



**THE AGITATION OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF BIAFRA (IPOB)
AND ITS IMPACT ON NIGERIA'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

(2012-2022)

BY

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine how the agitations for self-determination by the Ingenious People of Biafra (IPOB), has impacted Nigeria's national development. With the help of questionnaires and interviews, 400 respondents from south-eastern Nigeria were investigated using a descriptive survey methodology. Simple percentage tables were used to illustrate the data, and Chi-square tests were used to assess the hypotheses (X2).

The major finding is that the agitations for self-determination by the Ingenious People of Biafra (IPOB) are a setback to national development as they pose a threat to economic development, promote political instability, and open the country for internal and external security attacks, among other national endangerments. This entails that the IPOB activities will destroy Nigeria's already crippled national development if a well-thought-out solution is not proffered. In light of this, the writer propose that Nigeria holds a referendum to vote on the IPOB's right to self-determination in order to put an end to the threat.

Keywords: Ingenious People of Biafra (IPOB), agitations, political stability, economic development, and national security



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DEDICATION

This independent study is dedicated to God Almighty for his unmerited goodness and mercy toward me, to my beloved mother, the late Mrs. Theresa Chinyere Nweke, and to my extraordinarily special uncle and mentor, Dr. Emmanuel Nweke Okafor.



DECLARATION

I, Mr. Nweke Emmanuel Chukwuemeka, with ID number 6317802010, hereby declare that this research is entirely mine and it is original work unless specific acknowledgements states otherwise. I have done this independent study by myself under the close supervision of an advisor.



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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Hego (2018) believes that political stability, economic growth, internal and external national security, and effective government administration all contribute to national development. He goes on to explain that political stability and economic growth are the foundations of national development and that these processes are made possible by governments that are effective at, among other things, providing security, infrastructure, education, health care, and social amenities.

In south-east Nigeria, where the Igbo ethnic group predominates, Biafra separatist rallies have occurred since the founding of IPOB in 2012. In the economic hub of Onitsha, Anambra State, on December 2, 2015, two police officers and nine protesters are said to have been killed among the hundreds who had blocked the crucial Niger Bridge (Nwanosike, 2015). Several properties were destroyed during the riots, including the city's well-known mosque and eight cars owned by the Dangote Group, a firm run by Aliko Dangote from the north. Since the event in December 2015, many protesters have died in clashes with the police forces in Onitsha, Aba, Port Harcourt, Owerri, and Asaba (Sunny, 2016).

It is fair to say that there has been a history of extrajudicial executions of supporters of Biafra that precedes the current leadership. For instance, in January 2013, fifty bodies believed to be Biafra sympathizers were found floating in the Ezu River in Anambra State. (Mamah, 2013). Despite this, neither the past nor present murders in Nigeria have been the subject of thorough investigations by the government. Nnamdi Kanu's arrest on October 19, 2015, for treasonable felony,

sedition, and ethnic provocation quickly led to recent Biafran separatist protests. Nnamdi Kanu is the CEO of the internet Radio Biafra Station and the leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB).

The most prominent and extreme advocates for a separate Biafra state at the moment are the IPOB and Radio Biafra. It is crucial to consider these peripheral demands in view of their implications for national development, especially in light of past separatist movements that are still boiling in the Middle Belt and Niger Delta, as well as the presence of the Boko Haram insurgency. By examining several facets of this impact, notably in terms of politics, economics, security, and government efficacy, this research aims to further understanding.

1.2 Statement of the problem

This position is contested by groups within these countries that seek self-determination, such as the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), who wants to secede from south-eastern Nigeria. The failure of this process is a major setback for the region.

Due to their protests, attacks, and media libels and slanders, the emergence of IPOB agitations has raised a great deal of internal and external worry, affecting numerous aspects of national development such as political stability, economic development, national security, and government efficiency. In their agitations, the group employs a variety of tactics, including sit-at-home protests, street marches, and the use of various forms of communication, such as radio and television, to discourage electoral participation, cease business activities, stage life-claiming protests, and attack government officials, particularly in the Diaspora. Adamu and Ocheni (2016), Adangor (2017), Chinwendu (2017), and Okpukri (2012) are just a few academics who have investigated IPOB agitations; nonetheless, there is a void in the literature discussing their overall impact on national development. The

aforementioned problems and a lack of literature drove the researchers to look at the actions of the Ingenious People of Biafra (IPOB) and their consequences for the national development of Nigeria.

1.3 Research question

The following questions are formulated to address the problems raised in this study;

1.3.1. How do the ingenious people of Biafra's self-determination movements influence political stability?

1.3.2. To what extent do IPOB agitations have an impact on Nigeria's economic development?

1.3.3. What impact do the agitations of the Ingenious People of Biafra have on national security?

1.3.4. Do the agitations of the Ingenious People of Biafra have an impact on the Nigerian government's efficiency?

1.4 Hypothesis

The following hypotheses (in their null form) were proposed in order to accomplish the study's goals:

Ho1: IPOB protests had little bearing on Nigeria's economic growth.

Ho2: The Ingenious People of Biafra's calls for self-determination have no bearing on Nigeria's political stability.

H03: The clever Biafrans' agitations have no impact on the security of the country.

H04: The Ingenious People of Biafra's protests had little impact on the effectiveness of the Nigerian administration.

1.5 Objectives of the study

The goal of this research is to examine how the Indigenous People of Biafra's (IPOB) agitations for self-determination influence Nigeria's development; more specifically, this research aims to determine;

- 1.5.1. How the agitations for self-determination by the Indigenous People of Biafra affect political stability in Nigeria.
- 1.5.2. Determines the impact of IPOB agitations on Nigeria's economic progress.
- 1.5.3. Analyzes the influence of agitations by the Indigenous People of Biafra on national security.
2. Evaluates whether the agitations of the Indigenous People of Biafra have an impact on the Nigerian government's effectiveness.

