

Undressing to Confront the Bullet: Nigeria's Niger-Delta Women Mobilizing against Malpractices and Violence in the 2019 Rivers State Gubernatorial Elections

Olasupo Thompson

*History and International Studies Unit
Federal University of Agriculture, Abeokuta
olakunleolasupo@yahoo.com*

Abstract

Election crises have derailed democratic propensities in developing countries, including Nigeria. One of the consequences of electoral crises is its attendant effect on the vulnerable population, particularly children and women who are usually the most affected. This article examines how some women deployed non-violent means of undressing as a weapon of social resistance against violence and malpractices during the 2019 gubernatorial elections in Rivers State - an oil rich area in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. The study adopts the qualitative methodology and relies heavily on secondary data which includes extant and relevant literature, newspaper, and verified video clips. The article is anchored around the frustration-aggression and the J Curve theories. Findings show that while the women resistance movement through the use of unconventional method of nudity or display of nakedness may pose some serious ideological concerns in certain quarters and violent responses from state and non-state actors, its success in thwarting electoral malpractices at the Okirika and Ogu/Bolo areas during the 2019 gubernatorial elections in Rivers State is worth emulation. The study therefore concludes that, since the deployment of nudity as a form of non-violent means of protest has been effective in this particular instance in Rivers State, it could be further complemented with sustainable efforts from civil society organisations, international community, and other stakeholders to ensure that the ruling elite embrace the tenets of good governance for the benefit of all and sundry in the country.

Keywords: *nakedness/nudity, protests, women movement, politics, repressive government*

Introduction

Election constitutes an important element in a liberal democracy which ensures effective governance, and determinants of political legitimacy. Hence, elections are essential to the democratic political system. That is, elections are a viable means of ensuring the orderly process of leadership succession and change and an instrument of political authority and legitimation (Adejumobi, 2000). However, most elections in developing nations raise suspicion and are generally marred in vagaries of irregularities leading to deaths, loss of livelihoods, loss of property, displacements and internal conflicts (Chaturvedi, 2005; HRW, 2008; Omotola, 2010; IPI, 2011; Bjarnesen & Kovacs, 2018; HRW, 2019). Nigeria elections are not immuned to such irregularities and violence (Nwolise, 2007; Campbell, 2010; HRW, 2019). While such violence or irregularities are rampant and relative across the country, the Niger-Delta area has consistently become a flash point (The Fund for Peace, 2015a; 2015b). The area is of strategic importance to Nigeria and the global energy market because of its high deposits of oil and gas. The centrality of oil in Nigeria's economy underscores the importance of the Niger Delta region as the country's economic mainstay (Binuomoyo & Ogunsola, 2017) as well as its pervasive conflict (Obi, 2009; Newsom, 2011).

During elections, successive governments using personal and state resources including law enforcement agencies usually make serious efforts to control the Niger Delta region for their parties. As Campbell (2019) puts it,

... as has been the case in the past, election irregularities in the Niger Delta appear to have been particularly bad in the national and gubernatorial elections of 2019.

From a study of three states (Rivers, Bayelsa, and Delta) during the 2015 elections, Rivers State recorded the highest forms of violence (The Fund for Peace, 2015a). However, one group which attempted to stem the tide of the perennial violence in the region consisted of women. While there has been resistance from different groups such as youth and agitators, women group seems to be partaking in this

social movement and the women in the Niger Delta are a good example. As Campbell further puts it,

Unlike elsewhere in Nigeria, women in the Delta hold a special status, especially if they are wives and mothers. Hence, demonstrating women are mostly untouchable, rendering the security services impotent

(Campbell 2019)

Succinctly, by interrogating the concept of 'Undressing to Confront the Bullet', the paper draws attention to the critical boundary between the public display of women's body in confronting state and non-state actors' sponsored violence against election violence such as that of Rivers State gubernatorial elections of 2019. The study is important because, apart from contributing to the literature, it will also help on how women could be mobilised against electoral malpractices, enhance democratic culture in the country, as well as engender development in the nation as a whole.

Theoretical Framework

There are many theories to explain protest movements. This article deploys the frustration and aggression theory and J Curve theories. Frustration-aggression theory or hypothesis is one of the foremost theories on aggression. The original formulation of the frustration-aggression hypothesis by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, and Sears (1939:1) states that,

the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression.

It suggested that the strongest aggressive reactions are those directed towards the perceived sources of the frustration. This idea influenced many western thinking on aggression more profoundly than any other single publication. The aggressive response to a frustration can also be directed towards individuals that are not directly responsible for the frustration (Geen, 1968). Such aggressive behaviour is generally described as displaced (Breuer and Elson, 2017), but aggression towards the source of the frustration is one type of retaliatory behaviour (Zillmann and Cantor, 1976). The theory was further

developed by Neal E. Miller in 1941 and refined by Leonard Berkowitz in 1989. Breuer & Elson (2017:9) note that the theory was not liquated but improved upon:

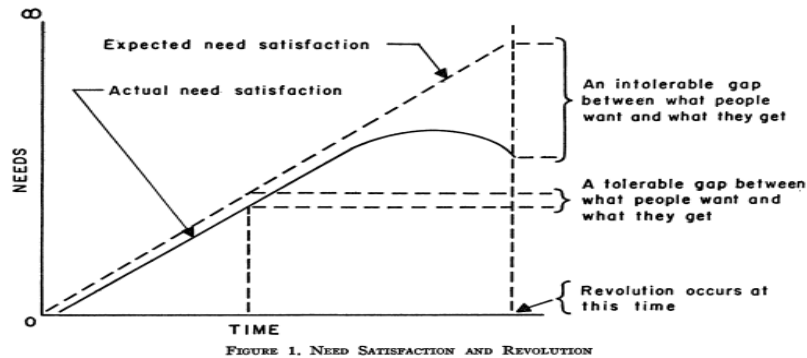
When the strict behaviorist view was challenged in what has come to be known as the cognitive revolution - which led to a (re)discovery of cognitive antecedents of aggression and accompanying mental processes, such as aggressive intent, susceptibility to aggressive thinking, inclinations toward violence, hostile perception and attribution, and expectations regarding the outcome of aggressive behavior—the frustration–aggression hypotheses, again, was not discarded as out of date, but adapted and assimilated into the new psychological framework.

