

Admiralty Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, ISSN 1597–278X

Impact of Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro's Festival on Niger Delta People

Green Kevwe ABENABE¹, Ekpotuatin Charles ARIYE¹, Tamaraumiebi MABIKO¹

¹Department of History and International Studies, Admiralty University of Nigeria, Ibusa, Delta State

Authors' Contributions

This work was carried out in collaboration among all authors. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

Research Article

ABSTRACT

The existing literature on the Niger Delta issue generally presents a broad narrative of ethnic and regional struggles for self-determination, often portrayed through a series of distinct events. The case of Isaac Boro stands out as the first instance of armed rebellion against the Nigerian state, marking him as a source of inspiration for both violent and nonviolent Niger Delta activists. His legacy of fighting for the emancipation of his people has been immortalized through an annual festival where his struggles are recounted. However, Boro's significance varies among different groups. While many view him as a hero who instilled a lasting philosophy and ideology within the Ijaw nation and the Niger Delta region, his influence is interpreted differently by others. Despite this, a critical gap exists in the literature; the impact of this annual festival on the region has not been adequately explored. This research aims to address that gap by examining the effects of the Isaac Boro Festival on the Niger Delta people. The significance of this study lies in its potential to illuminate the festival's role not only as a cultural commemoration but also as a vehicle for social cohesion, political awareness, and economic impact within the Niger Delta. By exploring how the festival influences collective identity, resilience, and socio-political consciousness, the research contributes valuable insights to understanding the multifaceted impact of cultural events in regions with histories of struggle and activism. A descriptive research methodology, allowing for an exploratory approach to gather a representative understanding of the subject, has been employed to investigate the festival's influence on the region.

Keywords: Adaka-Boro, emancipation struggle, Ijaw Nation, Niger Delta, , oil exploitation

Corresponding author: Abenabe, G.K: <u>kevwe.abenabe@gmail.com</u>; <u>abenabe-his@adun.edu.ng</u>

INTRODUCTION

The Niger Delta region, rich in oil and gas resources, has long been a focal point in Nigeria's economic landscape. However, the wealth generated from these resources has not been evenly distributed, leading to widespread resentment and marginalization among the region's inhabitants. The Niger Delta struggle is shaped by historical, economic, and social factors, with key issues including resource control, environmental degradation, underdevelopment, and political marginalization (Ibaba, 2008: Akpan, 2012). As a result, since the discovery of crude oil in 1956, the region has become a hotbed of political and violent conflicts, at times escalating into full-blown confrontations with the Nigerian state, thereby impeding its economic development. While extensive research exists on the history of armed insurrection against the Nigerian state, it is evident that the Niger Delta's quest for resource control and selfdetermination continually highlights the need to examine figures considered heroes by the Ijaw nation and the broader Niger Delta community. For example, the Ogoni crisis of 1998 and the Kaiama Declaration seem to draw inspiration and connections to the twelve-day insurrection of 1966. This underscores the importance of a historical overview of that event.

On February 23, 1966, Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro, a pioneering revolutionary, former police officer, and student leader at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, declared the secession of the Niger Delta, naming it "The Niger Delta Peoples Republic." He made this declaration through the Niger Delta Volunteer Service, a group he had founded (The Street Journal, 2021). His aim was to liberate the region from oppression, underdevelopment, and neglect. Thus began the Niger Delta revolt. Although this uprising, which commenced on February 23, 1966, was suppressed by the Nigerian armed

forces within twelve days (see Boro, 1982), it laid the groundwork for future rebellions in the region. Despite the discovery of oil in 1956 and the commencement of commercial production in 1958, government officials exploited the region's resources without adequately compensating the people whose lands they were extracting from. In remembrance of Boro's struggle, May 16 has been set aside for annual celebrations.

Isaac Boro undeniably served as an inspiration for future freedom fighters such as Ken Saro-Wiwa, who may not have found their revolutionary spirit without Boro's example. Although Boro's legacy may not be widely acknowledged across Nigeria, he is revered in the Niger Delta to this day. One event commemorating his memory is the Isaac Adaka Boro Memorial Festival, which remains a moment to reflect on the region's struggles and the progress made in its ongoing fight for justice. The impact of this struggle, along with the canonization of Boro, has had both positive and negative effects on the Niger Delta (Eteka, 2015).

