
IPOB Sit at Home Order in South Eastern Nigeria: Its Perlocutionary effect for Peacebuilding and Sustainability.

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Abstract

Biafra has been a crying nation since 1967. Researchers have done a lot of studies on the evils and neglect done to the people of Biafra. Biafra had previously existed as an Independent Multi-ethnic Republic consisting of the Igbo, Ijaw, Efik and Ibibio people and was declared by Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu for three years, 1967 through 1970. Since the creation of Biafra, the government of Nigeria has never been at peace with Biafran ideology. This has resulted to war, conflict, marginalization and negligence. Many protest groups from the South-East have emerged to defend the faith of the Biafrans in all of these. IPOB being one of these groups has indulged in peaceful protest to reclaim the Biafrans' positions in Nigeria. Sit-at-home order is one of their strategies to state their plights. People of South East have been reacting to this order differently. The order has positive and negative effect on the masses. But the IPOB believes that adherence to this order will help in bringing and sustaining peace among the Nigerian Nation either by Biafran sessession or by giving Ndigbo the sense of belonging in Nigeria. This research intends to study IPOB Sit-At-Home Order in South Eastern Nigeria: Its Perlocutionary effect for

Peacebuilding and Sustainability within the ambit of Austin's Speech Act in Pragmatics.

Keywords: IPOB, Sit-at-Home Order, Speech Act theory, Perlocutionary Act, Peacebuilding

Background of the Study

Sit at home order has in recent times becomes a careful and deliberate method of executing civil disobedience in South Eastern part of Nigeria. The southeastern Nigeria consists of five states— Anambra, Enugu, Imo, Abia and Ebonyi states. The order is usually imposed on the masses by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) under the leadership of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu. IPOB is a group that is promoting the session of Igbos from Nigeria. The group is always agitating against the marginalisation of *Ndigbo* (igbo people) in different ways in Nigeria. The members of this group are from the five states of southeastern Nigeria. This order has peculiar effect on individual states based on the masses response. This study is designed to critically examine the effect (perlocutionary effect) of this order to ascertain the extent it could be used to resolve conflict, build and sustain peace and achieve freedom as well. The journey of *Ndigbo* started with Nigeria's independence in 1960, when the British colonial authorities bequeathed the Igbo people with a Federal Government and three Regional Governments. The Federal Principle as agreed by the Nigeria's founding fathers was that the Federal Government derived its powers from federating units, namely, the Regional Governments that negotiated the constitution. The bases of power in that arrangement were political and economic. At the political level, the leaders of the three main parties,

namely, the National Council of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC), Northern People' Congress Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Sir Ahmadu Bello, and Chief Obafemi Awolowo, underscored that Federal Principle by opting to lead their Regional Governments, which were the source of political power, and sending their lieutenants, namely, Dr. K.O. Mbadiwe, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, and Chief S.L Akintola, respectively to lead the Federal Government. At the economic level, the Regional Governments were the revenue collecting authorities and remitted the relevant quotas of the revenue to the Federal Government. The economic base of the country then was largely primarily agricultural products and solid mineral, which originated fairly evenly from the three Regions.

The outcome of the above arrangements was that the three regions (subsequently four with the creation of Mid-West Region) completed healthily in terms of productivity and export earnings, as well as the deployment of the proceeds to sustainable development. Such competition were manifests in the areas of education, industries, infrastructure, etc, and cities such as Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, Kaduna, Port-Harcourt, Aba and Enugu were emerging as major centres of development. *Ndigbo* did very well in that setting. At the start of the civil war in 1966, Eastern Nigeria was ahead of the other Regions in overall economic development. *Ndigbo* had become leaders in education (Kenneth Dike, Eni Njoku), public service (Francis Nkwodi, Eneli, business (Odimegwu Ojukwu, Matthias Ugochukwu) and even the military (Ironsi). They had closed a whooping gap in human development and self-application, considering that the first university graduates of Igbo extraction emerged in the 1930's whilst the Yoruba were in the 1880's. One shortcoming of the foregoing arrangement was the major political parties soon became entrenched in a regional base,

respectively, such that the country's political fault lines progressively became co-incident with the ethnic, social and religious divides thereby setting the scene for the subsequent tension and termination of the true federal system in the hands of the Armed Forces in 1960. Indeed, the nonagenarian, Sir Olaniwun Ajayi, argued with material evidence in his book, *Nigeria, Africa's failed Asset*, that the country was designed by the British colonialists to be permanently controlled by a preferred section, or otherwise ultimately fail.