Berkowitz (1978) concluded that it had seen a great number of criticisms, qualifications, and suggestions for modification. Berkowitz (1988) evinced that it is not frustration but negative effects that cause aggressive response, and frustrations are just part of the many potential sources of the negative effects. The major point to note in this theory is that aggression results from frustrations and in a circumstance where the actual goals of an individual or group is denied directly or indirectly by the outcomes of the way the society is organised, the feeling of disillusionment arises which may then lead such individuals or groups to express their displeasure through violence that will be targeted at those they consider to be the cause of the frustration.

The J Curve theory resulted from an attempt by James C. Davies to reconcile what he perceived as two antithetical explanations of the phenomenon of revolution. It is an offshoot of the relative deprivation theory. According to Davies, two of the foremost students of the revolution, Karl Marx and Alexis de Tocqueville, had arrived at completely opposite conclusions about the etiology of revolution. For Davies, Marx's Communist Manifesto perceived revolutions as most likely to occur when things get worse, when the misery of the proletariat increased relatively to the economic standard of living of the bourgeoisie and in contrast, Tocqueville's argument was that revolutions occurred when a previously

oppressive regime released the yoke and created expectations it could not fulfil (Miller, Bolce & Halligan, 1977).

Figure 1: Need Satisfaction and revolution



Source: Davies (1962: 6).

Davies' attempt was to reconcile the two school of thoughts since he believed that the two students only depicted small parts of a bigger picture. Therefore, Davies argues that revolutions occur when a period of progress is followed by a period of sharp reversal and decline. That is, expectations represent extrapolation from earlier experience; when past successes have promoted elevated expectations but "actual need satisfaction" drops, the gap between them may become intolerable and result in revolutionary activity (Taylor, 1982:22). Therefore, Davies seems to suggest that only under the extreme circumstance of rising expectations and declining outcomes is the gap between them wide enough, and thus the dissatisfaction great enough to actually evoke political unrest (Taylor, 1982:25).

The theory is significant to this study because it has a great deal of appeal and reconciles two antagonizing thoughts of two foremost scholars on revolution. As Miller et al (1977) posits,

At a conceptual level the theory has a great deal of appeal. It is the type of theory that is very attractive to social scientists. It reconciles apparent contradictions in the work of two leading theorists and creates a parsimonious explanatory structure. In the search for

conceptual simplicity, clarity and phenomenological regularity, it yields, at a minimum, heuristic success and beyond that has had ostensible empirical corroboration.

This theory is important to this study because it explains why the women had to go to the extent they went in risking their lives over a process that they expected to have improved from the previous election of 2015 which was considered to be a bit fair.

Nakedness, Protests, and Women's Resistance Movement in Africa

Nudity or nakedness and/or the display of genitals have been symbolic forms of individual or collective protests. Nakedness can be defined as one's intrinsic state of undress while nudity is a state of indecency associated with the "body taboo" (Saps 2018:6). For the sake of this paper, the two concepts of nakedness and nudity which are regarded as private or sensitive parts of human being will be used interchangeably. Some sensitive parts were traditionally made public only for cultural rites or social reproach. Across the globe, resistance has taken different non-violent dimensions that citizens employ in politically repressive contexts. These approaches include sit-in, humour, arts, peace walks, rudeness, nudity (USIP 2009; Bartkowski 2013; Irene 2016) which does not exclude showing of nakedness. Globally, nakedness protest is gaining momentum as the last resort for the marginalized to express their grievances against repressive authorities and states.

Sutton (2007) asserts that though nakedness can be a pleasurable or humiliating experience, the significance of a naked body is particularly difficult to disentangle in an international, multicultural arena, especially where it can lead to social outrage and violent punishment. Lincoln (2013) helps to differentiate between nudity for political or social change and nudity or naturism as a lifestyle. She further argued that whatever form it takes, it is a right to freedom of expression, which has some limits of when to be considered reasonable and demonstrably justified (Lincoln, 2013:48). O'Keefe (2006) exposed how women in North of Ireland used both menstruation and menstrual blood as a weapon of war and as a weapon of resistance for female political prisoners. Nudity is also

another form of subversive act. However, a more subversive strategy is the female's genitalia - the vagina. In turn, a day, known as the V-Day has been set aside to enact a drama popularly known as the Vagina Monologue - a series of first person narratives in which women speak about their nudity in relation to their sexual experience. This performance, which though varies with its context, sheds more light on a particularly consumable form of feminism and activism. Cooper (2007) states that the Vagina Monologue is a worldwide phenomenon. The symbolic use of the genital organ continues to be used as a form of defiance and resistance. Some pundits believe that though the nudity protest offers an opportunity for large-scale solidarity, at a time when feminism appear to be in need of unity, it also poses some sort of threat as it leaves out some women because some women do not have female organs and some who have these organs are not necessarily women or feel comfortable in them (Bovy, 2017). In a recent protest in the United States, a woman who protested nude, was reported to have surprised the law enforcement agents who were supposed to arrest her (Schollenberger 2020).

In Africa, the sheer fear of genital cursing elicited fears (Diabate, 2020). Among the women in southern Nigeria, undressing and genital cursing is also used to threaten whosoever offends them, be it their erring husbands, stubborn children or relatives. There is a popular belief that curses are even more potent when they are made while the woman is placing her hands on her breasts or inserted fingers inside her female organ using the conditional utterance marker '*adabi* 'except if.' Another potent product of the woman's body is her urine or menstrual blood. These products are believed to be so strong that they could be used to destroy powerful fetish charms or '*juju*'. It has been used collectively by women against oppression in their society. The act of public nakedness is even more potent if the women are married, mothers, and/or aged with grey hairs (*ewu ori*).

The perception of the woman's body was given a western conceptualization such that African societies were misrepresented without having even presented their positions in the first place (Oyèwùmí, 1997). Hence, what constitutes nakedness or nudity was handed down to Africa by the European missionaries and their partnering colonialists who ascribed their coming to Africa as a means to civilise the people (Tamale, 2017). Following this, the

adornment of clothes and what constituted nudity were appropriated, even though most of the indigenous people rejected the new idea. For example, among the Egba people of southwest Nigeria, the missionaries and colonial administration made efforts to enculturate clothing, places, titles and baptismal names (Egba Council Records, 1931).

