the blockade disrupted the production of an estimated 500,000 barrels of oil per day. Some 800 workers were trapped in the terminal after 400 of their colleagues were released by the protesting women (Osadolor, 2002).

I acted like a man; I do all things with the men. I go with them anywhere they go, I'm the only one that took Egbesu (a traditional deity) ... other women are just following and they don't want to take power called Egbesu... other women are just followers... (Oriola, 2016).

While these women are seen actively participate in political violence through protests and acts of insurgencies, it shows their sense of agency and ability to act when their male counterparts seem to be inactive. This finding in which one of the female insurgents stated that she 'acted like a man and did all things with the men' relates with Ahall's (2012) argument that a female body that by choice does not assume maternity challenges the traditional boundary of 'natural' femininity.

I was happy because I volunteered to fight for freedom for Ijaw land. I was so happy (Oriola 2016).

As the men of the Delta have beaten what is obviously a strategic retreat, the women have become the Amazons.... With the sources of their livelihood ruined, with the stench of poverty around them coupled with ostentation elsewhere in the country, only the unthinking would be surprised by the action of the Delta women (Osadolor, 2002).

Not only was their sense of agency revealed, it also points out that women have become politically active, defy their second place, and stand up to intimidation and domination, especially in a patriarchal society.

It is these harsh circumstances that have driven women to defy their second-class status and turned them into a formidable foe.... "Our culture is a patriarchal society. For women to come out like this and achieve what we have is out of the ordinary (Averill, 2002).

The findings from this study run contrary to Ogege's (2009) argument that women by their nature are home managers, calm and lovers of peace that adopt non-confrontational or violent free strategies when tackling issues of conflict. Women in the Niger Delta are confrontational to matters that concern them in the Niger Delta by holding oil company workers hostage and even causing a halt in oil production because of their protests. This act contradicts the statement in Ogege's argument 'women by their nature' but reveals more how women can take up multiple positions.

Findings also show that while women are fearless and protectors, political violence in the form of protest has created a situation where gender is negotiated, and men act in solidarity with women.

It is significant to note that men sometimes liked to bring women into marches because soldiers and police are less likely to use force if women are involved.....so women may march in front of men to act as buffer (Niger Delta Politics, 2016).

While the above narratives point to the fact that gender identity and traditional women's role in the Niger Delta have been challenged or even negotiated, there are also gender ideologies in political violence. The following section examines how political violence in the Niger Delta has reproduced these gender ideologies.

The Reproduction of Gender Norms

Gender ideologies are reproduced as women are often observed carrying out roles of caregivers such as washing and cooking for the male insurgents and depending on them, and as tools used by their husbands to get what they want through protest and insurgencies:

Women are usually used as tools to be carrying placards during protests on the streets.... (The Tide News Online, 2013).

She became his cook and did "different jobs" for the fighting unit. At first, the work was exciting. But she soon felt dependent upon the commander who forced her to live (Bohn and Oduah, 2014).

In the Delta context, for example, the role of chiefs' wives in resistance is very different from that of non-elite female farmers. Elite wives must navigate a different social

terrain, in which their husbands may be using them to influence the actions of women in the community or, conversely, in which they may be able to exercise an unusual amount of autonomy (Niger Delta Politics, 2015).

While this is so, women are also dependent on the men or their husbands. Protests have clearly emphasized women's roles as mothers who care and have concern for their husbands and sons. The finding shows that women participate in political violence because they are mothers. As mothers who give life, it is their maternal responsibility to care for their husbands and sons.

Women as mothers, should be propelled by the love of the people of this country and their enduring strong covenant with God and offer themselves to serve. The exhibition of motherly love by women in politics will certainly change the face of politics in this country..... (The Tide News, 2010).

The elite wives in the Niger Delta, who their husbands use to influence other women, portray how women bidding from their husbands act domestically to support or encourage a politically violent cause (Gentry, 2009).

