



Separatist Agitation and Socio-Economic Security in Southeast Nigeria: An Evaluation of IPOB Sit-At-Home Order

Obioji, Josephine N., PhD

*Department of Public Admin. & Local Government,
University of Nigeria Nsukka*

Date of Submission: 01-01-2024

Date of Acceptance: 10-01-2024

Abstract

This study investigates the effects of Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) sit-at-home agitation strategy for self-determination on the socio-economic security of Southeast – Nigeria. It seeks to determine if the sit-at-home exerts negative impact on the social and economic activities of residents of Southeast – Nigeria. Researcher’s modelled questionnaire was used to generate data from a sample of 500 respondents (male = 261 and females = 239) drawn from the capitals of the five states in the region. Analysis of data was carried out with the aid of tables, % formula, and Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20.0 for purposes of determining the mean and standard deviation of responses, and for descriptive purposes. Group theory was adopted to guide analysis therein. Result of analysis reveal that the sit-at-home has significant negative impacts on security of lives and properties, substantially decreased social gatherings, and orchestrated high level state incarceration of youths in Southeast – Nigeria. Further, it has significant negative impact on economic development in the region and government revenue generally. The study recommends the release of Nnamdi Kanu from detention and a constructive engagement of the region with a view to redress the grievances that orchestrated their separatist agitation.

Keywords: Indigenous People of Biafra; socio-economic, security; separatist agitations; Southeast - Nigeria

I. Introduction

The history of organised societies and modern state-system is not bereft of movements, activities, and struggles by minorities who feel marginalised and oppressed in such system to challenge the central authorities with the goal of

forming a separate statehood or achieving transnational identity autonomy (see Ryabinin, 2017; Dayton, 2015). They seek either autonomy within the central and collective existence of the state or to establish new independent states. This, which is commonly known as secession is defined by Thomas & Falola (2020, p.12) as “a group or territory’s political removal from a sovereign and recognized state and establishment as a distinct sovereign body”. It is the act of creating a new and recognized sovereign body out of an existing territorial sovereignty by separating an identifiable group under the existing political system from others through their establishment of limited or full autonomy. The literature is replete with causes or reasons for separatist agitations, and these include economical imbalance, exploitation of economic opportunities, cultural contradictions, political conditions/grievances, or different political preferences (Ryabinin, 2017; Boyle & Englebert, 2006).

Since the demise of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1990s, over 34 new states have emerged worldwide through such agitations (Rosenberg, 2014). Examples of such states include South Sudan, Kosovo, Eritrea, East Timor, and Montenegro while many other transnational identities such as Kurdistan, Tibet, Xinjiang, Kashmir, Palestine, Chechnya, Scotland, Ireland, Quebec, Biafra, Catalonia, Ambazonia, and the Basque among others have either fought for or are fighting to break away from their parent states (Bieri, 2014, Rosenberg, 2014). European Union alone has been battling over 40 separatist parties in spite of the democratic character of its emergence and existence (EFA, 2014; Jones, 2012).

In Nigeria, separatist agitations by some ethnic groups are as old as the state and have their roots in the unresolved national questions, which revolves around religion, ethnic balancing, marginalization, revenue allocation, and power-



sharing (see Alozie&Akonye, 2019; Monday& Samuel, 2016; Afoyemi, 2013; Awofeso, 2017). These echoes of separatism have manifested in the form of a direct call for the establishment of independent Republics such as Arewa, Oduduwa, Biafra, Niger Delta, etc. or movements for a Sovereign National Conference to decide if the federating units of the country still want to continue to live together, agitation for resource control, and restructuring (Yakubu, 2021; Akinrefon, 2020; Adibe, 2017; Adebajo, 2000). The list of separatist movements, which seems endless include among others the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), the Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC), the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), Oodua People's Congress (OPC), Yoruba Liberation Command (YOLICOM), Reformed Oodua People's Congress, the Agbekoya, Network for Yoruba Alliance (NEYA), and the Nigeria Indigenous Nationalities Alliance for Self-Determination (NINAS).