Nakedness has also been deployed by females irrespective of their status and class to confront repressive regimes in post-colonial states and against authoritarian regimes in Africa. Guyson (2016) reported how women, including academics in Uganda expressed their grievances through nudity in spite of government's resolve that it was inconsistent with societal norms, culture, and morals. Tamale (2017) observes that women have deployed their nakedness as a response to government authoritarian tendencies and a tool for social change in Uganda. Thompson (2017) states that though bare breasts have been sexualized in most countries around the world, including South Africa, feminist now know that these parts could be desexualized as a weapon against oppression, injustices, and patriarchy. Tapscott (2020), shedding more light on women baring their naked bodies and juxtaposing them against the heavily armed bodies of state security personnel, showed that among other things, the state could not control them in a basic and bodily sense; it exposed strong social and cultural norms where the nakedness could be used interpersonally to curse those who had challenged the moral order of society. Abonga, Kerali, Porter & Tapscott (2020) observed how citizens, particularly women, in spite of the limited capacity to instigate a broad political action, found the use of their nakedness, which evokes three forms of powers namely bio, symbolic and cosmological as a way to engage the present democratic but militarised dispensation in Uganda. They however warned that in spite of this development, this form has not been able to subdue the physical violence in a militarised state. Rather, it creates a space for political voice in an otherwise extremely repressive context (2020:210).

In Nigeria, the use of these so called extreme forms of protests and rebellion by women had also existed since precolonial period. Oyeniyi (2015) noted that it had been used in precolonial Africa, citing examples of how some women of Oyo Ile (Oyo Homestead) protested naked against Bashorun Gaa's despotic rule in the 17th and 18th centuries. During the British colonial campaign,

women in eastern Nigeria also employed public nakedness as a tool to agitate against the excesses of the British colonial administration in 1929. One of the colonial lieutenants described the action thus:

as nearly naked, wearing only wreaths of grass round their heads, waist, and knees . . . reinforcements of women were arriving by river and land. . . [I began] telling the women not to make noise. They took no notice of me and told me that I was the son of a pig and not of a woman. . . [They] were calling the soldiers pigs . . . [and] they didn't care if the soldiers cut their throats (Nigerian Government, 1930: 7).

Chuku (2002) analysed how the Aba women employed their collective social power to navigate the rugged terrain of British colonialism. Although the women succeeded in getting the British colonial government to review their policies that reflected the cultural and political realities of the people (2002: 174), they also lost as many as 50 lives including a man. Generally, the major weapon and success of the women's protests hinged on the employment of their nakedness (Turner and Brownhill 2004). During one of the Abeokuta Women's Union protest in November 1947, the women chanted songs against the Alake Ladapo Ademola, which is translated thus:

Idowu [Alake], for a long time you have used your penis as a mark of authority that you are our husband. Today we shall reverse the order and use our vagina to play the role of husband on you...O you men, vagina's head will seek vengeance...white man, you will not get to your country safely, you and Alake will not die an honorable death ... (Johnson-Odim, 2009:56)

The above, while showing some explicitly sensual profanity, describes how the women used the private 'parts' of male and female as symbols for political negotiation. Remarkably, this was the way the women were able to mobilise themselves in spite of their differences in status and religiousness from many remote places for a common cause. For instance, Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti while

responding to the British District Officer, threatened to cut off his genitals and send it to his mother abroad (2009:56). Ukeje (2004), using two historical accounts of the Aba Women's Riot and the Egba Women's uprising against the colonial state in examining the Niger Delta women's protests against a major US multinational oil company, Chevron Texaco in July and August 2002. He stresses that much can be learnt from the manner with which Itsekiri and Ijaw women successfully prosecuted their non-violent protests and occupations in spite of its shortcomings. The mobilisation of Egba women also reiterates the power of women protests (Cheryl-Odin 2009), particularly when using sexualities.

Fallon & Moreau (2016), while comparing women protests in Nigeria and Kenya, argued that factors responsible for the repertoire transition in the two countries hinge on social networks, colonial state formation as well as tactics of shaming, which sheds light on why some tactics endure across repertoires transitions. They further held that body shaming is used by women and grandmothers because they are perceived as having the ability to give life and also to revoke it (2016:327). Alozie (2020) notes that while women stripping naked against social and political injustice predates the Yoruba and Igbo precolonial state, the symbolic resonance of protesting naked has ensured the endurance of the *undress* tactic among Nigerian women today. It must however be noted that while there are many instances of female naked protesters in Nigeria, not all have succeeded. For instance, some Ogoni women who protested nude against the demolition of the property of one of their children in May 2020 and some aged women protesting naked over incessant arrest of their sons in Ebonyi State in December 2019 succeeded in achieving their aims (Godwin, 2019; Akpa, 2019), some pro-Biafra women who protested soldiers in 2017 and those who protested against the Kaduna State Government over the killing in Southern Kaduna in July 2020 did not succeed (Onyeji, 2017; Tauna, 2020). Nevertheless, there is a dearth of literature on women protests at the Rivers State elections in 2019. In order to understand the events, it is trite to understand the prelude to the elections in Rivers State.

Party Politics, Elites, and the Prelude to the General Elections in Rivers State

Political parties and political elites have generated some inquest in Nigeria. More important is the role that these two factors play in political and electoral violence (Seiyefa, 2017; Iyekekpolo, 2020). In any political system, political roles must be defined, filled and vacated and elite recruitment refers to the process whereby such staffing takes place (Seligman 1964). The political elites are a small group of powerful people who hold and deploy a disproportionate amount of wealth, privilege, power, or skill including state apparatus in a society. They play huge roles in the nation's policy making process (Fukai and Fukui 1992). The understanding of this group helps to appreciate the dynamics of our political processes. Seligman (1964:612) mentions again that elite recruitment pattern both reflects and affects the society. The Rivers State election indeed reflects how political parties and the elite recruitment process affects and reflects a society.

The dominant political parties in Rivers State were the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC). While the former was led by its sitting governor, Barrister Ezenwo Nyesom Wike (from Obio/Akpor Local Government), the latter was led by his successor Rotimi Amaechi (from Ubima, Ikwerre Local government), a man purported to have brought Governor Wike into politics. Another acclaimed leader of the APC in Rivers State is Senator Magnus Ngei Abe (from Nchia, Eleme Local government), who was also interested in the coveted gubernatorial position after he lost out in the APC primaries in 2015, where Mr Amaechi supported the candidacy of an alleged godson, Mr Dakuku Peterside (from Biriye, Opobo Local Government). After the election in March 2015, Mr Peterside was defeated, though he was subsequently given a national appointment with the Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency (NIMASA).