In the Niger Delta protests, women's main grievances were that companies had not offered enough employment to the women's sons. During my observations of protests, women also regularly chanted that they couldn't afford to provide "chop," i.e., food, to their children and that their babies were sick because of environmental damage (Niger Delta Politics, 2015).

These protesting women had communal and sometimes nonspecific demands. First and foremost, they want jobs for their husbands and sons (Niger Delta Politics, 2016).

While the motherhood frame has been evident, findings have also revealed women as victims and those who endure the most of political violence, thus portraying the feminine norm of tolerance.

Rapes, beatings, prostitution, and murder by soldiers are all common, attacks on men also have an indirect effect on women. "When a man is harmed, whether he is a father or husband or son, that impacts very strongly," says Ekine. "For example, when women are widowed, quite often they are disinherited or ostracised (Branigan and Vidal, 2002).

From the above, political violence in the Niger Delta has also reproduced gender ideologies seeing women play the roles of mothers, caregivers, and victims or as those who receive the most in times of violence. These findings agree with arguments made by Odoemene (2012), Turshen (2001), Carpenter (2005), Lindsey (2001) that women are more prone to rape and are physically assaulted during political violence. However, political violence has also revealed that there is a simultaneous reproduction and challenge of gender ideologies.

Simultaneous Reproduction and Challenge to Gender Norms

This section of the findings points out that female political violence in the Niger Delta is complex and multifaceted. This is because political violence in the Niger Delta has resulted in a simultaneous challenge and reproduction of gender ideologies. For instance, using the motherhood frame, women in the Niger Delta have used their gendered role as mothers to incite or propel protests and other acts of violence. They used this motherhood frame as a channel or

justification for their protests and a shield to protect themselves and the men as they believe that it is less likely that violence would be used against them:

It is significant to note that men sometimes liked to bring women into marches because soldiers and police are less likely to use force if women are involved. There is a strong cultural taboo against using public violence against women, especially older ones, so women may march in front of men to act as buffer (Strutton, 2016).

Army and police will start beating and shooting people. It is only the women that they will not do that to, but men they will beat and some will die (Niger Delta Politics, 2015).

Thus, there is the reproduction of gender ideology as women portray the feminine norms of motherhood and carers. This is in coexistence with the challenge to gender norms as women are seen using the motherhood frame to participate actively in the political happenings through their resistance, which is against the discourse that women are passive, silent, and politically inactive. Just as Ahall's (2012) argument pointed out that motherhood is a discourse that reveals how women's agency in political violence is denied and enabled, it is right to suggest that it has also simultaneously challenged and reproduced gender ideologies.

In addition, during the oil insurgency, it is evident that femininity was not eradicated, but women could be masculinised. This is because of the presence of female insurgents in the resistance with the same reasons as their male counterparts and every activity carried out:

I acted like a man; I do all things with the men. I go with them anywhere they go, I'm the only one that took Egbesu... other women are just following and they don't want to take power called Egbesu... other women are just followers... (Oriola, 2016).

In summary, it is evident from the findings that political violence in the Niger Delta has positioned women in complex, multiple, and diverse subject positions within and across different context:

Women have all what it takes to challenge men to a political fight. Men are our sons, fathers, and husbands, we live together, eat together and women possess natural endowments that can twist and rather men as it pleases our convenience.... "What a man can do, a woman can do it even better" (The Tide News, 2010).

So essentially, I went to Nigeria looking for a story of increased political and rights activity among the women, but what I found was far more complex (Strutton, 2016).

The findings from this study run contrary to a polarized or binarized categorization of gender discourse where women are mainly considered from a single perspective. While this is so, this study is vital to policymakers and scholarship in the Niger Delta on issues of gender and security. To the policymakers, policies, programs, and legislation on gender and security cannot be separated from their own norms and values shaped by a patriarchal environment. These values and norms are often shaped by society, and the environment influences policies, programs, and interventions taken up by them. Consideration of the complexities of gender and security can help policymakers to understand the diverse ways women respond to policies and the roles they play in political violence. Furthermore, this consideration will help policy makers to be sensitive to issues of security around gender and put together pieces of puzzles on security affects everyone. It can also help policymakers put in place all-inclusive policies, programs, and interventions that are void of gender discrimination. This is because policies on security

and political violence are usually a response to the subjects and objects' performative socio-political order and identities.