The separatist agitation for the establishment of an independent Republic of Biafra in the Southeast - Nigeria has its root in the 1963/54 political crisis, and metamorphosed into 1967 to 1970 civil war (Okeke, Nduba, & Akam, 2019; Ademoyega, 1981). Although the war ended with the slogan "No Victor No Vanquished", it generated and formalised structural imbalance that is highly skewed against the Igbos of the Southeast (Alabi-Isiama, 2013). The imbalance perpetuated their marginalisation and exclusion from essential socio-economic and political corridors of power in the Nigeria project (Eme-Uche&Okonkwo, 2020; Forsyth, 2015). This led to the re-emergence of the agitation in 1999 under the auspices of the Movement for the Actualization of the State of Biafra (MASSOB) (Ojukwu, Nwaorgu, & Thompson, 2016; Adibe, 2017). Crisis in the leadership of the movement and accusation of economically induced sabotage led to its fractionalisation and the emergence of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) (Alumona et al., 2017).

The agitation took different forms and shapes, and adopted different strategies. The state adopted different violent and repressive strategies to neutralise the separatist agitations instead of addressing the underlying causes of the movement through dialogue further aggravated the agitation. These led to government proscription of IPOB in 2017 (Ejeh et al., 2020). For instance, the agitation

initially took the form of unarmed demonstration and rallies within and beyond the boundaries of Nigeria. The Fulani led federal government responded with different forms of violent repression of demonstrators, and incarceration of innocent Igbo youths through phased joint security programme such as Python Dance etc. IPOB established and began to operate, what some people call a pirate radio broadcast – the Radio Biafra. Through the broadcast, IPOB embarked on sensitization of not only the Igbos but also other indigenous ethnic nationalities on the modalities and forms of their domination, repression and efforts to Islamise Nigeria by the Fulani race (Jannamike, 2019; Ige, 2019), which ignited phobic spirit, ethnicised interpretation Fulani led government public policies, resistance of marauding Fulani herdsmen across Nigeria, and exacerbated herdsmen-farmers' clash.

Following the arrest and re-arrest of the leader of IPOB and operator of Biafra Radio, Mazi Nnamdi Kanu on 19 October 2015 and June 2021 respectively, high rate of protest, riots, and police clashes which resulted to hundreds of deaths and injury of many persons, mostly youths. Further, the federal Fulani dominated police and military formations began to allegedly support the herdsmen and their activities against the indigenous nationalities (Oyero, 2021; Duru, 2018) thereby leading to attacks and killing of police and military personnel in the Southeast particularly (Onu, et al., 2021; Njoku&Ogugbuaja, 2021). As a consequence, the Fulani led federal government issued a shoot at site order, which inadvertently led to the continued killing of girls, women, children, youths, and even men, burning of houses and markets by security agents across the Southeast (Alozie, 2021; Okoli, 2021).

Nnamdi Kanu was subsequently re-arraigned on charges of treasonable felony, which led Emma Powerful, the IPOB spokesperson, to declare on July 30, 2021 that Southeast shall be observing a sit-at-home every Monday starting from August 9, 2021 to protest federal government disobedience to court order for his bail (Jannah, 2017). The sit at home order started firstly as an annual event partly to remember those who died during the Nigeria Biafra war, and now a weekly event. IPOB further directed that the exercise will also hold any day Mazi Kanu is to appear in court. Many argue that the frequency of the exercise has triggered a backlash and has turned to be a thorn in the people's flesh as it affect their daily living. There is



no empirical literature or academic research that verified this claim. Thus, the present study was embarked upon to fill this gap. Specifically, this study is set to find out:

- i. If IPOB sit-at-home activity has a significant negative impact on economic activities in Southeast – Nigeria.
- ii. If there is a significant relationship between IPOB sit-at-home activity and the rising level of social insecurity in the Southeast – Nigeria.

II. Materials and Methods

This paper adopts both the secondary and primary methods of data collection as its source of information. The secondary method uses library and internet sources to generate data from like books, journals, conference/seminal papers, and magazines/newspapers. In the primary method, a descriptive survey research design and researcher designed questionnaire was adopted to generate data from residents of Southeast – Nigeria. The questionnaire was validated by three Professors in the Faculty of Arts, University of Nigeria and has a reliability coefficient of 0.87, which makes it good for the study. The instrument has two parts, namely: Part A, which contains demo-graphic questions, and Part B, which contains the actual research questions that are intended to generate answers as data. The questions are structured in five-point Likert scale format with ratings as follow: SA = Strongly Agree (5points), A = Agree (4 points), NO = No Opinion (3 points), D = Disagree (2 points) and SD = Strongly Disagree (1 point).