This research aims to investigate the socio-economic, political, and cultural impacts of the Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro Festival on the Niger Delta people. Specifically, it will explore the festival's role in raising awareness, creating economic opportunities, influencing politics, and cultural preserving heritage. understanding these impacts, this research seeks to contribute to ongoing discussions about the future of the Niger Delta region and its people.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

The conceptual framework for examining the Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro Festival's impact on the Niger Delta people draws on cultural symbolism, collective identity, and social impact theories. This framework outlines how the festival serves as a powerful symbol of ethnic identity and pride

among the Niger Delta people and highlights the broader socio-political and economic implications for the community. Cultural identity and symbolism are central to this framework, as festivals often serve as symbolic representations of a group's identity, values, and history (Durkheim, 1912; Geertz, 1973). The Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro Festival symbolizes a shared ethnic identity and commemorates the life and legacy of Boro as an activist for the Niger Delta people's rights. This framework sees the festival as an emblematic event that strengthens regional identity and aligns community members around historical and contemporary socio-political causes (Anderson, 1983).

The concept of social cohesion and collective memory also informs this framework, as collective memory plays a significant role in reinforcing group identity (Halbwachs, 1992). By commemorating Boro. the festival strengthens intergenerational bonds among the Niger Delta people, fostering a collective memory of resistance and resilience. Through public celebrations, the festival becomes a site of social education, reinforcing community values and promoting unity within the region. Additionally, the socio-political impact of the festival is crucial to this analysis. Festivals often influence sociopolitical consciousness, raising awareness about ongoing struggles for social and environmental justice (Scott, 1985; Fraser, 1990). The Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro Festival is a reminder of the region's marginalization and ongoing efforts for equitable resource distribution. Through the lens of social impact theory, the festival can be seen as an arena for political activism, where historical grievances and present concerns are expressed and shared within and beyond the community.

Economic empowerment is another key aspect of the festival's impact. Cultural

tourism theory suggests that festivals attract local and international tourists, creating economic benefits for host communities (Richards & Wilson, 2007). Thus, the festival can be conceptualized as economic stimulus, fostering income generation through tourism. local entrepreneurship, and increased visibility for the Niger Delta's cultural heritage. Together, these concepts provide a basis for understanding the multifaceted impact of the Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro Festival.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework underpinning this research draws from symbolic interactionism, collective memory theory, and cultural capital theory. Symbolic interactionism, as developed by Mead (1934) and later expanded by Blumer (1969), provides a lens to understand how individuals and groups derive meaning from symbols like festivals. Within framework, the Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro Festival is seen as a social event where symbolic communication happens, reinforcing shared meanings around Boro's legacy and the identity of the Niger Delta people. The festival functions as a "collective performance," enabling individuals to identify with larger community goals through shared cultural practices (Goffman, 1959).

Maurice Halbwachs' (1992) theory on collective memory suggests that social groups retain memory through shared symbols, rituals, and celebrations. The Boro Festival, as an act of remembrance, provides continuity in the collective identity of the Niger Delta people by maintaining the memory of historical struggles and victories. The collective memory theory is useful here to explain how the festival contributes to a shared sense of resilience and purpose, essential for sustaining the community's socio-political goals. Additionally,

Bourdieu's (1986) theory of cultural capital provides insight into how cultural practices, such as the Boro Festival, can enhance social status and resource access within the Niger Delta. The festival fosters cultural pride and community prestige, attracting tourism and funding opportunities. By framing the festival as a form of cultural capital, we understand its role in potentially elevating the socio-economic status of the host communities.

These frameworks synthesize various cultural, and economic sociological, perspectives to explore the multifaceted impact of the Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro Festival on the Niger Delta people. By memory, socioemphasizing identity, political consciousness, and economic empowerment, the conceptual framework and theoretical underpinning presented here provide a comprehensive understanding of the festival's role within the community.

DISCOURSE

The Man Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro

Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro was born at midnight on September 10, 1938, in Oloibiri, a town in the Niger Delta where crude oil was first discovered in commercial quantities (Tebekaemi, 1982). His early life was shaped by frequent relocations due to his father's work as a headmaster in various mission schools across Port Harcourt and Growing up, Boro Kaiama. became increasingly aware of the environmental and socio-economic challenges that plagued his community. The devastating annual floods, severe riverbank erosion, and widespread poverty instilled in him a deep sense of injustice towards the Niger Delta people, especially as they bore the brunt of resource extraction yet remained marginalized (Boro, 1982).