1.6 Significance of the Study

In practice, this study would benefit Nigeria as a country and Pro-IPOB members by highlighting the implications of IPOB agitation to national development; it would serve as an x-ray of IPOB activities that have become a threat to our unity, peace, and progress. Theoretically, the academic community would benefit from the knowledge contributed by this research work, which will be the basis for decision-making, reference, and further studies. The general public would benefit from the evidence that this study had discovered in society,

especially those who would utilize the knowledge. It will also benefit the researcher's career development and performance in Political Science.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study focuses on the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and its implications for national development in Nigeria, with a focus on south-eastern Nigeria as the main region of IPOB's self-determination agitation. This study covers the period from 2012 (the year of IPOB formation) to 2022 (when the study was carried out). This study was confined within these boundaries.

1.8. Limitations of the study

1.8.1. **Time:** The researcher's main constraint when gathering data for the study was time. The semester lectures ran concurrently with the writing of this project. As a result, the researcher's attention was divided between completing the project and meeting up with the semester lectures.

1.8.2. **Finance:** Financial restrictions compounded the time aspect, especially given the existing high transportation costs to and from the study's large territory. Without external financial assistance, locating primary data in different locations would have been nearly impossible.

1.8.2.1. **Poor Response:** People's unwillingness to cooperate in research project makes it difficult to obtain crucial data. Because they were concerned about their personal and work security, most people in positions of authority refused to provide crucial information. The researchers' efforts were hampered by the "Why not check tomorrow? I'm too busy" attitude, but consistency saved the situation.

1.8.2.2. **Lack of Statistical Record:** The researcher was able to overcome this difficulty by employing online blogs and libraries as secondary information sources. Particularly in a developing nation like Nigeria, record keeping has been a struggle and abysmally low, making it difficult to acquire information from secondary sources.

The validity and reliability of the instruments were not harmed as a result of the researcher's efforts; thus, the research's findings are trustworthy.



CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Overview of Indigenous People of Biafra

2.2.1 National Development

It is impossible to overstate the importance of national development. It is a common decimal when it comes to analyzing the history of development plans and growth models in relation to a specific country's history. As a result, commentators of western social scientists' postulations have highlighted in various ways that development must be viewed in the context of a certain social structure. According to Amucheazi (1980), the man and his quality of life must be at the center of national development thinking.

This is due to the reality that development is really about people. As a result, development should be focused on people rather than institutions. National development is defined as a country's or a group of countries' overall socio-economic, political, security, and administrative advancement. It is also a country's or countries' ability to increase social welfare through building basic infrastructure like roads, schools, hospitals, recreational facilities, and so on. As a result, a country can be termed developed if every aspect of its economic or national life is growing concomitantly. In Nigeria, we have had a number of development programs. The specter of progress is always stalking Nigeria. Its fifty-nine years of freedom are still rolling by on a daily basis in search of progress. The myth of growth and development is so ingrained that the country's history is mistaken for the history of development techniques and models from colonial times to the present day. Development is the only term that has ever been in perpetual

movement. This appears to be the only country where practically all development theories and models have been tested (Aremu, 2003).

Between 1962 and 1968, two years after independence, the first National Development Plan policy was created, with the goals of expanding development opportunities in health, education, and employment, as well as enhancing access to these opportunities. This plan failed because fifty percent of the plan's funding was to come from outside sources, but only fourteen percent of the outside funding was received (Ogwumike, 1995). The strategy was further thrown off by the collapse of the first Republic and the outbreak of civil war. The second national development plan, 1970-1974, was launched during the civil war in 1970. The plan's goals were agriculture, industry, transportation, manpower, defense, electricity, communication, and water supply, as well as the provision of social services (Ogwumike, 1995).

The third plan, which covered the years 1975 to 1980, was thought to be more ambitious than the second. Rural development and initiatives to revitalize the agricultural sector were highlighted. The fourth plan, which ran from 1981 to 1985, acknowledged the importance of social and health services, among other things. The plan was created with the goal of improving people's living situations. The particular goals were to raise the average citizen's real income, distribute money more evenly among individuals and socio-economic categories, improve reliance on the country's material and human resources, and reduce unemployment and underemployment (Ogwumike, 1995). Nigeria's tremendous oil riches was not invested during these times in building a viable industrial base for the country or initiating an agrarian revolution to alleviate widespread poverty. The Green Revolution Program, which superseded Operation Feed the Nation, for example, failed to provide adequate food for the populace. Various development methods, such as the structural adjustment program (SAP), Vision 2010, the national

economic empowerment and development strategy (NEEDS), and the establishment of development centers, have all been tried in the recent past with little or no success. It is self-evident that the existing results do not reflect development.

Despite a series of development initiatives implemented by succeeding governments, some of which were implemented with good intentions, all attempts to promote significant development proved ineffective.

As a result, one is left with the following questions: "Were those past development plans or tactics bad in their context, or incorrectly projected?" Why, if the plans were flawless, is it still so difficult to achieve real development despite the vast resources at our disposal? These riddles have not-so-impossible answers. A number of issues have conspired to stifle the nation's progress. One, in most circumstances, there is no executive capability responsible for the plan's creation and implementation. Typically, we encounter officials who have been entrusted with such a role but do not have any meaningful executive authority. Some prior development plans failed because the general public was consulted infrequently or not at all. Village peasants are meant to be involved in planning. Even officials from the local government, who are close to the public, were not contacted. Planning is not a structure run solely by technocrats (Mimiko, 1998).

National development is also hampered by a lack of strong governance. Development becomes a mirage when there is no strong governance. This is the effect of the country's poor leadership. The majority of our leaders are clueless.

"Decolonization permitted a crop of leaders associated with colonial power to take over Nigeria," Mimiko (1998) writes. This ensured that a neocolonial economy could continue even after political independence. Instead of dismantling the colonial state's repressive machinery, these leaders swiftly ramped it up when they took control. They have no vision of growth to go along with the effective

repressive instrument they inherited. They were only concerned with gaining access to power and privileges, not with progress.

Another impediment to progress is a high level of corruption and indiscipline. The Nigerian state is corrupt, run by corrupt politicians who have turned the state into a tool for accumulating wealth rather than using it to further the interests of the people. An excellent plan overseen by a fully corrupt government can't possibly do a thorough job (Mimiko, 1998). Corruption and growth are diametrically opposed; they cannot coexist, and as a result, when one exists, the other suffers. Another key factor is the country's mono-economic base. The country's survival is largely dependent on crude oil, to the disadvantage of other resources. The economy's other sectors are completely ignored. Agriculture, for example, which was the backbone of the Nigerian economy in the 1950s and 1960s, has been thrown into disarray over time. When there is absolutely nothing to export, how can the government stimulate export promotion? The economy is not well-diversified, which is incompatible with long-term growth. (Mimiko, 1998).