The locations of study are Awka, Abakiliki, Enugu, Owerri, and Umuahia – the capitals of the five states in the Southeast. A sample of 500 participants was randomly selected from the population. In distributing the questionnaires, the sample was divided equally into five clusters of 100 each. The 100 questionnaires were divided into four and distributed in churches, civil service, market places, and security

organisations. Thereafter, data collected were tallied in tables, and further analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20.0 tools, while the demographic data were analysed using frequency tables and simple percentages.

Framework of Analysis

This study adopts group theory and Instrumentalism as its framework of analysis.

Group theory contends that group behaviour is at the centre of politics, which is the most effective instrument for the realization of their interests. The fundamental unit of analysis in this approach is the human groups (Hammond & Axelrod, 2016), which in this instance is IPOB. It is in the pursuit of their interests through manipulations to generate political and socio-economic advantages for any of the group at the cost of depriving or neglecting other groups that conflict, and separatist tendencies emerge (Chandra, 2004). Thus, Instrumentalism focuses on the use of the political system to actualise and consolidate group interests.

These theories enable the study to investigate, understand and explain the trajectory between politics in the multi-ethnic Nigeria orchestrated the emergence of IPOB, and the impact created by the group's activities i.e. sit-at-home project on the state system vis-à-vis economic and social security. The project is the group's instrument for the pursuit of its interests – the release of NnamdiKanu and the actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra.

Data Collection and Analysis

Socio-demographic data of Participants

Analysis of data from the questionnaire shows that 261 out of the 500 participants i.e. 52.2% are male while 239 i.e. 47.8% are females. Majority of the participants i.e. 270 representing 54.0% belonged to 28 - 47years age group, 30 i.e. 6.0% belong to 18 - 27years age group, while the rest, i.e. 200 participants representing 40.0% belong to 48years& above age group.



Results of SPSS Analysis Of Responses To Questions

Table 1: Results of SPSS Analyses of responses to questions

Sn	Research questions	Grand Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Tests of Between-Subjects Effects	Sig.	Pairwise Comparisons
<i>Research Question 1: Does IPOB sit-at-home activity has a significant negative impact on economic activities in Southeast – Nigeria?</i>							
1	Business activities in the entire five states of the Southeast are closed down during sit-at-home	4.01	.612	.008	106.002	.001	@ 95% confidence Interval, no adjustments
2	The enforcement of sit-at-home order has led to the destruction and burning goods and commodities in the Southeast	4.13	.321	.106	85.303	.000	@ 95% confidence Interval, no adjustments
3	The sit-at-home order has led to significant loss of government revenues across the Southeast states	4.24	.952	.211	423.006	.012	@ 95% confidence Interval, no adjustments
4	Many businesses have been relocated out of the Southeast due to IPOB sit-at-home project	4.24	.952	.211	423.006	.012	@ 95% confidence Interval, no adjustments
5	IPOB sit-at-home in the Southeast has led to increased armed robbery and looting of shops	2.21	.110	.004	104.112	.000 & .012	@ 95% confidence Interval, no adjustments
<i>Research Question 2: Is there a significant relationship between IPOB sit-at-home activity and the rising level of social insecurity in the Southeast – Nigeria?</i>							
6	IPOB sit-at-home has disrupted public services and educational activities in the Southeast	4.31	1.009	.107	103.542	.001	@ 95% confidence Interval, no adjustments
7	The fear of unknown gun men attack and kidnap has significantly limited mass social gathering in the Southeast	4.20	.108	.006	23.108	.002	@ 95% confidence Interval, no adjustments
8	The enforcement of IPOB sit-at-home has led to the killing/assassination of many people who disregard it and/or are alleged to be state informants in the Southeast	4.11	.007	.018	121.348	.003	@ 95% confidence Interval, no adjustments
9	The fear of police and military attacks, killing, and abduction have led to Youths exodus in the Southeast	4.01	.203	.421	206.531	.000	@ 95% confidence Interval, no adjustments
10	Anti-sit-at-home policies have led to incessant security killing of innocent citizens in the Southeast	4.01	.203	.421	206.531	.000	@ 95% confidence Interval, no adjustments