After the defeat of Mr Peterside in the 2015 elections, Senator Abe believed that Mr Amaechi would support him in the party primaries and congress slated for May 19- 21, 2018. But before the primaries, one Ibrahim Imah and 22 other aggrieved members had secured an interim injunction on May 11 restraining the Amaechi faction from going ahead with the indirect primaries on May 19-21. Rather than approach a court of equal jurisprudence to vacate the

subsisting restraining order of the court, the Amaechi-led faction approached a River State Court of Appeal which granted a stay of execution. The Amaechi-led faction went on with the primaries which produced its gubernatorial flag bearer for the election, Mr Tonye Dele Cole. Meanwhile, all political parties contesting the state elections were supposed to conclude their primaries and submit their candidates' names to the INEC on or before October 7th in accordance with the rule of the commission.

Resulting from the recognition of Tonye Cole by the Amaechi group, another faction loyal to Senator Abe approached the Justice Chiwendu Nworgu of the Rivers State High Court to seek redress. The court on Wednesday October 10, 2018 described the nomination of Mr Cole as an act of illegality and that all parties should maintain status quo pending the determination of a suit filed by Ibrahim Imah and 22 others against the party (John, 2018). This was followed by another court ruling by the Supreme Court on Monday October 25, 2018 which invalidated the stay of execution order issued by the Court of Appeal, Port Harcourt against an earlier order of a high court in Rivers that had nullified the APC congress in the state. As the Court held, "It is a serious matter for anyone to flout a court order and in the instance case, it is clear that the respondent (APC) was in grave disobedience of two lawful court orders" (Ukpong, 2018).

Subsequently, the Court of Appeal sitting in Port Harcourt Wednesday, October 30, 2018 struck out the motions filed by both factions of the APC in the state when one of the factions led by Senator Abe tried to appeal the Justice Nworgu's judgement. On December 12, 2018, the court corroborated its earlier judgement of October 30, 2018 by dismissing the appeal of the Senator Abe faction stating that it failed to appeal the earlier judgement because it did not observe the 14 days' rule of appeal (Iheamnachor, 2018).

Not satisfied with the events in the APC and taking advantage of the party's internal party crisis, the state chapter of the PDP and Senator Abe-led faction approached Justice Kolawole Omotosho of the Federal High Court, Port Harcourt, Rivers State for the interpretation of the Justice Nworgu's judgement. In his judgement, Justice Omotosho, on Monday, January 7, 2019, relying on earlier ruling and orders of Justice Nworgu, maintained that the APC acted in disobedience of court orders and therefore could not

benefit from same (Yafugborhi, 2019). As he puts it, “Importance of obedience and compliance to court order is paramount. Rule of law must be adhered to for the country to move forward. Political parties should always obey the order of the court” (Agency Report, 2019). He then ordered the INEC to remove all candidates of the APC in Rivers from the 2019 general elections.

In what appears to be a twist in earlier judgements, the Court of Appeal under Justice Ali Gumel stayed the execution of the judgement of the Federal High Court on February 4 2019, thereby putting on hold an order which restrained the INEC from having names of the APC candidates on the ballots (Ukpong, 2019). The Senator Abe-led faction once again approached the Supreme Court for the interpretation of the Justice Gumel order. In its reaction, the Supreme Court relied on its earlier judgements and the order of the lower courts barring the APC from sponsoring any candidate on February 8, 2019 (Ogundele 2019).

The Independent National Electoral Commission had prepared for the 2019 elections like all other electoral years. Professor Yakubu Mahmood who had succeeded Professor Attahiru Jega would be conducting his first election. Aside the court judgements, intelligence reports and observers had mapped Rivers State as one of the hot beds of electoral violence (ICG 2018; PIND, FFP & NDPI 2018; HRW 2019a). The general elections, which were earlier scheduled for February 16 and March 2, 2019 for national and governorship elections respectively were later rescheduled for February 23 and March 9 (Angerbrandt 2019: 417). The presidential election was held on February 23 with few casualties. However, the governorship election would be regarded as a litmus test for INEC.

While these judgements from the apex Court of the land were supposed to put paid to all litigations on the controversies surrounding the candidature of the APC for the gubernatorial election, Mr Cole filed a suit just less than a week to the gubernatorial election at the Court of Appeal. Port Harcourt. However, the three-man judicial panel headed by Justice Isaah Akeju struck out the appeal, asserting that the suit amounts to an academic exercise and thereby aligned itself with several Supreme Court judgements (Itode, 2019). With this, all hopes of the party or either of its factions to present a gubernatorial candidate were

finally dashed. Hence, it was confirmed that the APC would not be on the ballot. To save face, the APC, under the Minister of Transportation, Rotimi Amaechi, quickly adopted the candidate of the African Action Congress AAC, Mr Awara Biokpomabo, from Akuku Toru Local Government Area (Akasike, 2019a). Although Mr Biokpomabo was not popular and did not really campaign like the two major parties and candidates of the APC, Mr Tonye and the incumbent PDP candidate, Governor Wike, he had the backings of Mr Amaechi, a federal minister.

This episode underscores why state power is a source of primitive accumulation in most developing democracies and developing countries. It further displays lack of internal party disciplines and cohesion, patronage or primordial/prebendal politics and abuse of the judicial process, lack of ideologies and abuse of power and abuse of state machinery or apparatus (Joseph, 1983; Azeez 2009; Omodia 2010; Basiru 2019). The scenario further supports Ake's claim that:

The crux of the problem is the overpoliticization of social life We are intoxicated with politics: the premium on political power is so high that we are prone to take the most extreme measures to win and to maintain political power (Cited in Joseph, 1983:21).

The election of Saturday March 9, 2019 was described by many as a contest between the voters and uniformed men (Amaize, Onoyume, Ahon, Yafugborhi, Una, Iheamnachor, & Brisibe, 2019). Indeed, the quest to win by the elites and maintain power resulted in the various abuse of court processes and judgement shopping. For instance, during one of the campaigns, Governor Wike and Rt Hon Rotimi Amaechi were heard pledging how they would both deploy all available resources they had to outdo each other and at the centre of all these were the women.

Women's Resistance to Electoral Malpractices in Rivers State, 2019

One of the strategies the women employed was holding of periodic meetings on the role women could play in communal development including engendering peaceful elections. It was revealed that the meetings comprised both young women and elderly menopausal

women (*Obolerebi*). Some of the women leaders at Ogu (Ogu/ Bolo local government) who were devotees of traditional religion inspired the women of Okirika town and other areas. From the distribution of sensitive election materials up to the day of election, the women kept vigils and chanted songs at the voting units and collation centres, and as well undressed and using blood dripped menstrual pads.