If the goal for a higher standard of living is to be met, the development process must, of course, be viewed in its fullest context. The following sub-headings will be examined in relation to national development in light of the IPOB agitation:

1. Political stability
2. Economic development
3. National security
4. Government efficiency

2.2.2 Political stability

The numerous political and sociocultural activities that occur within society can help to maintain a society's political stability. Political stability, according to Paldam (2016), can be defined in four ways: stable government, stable political system, internal law, and foreign stability. Political stability may be guaranteed in any country if there is a democratic system in place that includes justice, honesty, accountability, and transparency. This kind of stability can be obtained by enlightening the people in a concerted manner. Self-determination, according to Akanji (2012), refers to a people's right to have their own state, self-government, self-management, or home rule. It's worth noting that if the Indigenous People of Biafra's agitations for self-determination had been received with a good response from the government, it might have eased nerves and gone a long way toward securing political stability in Nigeria. According to Obasi (2017), President Muhammadu Buhari's use of force in response to the IPOB's agitations has not been helpful because it inflames passions and raises people's emotions toward separation, perhaps leading to political instability.

2.2.3 Economic development

In terms of the ramifications of violent agitation for Nigeria's larger polity, it should be highlighted that the IPOB protests have contributed to a global perception of Nigeria as a dangerous country (Hego, 2018). This has harmed Nigeria's reputation as a desirable foreign investment, travel, tourism, scholarship, and migration destination. As a result, Nigeria is rapidly slipping into the category of a marginalized country. This does not bode good for the country's long-term national security. Furthermore, the IPOB insurgency in Nigeria has been associated with appalling levels of violence and damage.

The development of suicide bombing as a technique for prosecuting violent agitation by members of the sect has since highlighted a new dimension to the national security crisis in Nigeria. To put it mildly, Nigeria's increased incidence and prevalence of terrorist strikes has exposed the country to grave humanitarian and territorial vulnerabilities. In light of this situation, maintaining Nigeria's national security is at best a challenge. Apart from that, violent agitation in Nigeria exacerbates public insecurity, threatens livelihood, raises human rights violations, exacerbates population displacement and the refugee crisis, and increases human casualties and deaths. To be sure, wishing for growth in the midst of terrorist assaults is utopian, as no true development can be achieved in a war-torn society marked by constant bombings and attacks, especially given that Nigerian democracy is still in its infancy and vulnerable to instability.

2.2.4 National security

Security is not a foreign notion; it has always been important, even in the most rudimentary communities. The social compact, in which people freely relinquished their rights to an organ (government) that controls everyone's life, was necessary by the need for security. For decades, security challenges have been at the forefront of the development conversation. With the end of the Cold War, attempts have been made to shift security conceptualization from a state-centric perspective to a broader view that prioritizes individuals, in which human security, which encapsulates elements of national security, human rights, and national development, remains a major barometer for explaining the concept. Attempts to deepen and broaden the concept of security from the level of states to communities and individuals, and from military to non-military challenges, have been at the heart of this debate (Krahmann, 2003). In most cases, two opposing perspectives serve as the foundation for the idea of human security. One is a neo-realist

theoretical paradigm based on the primacy and centrality of the state in security conceptualization. It usually explains security in terms of the state's primary obligation.

In this context, Buzan (1991) stated that the "straitjacket" militaristic approach to security that dominated the Cold War rhetoric was simple-minded, resulting in the concept's underdevelopment. Political, economic, social, and environmental risks, including militaristic threats, are all included in his definition of human security. As a result, Buzan (1991) presented a three-tiered security concept analysis based on the international system, state level, and person level, but argued that sovereign states should remain the most effective security provider. The second approach is a postmodernist or pluralist perspective that tries to remove the state as a key security provider in favor of non-state entities. This approach's proponents claim that the concept of security encompasses more than a military assessment of threats. According to Booth (1994), states and governments cannot remain the primary referents of security since governments, which are intended to be the defenders of their people's security, have instead become the principal source of insecurity for the many people who live under their jurisdiction. As a result, Booth (1994) stated that, in the end, human security is more important than state security. While agreeing with Both, Nwabueze (1989:2) argued that the individual's economic security is or should be of far more significance to the government and society than the state's security. As a result, some academics appear to emphasize the absence of a threat to acquire attitudes or tendencies that would jeopardize national cohesiveness and peace as a criterion for assessing what security entails. (David 2006; Wolfrs 1962; Oche 2001).

According to David (2006), security is the state or sense of being safe from damage or danger, as well as the defense, protection, and lack of risks to gain values (cited in Igbuzor, 2011, p.2). Security measures the absence of threats to

acquiring values in an objective sense, and the absence of anxiety that such values would be attacked in a subjective sense (Wolfrs, 1962). Despite its conceptual difficulties, the definition of security demonstrates that it is critical for national cohesiveness, peace, and long-term growth. "Security" is defined as "the freedom from danger or threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its treasured values and legitimate interests, and improve its people's well-being." Internal security can thus be defined as the freedom from or absence of tendencies that threaten the nation's internal cohesion and cooperative existence, as well as its ability to maintain vital institutions for the promotion of the nation's core values, socio-political and economic goals, and to meet the legitimate aspirations of its citizens. Internal security also entails a lack of danger to one's life and property" (Imobighe cited in Oche 2001, pp.76-77). It thus refers to efforts to avoid, avert, mitigate, or settle violent conflict, regardless of whether the threat comes from other nations, non-state actors, or fundamental socioeconomic constraints (Stan, 2004, p.2).

As can be seen from the preceding, national security is a must-have for any country's economic growth and development (Oladeji and Folorunso 2007, p.42). Security appears to be crucial in each nation's life because it attracts and promotes progress. Since the end of World War II, the concept of development appears to have been in flux. The meaning and definition of the phrase appears to have been affected by ideological contrasts between the Socialist East and the Capitalist West in the early 1940s. Because of the dichotomy between its manifest and latent purposes, Ake (2001, p.9) claims that development ideology has become a challenge for development. Many theorists, including Rostow (1952) and Harrod and Domar (1957), proposed models of development, generally identifying structural changes, savings, and investments as the source of economic

development and growth at a time when development seemed to be conceived as the outcome of economic growth (Otto and Ukpere, 2012). Economic expansion, it was assumed, would provide funds for investment and infrastructure development, resulting in improved living conditions for people.