11	IPOB significantly undermines people's movement and transportation activities in the Southeast	4.11	.007	.018	121.348	.003	@ 95% confidence Interval, no adjustments
----	--	------	------	------	---------	------	---

Source: SPSS analysis of responses to research questions

IPOB sit-at-home activity and economic activities in Southeast – Nigeria

Analysis of responses in table '1', question 1, reveals a grand means of 4.01 and a standard deviations of .612 whose .001 level of differences is insignificant when compared with .05 standard level of significance. Result of Pairwise Comparisons carried out to determine adjustment to the mean reveals no adjustment. Therefore, the ground means of between 4.01 representing 'Agree' in our likert scale measure is accepted. Thus, business activities in the entire five states of the Southeast are closed down during sit-at-home.

In addition, result of analysis of responses to question 2 reveals a grand means of 4.13 & a standard deviation of .321 whose .000 level of differences is insignificant compared to .05 standard level of significance. Analysis of Pairwise Comparisons equally reveals no adjustment to the mean. Thus, the ground means of 4.13 representing 'Agree' in our likert scale measure is accepted. Therefore, the enforcement of sit-at-home order has led to the destruction and burning goods and commodities in the Southeast.

Responses to question 3 also reveal a grand means of 4.24 with standard deviations of .952, whose .012 level of differences is insignificant @ .05 standard level of significance. The Pairwise Comparisons reveal no adjustment to the mean. Thus, the 4.24 mean representing 'Agree' in our likert scale measure is accepted. Thus, the sit-at-home order has led to significant loss of government revenues across the Southeast states. Similar results were obtained in participants' responses to question 4. Therefore, many businesses are relocating out of Southeast due to IPOB sit-at-home project.

In addition, analysis of responses to question 5 reveals a grand means of 2.21 with standard deviations of .110 whose .000 & .012 levels of differences are insignificant @ .05 standard level of significance. Pairwise Comparisons result reveals no adjustment. Therefore, the ground means of 2.21 representing

'Disagree' in our likert scale measure is accepted, and implies that IPOB sit-at-home project in the Southeast has not led to increased armed robbery and looting of shops.

A synthesis of the above findings shows that business activities in the entire five states of the Southeast are closed down during sit-at-home; the enforcement of sit-at-home order has led to the destruction and burning goods and commodities in the Southeast; many businesses are relocating out of Southeast due to IPOB sit-at-home project; the sit-at-home order has led to significant loss of government revenues across the Southeast states; while IPOB sit-at-home project in the Southeast has not led to increased armed robbery and looting of shops. These indicate that IPOB sit-at-home order has significant negative impact on economic activities in the Southeast.

IPOB sit-at-home and the rising level of social insecurity in the Southeast

Analysis of responses to question 6 in table '1' reveals a grand means of 4.31 and a standard deviations of 1.009 whose .001 level of differences is insignificant @ .05 standard level of significance. The Pairwise Comparisons reveals no adjustment to the mean. Thus, the ground means of between 4.31 representing 'Agree' in our likert scale measure is accepted. Therefore, IPOB sit-at-home has disrupted public services and educational activities in the Southeast.

Further analysis of responses to question 7 reveals a grand means of 4.20 & a standard deviations of .108 whose .002 level of differences is insignificant @ .05 standard level of significance. The Pairwise Comparisons reveal no adjustment to the mean. Thus, the 4.20 mean representing 'Agree' in our likert scale measure is accepted. Therefore, the fear of unknown gunmen attack and kidnap significantly limits mass social gathering in the Southeast.

In question 8, the SPSS analysis of responses reveals a grand means of 4.11 with standard deviations of .007, whose .003 level of differences is insignificant @ .05 standard level of



significance. The Pairwise Comparisons reveal no adjustment to the mean. Thus, the ground means of between 4.11 representing 'Agree' in our likert scale measure is accepted. Therefore, the enforcement of IPOB sit-at-home has led to the killing/assassination of many people who disregard it and/or are alleged to be state informants in the Southeast.

Further analysis of responses to question 9 reveals a grand means of 4.01 with standard deviations of .203 whose .000 level of differences is insignificant @ .05 standard level of significance. Their Pairwise Comparisons reveal no adjustment. Thus, the ground means of between 4.01 representing 'Agree' in our likert scale measure is accepted. Therefore, the fear of police and military attacks, killing, and abduction have led to Youths exodus in the Southeast. Similar results were obtained in the analysis of responses to question 10. Therefore, the ground means of between 4.01 representing 'Agree' in our likert scale measure is accepted, and implies that anti-sit-at-home policies have led to incessant killing of innocent citizens in the Southeast by security operatives.