The military Coup d'état, which supplanted the democratically elected government of Sir Tafawa Belawa, triggered a series of events that culminated in the pogrom against the people of Eastern Nigeria in various parts of Northern Nigeria. This, in turn, led to their retreat to the Eastern heartland, the proclamation of the independent state of Biafra, and the Nigerian civil war, which ended in 1970. Several measures, which were taken by the military regimes through decrees and constitution making before, during, and subsequent to, the civil war, set the scene for the political and economic development of the country since then. Here are some examples:

Firstly, the military regime under General Yakubu Gowon abrogated the federal constitution, affirmation the supremacy of the federal Government over the Regional Governments, and subsequently reconstituted the four Regional Governments into twelve states headed by Military Governors that were directly answerable to the supreme Military Council headed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. The Concentration of political power in the Federal Government was naturally accompanied by the reversal of the erstwhile revenue arrangement. The ownership of

mineral resources became centralized in the Federal Government which, in turn, made revenue allocation to the state. The incursion of the Armed Forces into governance, unfortunately coincided with the emergence of petroleum as a major export income earner for the country, driven by growing international demands and rising prices for the commodity. Indeed, this development led many observers and analysts to speculate that the discovery of petroleum deposits predominantly in the then Eastern Region may have been a remote cause of the civil war.

Secondly, also, unfortunately, the emergence of petroleum as a major export income export earner has so far proven to be a curse rather than a blessing for the country. For instance, the easy rent from petroleum made the country to progressively abandon agriculture as a means of subsistence and export income and become net importers of food, particularly rice and wheat, industrial inputs, such as palm oil, as well as endless frivolous luxury items. Overtime, the nation became consumption driven instead of production based. The country was generating income from petroleum exports much faster than could be sustainably deployed for development by the regime. This led to a measure of profligacy by the government with such projects as the FESTAC and the African Scouts Jamboree, which were so monumental that no other country has dares to follow the Nigeria's example as host. There were also the embarrassing armadas of cement, rice, fertilizer, champagne, etc. indeed, the Head of State at the times was quoted as saying that money was not a problem, but how to spend it.

Thirdly, though the original creation of twelve states was couched as a strategic measure to forestall the break way of Eastern Region, the appetite for new states and Local Government Areas began to grow because the

military regimes made the states and the L.G.As the basis for Federal allocation of revenue, amenities, public appointments, etc. Ironically, the Igbos of the post-war East Central State were the last to realise the game, having initially resisted any breakup of East Central State. This resistance, led by Nigerian eminent leaders, such as, His Excellency, Dr. Akanu Ibiam and Dr. K. O. Mbadiwe, was premised on the need to maintain Igbo unity, particularly immediately following the civil war. With benefit of hindsight, it would seem that these leaders were too far-sighted and idealistic in the light of the present day disunities in Igboland. The implication, however, is that South East zone became marginalised with only five states against six each in four other zones and seven in North Western zone. They feel similarly, if not more marginalised, on the allocation of L.G.As.

Fourthly, the extant Constitution of 1999 crafted by the military regime is merely an entrenchment of the unitary government that has evolved since 1966. The Constitution is merely federal by name considering that the existing 36 States are collectively weaker than the original three (four) Regions. The military elites and their civilian collaborators theorised that the constituent nationalities must be weakened and even subdued in order to build Nigeria into a united country in the self-image of that oligarchy and under their permanent control. However, notwithstanding the inherent weaknesses and near bankruptcy of most of the existing 36 States, there remains a yearning cry for the creation of more States solely for the purpose of revenue allocation from the federation account. In the present situation, the head of the Federal Government wields enormous powers over the nation's wealth, including budgetary allocations to the other arms

of government, namely, the Judiciary and the Legislature. It is noteworthy that a more Federal Constitution, which provided for six geo-political zones, was proposed by 1994/5 Constitutional Conference under President Sanni Abacha, but was jettisoned after Abacha's death due to its volatile rejection by the Yoruba Afenifere. Afenifere's grouse was that the key features of the Constitution, including the provision for six geo-political zones had the imprint of His Excellency, Dr. Alex Ekwueme, and was popularly called the Ekwueme Constitution. The Yoruba have ironically maneuvered themselves to the forefront of the Criticism of the extant constitution, and the demand for restructuring governance in the country. Fifthly, the worst impact of the military regimes was on the subsequent political culture of the country. The nation's political culture of the country. The nation's political parties leading up to independence were founded on distinct ideologies. They presented well-articulated manifestos during general elections, which became the basis for their strategies and policies for governance. Unfortunately, the political culture of the country since the end of the military regime has become predicted solely on the control of political power at the Federal Government which, by implication, amounts to the control of the petroleum earnings. The political parties jettisoned ideologies and manifestos, which are essential differentiating characteristics in democracy. Rather, they have become shifting coalitions for achieving sectional and personal interests rather than the common good of the nation. Thus, political players now switched platforms and alliances at will as long as they can find themselves within the corridors of power with access to a piece of the fast diminishing national cake. But, such political parties founded on the basis of personal or sectional interests are ultimately bound to implode due to internal