As a result, at the end of the 1970s, it appears that most developing and underdeveloped societies, particularly in Latin America and Africa, are not providing comparable social amenities. Evidently, economic development was insufficient to confront the rising tides of unemployment, poverty, disease, hunger, illiteracy, crime and violence. As a result, post-development thinking has advocated for a return to human stress as both a measure and determinant of development (Rapley 2007, p.6). This appears to have demanded new thinking and a reframing of development from an economic growth-focused strategy to a human-centered one. Development is currently viewed as a societal transition, a shift away from old ways of thinking and old forms of social and economic organization in favor of new ones (Stiglitz cited in Afeikhena 2004, p.207). As Chandler (2007, p.367) correctly points out, development has been redefined, with an emphasis on psychological and material variables connected to the evaluation of human well-being replacing traditional economic measures such as GDP and commerce. Rodney (1972), Nnoli (1981), and Ake (2001), for example, have maintained that development is multidimensional and centered on man.

According to Nnoli (1981), development is a dialectical phenomenon in which individuals and societies engage with their physical, biological, and interhuman environments, modifying them for their own benefit and the benefit of mankind as a whole while also being transformed. According to Okolie (2009), this view or conception of development focuses on improving man's potentials and

capacities, which eliminates and/or reduces poverty, penury, inequality, unemployment, and generally improves the conditions for human life and self-reproduction. As a result, development can be defined as the process of enabling people to realize their full potential and the ability to harness nature to meet basic human needs. It can also be viewed as a process that significantly improves the quality of human lives and their ability to meet daily demands. (Sen, 1999), on the other hand, noted the importance of liberty in the development process. According to him, development necessitates the elimination of main sources of unfreedom, such as poverty and tyranny, low economic opportunities and systematic social hardship, neglect of public infrastructures, and intolerance or over-activity by oppressive authorities (Sen, 1999, p.3).

Development trajectories in Asia (Asian tigers) and the Middle East over the previous two decades show that developing countries must build efficient home-grown development models if they are to truly escape the sufferings of underdevelopment. Security and development concerns have been more intertwined since the conclusion of the Cold War (Chandler, 2007). Amid fact, in a climate of strife, instability, and war, no sustainable growth can be achieved, and Nigeria is no exception. Security and development are two distinct concepts, but they both have an impact on one another, making them intertwined. This connection has recently sparked discussions about the IPOB security threats–national development nexus.

2.2.5 Government efficiency

Many individuals have questioned what standards should be used to distinguish between excellent and awful governance. Government efficiency, according to Madhav (2007), can only be assessed in the context of the people's

value system, which includes historical context, culture, aspirations, and the nature of the political system, as well as declared political and economic objectives. This argument says that certain ideals must be upheld in order for government to function efficiently. According to Ogundiya (2010, p. 202), governance is "the means by which the state accomplishes its lofty aim." According to the liberal notion of the state, it denotes that the role of the government is to serve the purposes for which the state was founded. Philosophers such as Aristotle, Plato, Locke, and Hobbes proposed numerous justifications for the state's existence. However, their theories clearly show that the essence of the state is to provide citizens with protection, order, and justice. Oburota (2003) asserts that "government efficiency is vitally important for social and economic advancement" in light of this. Nigeria, in particular, is a case in point.

The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a state founded on the principles of democracy and social justice, as stated in section 14(1) of its 1999 constitution. These fundamental objective principles of state serve as a guide for assessing the effectiveness of the nation's government. These objectives are reiterated in Sections 16(1) and 16(2) of the same constitution from 1999. The following is stated in Section 16(1): "The State shall, in the context of the ideals and objectives for which provisions are made in this constitution," 1) harness the nation's resources and promote national prosperity, an efficient, dynamic, and self-reliant economy for every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity; and 2) control the national economy in such a way as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom, and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of opportunity.

Openness and public accountability are crucial elements in all of this. When all facets of society and government institutions operate in a socially responsible way with an eye toward the greater good, government efficiency may be achieved (Madhav, 2007). However, ongoing attacks on government workers encourage systemic inefficiency, and the attacks launched via IPOB media on government officials have hindered the effectiveness of those who are meant to serve the public.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Ole Weaver (1989; 1995; 1997) of the Copenhagen School proposed, developed, and popularized the theory of securitization as a model for security analysis. When it appeared in Buzan et al., 'Security: A New Framework for Analysis', it drew a lot of attention, arguments, and adjustments (see Balzacq, 2011; Stritzel, 2014; Floyd, 2007). (1998). According to the Copenhagen school, securitization consists of three elements: the speech act, the securitizing actor, and the audience, resulting in securitization appearing as an intersubjective act performed by a securitizing actor in front of a large audience. That is, the securitizing actor makes a security maneuver by communicating insecurity, and the "susceptible" population subsequently accepts or rejects the perceived threat in a collective interpretation order a circumstance that renders securitization intersubjective (Stritzel, 2014, p.30). Security is seen as an "invocation" or "fabrication" by a securitizing actor who identifies, pronounces, and positions an "existential threat to a defined referent object" (which in any case might be the state, government, society), or even an individual (Buzan et al., 1998, p.21).