Boro's academic excellence, evident from his outstanding results in his First

School Leaving Certificate and the West African School Certificate examination in 1957, positioned him for a life of privilege and success. However, the harsh realities of his homeland, combined with his acute awareness of the political exclusion of the Ijaw people, steered him toward activism rather than personal advancement (Lakemfa, 2017). His time as a teacher and a brief stint in the Nigerian Police Force, followed by his enrollment at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, further cemented his commitment to fighting for his people's rights. As the President of the university's Student Union, Boro's leadership qualities blossomed, but his growing political awareness led him to describe his people as "strangers in their own country,", oppressed by Nigeria's larger ethnic groups (Lakemfa, 2017).

These early life experiences directly informed Boro's decision to lead the Niger Delta Volunteer Service (NDVS) in a twelve-day guerrilla campaign against the Nigerian government in February 1966. The neglect he had witnessed throughout his youth fueled his passion to liberate the Niger Delta from what he viewed as an exploitative and oppressive regime (Boro, 1982). Boro's revolutionary fervor was also influenced by global movements like the Cuban Revolution, as he instructed his volunteers to emulate Fidel Castro's sincerity in dealing with local populations. Despite the NDVS's defeat and Boro's subsequent imprisonment for treason, his rebellion left an indelible mark on the consciousness of the Niger Delta people, igniting a legacy of resistance that would inspire future generations (Lakemfa, 2017; Tebekaemi, 1982).

Boro's untimely death in 1968, under controversial circumstances during the Nigerian Civil War, transformed him into a martyr for the Ijaw and Niger Delta cause (Obasanjo, 1980). His legacy was canonized not only through folklore but also through

annual commemorations, such as the Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro Festival. This festival celebrates his life, contributions, and the ideals of self-determination that he fiercely advocated (Lakemfa, 2017). The festival serves as a platform for the people of the Niger Delta to continue reflecting on the struggles Boro fought for, ensuring that his vision for a liberated and empowered region endures (Lakemfa, 2017).

The celebration of Boro's life through the festival is more than just a memorial; it is a continuation of his resistance. Each year, the festival not only honors his personal sacrifices but also reignites discussions on the socio-political and environmental challenges that remain unresolved in the Niger Delta (Lakemfa, 2017; Tebekaemi, 1982). Through this annual commemoration, Boro's life is transformed from an individual narrative of defiance into a collective call for ongoing activism, ensuring that his legacy remains central to the Niger Delta's struggle for equity and justice (Lakemfa, 2017).

Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro Festival

The Isaac Adaka Boro Festival is a yearly ritual that has become deeply rooted among the Ijaw, Niger Delta, and Nigerian people. It embodies the spirit of the struggle of the Ijaw people, who are considered one of the most ancient peoples on the planet. According to Ikioumoton George (2022), the festival initially started as a memorial. Boro died on May 16, 1966, during the ongoing civil war, and the immediate reaction was to remember the date of his death. It began as a local Remembrance Day but has since evolved into a more intellectual and international ceremony. Furthermore, Ambakederimo (2022) wrote a play about Major Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro, which was performed in various schools in Bayelsa State as part of their curriculum. At that time, there were only three secondary

schools in Bayelsa State: Bishop Dimie Grammar School (BDGS) Yenagoa, Saint Jude's Girls School Amarata, and Ijaw Teachers Training College Oporoma. These schools performed the play, which focused on the twelve-day revolution and Boro's good deeds. This brought greater awareness to the people of Kaiama about the need to celebrate their hero annually.