It was reported that after casting their votes and while waiting for the collation officers to start processing the results at the ward level, some uniformed men suspected to be members of the Nigerian Army at the behest of some politicians invaded the collation centre to stash away the ballot boxes and results. However, the women stripped half-naked and formed a human shield to thwart attempts by members of the suspected armed forces to cart away the materials. It was further reported that another group of women shielded electoral materials at INEC office in the community and also rendered security for the Commission's ad-hoc staff at the voting centres (Amaize et al, 2019). As the report further held concerning the conduct of the women:

Some of them actually undressed half-naked and lay on the ground when they saw soldiers coming, they also intensified their freedom songs and dancing, which perturbed the soldiers.

While there seemed to be a delay in declaring winners at the various ward levels, the women then decided to spend some days at the collation centre in order to monitor the outcome of the election, because the women believed that the results could be altered by the collation officers at the behest of the invaders if they should go home. For instance, in Okrika and Ogu/Bolo local government areas, women spent three days and three nights at an election centre to prevent the military from stealing the election materials (Campbell, 2020). Indeed, there were viral videos showing how some alleged soldiers were snatching ballot boxes and forcing people to vote the candidates of a particular party. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and members of the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) condemned the alleged partisan role played by the Nigerian Army in the elections. For example, the INEC Commissioner and Chairman, Information and Voter Education Committee, Festus

Undressing to Confront the Bullet ...

Okoye registered his displeasure by stating that “collation centres were invaded by some soldiers and armed gangs resulting in the intimidation and unlawful arrest of election officials, thereby disrupting the collation process” (Ebiri, Akubo, Umeh et al 2019).

Another protest approach against the armed attackers was using blood dripped menstrual pad to stave off any attack. For instance, it was reported that a woman leader, Barrister Christiana Tamunoberetonari sprinkled blood from her menstrual pad on military patrol vehicles and by some mystical interference through incantations, the engines refused to start until she reversed the process and said some incantations before the engine started. Barrister Tamunoberetonari further disclosed how some of the protesting women went as far as stripping. As she puts it:

Throughout that day till Sunday morning, we were there singing, chanting ‘we no go gree.’ It got to a climax, we chorused remove your clothes. Every woman in the protest started stripping, some were even removing their bras. We were yelling at the soldiers. You came out from here, your children, father, mother, came out from here, hitting at our sensitive area. They started covering their faces, unable to behold our nudity. I called on God to intervene while removing my menstrual pad.... I told them today you would know that what a woman has in her is more powerful than your guns and vehicles. (Amaize and Yafugborhi, 2019).

In a video which went viral at one of the collation centres, women were heard chanting protest songs against a Nigerian Army personnel who was trying to jump over a fence at the middle of the night (<https://twitter.com/ScannewsNGR/status/1104555423842095104>).

In a reaction to the event in the video, one of the women’s position is succinctly captured:

... he wanted to jump inside. Therefore, we were dragging and pulling him down. Some held to his scrotum, he got weak and gave up even with a broken leg. That is the power of a woman. What am I saying? You are a woman; do not see yourself as a weakling.

The next day, Sunday, families were cooking food and bringing to the protesting women voluntarily. We are heroines of our local government. (Amaize and Yafugborhi, 2019)

With series of allegations raised against the Nigerian Army personnel during the gubernatorial elections and circulated verified videos (<https://twitter.com/jacksonpbn>), the Nigerian Army denied the allegations, though it set up an investigative committee to look into the role played by some of its soldiers. In one of its meeting with the incumbent governor, Governor Nyesom Wike, members of the committee promised to get to the root of the matter and make its final report public. The governor had this to say of the role played by the military:

Throughout my experience politically, I have never seen the Nigerian Army play the kind of role they played during the last general Elections. The Nigerian Army purely made political interferences all through. We will show you visuals of the roles played by the Nigerian Army, if you go to the 6 Division, unless they have moved them out, you will see ballot boxes and electoral materials. The 6 Division served as the take-off base for the Electoral Interference (Jeremiah, 2019).

The outcome of the investigative panel is neither out nor made public even after two years. The protests and their various forms show how sexuality can be deployed not only as sex appeals or pleasuring but as a political voice and collective action. Following the violence that marred the election in some places, the INEC declared the election inconclusive and ordered the suspension of the collation exercise until April 1, 2019. Therefore, some local governments were slated for fresh elections, but Okirika and Ogu/ Bolo local government were excluded from the list since no casualties were recorded there. At the end, the PDP candidate had 886, 264 votes as compared to the nearest contender, Mr Awara who scored 176, 859 votes. The rerun in some four local governments including Abua—Oduval, Ahoada West, Gokana and Opobo—Nkoro Local Government areas took place on April 13, 2019 (Akasike, 2019b) but it was a little too late as the women had won the battle against bullet.

Implications of Nudity for Political Voice and Collective Actions

Many cultures condemn the use of nakedness and female nudity as a tool for political confrontation and collective action. For example, such a strategy apart from never being used by marginalised or protesting women in the north, may also fail that part of Nigeria, where such an act may be classified as an abomination (*Haram*). Moreover, the use of blood-dripping menstrual pads may not only pose serious health issues for the women but in a society where ritual practice is pervasive, ritualists may target the pads for ulterior motives (Salihu, Isiaka, & Abdulaziz, 2019; Dada, 2020). Additionally, such confrontations by the women could also lead to death as authoritarian governments usually do not respect fundamental human rights. As Ibim Semenitari, one of the women leaders and a former Commissioner of Information of the state, averred that such a strategy was risky, as other alternatives which are far reaching and safer could be deployed to express their grievances and assert their electoral rights (Yafugborhi, 2019b). As she puts it:

How can we be sure we will be safe all the time under such thinking, because when bullets fly, they don't ask which party we belong or what sex we are. We lost an innocent, promising girl. People who died are our sons, daughters, fathers, mothers, maybe boyfriends or girlfriends. Rather than be cannon folders, let us as women begin to set standards we know are acceptable. Standards that will not make us risk our lives as cannon folders. We can say as women, if elections were to hold, we will not vote for anyone promoting violence. If we see signals of violence, we will not accept. (Yafugborhi, 2019b)

While her position may sound controversial because of her affiliation with the previous administration of Rotimi Amaechi where she was a commissioner, she may be right as the state has been named in many sponsored attacks against peaceful protesters. For example, protesters have been attacked by state and non-state sponsored agencies during fuel increase, anti-corruption, illegal incarceration, bad governance, and even the recent #EndSARs protests in October 2020 (HRW,

1994, 2019b; AI, 2003, 2018; Abang, 2019; Khalid, 2020; Husted, 2020).