To academics, on the other hand, the findings from the study indicates that there is no fixed body of knowledge on women in political violence as findings are subject to change. Having generalised and stereotyped ideas or assumptions distorts the reality of women's responses and experiences. While the findings from this study may go contrary to scholarship in the Niger Delta that is concerned with women's domination, this study can help scholars think beyond what is conventional as there is no one accurate way of understanding reality.

Conclusion

This study has argued that, unlike the binarized gendered thinking that places women in a single construct, the case of the Niger Delta is different as findings from the study show that militant activities during political violence have produced a complex, multiple, and simultaneous discourse where gender ideologies are negotiated, challenged and reproduced. Women in the Niger Delta are seen to be fearless, courageous, bold, and even protectors of their male counterparts during protests and insurgencies while portraying the gender ideology of nurturers, carers, and dependents. This is evident from the use of motherhood to propel or incite protests or been masculinised by acting like men to participate in insurgencies actively. These findings support the argument made by Honor (1999) that where narratives of gender and war intersect – a form of political violence – constructs of masculinity, femininity, and heterosexuality are being negotiated and reformulated.

While this study may have an implication on feminist scholarship concerned with women's domination, the findings have great potential to increase the academic work on women and policies on political violence and challenge the traditional constructions of gendered ideologies. The study points out that there is more to the discursive constitution of women in political violence, seeing women take up different and multiple subject positions that are constituted through various practices and experiences. The implication is that it can create diversity in women's teaching and research, thereby reshaping conventional ideas of women in the Niger Delta. For policy, the study can enable policymakers and people to understand that political violence known to establish social relationships is not entirely a male construct but one where women are active too and are subject to change. Therefore, there is a need for policymakers to consider when formulating policies, the complex nature of women in political violence rather than a single construct of women as political violence involves and affects the functioning of society.

References

- Achebe, C. (2010). 'Igbo Women in the Nigerian-Biafran War 1967-1970: An Interplay of Control', *Journal of Black Studies*, 40(5), pp. 785-811. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/40648606,
- Adebanjoko, A. A (2017). 'A Collective Non-violent Approach; Towards Ending Conflict and Insecurity in the Niger Delta Region, Report from *African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes*
- Ahall, L. (2012). 'Motherhood, Myth and Gendered Agency in Political Violence', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 14(1), pp. 103-120. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2011.619781>. 07/06/2017.