In Ikioumoton's words: "In the beginning, it was just the people of Kaiama in Bayelsa State who celebrated Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro, their hero, every year since 1971. Initially, it was a one-day event on May 16, the day he died, but it later became a three-day program, and more recently, a one-week festival. When Diepreye Alamieyeseigha became governor Bayelsa State, he chose to internationalize it, and now Niger Deltans both at home and abroad celebrate him annually. The festival has had positive impacts economically, socially, intellectually, politically, culturally. Major Isaac Jasper Boro has become a unifying figure for Niger Deltans, who see themselves as one ethnic group both in Nigeria and in the diaspora. Just as the Igbos see Nnamdi Azikiwe as their role model, the Yoruba see Obafemi Awolowo, and the Hausa see Ahmadu Bello, so do the Niger Deltans see Isaac Jasper Boro as their father, fostering nationalistic tendencies among them—this is the greatest impact (Ikioumoton, 2022). Modern activists see Boro as a pioneer who, despite limited resources, recognized the socio-political implications of oil extraction on the Niger and responded with organized Delta resistance. Boro's armed struggle, although short-lived, demonstrated the potential for mobilizing local populations around issues of resource exploitation and inequity. Groups such as the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) the Movement and for Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)

often reference Boro's actions as foundational to their cause.

According to the IYC's 1998 Kaiama Declaration, which was inspired by Boro's revolutionary ideals. the Iiaw people asserted that "all land and natural resources within the Ijaw territory belong to the Ijaw communities" (IYC, 1998). This reflects Boro's demand for greater local control over the region's wealth, a demand that has become central to the modern struggle for resource sovereignty in the Niger Delta. Boro's influence is also apparent in the work of environmental activists like Ken Saro-Wiwa, who led the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) in the 1990s. Saro-Wiwa, although advocating for non-violent resistance, credited Boro's uprising as a significant precursor to his own activism. Both men shared the belief that the wealth generated from the Niger Delta's oil reserves should directly benefit its people rather than being siphoned off by the federal corporations government and foreign 2006). Contemporary activist (Ibeanu, groups continue to frame Boro's struggle as a historical touchstone, often invoking his and public sacrifice during protests statements to remind the Nigerian state and international audiences of the enduring plight of the region. Moreover, Boro's strategy of leveraging local knowledge of the terrain to wage an asymmetrical struggle resonates with modern militancy in the region. MEND and other militant groups have employed similar tactics of guerrilla warfare, sabotaging oil infrastructure and disrupting production to draw attention to their demands. Boro's insistence on the Niger Delta's right to control its resources remains a key rallying point, as activists argue that despite the region's significant contribution to Nigeria's economy, its people continue to live in poverty with degraded environments (Obi, 2009).

Modern activists thus regard Boro not only as a historical figure but as a visionary whose fight for justice and equality laid the groundwork for ongoing struggles in the Niger Delta. His calls for self-determination and the equitable distribution of oil wealth are as relevant today as they were in the 1960s, forming the ideological bedrock upon which contemporary movements stand. Similarly, Niweigha (2022) notes that each year, new programs are added to the festival to enrich its meaning. For instance, by the May 2022 edition, the festival had arguably become the most important event uniting the entire Ijo nation and the broader Niger Delta region. This is because Boro's festival carries a deeper significance, symbolizing survival, resilience, and strength of the "Odiogoribauge" people. The famous festival, celebrated by the Odi people every July 27, is a case in point. This festival centers on the killing of a supernatural buffalo, while other notable events include the yam and fish festivals celebrated in neighboring communities such as Opokuma Onde Fiye Seiku and Amassoma Seigbene. Boro's festival reflects the collective national struggle that predates the creation of Niger Delta states and highlights the regional marginalization and agitation of the Ijaws across the Niger Delta. Its impact is magnified by its symbolic and historical significance (Ekisa, 2024).

Furthermore, it is important to note that the Isaac Boro Day Festival is a significant occasion for the Ijaw people, serving as a reminder of their contributions to national development, particularly through the region's oil wealth. Despite their role in sustaining Nigeria's economy, Ijaw communities continue to face challenges, including limited access to education, economic hardships, and the marginalization of their voices in national discourse. Efforts to assert their rights have at times led to

them being labeled as militants. However, as previously mentioned, many contemporary activists view these actions as a continuation of Isaac Boro's struggle and ideology for the rights and development of the Niger Delta.