Nevertheless, the employment of nudity has offered a platform for the marginalised or the weak in the society, particularly women, to raise their voices especially where their political voices have been suppressed. The employment of nakedness also raises hope for collective actions that marginalised people and women could use to press home their demands on some political, social, and economic issues in the society and against authoritarian and non-democratic regimes. As Ann-Kio Briggs notes:

They have shown the rest of the women how to resist any attempt by any one, be they politicians or armed soldiers, to deny them their franchise to choose the leaders they want. It is an inspiration we must not allow to die, but to rather canvass (it) to spread to all the places.

(Yafugborhi, 2019b)

This approach is poignant in a context like Nigeria, particularly southern Nigeria, where the public space is heavily militarised and policed. For instance, the protest strategies of the women to a large extent succeeded in thwarting the anti-democratic practices of the uniformed men. More importantly, the use of blood dripped menstrual pads appeared novel in the history of women's resistance movement in Nigeria.

Nevertheless, in spite of the few issues that nakedness may pose in some part of the country owing to ideological and religious differences, it champions a window into the strategies that marginalised groups, especially women, can use to exercise political voice and collective actions against a repressive and authoritarian state.

Conclusion

This article has examined how women's resistance movement through the use of non-violence means, particularly stripping half-naked, chanting of songs, and use of blood dripped menstrual pads, resisted electoral violence and malpractices during the 2019 gubernatorial elections in Rivers State - an oil rich area in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. The study found that women's resistance

movements date back to precolonial times. It showed that resistance through the deployment of stripping/nudity has succeeded in some cases and failed in others even when it was able to get across its objectives to the powers that be. Furthermore, in spite of the serious challenges that such resistance movement signifies, its deployment during the gubernatorial elections in Okirika and Ogu/Bolo areas of Rivers State in 2019 is worthy of emulation, scholarly attention, and documentation. The article also showed that the strategy was effective in the area as a result of the general resolve of the women to mobilise against their oppressors notwithstanding their political affiliations. By way of recommendation, therefore the continued use of nudity strategy as a form of non-violent protest by women should be complemented with sustainable efforts from civil society organisations, international community, and other stakeholders to ensure that the ruling elite embrace the tenets of good governance for a better society for all and sundry in the country.

References

- Abang, M. (2019). "Nigeria: Deaths as security forces clash with Shia protesters", *Aljazeera* <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/07/22/nigeria-deaths-as-security-forces-clash-with-shia-protesters/>
- Abonga, F., Kerali, R., Porter, H., & Tapscott, R. (2020). "Naked Bodies and Collective Action: Repertoires of Protest in Uganda's Militarised, Authoritarian Regime", *Civil Wars* 22, 2-3: 198-223.
- Adejumobi, S. (2000). "Elections in Africa: A fading Shadow of Democracy?", *International Political Science Review* 21, 1: 59-73.
- Agency Report (2019). "Rivers APC to appeal judgement nullifying primaries", *Premium Times*. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/south-south-regional/304647-rivers-apc-to-appeal-judgement-nullifying-primaries.html>
- Akasike, C. (2019a). "Rivers APC adopts AAC gov candidate for Saturday's poll" *Punch*. <https://punchng.com/breaking-rivers-apc-adopts-aac-gov-candidate-for-saturdays-poll/>

- Akasike, C. (2019b). "INEC declares Wike winner of Rivers gov poll" *Punch*. <https://punchng.com/breaking-inec-declares-wike-winner-of-rivers-gov-poll/>
- Akpa, N. (2019). "Aged women protest half naked in Enonyi over incessant arrest." *The Guardian*. <https://guardian.ng/news/aged-women-protest-half-naked-in-ebonyi-over-incessant-arrest/>
- Alozie, B. (2020). "Undressing for redress: the significance of Nigerian women's naked protests" *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/undressing-for-redress-the-significance-of-nigerian-womens-naked-protests-144823>
- Amaize, E. and Yafugborhi, E. (2019). "Election: How women used menstrual blood to stop soldiers in Rivers", *Vanguard*. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/03/rivers-elections-ogubolo-women-revolt-against-army-pits-ann-kio-against-semenitari/>
- Amaize, E., Onoyume J., Ahon, F., Yafugborhi, E., Una, E., Iheamnachor, D., & Brisibe, P., (2019). "Okrika, Ogu/Bolo women strip, form human shield to stop soldiers hijacking ballots", *Vanguard*. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/03/okrika-ogu-bolo-women-strip-form-human-shield-to-stop-soldiers-hijacking-ballots/>
- Amnesty International (2003). "Nigeria Repression of women's protests in oil- producing delta region", AFR 44/008/2003 <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/100000/afr440082003en.pdf>
- Amnesty International (2018). "Nigeria: Security forces must be held accountable for killing of at least 45 peaceful Shi'a protesters", <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/10/nigeria-security-forces-must-be-held-accountable-for-killing-of-at-least-45-peaceful-shia-protesters/>
- Azeez, A. (2009). "Ethnicity, Party Politics and Democracy in Nigeria: Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) as Agent of Consolidation?", *Studies of Tribes and Tribals* 7, 1: 1-9.
- Bartkowski, M. J. (ed.) (2013). *Recovering Nonviolent History: Civil Resistance in Liberation Struggles*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