- Baxter, J. (2003). 'Positioning Gender in Discourse: A Feminist Methodology. Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Annual Conference, Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, 11-13 Sept. 2003. Retrieved from www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/00003188.htm. 01/08/2017.
- Baxter, J. (2016). 'Positioning Language and Identity, *The Routledge Handbook for Language and Identity*. Retrieved from <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.432/9781315669816.ch2>.
- Booth, K. (1991). 'Security and Emancipation'. *Review of International Studies*, 17(4), pp. 313- 326. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/20097269.
- Butler, J. (1988). Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory, *Theatre Journal*, 40(4), pp.519-531. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3207893>.
- Buzan, B. (1983). *People, States, and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*. Brighton: Wheatsheaf.
- Carpenter, C. (2005). 'Women, Children and other Vulnerable Groups': Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue, *International Studies Quarterly*, 49, pp. 295-334, Retrieved from onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.0020-8833.2005.00346
- Clark, F., Moser, C. (2001). 'Introduction' in Moser and Clark, *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, London: Zed Books Ltd, p.8.
- Cohn, C., Ruddick, S. (2004). 'A Feminist Ethical Perspective on Weapons of Mass Destruction' in Hashmi, S.H. and Lee, S.P, *Weapons of Mass Destruction: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Collier, P., Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and Grievance in Civil War, *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56, 563-595, doi:10.1093/oep/gpf064.
- Cooke, M., Woollacott, A. (1993), 'Introduction', *Gendering War Talk*, Princeton: Princeton University Press,
- Della Porta, D. (1995). *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany*, New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 2.
- Ehrenreich, B. (2004), Feminism's Assumptions Upended; A uterus is not a substitute for a conscience. Giving women positions of power won't change society by itself, Retrieved from articles.com/2004/may/16/opinion/op-ehrenreich 16/2, *Los Angeles Times*.
- Eisenstein, Z. (2004), 'Sexual Humiliation, Gender Confusion and the Horrors at Abu Ghraib, Znet Articles, Retrieved from <https://zcomm.org/znetarticle/sexual-humiliation-gender-confusion-and-the-horrors-at-abu-ghraib-by-zillah-eisenstein/>.
- Ekine, S. (2008). 'Women's Responses to State Violence in the Niger Delta', in Militarism, Conflict and Women's Activism, *Feminist Africa*, 10, Retrieved from agi.ac.za/sites/agi.ac.za/files/feminist_africa_10.pdf.
- Enloe. C. (1989). *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases; Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, London: Pandora Press, p. 7.

- Enloe, C. (2005), 'Masculinity as Foreign Policy Issue, *Institute for Policy Studies*, Retrieved from ips-dc.org/masculinity_as_foreign_policy_issue.
- Fawcett, B. (2008), 'Poststructuralism' in Given L.M (ed.), *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Method*, vol. 1 and 2. Retrieved from www.researchgate.net/file.PostFileLoader.html?id=542f0ef3d685cc046a8b45a2&assetKey=AS%3A272466591584278%401441972506141.
- Gallie, W. (1956). *Essentially Contested Concepts, Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, New Series, vol 56 (1955-1956), pp.167-198.* Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/4544562.
- Gentry, E. C. (2009). Twisted Maternalism, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 11(2), pp. 235-252. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616740902789609>.
- Grosz, E. (1999). 'The Time of Violence, Deconstruction and Value', *College Literature*, 26(1), pp. 8-18, Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/25112425.
- Gurr, T.R. (1970). *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Honor, F. (1999). 'Women, War, and Peace: Engendering Conflict in Poststructuralist Perspective, in Munck and de Silva (eds.) *Post Modern Insurgency. Political Identity, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution.* Retrieved from www.eprints.maynoothuniversity.ie/474/1/WWP.pdf.
- Human Rights Watch (2008). 'Politics as War; The Human Rights Impacts and Causes of Post-Election Violence in Rivers State, Nigeria, vol. 20, no. 3 (A). Retrieved from www.hrw.org/reports/2008/nigeria0308/4.htm.
- Ibanez, A.C. (2001). 'El Salvador: War and Untold Stories, in Clark, F., and Moser, C, *Victims, Perpetrators or Actor? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, London: Zed Books Ltd, p. 120.
- Ikelegbe, A. (2006). Beyond the Threshold of Civil Struggle: Youth Militancy and the Militia-ization of the Resource Conflicts in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria, *African Study Monographs*, 27(3), pp 87-122, <https://dx.doi.org/10.14989/68251>.
- Innes, A.J (2016). In search of Security: Migrant Agency, Narratives, and Performativity, *Geopolitics*, 21(2), pp. 263-283. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2015.1107044>.
- Inokoba, P. K., & Imbua, D. L. (2010). Vexation and Militancy in the Niger Delta: The Way Forward. *Journal of Human Ecology*, 29(2), 101–120. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09709274.2010.11906253>
- Kimmel, M. (2010). *The gender society*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Kroska, A. (2007). Gender Ideology and Gender Role Ideology. In *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405165518.wbeosg019>
- Lindsey, C. (2001), Women Facing War, *ICRC study on the impact of armed conflict on women*, www.icrc.org, pp. 23-62.
- Mckee, A. (2003), *Textual Analysis: A Beginners Guide*, London: Sage, p. 1.