collisions of such interests. The People's Democratic Party (PDP) did so after 16 years in office. The All Progressives Congress (APC), now in power, is already challenged by internal issues to the discomfiture of the whole nation.

Finally, impunity in public life became rife. There have been stories of monumental fraud, for example, regarding the Police Pension Fund, fuel price subsidy, military procurement funds, etc., that have been endlessly prosecuted without people being convicted and jailed. We hear glaring news of high profile arrests and endless investigations with hardly any convictions. Today, it has become crystal clear that the governance framework put in place by the military regimes were self-serving and doomed to fail. A system that replaced the zeal for hard-work and creativity with the colossal corruption, inequalities and waste, and consequent agitations in the forms of Boko Haram, MASSOB/IPOB, MEND/NDA, etc., a system that fostered an import dependency syndrome instead of a home grown diversified economy, was bound to fail. And it failed! It is important to note that the ethnic conflict typical of multi-ethnic societies was responsible for the Nigerian-Biafran civil war. There is no a proof, however, that all the prejudices, stereotypes, communalism and suspicion have all been overcome in a post-war Nigeria. Nevertheless, the need for Nigerians to coexist peacefully cannot be overemphasised. However, this peaceful coexistence should not be an imposed order like the Nigerian state tries to always do but a strong desire for a harmonious coexistence devoid of physical structural violence. An imposed peace is a negative peace, while peace achieved through structural violence may be termed to an extent positive peace. Louis Kriegberg in Abu-nimer (2001)

insists, “Negative peace refers to the absence of war; it may connote order and security, but it may also connote suppression of struggle to redress injustice.” He further believes that “positive peace refers to at least a minimal level of equity in the life conditions of the people in the social system. All the same, Nigeria requires neither negative nor positive peace; it requires instead justice and equity in the real sense of the words. Her leaders should be able to give the people a sense of belonging. Many agitators’ groups in Nigeria are anchoring on this for their agitations—the Boko Haram, OPC, MASSOB, IPOB, MEND/NDA are all clamouring for the sense of belonging otherwise separation becomes the answer. The agitators especially from Igbo tribe believe that Nigeria has discriminatory policies. They insist that some of the ethnic problems in Nigeria are discriminatory policies consciously made by governments headed by people of the same ethnic stock. Lewis in Birdsall, et al., (eds.), (2006) asserts that, “Policies abound in Nigeria which tends to be discriminatory and harmful to development”. Harnischfeger, Johannes (2004) have the below to say about these discriminatory policies,

[T]he policy of discrimination against non-indigenes started in the Northern region, at the end of colonial rule, when the three regions into which Nigeria had been divided were given internal self-government. Northerners resented the appointment of Nigerians from the south to most of the administrative positions. The majority of these civil servants were Christian Igbo and Yoruba, who were, by and large better educated [...] with the Northernization policy, initiated in 1945, most of them were retrenched from the regional service, but they often stayed in their new home where they established themselves as traders and artisans. Their success in the

private sector, however, also caused resentment, so the Premier of the Northern Region, Ahmadu Bello promised to push them out (443).

It is in the race to fight these evil policies that IPOB vowed to use all strategies within its power to correct by agitating for Nigerian restructuring or Igbo's secession from the Nigerian government. Prior to sit at home order was the IPOB's protest against Fulani herdsmen's killings in south east and the general marginalisation of the Igbos in Nigeria. The non-violent protest resulted into the killings of the Igbos by the Nigerian Armies and the proscription of the IPOB as a terrorist organisation. The leader of IPOB, Mazi Nnamdi Kanu and the members of IPOB then devised another means of stopping killing of *ndigbo*, creating awareness of the position of the *Igbos* in Nigeria and building peace in Biafra land. The new means is, therefore, "Sit at Home Order." In giving this order, the speaker makes use of certain locutionary acts (words) with a very strong illocutionary acts to achieve his perlocutionary acts (effects) of his utterances on the south east citizens. Perlocutionary act simply means the effect which the performing locutionary act has on the hearer.