As a result, to securitize is to exaggerate an existing or non-existing threat to the point where emergency and extralegal measures are justified in order to prevent, manage, or mitigate the impending disaster, which could manifest with greater cost implications if urgent and crucial actions are delayed. Securitization is an extreme type of politicization of an issue or object by a securitizing actor with the goal of inducing or mustering political action by blowing the issue out of proportion and raising it to the level of a dire threat. The role of securitization utterances, according to Vuori (ctd. in Balzacq (2011,pp.6-7), is better expressed in four strands: (1) securitization for putting a topic on the table (2) deterrence through securitization (3) securitization for the purpose of legitimizing prior actions or recreating an issue's security status (4) securitization for the purpose of control. It's worth noting that during the securitization process, a securitizing actor might choose to make the threat evident, explicit, and visible, or leave it at the level of "metaphorical security reference." In fact, securitization is predicated on poststructuralist belief in the power of language's "social magic," a magic in which the circumstances of threat are inherent to the act of expressing security (Balzacq, 2011, p.1). This is why, according to Balzacq, securitization is defined as:

An articulated set of practices in which heuristic artifacts (metaphors, policy tools, image repertoires, analogies, stereotypes, emotions, and so on) are contextually mobilized by a securitizing actor, who works to encourage an audience to build a coherent network of implications (feelings, sensations, thoughts, and intuitions) about a referent object's critical vulnerability, which agrees with the securitizing actor's reasons for choices and actions (p. 3),

An agent uses language, semiotics, words, arguments, and discussion to frame, stage, and structure securitization. As Buzan et al. (1998, p.26) argue:

In the position of Balzacq (2011), there are two fundamental, interdependent layers in securitization studies: the first is to identify the puzzle named "threat," and the second is to determine how to make sense of it. There are two criteria necessary for a securitizing agent to sort out a security problem or issue: it should be focused on public attention or debate, and the issue should be a target for activities related to public opinion or legal and/or political actions; in other words, the issue should be critically pervasive for the political system. To Buzan et al. (1998, p.32), securitization studies aim at gaining an increasingly precise understanding of who securitizes, on what issues (threats), for whom (referent objects), why, with what results, and, not least, under what conditions (i.e., what explains when securitization is successful).

Securitization is successful if a securitizing actor is able to persuade and motivate his audience to believe in the reality of an impending threat and then bypasses the appropriate regulations and standard processes that typically bind such a process. That is to say, concrete enabling conditions must exist. A failed securitization, on the other hand, is just that: a securitization maneuver that does not elicit security action.

A discourse that presents something as an existential threat to a referent object does not establish securitization in and of itself; this is a securitizing act, but the issue is only securitized if and when the audience accepts it as such... The existential danger must be

articulated and only acquire enough traction to provide a platform from which emergency measures or other actions may be legitimized, which would not have been conceivable if the discourse had not assumed the shape of existential threats, points of no return, and necessity. If there is no evidence of such acceptance, we can only speak of a securitizing move, not of a securitized thing (Buzan et al., 1998, p.25).

Non-state securitizing actors are more likely to manufacture "securitization moves" than "securitization" itself, based on the concept that "anything can possibly become a referent object" (Floyd, 2007, p.41), because they lack the competence or means for security action but can assist it.

Buzan et al. (1998, p.36) identify three units at the level of analysis: 1. Referent objects are things that are thought to be in danger of extinction and have a valid claim to survival. Actors who securitize matters by claiming something – a referent object – to be existentially endangered. 3. Functional actors: actors who have an impact on sector dynamics. This is an actor who, although not a referent object, has a major impact on security decisions. On the other hand, Balzacq (2011, pp.35–37) specifies three analytical levels and units, which are arranged as follows: 1. Agent: The characters and relationships that shape the scenario under investigation are the focus of this level. There are four aspects to it: I. (i) the power positions (or rather relations) of the actors identified under I. (ii) the personal identities and social identities, which operate to both constrain and enable the behavior of the actors identified under I. (iii) the referent object and the referent subject, or what is threatened and what is not; I. (iv) the referent object and the referent subject, or what is threatened and what is not; (v) the referent object and the referent subject, or what is threatened and what is not 2. Acts:

This level is concerned with the discursive and non-discursive behaviors that underpin the securitization processes being researched. At its core, this level has four sides: The first is the "action-type" side, which relates to the appropriate language to employ when doing a certain act both grammatical and lexical. (ii) The second facet is strategic: which heuristic artifacts, such as analogies, metaphors, metonymies, emotions, or stereotypes, does a securitizing actor use to create (or effectively resonate with) the circumstances that will facilitate audience mobilization—analogs, metaphors, metonymies, emotions, or stereotypes? The third aspect is represented by the securitization dispositive (i.e., a constellation of practices and tools). (iii) The policies that securitization produces 3. Context: It is vital to locate every speech both socially and historically, namely: (i) the immediate context, which is the "setting"; (ii) the distal context, which is concerned with the text's socio-cultural environment.

President Muhammadu Buhari's designation as an imposter extracted from Sudan by Maazi Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), is therefore one securitization step. Here, Kanu (the securitizing agent) manufactured a crisis where none existed by portraying the president as a national development danger, implying that he is no longer the "genuine" guy to whom Nigerians committed their mandate but rather a creation of entrenched interests (both at home and abroad). By doing so, he had effectively made the president a reference subject, and he had successfully depicted the citizens as implicit referent objects that are existentially endangered and have a valid claim to survival by engineering public opinion, discourses, and debates. Apart from driving the media narrative for months, the securitization effort had achieved some consequences, with concerns surfacing from different sides and some questioning the president's

legitimacy in light of specific factoids (indicators) offered in favor of and/or against the discussion.

2.4 Summary of Chapter 2

Notwithstanding a variety of development efforts conducted by ongoing governments, some with excellent intentions, all attempts to encourage considerable development proved fruitless. It is safe to conclude that there has a history of extrajudicial executions of Biafra supporters that predates the current leadership. A variety of factors have helped to hinder the country's advancement. One, in most cases, there is no executive competency in charge of creating and implementing the plan. We frequently see authorities who have been entrusted with such a job yet lack genuine executive authority. Some previous development plans failed due to infrequent or non-consultation with the general public.

Rural areas are expected to participate in planning. Even local government leaders who are close to the public were not approached. Planning is not merely a technocratic structure (Mimiko, 1998). Aside from that, violent agitation in Nigeria worsens public insecurity, threatens livelihoods, increases human rights violations, exacerbates population displacement and the refugee crisis, and increases human casualties and deaths. To be sure, wishing for development in the midst of terrorist attacks is a pipe dream, because no meaningful development can be achieved in a

war-torn country marked by continual bombings and attacks, especially considering that Nigerian democracy is still in its infancy and subject to instability.



CHAPTER 3

Research Methodology

3.1 Research design

The research design used in this study is a qualitative survey approach. A questionnaire instrument was used to collect data, which was augmented with an in-depth interview for qualitative data.