The Isaac Jasper Boro Festival has significant economic. cultural. intellectual, and strategic impacts on the Niger Delta region. Economically, the festival stimulates local commerce, benefiting vendors who sell various goods, and creating demand for products like beverages, food, and clothing. government's financial support, coupled with the recognition and rewards for participants, further boosts the local economy. According to Ekpein Appah (2022), the festival brings substantial economic advantages to the Izon nation, as the influx of tourists increases sales. particularly in the fish market. Culturally, the festival promotes pride in local heritage, fostering community participation cultural awareness. Buruboyefe (2022) highlights that, the event showcases the rich traditions of the Ijaw people, enhancing cultural education and unity through various performances and displays. The celebration acts as a platform to preserve and promote the cultural identity of the Niger Deltans.

On a social level, the festival strengthens bonds within the community, promoting unity and a shared sense of identity among the people of the Niger Delta. The gathering provides an opportunity for community members to socialize, build networks, and foster social cohesion, enhancing a sense of belonging and collective pride.

The intellectual impact of the festival is evident in the educational programs that accompany it. Lectures and discussions centered on the life and legacy of Isaac Jasper Boro serve to educate both visitors and locals. As noted by Victor Vianana (2022), the festival highlights the intellectual

aspect of Boro's struggle, underscoring his focus on education and the continued relevance of his fight for justice in the Niger Delta. Boro's legacy has influenced educational initiatives like the Presidential Amnesty Program, emphasizing the importance of learning in addressing the region's challenges.

Strategically, the festival reinforces the broader goals of the Niger Delta struggle. The legacy Isaac Boro of encourages a multidimensional approach to addressing the region's challenges, incorporating political, legal, and military strategies. Organizations like the Ijaw National Congress and the Ijaw Youth Council exemplify these strategies, working together peacefully. The demilitarization of the region through the 2010 Amnesty Program reflects this balanced approach, aligning with Boro's understanding of the complex dynamics of the Niger Delta struggle.

The festival also plays a significant role in fostering ethnic nationalism in the Niger Delta, providing a platform for regional cooperation and activism. This shared sense of marginalization has led to the rise of prominent Ijaw leaders, such as Dokubo-Asari, who advocate for selfdetermination and the right of the people to reclaim their resources. The festival has become a tourist attraction, drawing attention to Kaiama, the symbolic heart of the Niger Delta's resistance, where key "Kaiama historical events like the Declaration" took place.

Pertinently, May 16th holds special significance for the Ijaw people as it marks the date Isaac Jasper Boro was laid to rest, following his death during the Nigerian Civil War on May 9, 1968. Boro, remembered for his courage and selflessness, sacrificed his life fighting for the rights of his people. Boladai Igali (2020) recounts that Boro's death, caused by a

mysterious bullet, symbolized his ultimate commitment to the Niger Delta's cause. His legacy continues to inspire the region's youth to uphold the values of integrity, loyalty, and selflessness, although some leaders have deviated from these ideals, turning to violence and crime for personal gain.

The festival, which began as a oneday event in the early 1970s, has since evolved into a week-long celebration, featuring parades, lectures, cultural performances, and traditional rituals, all aimed at honoring Boro's legacy. The Adaka Boro War Canoe Regatta, for example, symbolizes the Ijaw people's readiness for battle and serves as a reminder of their ancestors' resilience. The inter-family canoe races highlight the traditional navigation methods of the Ijaw, where they journeyed across waters without motorized boats (Ekpein Appah, 2022).

As Niweigha (2022) explains, the war boat "Omuaru" holds great significance for the Ijaw people, symbolizing their strength and their reliance on the gods, such as Binikurukuru, the sea god, during battles. Boro's adherence to these traditional deities reflects the deep spiritual connection between the Ijaw people and their environment, a bond that continues to be celebrated during the festival.

The symposium held during the festival offers an open forum for discussions on important topics, determined by the Adaka-Boro Festival Committee. It serves as a platform for intellectual exchange and reflection on Boro's legacy. Another key event is the Nigerian Legion Parade, where retired soldiers perform military drills and guard Boro's gravesite, symbolizing respect and reverence for his contributions.