It is against this backdrop that this research emerges. The research intends to study IPOB Sit at Home Order in the South Eastern Nigeria vis a viz its Perlocutionary Effect for Peacebuilding and Sustainability.

Statement of the Problem

There have been several scholarly works carried out in the area of peace, peacebuilding and conflict resolution. So many scholars have also done so many researches using Austin's perlocutionary act in pragmatics.

But to the knowledge of this researcher, non or little has been done on IPOB sit at home order in South Eastern Nigeria with a particular reference to its perlocutionary effect for peacebuilding and sustainability. The researcher, therefore, intends to embark on this study to fill this yearning gap in scholarship.

Objective of the Study

This work sought to do the following:

To determine the effect of the “sit at home order” on the audience.

To discover the extent to which peace should be built and sustained by this order

To find out the degree to which South Eastern Nigeria complied to the sit at home order

To discover the extent to which the government responds to this order for conflict resolution, peace building and its sustainability

Research Questions;

The study sets out to do the following research questions;

What effect has sit at home order has on the audience?

To what extent should peace be built and sustained by this order?

How does South Eastern Nigeria comply to the sit at home order?

How does government respond to this order for conflict resolution, peacebuilding and its sustainability?

Relevance of the Proposed Research to Existing Knowledge on Peacebuilding Practice and Policy.

This work will expose the reader to the knowledge of the kind of people the Igbos are. The reader could from this study be at home with the appreciation of speeches from the view point of the perlocutionary act. They could also from this work know how to analyze utterances from the viewpoints of their perlocutionary effects. She would, to an extent know the better ways to build and sustain peace in our societies.

Apart from the reader, this study will also be important to prospective researchers. Since it will furnish them with information during their research. The study will be a very good reference material to the students. Peace makers, peace-setters and ambassadors of peace will gain from the study, because it will help them to carry out their duties well to ensure peace in their various assignments. The agitators, sessionists and freedom fighters also benefits from this study for the purpose of knowing the most reliable methods to embark on in their quest to achieve their aims. Governments, leaders of various associations and organizations, parents, teachers, lecturers, etc., will also gain from this study since it will equip them with the adequate information on how to handle their subjects to build and sustain peace in their various endeavor

Literature Review

It is obvious that a good number of researchers have done so many works in the area of peace, conflict and resolution. Studies abound in this area by the great scholars of this field of study.

In his work entitled, *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*, Nnoli Okwudiba discusses the social dynamics which are integumentary to ethnicity in Nigeria, and the phenomenon's pervasive operational mode. He clearly explains the difference between ethnic and class conflicts, but emphasises that in some cases in Africa 'ethnic and class lines coincide'

Kristina Petrova (2021) has carried out a research on, "Flood communal conflict and the role of local state institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa" and discovered that the flood disasters are associated with communal violence only for administrative districts that are governed by distrusted local state institutions.

Buhaug, Halvard; Croicu, Mihai; Fjilde, Hanne; Von Uexkull, Nina (2021) assert that, the paucity of resistance among marginalized ethnic groups has sometimes been taken as evidence of the irrelevance of grievance theory (Tilly 1978). Instead, it is argued, the absence of civil war in these cases can be explained by a lack of feasibility of rebellion due to a strong and repressive state (Fearon and Laitin 2003), deficiency of entrepreneurs and resources required to mobilize the aggrieved (McCarthy and Zald 1977), or insufficient individual incentives to forgo normal modes of living (Collier and Hoeffler 2004).

Isak Svensson & Daniel Finnbogason (2021) argue in their paper that civil resistance is more likely to occur when jihadists impose a rule that local populations perceive as alien and when organizational structures capable of collective non-violent mobilization are activated. Their research has shown the potential of nonviolent civil resistance in challenging autocratic state regimes.

Fjede, Hanne; Hultman, Lisa; Schubiger, Liva; Hug, Simon et al (2021) posit that their article introduces the ethnic One-Sided Violence dataset

(ESOV) that provides information on the ethnic identity of civilian victims of direct and deliberate killings by state and non-state actors from 1989 to 2013.

Van Baalen Sebastian (2021) has argued in his article that rebel responsiveness is a function of whether local elites control clientelist networks that allow them to mobilize local citizens. His study tests the argument through a systematic comparison of four areas held by the Forces Nouvelles in Cote d'Ivoire

Theoretical Framework

This research will anchor on Jean Austin's Speech Theory.