- Melanie Richter-Montpetit (2007), 'Empire, Desire and Violence: A Queer Transnational Feminist Reading of the Prisoner 'Abuse' in Abu Ghraib and the Question of 'Gender Equality', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 9:1, pp. 38-56, doi: 10.1080/14616740601066366.
- Morgenthau, H., Thompson, K. (1984), *Politics Among Nations*, New York: McGraw-Hills.
- Munck, R. (2008), 'Introduction: Deconstructing Violence: Power, Force, and Social Transformation', *Latin American Perspectives*, 35(5), pp. 3-19, Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/27648116.
- Obi, C. I. (2009), 'Nigeria's Niger Delta: Understanding the Complex Drivers of Violent Oil-related Conflict', *Africa Development*, vol. XXXIV, no. 2, pp. 103-128. Retrieved from www.ajol.info/index.php/ad/article/download/57373/45753.
- Odoemene, A. (2012), 'The Nigerian Armed Forces and Sexual Violence in Ogoni land of the Niger Delta Nigeria, 1990-1999', *Armed Forces and Society*, 38(2), pp. 225-251, doi:10.1177/0095327X11418319.
- Ogege, S. (2009), 'Conflict Resolution and Peace Building: The Gender Question in the Niger Delta Crisis in Nigeria', *African Research Review*, 3(5), Retrieved from www.ajol.info/index.php/afrev/article/download/51168/39845.
- Oriola, T. (2012), 'The Delta Creeks, Women's Engagement and Nigeria's Oil Insurgency', *British Journal of Criminology*, 52, pp. 534-555, doi: 10.1093/bjc/azs009.
- Oriola, T. (2016), 'I acted like a man': exploring female ex-insurgents' narratives on Nigeria's oil insurgency, *Review of African Political Economy*, 43:149, 451-469.
- Parashar, S. (2014). *Engendered Terror: Feminist Approaches to Political Violence*, *The Sage Handbook of Feminist Theory*, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781473909502.n35>.
- Peterson, S., Runyan, A. S.(2010). *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium*, 3rd ed., Boulder: Westview Press.
- Petrus Kanisius Farneubun, P. (2015). *Feminist Critiques Against Traditional Approaches to Security*, *Global and Strategis*, pp. 19-36, Retrieved from www.rug.nl/research/portal.
- Ponthieux, S., & Meurs, D. (2015). Gender inequality. In *Handbook of Income Distribution* (Vol. 2, pp. 981–1146). Elsevier B.V. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-444-59428-0.00013-8>
- Potter, J. (2008), 'Discourse Analysis in Given L.M (ed.), *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Method*, vol. 1 and 2. Retrieved from www.researchgate.net/file.PostFileLoader.html?id=542f0ef3d685cc046a8b45a2&assetKey=AS%3A272466591584278%401441972506141.
- Shepherd, L. J. (2007). 'Victims. Perpetrators and Actors' Revisited: Exploring the Potential for a Feminist Reconstruction of (International) Security and (Gender) Violence. *BJPIR*, Volume 9(2), pp. 239-256, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-856x.2007.0028.
- Shepherd, L.J. (2012). 'Introduction' in Ahall, L., and Shepherd, J, *Rethinking Political Violence: Gender, Agency and Political Violence*, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-15.