Finally, analysis of responses to question 11 reveals a grand means of 4.11 and a standard deviations of .007, whose .003 level of differences is insignificant @ .05 standard level of significance. The Pairwise Comparisons reveal no adjustment to the mean. Thus, the ground means of between 4.11 representing 'Agree' in our likert scale measure is accepted. Therefore, IPOB sit-at-home significantly undermines people's movement and transportation activities in the Southeast.

A synthesis of findings from analysis of responses to questions 6-11 reveals that IPOB sit-at-home has disrupted public services and educational activities in the Southeast; the fear of unknown gunmen attack and kidnap significantly limits mass social gathering in the Southeast; the enforcement of IPOB sit-at-home has led to the killing/assassination of many people who disregard it and/or are alleged to be state informants in the Southeast; anti-sit-at-home policies have led to incessant killing of innocent citizens in the Southeast by security operatives; IPOB sit-at-home significantly undermines people's movement and transportation activities in the Southeast. Therefore, IPOB sit-at-home order has significantly undermined the security of lives and property, and social activities in the Southeast.

III. Findings and Discussions

Two streams of findings are made by this research. First, It was found that IPOB sit-at-home order has significant negative impact on economic activities in the Southeast. This finding has been observed earlier by Atawheke (2021) to the effect that IPOB activities in Southeast have led to the closure of marketplaces and poor economic development, and molestation of people with great negative economic impact on the South East. This sit-at-home order has made Nigeria lose billions of naira in general anytime it holds.

Second, this research also observes that IPOB sit-at-home order has significantly undermined the security of lives and property, and social activities in the Southeast. This finding corroborates earlier observations made by Chukwudi, et al. (2019) and Obasi (2017) to the effect that President Muhammadu Buhari's response to IPOB sit-at-home ferments instability in the region. Precisely, Ejimakor (2018) blames military operations and their aftermaths for rising instability both in governance and socio-economic activities in Southeast. Similar studies in different countries by Adam & Ocheni (2016), Adangor (2017), Chawdhury (2016), and Shehu, Othman & Osman (2017) revealed the same result. Further studies by Gberevbie, Ayo, Iyoha, Duruji, & Abasilim (2018); Imhonopi, Urin, George, & Egharevha (2013) equally observed that the IPOB agitation has destabilised social, cultural, political, and economic activities in the Southeast and South-South regions.

Equally, Atawheke (2021) observed that IPOB activities have generated terrorism, led to closure of schools and disruptions of educational programmes, killing of innocent people, distort transportation and movement of people and goods, and undermine public service activities as workers cannot go to work during sit-at-home orders. When schools close, the demand for distance learning skyrockets and often overwhelms existing portals for remote education, while poor connectivity and non-adoption of e-working system cripples public service operations during sit-at-home.

IV. Summary/Conclusion

Separatist agitation is a worldwide experience that has continued to emerge in multi-ethnic societies due to different reasons. In Nigeria, the political crisis of 1962 – 1965 orchestrated the emergence of separatist agitation in Southeast Nigeria, which culminated to 1967-1970 civil war.



It re-emerged when Nigeria returned to democratic rule in 1999 due to alleged and/or perceived marginalisation of Igbos in the Southeast. Initially, it began as mass demonstration involving unarmed youths. The state responded with such a brutality that led to the killing, incarceration, and imprisonment of many of the youths. This led to the arrest of IPOB leader, MaziNnamdiKanu, and the militarization of the struggle with consequential presidential “shoot at site” order. Responding to the Order, IPOB introduced sit-at-home order to avert the continued killing of innocent people, and to agitate for the release of their leader.

It is in the findings of this study that the IPOB sit-at-home order has significant negative impact on the economy and greatly undermines government revenues. Many business concerns are equally relocating out of the Southeast. It has also distorted and significantly undermined social activities, public services, educational programmes at all levels, and the transportation system in the Southeast. Further, it has led to spiral killings and assassinations of hundreds of both innocent civilians, IPOB members, and security agents with arsons and material losses that are unquantifiable. Therefore, the direct and indirect impacts of the sit-at-home order are significantly negative, destructive, and none developmental in nature. The study, therefore, recommends the release of NnamdiKanu from detention, and a constructive engagement of the region in a dialogue with a view to redress the grievances that orchestrated their separatist agitation.