- Basiru, A. (2019). "Pervasive intra-party conflicts in a democratising Nigeria", *ACCORD: African Journal of Conflict Resolution* 19, 1. <https://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/pervasive-intra-party-conflicts-in-a-democratising-nigeria/> Accessed 28/9/2020.
- Berkowitz, L. (1978). "Whatever happened to the frustration-aggression hypothesis?", *American Behavioral Scientist* 21, 5, 691-708.
- Berkowitz, L. (1988). "Frustrations, appraisals, and aversively stimulated aggression", *Aggressive Behavior* 14, 1, 3-11.
- Binuomoyo, O. K. & Ogunsola, O. A. (2017). "Oil spills and the Niger Delta bloodlines: examining the human tragedy", *acta SATECH* 8, 1:8-18.
- Bjarnesen, J., & Kovacs, M. S. (2018). Violence in African Elections", *The Nordic African Institute Policy Note* 7:1-8.
- Bovy, P. M. (2017). "It's time to drop the vagina as a protest symbol", *Washington Post*, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2017/03/31/its-time-to-drop-the-vagina-as-a-protest-symbol/>
- Breuer, J. & Elson, M. (2017). "Frustration-Aggression theory", Sturme, P. (ed.) *The Wiley Handbook of Violence and Aggression* pp. 1-12, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Campbell, J. (2010). *Electoral Violence in Nigeria*, New York: Council for foreign relations. https://www.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2010/09/CPA_contingencymemo_9.pdf
- Campbell, J. (2019). "Women in the Nigerian Delta Resist Election Violence and Rigging", *Council for Foreign Relations*. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/women-nigerian-delta-resist-election-violence-and-rigging>.
- Chaturvedi, A. (2005). "Rigging elections with violence", *Public Choice* 125, ½: 189-202.
- Chuku, G. (2002). "Navigating the Colonial Terrain through Protests Movements: A Discourse on the Nigerian Women's Motives", Falola Toyin & Salah Hassan (eds.) *Power and Nationalism in Modern Africa: essays in honor of Don Ohadike* pp. 169-189, Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academy Press.

- Cooper, C. M. (2007) “Worrying about Vaginas: Feminism and Eve Ensler’s The Vagina Monologues”, *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 32, 3: 727-758.
- Dada, P. (2020). “Ondo pastor arrested for using girl’s menstrual pad for ritual”, *Punch*. <https://punchng.com/ondo-pastor-arrested-for-using-girls-menstrual-pad-for-rituals/>.
- Davies, J. C. (1962). “Toward a Theory of Revolution”, *American Sociological Review* Vol. 27, No. 1: 5-19.
- Diabate, N. (2020). *Naked Agency: Genital Cursing and Biopolitics in Africa*, Durham & London: Duke University Press.
- Dollard, J., Miller, N. E., Doob, L. W., Mowrer, O. H., & Sears, R. R. (1939). *Frustration and aggression*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Ebiri, K., Akubo, J., Umhe, K., Ityokura, M., & Agboluaje, R., (2019). “INEC decried military intervention in Rivers guber election”, *The Guardian*, <https://guardian.ng/news/inec-decries-military-intervention-in-rivers-guber-election/>
- Egba Council Records (1931). Minutes of Thursday 12 November. (Abeokuta: National Archives Abeokuta). ECR 1/1/54 vol 3 Nos 269-410.
- Fallon, K. M. and Moreau, J. (2016). “Revisiting Repertoire Transition: Women’s Nakedness as Potent Protests in Nigeria and Kenya”, *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 21 (3): 323-340.
- Fukai, S. N. & Fukui, H. (1992). “Elite Recruitment and Political Leadership”, *Political Science and Politics* 25, 1: 25-36.
- Geen, R. G. (1968). “Effects of frustration, attack, and prior training in aggressiveness upon aggressive behavior”, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 9 (4): 316–321.
- Godwin, A. (2020). “Ogoni women protest half nude over govt alleged detention of prodest hotel manager”, *The Guardian*. <https://guardian.ng/news/ogoni-women-protest-half-nude-over-govt-alleged-detention-of-prodest-hotel-manager/>
- Guyson, N. (2016). “Undress for Redress: The rise of naked protests in Africa” *African Arguments*. <https://africanarguments.org/2016/06/10/anything-to-get-justice-the-rise-of-naked-protests-africa/>.

- HRW, (1994). "Nigeria: 'The Dawn of a New Dark Age'" New York: HRW. <https://www.hrw.org/reports/NIGERIA94O.PDF>.
- HRW, (2008). *Bullets for each of you: State-sponsored violence since Zimbabwe's March 29 Elections*. New York: HRW. <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2008/zimbabwe0608/zimbabwe0608web.pdf>
- HRW, (2019a). "Nigeria: Widespread Violence Ushers in President's New Term: Investigate Attacks, Ensure Justice", New York: HRW. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/06/10/nigeria-widespread-violence-ushers-presidents-new-term>.
- HRW, (2019b). "Nigeria: Deadly Crackdown on Shia Protest", New York: HRW. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/07/24/nigeria-deadly-crackdown-shia-protest>
- Husted, T. F. (2020). "Nigeria: #EndSARS Protests Against Police Brutality", *Congressional Research Service*. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/IN11525>
- Iheanachor, D. (2018). "Rivers APC crisis: A-Court strikes out APC appeal against its squashed congresses", *Vanguard*.
- International Crisis Group [ICG] (2018). *Nigeria's 2019 election: Six states to watch*, New York: ICG.
- International Peace Institute [IPI] (2011). *Elections in Africa: Challenges and Opportunities*, New York: IPI.
- Irene, O. F. (2016). "Non-Violent Campaign and Social Change: Lessons from Liberia and Campaigns to Ban Landmine and Cluster Munitions", *International Journal of Peace Studies* 21, 1:45-70.
- Itode, S. (2019). "Court strikes out Tonye Cole's appeal", *Punch*. <https://punchng.com/court-strikes-out-tonye-coles-appeal/>.
- Iyekekpolo, W. O. (2020). "Political Elites and the Rise of the Boko haram Insurgent in Nigeria", *Terrorism and Political Violence* 32, 4: 749-767.
- Jeremiah, U. (2019). "Wike to Army Investigative Committee: Interference of Army in 2019 elections worst in nation's history", *Vanguard*. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/03/wike-to-army-investigative-committee-interference-of-army-in-2019-elections-worst-in-nations-history/>.