- Sjoberg, L., (2007). Agency, Militarised Femininity and Enemy Others: Observations from the War in Iraq. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 9(1), pp. 82-101, doi: 10.1080/14616740601066408.
- Sjoberg, L., Gentry, C. (2007). *Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Women's Violence in Global Politics*, London: Zed Books Ltd, pp. 58-73.
- Smith, S. (1995). 'Introduction' in Booth and Smith, *International Relations Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity Press,
- Tickner, A. (1992). *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspective on Achieving Global Security*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Tickner, A. (2001). *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Turshen, M. (2001). The Political Economy of Rape: An Analysis of Systematic Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women during Armed Conflict in Africa in Moser and Clark, *Victims, Perpetrators, or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, London: Zed Books Ltd, pp. 55-68.
- Turshen, M., Twagiramariya, C. (1998). *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflict in Africa*, London: Zed Books.
- Ukeje, C. (2004). 'From Aba to Ugborodo: Gender Identity and Alternative Discourse of Social Protest among Women in the Oil Delta of Nigeria', *Oxford Development Studies*, 32(4), pp.605-61, doi: 10.1080/1360081042000293362.
- Vogel, L., Porter, L., Keibell, M. (2014). 'The Roles of Women in Contemporary Political and Revolutionary Conflict: A Thematic Model', *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 37(1), pp. 91- 114, doi: 10.1080/1057610X.2014.853606.
- Weedon, C. (1997), *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 6-19.
- Whitworth, S. (2008). 'Feminist Perspectives' in Williams, *Security Studies: An Introduction*, New York: Routledge.
- Wibben, A. (2011). *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach*, New York: Routledge
- Williams, P. (2008). *Security Studies: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Wipper, A. (1985). 'Riot and Rebellion Among African Women: Three Examples of Women's Political Clout', *Working Paper 108*, Retrieved from www.worldcat.org/title/riot-and-rebellion-among-african-women-three-examples-of-womens-political-clout/oclc/13956519.
- Zarkov, D. (2001). 'The Body of the other Man: Sexual Violence and the Construction of Masculinity, Sexuality and Ethnicity in the Croatian Media' in Clark and Moser, *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, London: Zed Books Ltd, pp. 69-81.

Newspaper Articles

- Averil, L., 2002, 'Nigerian Women Beat Big Oil', Freedom Socialist, <https://www.socialism.com/drupal-6.8/articles/nigerian-women-beat-big-oil-success-comes-amid-rising-persecution-religious-fundamentalists>.
- BBC News, 16/07/2002, 'Deal reached' in Nigeria oil protest, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/2129281.stm>.
- Bohn, L. and Oduah, C., 11/12/2014, In the Niger Delta, fashion helps women leave the fighting behind, PRI, <https://www.pri.org/stories/2014-12-11/niger-delta-fashion-helps-women-leave-fighting-behind>.
- Branigan, T. and Vidal, J., 22/07/2002, Hands up or we strip, The Guardian, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/jul/22/gender.uk1>
- Ekine, S., 26/12/2011, Niger Delta: a quiet resistance, Red Pepper Magazine, www.redpepper.org.uk/niger-delta-a-quiet-resistance/
- Niger Delta Politics, 2/09/2016, The Impact of Oil- Niger Delta, Nigeria, <https://nigerdeltapolitics.wordpress.com/2016/09/02/1778/>
- Niger Delta Politics, 11/06/2015, Gender Essentialism (Part III), <https://nigerdeltapolitics.wordpress.com/2015/06/11/gender-essentialism-part-iii/>
- Niger Delta Politics, 09/06/2015, Gender Essentialism (Part II), <https://nigerdeltapolitics.wordpress.com/2015/06/09/gender-essentialism-part-ii/>
- Osadolor, K., 24/07/2002, The Rise of the Women of the Niger Delta, World Press Review http://worldpress.org/print_article.cfm?article_id=833&dont=yes.
- The Tide News, 21/03/2010, Women, Party Politics and Elective Positions (3), <http://www.thetidenewsonline.com/2010/03/21/women-party-politics-and-elective-positions3/>
- The Tide News, 05/08/2013, 'Women's Political Role, Complimentary, <http://www.thetidenewsonline.com/2013/08/05/womens-political-role-complimentary/>
- Vanguard News, 10/09/2016, political Violence, hindrance to women in politics-Enugu State deputy governor, <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/09/political-violence-hindrance-women-politics-enugu-state-deputy-governor/>.