With the festival now lasting a full week, various new activities have been introduced to keep it engaging, such as Women's Day, carnival parades, beauty

pageants, wrestling competitions, and cultural dances. The festival's first day, known as Amafini-Egele, is marked by a traditional close-town rally, signaling the start of the festivities, while the ritual of kola nut sharing (Kula Fii) fosters a spirit of community and conviviality. The Isaac Jasper Boro Festival continues to be a vital event for the people of Kaiama and the Niger Delta, not only celebrating the legacy of a revered leader but also promoting unity, cultural pride, and economic growth

CONCLUSION

This research explores the history and impact of the Isaac Jasper Boro Festival, shedding light on the Niger Delta's background and the early life of its hero, Isaac Jasper Boro. It traces his development from his formative years to his activism and quest for self-determination. The study emphasizes the importance of understanding the history behind the festival and why the people of Kaiama continue to honor Boro as a symbol of resilience and leadership, even after his death. As discussed, the festival serves as a memorial, particularly for the younger generation, reminding them of the enduring struggle for a just society. Isaac Adaka Boro and his followers sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the Ijaw nation and other ethnic minorities in the Niger Delta, a movement that also contributed to the national dialogue on true federalism in Nigeria.

The significance of this study lies in its potentials to enrich the understanding of how cultural commemorations like the Isaac Jasper Boro Festival contribute to the preservation and reinforcement of historical narratives and regional identity. By documenting and analyzing the festival's elements and societal impact, the study offers insights into the role such events play in maintaining social cohesion, fostering a shared identity, and amplifying political

consciousness among the Niger Delta people. Furthermore, it emphasizes how the festival educates participants and visitors about the history and values of the Ijaw people, aligning these with ongoing social and environmental justice issues in the Niger Delta.

The Isaac Jasper Boro Festival is more than just a cultural celebration; it is a vital platform that commemorates the resilience, unity, and cultural pride of the Iiaw people. The festival symbolizes their historical fight for justice and selfdetermination, led by Boro. Through events War Canoe the Regatta, symposiums, cultural performances, and military parades, the festival not only preserves Ijaw traditions but also educates the younger generation and visitors about their rich heritage. It fosters community cohesion, intellectual engagement, strategic reflection on the ongoing Niger Delta struggle. Ultimately, the festival strengthens a collective sense of identity and purpose, uniting the people in a celebration of their history, culture, and the enduring spirit of the Ijaw people.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Isaac Jasper Boro Festival holds significant potential to become a major cultural tourism attraction. To achieve this, it is essential to collaborate with tourism boards and agencies, both locally and internationally, to promote the event on a broader scale. This would not only boost the economic benefits for the community but also foster a greater appreciation and understanding of Ijaw culture among visitors.

The festival should continue to emphasize the incorporation of educational programs, including workshops and lectures, to educate both locals and tourists about the historical significance of Isaac Boro's legacy. Collaborations with schools and universities can further enhance these efforts, ensuring that Boro's contributions remain relevant and appreciated by future generations.

For the festival to remain vibrant and sustainable, it is important to establish partnerships with corporate sponsors and government bodies. This approach will help fund the growing list of activities, ensuring the preservation of the festival's cultural essence while providing entertainment for all attendees.

Youth engagement is also crucial, as the festival serves as a platform to pass on values of leadership, unity, and cultural pride. Increased emphasis should be placed on encouraging youth participation in the planning and execution of the festival. This will not only instill leadership skills in the younger generation but also ensure the preservation of Ijaw cultural heritage for years to come.

Finally, given the festival's focus on riverine culture, environmental preservation should be integrated into its activities. River clean-up campaigns and ecological conservation awareness drives can align the festival with broader environmental sustainability goals, ensuring the protection of the community's natural resources.

References

Akpan, W. (2012). From despair to hope? Oil, power, and environment in the Niger Delta. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 30(2), 339–350.

Alamieyeseigha, D.S.P. (2005). Energy, environment and disaster: The Niger Delta experience. A lecture delivered as the Governor of Bayelsa State at the International Conference on Energy, Environment and Disaster, Charlotte, North Carolina, July 24, 2005.

- Alamieyeseigha, D.S.P. (2005). Thoughts on federalism, South-South and resource control. Treasure Communications.
- Anderson, B.R.O. (1983). Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.

 Verso Publishers
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241 258). Greenwood.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method.* Prentice Hall.
- Boro, I.J.A. (1982). The twelve day revolution. Umeh Publishers.
- Durkheim, E. (1912). The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. Allen & Unwin.
- Eteka, T. (2015). The legacy of Isaac Adaka

 Boro and the Niger Delta struggle
 for justice. Niger Delta

 Publications.
- Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. *Social Text*, (25/26), 56–80.
- Geertz, C. (1973). The interpretation of cultures. Basic Books.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Doubleday.
- Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On collective memory*. University of Chicago Press.
- Ibaba, S. I. (2008). Environmental protection laws and sustainable development in the Niger Delta.