3.2 Area of the Study

This study was carried out in five States in south-eastern Nigeria, a conflict-ridden region (Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, and Imo). The research examines IPOB's actions and their consequences for national development, with a particular focus on South-East Nigeria.

3.3 Population of the Study

People from the five south-eastern states make up the study's population, and the Nigeria Population Commission's population forecasts for 2021 are as follows:

Abia	3,927,347
Anambra	5,827,809
Ebonyi	3,080,383
Enugu	4,611,119
Imo	5,708,756
Total	<u>23,155,414</u>

3.4 Sample size and sampling techniques

The sample size for this study is 400 people out of a population of 23,155,414 people. The formula used to determine the sample size for this study was proposed by Taro Yamane (1964).

The purpose sampling strategy used in this study was based on the criterion of individuals who are literate and willing and able to complete the questionnaire. This is dependent on the study's objective or goal. Only those components from the population that are most appropriate for our research are chosen.

3.5 Validity of the Instrument

In order to attain both face and content authenticity. My supervisor and other research professionals from the Faculty of Management Sciences were given the research equipment for constructive critique and modification. Their revisions, on the other hand, were all incorporated into the research.

3.6 Reliability of the Instrument

The reliability test was conducted using a test-retest method. This was accomplished by administering the questionnaire instruments to the respondents at two-week intervals, allowing their replies to be linked using Crobach's alpha test.

3.7 Method of data collection

Questionnaires

Questionnaires are a series of well-typed questions that were given to responders and to which they dutifully filled in the appropriate responses. The questionnaire featured a brief introduction that explained how to answer various questions provided by the researcher to the responder who was filling it out.

The survey included closed-ended questions that probed the demographic and thematic concerns addressed. It was simple to hand deliver the questionnaires and collect them at a mutually agreed-upon time with the responders who were deemed eligible to answer the questions. Because the study is only for academic reasons, the respondents were promised that all of the information they provided would be kept private.

Oral Interviews

The study employed an oral interview conducted by the researcher to obtain information from the respondent in order to validate their position expressed in the questionnaires.

3.8 Data analysis and interpretation

For data to be relevant and valuable, it must first be processed and analyzed.

Decision Rule

The null hypothesis' acceptance or rejection will depend on the computed and tabulated values. The null hypothesis will be rejected (at a set level of significance and degree of freedom) if the computed value is greater than the tabular value; otherwise, it will be accepted.

3.9 Summary of Chapter Three

This research was conducted in five states in south-eastern Nigeria, a conflict-ridden region (Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, and Imo). The study looks at IPOB's actions and their implications for national development, with a concentration on South-East Nigeria. The researcher used an oral interview to acquire information from the respondents in order to validate their perspective represented in the questionnaires. In this study, the purpose sampling approach was based on the criterion of individuals who are literate and willing and able to complete the questionnaire. This is determined by the objective or goal of the

investigation. Only those population components that are most appropriate for our research are chosen.



CHAPTER 4

Presentation and Analysis

4.1 Political Impact of IPOB

The key to IPOB's political effect is its capacity to inspire and organize a sizeable portion of the Igbo community. The Igbo community, which has historically been marginalized and wounded by the Nigerian Civil War of 1967–1970, finds in IPOB as an avenue to voice its complaints about alleged political and economic inequities. Nnamdi Kanu, the charismatic leader of the group, has tapped into this collective memory and evoked emotional responses that are extremely meaningful to many Igbo people. This resonance has manifested in street demonstrations, strikes, and acts of civil disobedience, momentarily impairing regional economic activity and bringing the Igbo's underlying resentments to light.

The political climate in Nigeria has been impacted by IPOB's actions, which have echoed beyond the local level. The Nigerian government has frequently reacted harshly to the group's actions, sparking conflicts and further alienating the populace. The situation became even more complicated once the government labeled IPOB as a terrorist group in 2017. This action drew condemnation both domestically and abroad, with worries expressed about the potential restriction of free speech and the further marginalization of an already victimized population. As a result, animosity and mistrust have increased as a result of IPOB's acts and the government's responses, underlining Nigerian society's profound differences.

Furthermore, IPOB's impact extends to the realm of Nigerian politics, influencing electoral dynamics and policy considerations. The group's calls for secession have spurred conversations about restructuring the Nigerian federation to

address regional imbalances and give greater autonomy to various regions. Politicians seeking to gain support from the Igbo community, which constitutes a significant voting bloc, have been compelled to engage with IPOB's grievances in varying degrees. This has led to a nuanced political landscape where discussions about the future of the country must account for IPOB's demands.

The international community has also taken notice of IPOB's activities, highlighting the group's potential to affect diplomatic relations. While the organization does not command a traditional army, its reach through social media and diaspora networks allows it to garner support and sympathy from both within Nigeria and abroad. This global visibility has led to appeals for international intervention and has caused diplomatic tensions between Nigeria and certain countries sympathetic to IPOB's cause. The Nigerian government's efforts to counter this narrative on the international stage require a delicate balancing act, as it seeks to maintain its sovereignty while addressing concerns raised by foreign actors.

Nevertheless, IPOB's political impact is not without controversy and challenges. The group's radical tactics, which at times involve disruptive protests and calls for civil disobedience, have raised questions about the legitimacy of their methods. Some argue that IPOB's approach risks alienating the very people they aim to represent, particularly those who are skeptical of outright secession. The government's designation of IPOB as a terrorist organization has also elicited debates about the appropriateness of such a label and the potential consequences it carries for dialogue and conflict resolution.

In Essence, the political impact of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) transcends mere secessionist aspirations, deeply affecting various facets of

Nigerian society and politics. Through its ability to mobilize the Igbo population, influence national discourse, shape electoral dynamics, and attract international attention, IPOB has become a pivotal actor in Nigeria's political landscape. Its actions have both exposed the historical wounds of the past and highlighted the ongoing tensions and divisions within the country. As Nigeria navigates these complex dynamics, a resolution to the issues raised by IPOB requires a delicate balance between addressing legitimate grievances and maintaining the unity and stability of the nation.