References

- [1]. Adamu, A. & Ocheni, D. (2016). Ethnic politics and the challenges of national integration in Nigeria. *International Journal of Politics and good governance*, 7(2), 1-20
- [2]. Adangor, Z. (2017). Separatist agitations and the search for political stability in Nigeria. *Danish Journal of Law and Conflict Resolutions*, 3(1), 1 – 17
- [3]. Adebajo, Adegbenro (2000). Drumbeats of war. *Tell magazine (Nigeria)*, July 31
- [4]. Ademoyega, A. (1981). *Why we struck: the story of the first Nigerian coup*. Ibadan: Evans Brothers Nig.
- [5]. Adibe, Jideofor (2017). Separatist agitations in Nigeria: Causes and trajectories. Available @ <https://www.brookings.edu>.
- [6]. Afoyemi, K.O. (2013). The implications of resource control in Nigeria. *International Journal of Humanities and social science innovations*, 2(2), 41-53
- [7]. Akinrefon, Dapo (2020). Oodua Republic: We are holding our Oct 1 rally in 6 continents -Yoruba Diaspora Group. Available @ www.vanguardngr.com
- [8]. Alabi-Isiama, Godwin (2013). *The Tragedy of Victory*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Spectrum Books Limited
- [9]. Alozie, Cyprian C. & Akonye Joseph (2019). The Igbo, marginalization and emergence of sectarian groups in south-east. *Review of Public Administration and Management*, 8 (2), 15 – 22. Available @ www.arabianjbm.com
- [10]. Alozie, Chinonso (2021). Updated: Tension in Imo as military conducts air strikes to dislodge Eastern Security Network operatives. Available @ www.vanguardngr.com.
- [11]. Alumona, I. M., Azam, S. N., & Iloh, E. C. (2017). *The Nigerian state and the resurgence of separatist agitations: The case of Biafra*. Diane Davis & Anthony Pereira (Eds.). African Heritage Institution and State Formation. New York: Cambridge University Press
- [12]. Atawheke, Isaiah (2021). 10 Economic Impact of IPOB’s Sit-at-Home Order in the South East and Nigeria in General. *Premium Times Nigeria*. Available @ <http://www.InfoGuideNigeria.com>
- [13]. Awofeso, O. (2017). Secessionist movements and the national question in Nigeria: A revisit to the quest for political restructuring. *IJRDO-Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research*, 2(7), 25– 55
- [14]. Boyle, K. & Englebert, P. (2006). *The Primacy of Politics in Separatist Dynamics*. Available @ http://cega.berkeley.edu/assets/miscellaneous_files/wgape/10_Englebert.pdf.
- [15]. Chandra, K. (2004). *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [16]. Chawdhury, J. (2016). *Political instability, a major obstacle to economic growth in Bangladesh*. Thesis, Department of Business Management, Central University of Applied Sciences, Bangladesh.
- [17]. Chukwudi, C.E.; Gberegbe, D.E.; Abasilim, U.D. & Imhonopi, D. (2019). An empirical investigation on how IPOB agitations affect political stability in Nigeria. *Proceedings of*