 Pan African Social Science Review, 10(2), 69–86.
- Ibeanu, O. (2006). Civil society and conflict management in the Niger Delta: A study of oil and the politics of

- participation. Centre for Democracy and Development.
- Igali, B. (2020, May 21). Fifty-two resounding salutes to Major Isaac Jasper Adaka (Lion) Boro. Vanguard Newspaper.
- Ijaw Youth Council (1998). *The Kaiama declaration*. IYC Press Release
- Ikelegbe, A.O. (2005). Encounters of insurgent youth associations with the state in the oil rich Niger Delta Region of Nigeria, *Journal of Third World Studies*, XXII(1), 151-18.
- Lakemfa, O. (2017). Heroes of the Niger Delta: The life and legacy of Isaac Boro. Malthouse Press.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society*. University of Chicago Press.
- Obasanjo, O. (1980). My command: An account of the Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970. Heinemann.
- Obi, C. (2009). Scramble for oil and the Niger Delta crisis. In K. Omeje (Ed.), Extractive economies and conflicts in the global South: Multi Regional perspectives on rentier politics (pp. 180–194). Ashgate Publishing.
- Okwu-Okafor, C. O. (1994). Self determination and the struggle for ethno-cultural autonomy in Niger: The Zangon-Kataf and Ogoni problems. *ASICL Proc.* 6(1) 89-118.
- Osaghae, E.E (2001). From accommodation to self-determination: Minority nationalism and the restructuring of Nigerian State, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 7(1), 1-20.
- Osaghae, E.E. (2008). Social movements and rights claims: The case of Action Groups in Nigeria's Niger Delta. Retrieved April 12, 2024 from https://assets.publishing.service.gov uk/media/57a08b22e5274a31e0000 ba/105273462 -osaghae.2010 social.pdf

- Oyibo. C. (2007, June 18). Leave Niger Delta, now, Dokubo warns foreign oil workers. Daily Independent, Nigeria. p. Al & A2
- Priye, T. (2005). Isaac Boro: A challenge to youth leaders today. Retrieved May 2, 2024 from http://www.unitedijaw.com/boro.htm
- Saro-Wiwa, K. (1992) Genocide in Nigeria: The Ogoni tragedy. Saros International Publishers.
- Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2007). Tourism development trajectories: From culture to creativity? In G. Richards & J. Wilson (Eds.), *Tourism*, *creativity*, *and development* (pp. 1-33). Routledge.

- Scott, J. C. (1985). Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance. Yale University Press.
- Tamuno, T. N. (2011). Oil wars in the Niger Delta. 1849-2009. Stirling-Horden Publishers
- Tebekaemi, T. (ed.1982). The twelve-day revolution. Umeh Publishers.
- Ukeje, C. (2001) Youths, violence and the collapse of public order in the Niger Delta of Nigeria, *Africa* development, XXVI (1&2), 337-364
- Vianana, V. (2022). Reflections on the Isaac Jasper Boro Festival and its intellectual contributions to the Niger Delta struggle. Niger Delta Academic Press.

List of Interviewees

Names	Age	Sex	Place	Date	Occupation
Buruboyefe,	43	Male	Kaiama	July, 2022	Legal Practitioner
Clement			7		
Doubara, Stanley	27	Male	Yenago	May, 2022	Civil Servant
			a		
Ekpein, Appah	70	Male	Kaiama	May/June, 2022	Civil Servant
Ikioumoton, George	68	Male	Kaiama	June/August,	Legal Practitioner
		10	0	2022	
Ikioumoton, Lydia	55	Female	Kaiama	June, 2022	Civil Servant
Niwiegha, Stephen	35	Male	Yenago	May, 2022	Civil Servant
			\triangle a \land	AR.	
Vianannia, Victor	65	Male	Kaiama	August, 2022	Chairman, Boro Planning
					Committee, 2022
Ekisa, Lucia	39	Female	Kaiama	August, 2022	Teacher