4.2 Economic Impact of IPOB

The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), beyond its political ramifications, also exerts a discernible economic impact on Nigeria. While primarily known for its secessionist agenda, the group's activities have reverberated through economic channels, influencing trade, investment, and regional development. One of the foremost economic consequences of IPOB's presence is the disruption it causes to regional commerce. The southeastern region of Nigeria, where IPOB predominantly operates, is a significant economic hub. However, the sporadic protests, strikes, and shutdowns orchestrated by the group have led to interruptions in business activities. These disruptions not only affect local entrepreneurs but also reverberate across national supply chains, causing inefficiencies and financial losses for businesses that depend on the region for raw materials, production, and distribution.

Investment dynamics have also been shaped by IPOB's economic impact. The uncertainty surrounding the region's stability has prompted some investors to adopt a cautious approach. Investors, both domestic and international, tend to be

wary of regions marked by political turmoil or social unrest. IPOB's activities contribute to an environment of uncertainty, deterring potential investors who might otherwise be interested in contributing to the economic development of the region. This, in turn, hampers job creation and impedes the overall economic growth that the region desperately needs.

The economic impact of IPOB is further compounded by the government's responses, often leading to militarization of the region. The security measures deployed to counter IPOB's activities can disrupt not only peaceful protests but also the everyday lives of residents. Curfews and security checkpoints can hamper transportation, delay shipments, and create an atmosphere of fear that discourages economic activities. These security measures are often accompanied by reports of human rights abuses, which can further tarnish the region's image and deter potential investors and visitors.

Beyond immediate disruptions, IPOB's economic impact has also shifted government priorities. As the government grapples with the challenges posed by the group's activities, resources that could otherwise be allocated to economic development projects are redirected to address security concerns. This diversion of resources limits the government's capacity to invest in infrastructure, education, and other sectors that are crucial for sustainable economic growth. The resultant infrastructural gaps and limited social services can hinder economic progress and perpetuate the cycle of underdevelopment.

Moreover, IPOB's impact has the potential to create a negative feedback loop, affecting regional development in the long run. The disruptions and uncertainties generated by the group can dissuade skilled individuals from settling in the region or dissuade those who have left from returning. This brain drain can

result in a loss of human capital, hindering the region's ability to foster innovation, entrepreneurship, and economic diversification. The stagnation of economic opportunities can, in turn, contribute to a sense of disillusionment and exacerbate the grievances that IPOB seeks to address.

Overall, the economic impact of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) is an intricate and multifaceted aspect of its overall influence. The disruptions caused by the group's activities have consequences that ripple through supply chains, influence investment decisions, and shape the development trajectory of the southeastern region of Nigeria. The interplay between IPOB's actions and the government's responses creates an environment of uncertainty that hampers economic growth and development. As Nigeria seeks to address the economic challenges posed by IPOB, it must navigate a complex landscape that requires balancing security concerns with the imperative of fostering sustainable economic prosperity.

4.3 Security Impact of IPOB

The presence of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) has significant security implications, not only for Nigeria but also for the broader West African region. IPOB's activities, driven by its secessionist agenda, have raised concerns about internal stability, intercommunal tensions, and potential cross-border repercussions.

At the heart of the security impact of IPOB lies the potential for domestic instability. The group's calls for secession, often accompanied by disruptive protests and strikes, challenge the Nigerian government's authority and territorial integrity. This defiance can escalate into clashes with security forces, leading to violence and casualties. These confrontations not only pose a direct threat to the

lives of those involved but also exacerbate existing social divisions, increasing the risk of intercommunal conflicts along ethnic and regional lines.

IPOB's activities also have the potential to inflame intercommunal tensions within Nigeria. The southeastern region where IPOB operates is a diverse area with various ethnic and religious groups. The group's secessionist agenda could inadvertently heighten ethnic rivalries, as some groups might perceive IPOB's actions as a threat to their own interests or identities. This, in turn, could lead to clashes between different communities, further destabilizing the region and potentially triggering a cycle of violence that is difficult to contain.

The security impact of IPOB is not limited to Nigeria's borders. The porous nature of West African borders means that events in one country can have repercussions for neighboring states. IPOB's activities, if left unchecked, could set a precedent for other secessionist movements in the region, emboldening them to pursue their own agendas through similar means. This potential for contagion raises concerns about regional stability, as it could lead to a ripple effect of secessionist movements, border disputes, and potential conflicts that could spill over into neighboring countries.

The Nigerian government's response to IPOB's activities adds another layer of complexity to the security landscape. The designation of IPOB as a terrorist organization has raised concerns about the government's approach to addressing the issue. Counterterrorism measures can sometimes blur the lines between addressing security threats and curtailing civil liberties. Such measures can lead to human rights abuses, alienating the very population the government aims to protect and inadvertently contributing to the cycle of violence and instability.

Furthermore, the government's security operations to contain IPOB's activities can divert resources and attention from addressing other pressing security challenges in the country, such as terrorism, insurgency, and organized crime. This diversion of resources can weaken the government's overall security posture and leave vulnerable areas exposed to various threats. It also raises questions about the effectiveness of security strategies in the face of evolving and multifaceted security dynamics.

Overall, the security impact of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) is a complex web of interconnected consequences that transcend national borders. The potential for domestic instability, intercommunal tensions, and cross-border repercussions underscores the need for a comprehensive and balanced approach to addressing the challenges posed by IPOB's activities. Effective security measures must be accompanied by efforts to address the underlying grievances that fuel the group's actions, fostering dialogue, inclusivity, and the protection of civil liberties. As Nigeria navigates these security challenges, it must do so with a keen awareness of the broader implications for regional stability and the overall security landscape of West Africa.

CHAPTER 5

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Summary

The major goal of this research is to examine how the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB agitations)'s for self-determination have impacted Nigerian development. As a result, four research questions with matching hypotheses were raised in accordance with the study's goal. The study approach used was a descriptive survey design. Questionnaires were utilized to collect pertinent data for the study, which was then analyzed using basic percentage tables and the hypotheses tested using Chi-square (X^2), and it was observed that:

1. The agitations for self-determination by the Indigenous People of Biafra have a negative impact on Nigeria's political stability.
2. IPOB agitations have a negative impact on Nigeria's economic progress.
3. The agitations of the Indigenous People of Biafra have an impact on national security.