Speech Act Theory

This theory was propounded by J.L. Austin. Austin is the person who is usually credited with generating interest in what has since come to be known as pragmatics. Austin was not a linguist at all (although he himself foresaw that it would be within an expanded science of linguistics that his work would developed) but a philosopher, working at Oxford University in the 1940s and 1950s. Austin, his almost equally influential pupil H.P. Grice and a group of like-minded philosophers working at Oxford and elsewhere' came to be known as '**Ordinary Language Philosophers.**'

Austin's ideas on language were set out in a series of lectures which he gave at Oxford University between 1952 and 1954; and at Harvard in 1955. After Austin's sudden death in 1960, the lectures were brought together in book form by J.O. Urmson, based on Austin's own (not always complete) lecture notes and recordings of his lectures. *How to do things with words* is therefore a rather informal book, very easy to read and well worth reading. However, as Levinson (1983:231) notes, one really needs to the book from cover to cover, because Austin developed

and modified his position considerably as the series of lectures progressed. The same is true of this chapter: distinctions introduced early on will be shown to be untenable by the end, but it will help you to understand the key issues in pragmatics if you work your way through the arguments carefully.

John L. Austin's (1962) work, **How To Do Things With Words (1962)**, made a great impact on linguistics, especially in the area of pragmatics. Austin's contribution was extended, developed and codified by John R. Searle, an American philosopher and a student of Austin's. Austin is concerned with how to use words to do things. This is in reaction to the claims of the logical positivists that a sentence has to be verified or tested so as to establish its veracity or falsity, otherwise the sentence is meaningless. Austin sees such a claim as extreme.

For one to work in the truth-functional tradition is to restrict oneself to propositions "representing one particular class of sentence, the so-called declaratives, which, in order to be true or false, must contain some testable proposition" (Mey, 2001: 93). For instance, if someone says, "It is hot outside," we can go outside and test the veracity or falsity of that declaration. However, if I say, "safe journey," or "happy anniversary", the only truth I can talk about here is that of my feeling, or the truth that I actually uttered the words. This is because these are expressions of wishes, not propositions. They are, therefore, according to Austin, words with which to do things. Hence not all sentences are propositions.

Instead of logical application in sentence meaning, Austin maintains that the only phenomenon to engage our elucidating is "the total speech in the speech situation ..." (Austin, 1962: 47). For him, language is a social phenomenon used to act, ask questions, give orders, make assertions, or

are used to say things or describe situations. The principles of verifiability are, therefore, not to be applied to such sentences. Such sentences as “I thank you”, “I apologize”, for instance, cannot be judged as true or false. Such sentences for Austin, are ‘performative utterances’. He distinguishes them from the ‘constatives utterances’ which are used to report things. Examples of the constatives includes: “I have a cell phone”, “the governor performed the foundational laying ceremony”, “our school has a science laboratory”, etc.

Austin, however, accepts that performative sentences can go wrong in some senses other than the truth-falsity approach. For instance, in a naming ceremony, one can say, “I name him Godfery” when he means “I name him Geoffery”. This would be giving the baby a wrong name. According to Onuigbo, “since the performatives are special sort of ceremonies or conventions linking the words to institutional procedures, Austin introduced what he calls felicity conditions which must be met for the acts to be taken as performed” (7). These are:

A(i) There must be a conventional procedure having a conventional effect which includes uttering of certain words by certain people in certain circumstances.

(ii) There must be the right people and circumstances for the procedure.

B(i) The procedure must be execute correctly

(ii) and completely.

C(i) If the procedure requires participants to have particular thoughts or feelings, then they must have it.

(ii) If the procedure requires participants to perform particular acts, then they must at the time intend to perform those acts and they must subsequently perform them.

The import of Austin's thesis is that for a speech act to be valid, the speaker must have the power or authority to do so, there must be right circumstances and right intention, and the intention must be actualized. Again, the parties involved must have "right intentions" (Mey, 2001: 97). The problem with Austin's thesis, as observed by Onuigbo (2003:7-9), is that it is not always clear and conclusive what counts as performative verb and what does not.

This led to his discussion of what kind of things we actually do with words. This is seen to be a more crucial question. The triad of "locution", "illocution" and "perlocution" came as a response. "Locutionary act" refers to the use of language in making a sentence, statement or linguistic utterance by the speaker. Illocutionary act refers to the intention of the statement, which goes beyond the locutionary act. Perlocutionary act refers to an action which is realized by saying the thing that is said. This is otherwise known as response to intention.