- John, T. (2018). "Rivers: Court nullifies APC guber, legislative primaries", *The Sun*. <https://www.sunnewsonline.com/rivers-court-nullifies-apc-guber-legislative-primaries/>.
- Johnson-Odim, C. (2009). "For their freedoms': The anti-imperialist and international feminist activity of Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria", *Women's Studies International Forum* 32: 51–59.
- Joseph, R. (1983). "Class, state, and Prebendal politics in Nigeria", *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 21, 3: 21-38.
- Khalid, I. (2020). "Coronavirus: Security forces kill more Nigerians than Covid-19", *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-52317196>.
- Lincoln, L. M. (2013) "Public Nudity and The Right to Freedom of Expression: Balancing Competing Interests", LLB Long Essay, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.
- Miller, A. H., Bolce, L. H., and Halligan, M. (1977). "The J-Curve Theory and the Black Urban Riots: An Empirical Test of Progressive Relative Deprivation Theory", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 71, No. 3: 964-982.
- Newsom, C (2011) "Conflict in the Niger Delta More Than a Local Affair." Washington: United States Institute of Peace. https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/Conflict_Niger_Delta.pdf
- Nigerian Government, (1930). *Report of the Commission of Inquiry Appointed to Inquire into the Disturbances in the Calabar and Owerri Provinces December, 1929*. Lagos: Government Printer.
- Nwolise, O. B. C. (2007). "Electoral Violence and Nigeria's 2007 Elections", *Journal of African Elections* Vol 6 No 2: 155-179.
- O'keefe, T. (2006). "Menstrual Blood as a Weapon of Resistance", *International Feminists Journal of Politics* 8, 4: 535-556.
- Obi, C (2009) "Nigeria's Niger Delta: Understanding the Complex Drivers of Violent Oil-related Conflict", *Africa Development* Vol. XXXIV, No. 2: 103-128.
- Ogundele, K. (2019). "Supreme Court upholds judgement barring Rivers APC from polls", *Punch*. <https://punchng.com/scourt-upholds-judgement-barring-rivers-apc-from-polls/>.

- Omodia, S. M. (2010). "Political Parties and Party Politics in the Nigerian Fourth Republic", *Trakia Journal of Science* 8, 3: 65-69.
- Omotola, J. S. (2010). "Explaining electoral violence in Africa's 'new' democracies", *African Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 10, 3: 51-73.
- Onyeji, E (2017). "Pro-Biafra women protest half-naked against soldiers" *Premium Times*.
<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/ssouth-east/231681-pro-biafra-women-protest-half-naked-against-soldiers.html>.
- Oyenyi, B. (2015). *Dress in the Making of African Identity: A Social and Cultural History of the Yoruba People*, New York: Cambria Press
- Oyěwùmí, O. (1997). *The invention of women: Making an African sense of western gender discourses*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- PIND, FFP, & NDPI (2018). "Time is of essence: Preventing Election Violence in Rivers State", *Special Issue Briefing*.
- Salihu, H. A., Isiaka, M., & Abdulaziz, I. (2019). "The Growing Phenomenon of Money Rituals-Motivated Killings in Nigeria: An Empirical Investigation into the Factors Responsible." *UKH Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 3 no. 2: 32-44.
- Saps, M. F. (2018). "Autonomy, and the Role of Law: Nudity and the Public-Private Distinction" Unpublished Long Essay, Bates College, USA.
- Schollenberger, K. (2020). "Bravery in the Buff: Who is; Naked' Athena?", The nude Portland protester who confronted police" *The U. S. Sun*. <https://www.the-sun.com/news/1174430/naked-athena-portland-protest-black-lives-matter/>
- Seiyefa, E. (2017). "Elite Political Culture - A Link to Political Violence: Evidence from Nigeria", *African Security* 10, 2: 103-130.
- Seligman, L. G. (1964). "Elite Recruitment and Political Development" *The Journal of Politics* 26, 3: 612- 626.

- Sutton, B. (2007). "Naked Protest: Memories of Bodies and Resistance at the World Social Forum", *Journal of International Women's Studies* 8, 3: 139-148. <http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol8/iss3/10>.
- Tamale, S. (2017). "Nudity, Protest and the Law in Uganda", *Feminist Africa* 22: 52-86.
- Tapscott, R. (2020). "naked protest: how ordinary citizens reveal truth to repressive regimes." *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/naked-protest-how-ordinary-citizens-reveal-truth-to-repressive-regimes-134253>.
- Tauna, A. (2020). "Southern Kaduna Killings: Women protest naked, demand justice for deceased family members" *Daily Post*. <https://dailypost.ng/2020/07/23/southern-kaduna-killings-women-protest-naked-demand-justice-for-deceased-family-members/>.
- Taylor, M. C. (1982). "Improved Conditions, Rising Expectations, and Dissatisfaction: A Test of the Past/Present Relative Deprivation Hypothesis", *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 1: 24-33.
- The Fund for Peace (2015a). "Preventing 2015 Election Violence in the Niger Delta", <https://fundforpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/nigeriabriefing-preventingelectionviolence-2015.pdf>
- The Fund for Peace (2015b). "Niger Delta Election Violence Update" <https://fundforpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/nigeriaelectionupdate-20150324-1.pdf>
- Thompson, A. (2017). "How Topless South African Women Are Embodying Resilience", *Culture trip*. <https://theculturetrip.com/africa/south-africa/articles/how-topless-south-african-women-are-embodying-resilience/>.
- Turner, T. E. and Brownhill, L. S. (2004). "Why Women are at War with Chevron: Nigerian Subsistence Struggles Against the International Oil Industry", *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 39: 63-93.
- Ukeje, C. (2007). "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: 605-617.

- Ukpong, C. (2018). "2019: Why APC may not have governorship, other candidates in Rivers", *Premium Times*. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/south-south-regional/292457-2019-why-apc-may-not-have-governorship-other-candidates-in-rivers.html>.
- Ukpong, C. (2019). "Appeal Court paves way for APC to contest elections in Rivers", *Premium Times*. <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/south-south-regional/309891-appeal-court-paves-way-for-apc-to-contest-elections-in-rivers.html>
- USIP (2009). "Nonviolent Civic Action: A Study Guide Series on Peace and Conflict for Independent Learners and Classroom Instructors" Washington: USIP. <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/sg10.pdf>.
- Yafugborhi, E. (2019a). "Disqualification of Rivers APC from 2019 elections: One crisis, many interests", *Vanguard*. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/01/disqualification-of-rivers-apc-from-2019-elections-one-crisis-many-interests/>.
- Yafugborhi, E. (2019b). "Rivers Elections" Ogu/Bolo women revolt against Army: pits Ann Kio against Semenitari" *Vanguard*. <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/03/rivers-elections-ogu-bolo-women-revolt-against-army-pits-ann-kio-against-semenitari/>.
- Zillmann, D. & Cantor, J. R. (1976). "Effect of timing of information about mitigating circumstances on emotional responses to provocation and retaliatory behavior", *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 12, 1: 38–55.