This solved the issue that has been bothering my mind lately: is there a link between IPOB's calls for self-determination and Nigeria's federal government's responses? Then, what are the ramifications for national development of the interaction between IPOB's demands for self-determination and Nigeria's federal government's responses? The current research examines the many methods in which the Nigerian government has responded to the group's calls for self-determination. The report also provides further information on how IPOB's agitation has impacted Nigeria's national development. The study exposes the

various responses the Nigerian government has had to the group's calls for self-determination. Additionally, suggestions are made through this inquiry on how the Nigerian government may be assisted in the formation of policies on how to deal with agitating organizations and how to guarantee that there are a reduced number of agitating groups in the country, thereby ensuring national progress.

In this vein, it has become evident that the agitations and embarrassment of Nigerian politicians overseas might provoke another tribe or set of people with a different interest to safeguard. Senator Ike Ekweremadu, the former deputy senate president, was recently attacked in Germany while attending the second annual cultural festival and conference organized by the Igbos in Germany. "Today being the 17th day of August 2019, the Nuremberg IPOB family in Germany, in keeping with the directive from our leader to hound all instigators of Operation Python Dance, is glad to report that Ike Ekweremadu was confronted and duly hounded out of a so-called new yam festival event in Germany," the IPOB publicity secretary said in a statement. These are the consequences of the Nigerian government's various responses to the IPOB's protests.

5.2 Conclusion

According to the findings of this study, the Indigenous People of Biafra's agitations for self-determination are a major setback to national development because they halt economic development, promote political instability, put the nation's security at risk both internally and externally, and carry out verbal and physical attacks on government officials. The validity and reliability of the

instruments and statistical factors used to assess this position were empirically determined.

National growth occurs when political institutions and mechanisms are robust and stable in their functions, with no danger to power. People within the political system will feel safe and be able to participate in politics in this circumstance. National development implies that the country's political status can be predicted, making the atmosphere appear favorable to potential investors from both within and outside the country. National development is a notion with three meanings: first, the lack of domestic civil war and violence that has the potential to spread; second, the duration of governance; and third, the absence of structural change. To put it another way, national development implies that no change can be brought about from both the outside and the inside.

A backup to this is Section 42, Subsection 1, of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended (1999, p. 39), which specifies how citizens from any region of the nation are treated: A Nigerian citizen of a specific community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion, or political opinion shall not, just because he is a member of that community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion, or political opinion:

1. Be subjected to disabilities or restrictions that other citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religion, or political opinions are not subjected to, either expressly or in the practical application of any law in force in Nigeria or any such executive or administrative action of the government; or

2. Be accorded either expressly or in the practical application of any law in force in Nigeria or any such executive or administrative action of the government.

A country's constitution is a set of laws that govern that country. It is also crucial to figure out whether the leaders or people in positions of power adhere to the constitution. Why are there still agitations for self-determination in a scenario where a section of the constitution addresses human rights, unity, fair treatment, and other things that give citizens of a state a sense of belonging? The solution to this question hinges on the constitution's application. The topic of whether a constitution is applicable in a given country is heavily influenced by the country's leadership. Leadership is critical to the prosperity of every country.

5.3 Recommendations

The following suggestions are based on the findings of this study:

1. In order to reduce political instability, the nation should hold a referendum on IPOB's request for self-determination.
2. The IPOB's operations should be governed by the Riot Act and other protest-related regulations so that economic activity, particularly in the south-east, is not hampered.
3. Security staff should constantly make sure that any pro-IPOB member who poses a security hazard is fairly punished.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

Kindly filled the blank spaces indicate your responses.

Section A: Demographical Data

1. Sex: Male Female
2. Age: 18-30 years 31- 45 years 45years and above
3. Education Qualification: FSLC SSCE BSC/HND MSC
and Above
4. Religion: Islam Christianity Traditional
5. Marital status: Single Married Divorce

Section B: Thematic Issues

Kindly agree or disagree to the following item statement, this indicates your acceptance or rejection of the truthfulness of the statement under consideration.

Research question 1: How do the agitations for self-determination by Indigenous People of Biafra affect political stability?

Item 1: IPOB through its various media condemns the entire political system in Nigeria.

- a. Agreed
- b. Disagreed

Item 2: IPOB disrupts political activities such as rallies in south-eastern Nigeria

- a. Agreed
- b. Disagreed

Item 3: IPOB encourages non participation in Nigeria Electoral processes

- a. Agreed
- b. Disagreed

Research question 2: To what extent do IPOB agitations affect economic development in Nigeria?

Item 4: IPOB disrupts economic activities through their sit-at-home protests

- a. Agreed
- b. Disagreed

Item 5: IPOB Discourages indigenes from investment outside south-east.

- a. Agreed
- b. Disagreed

Item 6: IPOB discourages external investors from investing into Nigeria.

- a. Agreed
- b. Disagreed

Research question 3: What are the effects of Indigenous People of Biafra agitations on national security?

Item 7: IPOB agitations and protests leads to loss of life and property.

- a. Agreed
- b. Disagreed

Item 8: IPOB alliance with foreign countries is a threat to National security.

- a. Agreed
- b. Disagreed

Item 9: IPOB activities affect the safety peaceful co-inhabitation of non-pro IPOB citizens.

a. Agreed

b. Disagreed

Research question 4: Whether the Ingenious People of Biafra agitations affect the efficiency of Nigerian government?

Item 10: IPOB agitations attract internal condemnation on Nigerian government.

a. Agreed

b. Disagreed

Item 11: IPOB carries out physical and verbal attacks on Nigeria government officials.

a. Agreed

b. Disagreed

Item 12: IPOB invites foreign governments and international organizations to interfere in Nigeria governmental administration.

a. Agreed

b. Disagreed

Student's Biography

Date of birth: 27th September, 1996

Place of Birth: Nteje, Oyi Local Government, Anambra State,
Nigeria

Educational qualifications: Success Private School Borno State.
Sacred Heart College, Nteje.
Community Secondary School, Nando.
B.Sc. in Political Science. Tansian University,
Umunya/Oba
Masters in Peace Studies and Diplomacy, in Siam
University Bangkok, Thailand. (In view).

Working experiences: Government/Civic Education Tutor. (2020 –
2021)
NYSC: Government Secondary School, Afaha
Eket, Akwa Ibom State.
Worldlink Computer Centre, Eket. 2021.
NDLEA Office.
Manager Hollywood Hotel Dakwa Abuja. 2022 (In
progress).