- SOCIOINT 2019- 6th International Conference on Education, Social Sciences and Humanities 24-26 June 2019- Istanbul, Turkey
- [18]. Dayton, Ross (2015). Miami-Florida European Union Center of Excellence Separatism, Globalization, and the European Union. The Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series, Vol. 15 No. 1
- [19]. Duru, Peter (2018). Benue tribal leaders back Danjuma, accuse FG, military of aiding takeover of Benue by herdsmen. Available @ www.vanguardngr.com.
- [20]. Ejeh, E. U., Bappah, A. I., & Dankofa, Y. (2020). Proscription of terrorism in Nigeria: A comparative legal study. *Commonwealth Law Bulletin*, 46(3), 367–390
- [21]. Ejimakor, A. (2018). Excerpt of an online interview with Barrister Alloy Ejimakor (a Special Counsel to IPOB and its Supreme Leader Nnamdi Kanu) from his base, Abuja, October 28
- [22]. Eme-Uche, Uche & Okonkwo, Chigozie (2020). Nigeria and the Challenges of National Unity. Conference Proceedings of INTCESS 2020 7th International Conference on Education and Social Sciences 20-22 January. Dubai (UAE)
- [23]. Forsyth, Fredrick (2015). *The Biafra Story: The Making of an African Legend*. New York, United States: Open Road Integrated Media. Available @ [www.https://www.scribd.com](https://www.scribd.com)
- [24]. Gberevbie, D. E., Ayo, C. K., Iyoha, F. O., Duruji, M. M., & Abasilim, U. D. (2018). Electronic governance platform: towards overcoming the challenges of non-inclusion of citizens in public policy formulation and implementation in Nigeria. *International Journal of Electronic Governance*, 10(1), 56-73
- [25]. Hammond, R. & Axelrod, R. (2016). The Evolution of Ethnocentrism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50(6) 926-936
- [26]. Ige, Oluwole (2019). Fulanization and Islamization: Another salvo from Obasanjo. Available @ www.tribuneonlineng.com
- [27]. Imhonopi, D., Urim, U. M., George, T. O., & Egharevha, M. E. (2013). Organisational change and management strategies: Lessons for industry in developing countries. *Creating Global Competitive Economies: 2020 Vision Planning and Implementation - Proceedings of the 22nd International Business Information Management Association Conference, IBIMA*, pp. 2274-2283
- [28]. Jannah, C. (2018). Nnamdi Kanu releases 6 scientific facts to prove Buhari is replaced by Jubril of Sudan in Aso rock. Available @ <http://dailypost.ng/2018/12>
- [29]. Jannamike, Luminous (2019). Fulanisation agenda: Pay attention to Obasanjo's warnings, CAN tells FG. Available @ www.vanguardngr.com
- [30]. Jason, P. (2006, January 27). Niger Delta: From Military to Insurgency. *Vanguard Newspaper*, p.15
- [31]. Monday, D. & Samuel, A.A. (2016). The politics of resource control in Nigeria: Agitation and innovation. *International Journal of politics and good governance*, VII (7), 1 – 13
- [32]. Njoku, L. & Ogugbuaja, C. (2021). Inside story of arson, killings as unknown gunmen terrorize Southeast. Available @ www.guardian.ng
- [33]. Obasi, E. (2017, 12th August). Effiong: Biafran's president, Nigerian Hero. Retrieved from <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/08/effiong-biafra-s-president-nigerian-hero>
- [34]. Ojukwu, C. C., Nwaorgu, O. G. F., & Thompson, O.O. (2016). United we fall, divided we stand: Resuscitation of the Biafran state secession and the national question conundrum. *JORIND*, 14(1), PP.1-14
- [35]. Okeke, M.I., Nduba, J.O. & Akam, E.B. (2019). Nationalism and separatist agitations in Nigeria: a study of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). *Social scientia Journal*, 4(2), 26 – 38. Available @ <http://www.journals.aphriapub.com/index.php/SS/>
- [36]. Okoli, Anayo (2021). Ohanaeze condemns shoot-at-sight order on Igbo land, laments deployment of 'only' Northern officers to S'East, S'South. Available @ www.vanguardngr.com.
- [37]. Onu, Nwanosike et al. (2021). Gunmen kill five soldiers, destroy vehicle in Anambra. Available @ www.thenationonlineng.net
- [38]. Oyero, Kayode (2021). ICYMI: How Seriki Fulani's son freed arrested herders—Igangan residents. Available @ www.punchng.com
- [39]. Ryabinin, Yevgeny (2017). The Basic Causes of the Contemporary Separatism. *Journal of Geography, Politics and Society*, 7(1), 5–9



- [40]. Shehu, M. I, Othman, M. F., & Osman, N. B. (2017). Resource control and allocation in Nigerian federalism: The oil dilemma. *International Journal of Management Research and Review*, 7, 237-251
- [41]. Thomas, C. G., & Falola, T. (2020). *Secession and Separatist Conflicts in Postcolonial Africa*. Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press. Available @ <http://hdl.handle.net/1880/112216>
- [42]. Yakubu, Dirisu (2021). On restructuring we stand - Middle Belt Forum. Available @ www.vanguardngr.com