Since Austin's thesis, which has challenged the positivist principle of verifiability, scholars have continued serious enquires in this direction. Searle (1969) shifted from Austin's triad of locution, illocution and perlocution. He is one of the outstanding contributors to the enquiry. According to him, there are four things that a speaker does when saying something. He defines speech act as "the basis or minimal units of linguistic communication" (16). The first of these four things is "utterance act". This differs analytically from Austin's locutionary act.

For Austin, the locutionary act has three isolated stages, viz: “phonic act”, “phatic act” and “rhetic act”, dealing with uttering noises (phones), uttering noises in a particular language (phemes) and using these noises in a certain sense and reference (rhemes) respectively. To perform a locutionary act in the full normal sense, therefore, involves the “phones”, “phemes” and “rhemes”. According to Onuigbo, “...the third element of Austin’s locutionary act constitute the second element of Searle’s four-dimensional elements which he calls propositional act. Searle’s third and fourth elements fall in line with Austin’s illocutionary act and perlocutionary act respectively”.

Methodology

The study will employ the content analysis/tape recording approach of the qualitative research approach methodology, in undertaking a critical analysis of six “Sit at Home Orders” made by the leader of IPOB and His Members. The six “Sit at Home Orders” have been purposively selected. Digital Camera, Compact Discs (CD), Digital Audio Compact Discs (DACD), social media and internet downloads will constitute the primary sources of “Sit at Home Orders” recording and data collection. The study will be conducted in the major cities of the five states in the southeastern part of Nigeria. Such cities as Onitsha in Anambra, Enugu in Enugu, Owerri in Igbo, Aba in Abia and Abakaliki in Ebonyi. The justification for choosing the major cities is because reactions to such an order usually come from these major cities which are more populated with people as well as business activities. Secondary sources of data collection are textbooks, journals, theses, dissertations, magazines,

newspaper articles, social media and the internet. Unstructured interviews will be conducted with all the key players in the domestic environment. Focus group discussions will be organised for female domestic servants, placement agents/middle men, employers of domestic servants, teachers in government secondary and primary schools, igwes, IPOB members, members of various agitators in Nigeria, Ohanaeze ndigbo, South east governors and other political elites for the purpose of obtaining information which will be used for effective study and appropriate findings. Data analysis will be interpretative and descriptive.

Analysis

Sit-At-Home Orders

Annual May 30th Sit-At-Home Order

In a statement released, Emma Powerful, IPOB spokesperson, said the sit-at-home order will be enforced to mark the “Biafra Heroes Day.”

“It is a special day set outside to remember our fallen comrades and those who paid the ultimate price for the liberation of Biafra in 1967-1970 and beyond” He said IPOB set aside May 30 of every year as a “special day to honour gallant men and women who paid the ultimate sacrifice for us to live as a people.” He alleged that Biafra supporters were “killed, abducted and unlawfully detained.” The sacrifices and memories of these heroes and heroines will never be forgotten,” Powerful said.

“Fellow Biafrans, this 30th May 2023 is another sacrosanct day to remember our fallen heroes, heroines and comrades who died in defense of our land and for the birth of Biafra Nation.”

The “Every-Monday Sit-At-Home”

The secessionist group, in August 2021, introduced a sit-at-home order every Monday across the South-east to pressure the Nigerian government to release its detained leader, Nnamdi Kanu, who is standing trial for alleged terrorism at the Federal High Court, Abuja. This “ Every-Monday sit-at-home order since its inception in August 2021, can be said to be one most sacred days in the South East.

At first, it was as if the order won’t last. That was wrong eventually. The regular Monday-sit-at-home has lasted for years now. Even as the eastern governors try to stop the order, the self-employed individuals are still keeping to the order. This is because the easterners and ideology of “igwebuike” that spirit of oneness, or unionism is respected.

Simon Ekpa Sit-At-Home Orders

The self-acclaimed Biafra Prime Minister and freedom agitator has a country view of the sit-at-home issue and sees it as a forceful act, and a means to an end. Nevertheless, some do follow his orders while others due to safety try to adhere to sit-at-home order from any individual because the government cannot guarantee their safety.

Perlocutionary Effects Of Sit-At-Home Order In South East Nigeria

Upon the inception of the sit-at-home exercise, it has always been associated with violence especially the second order after its suspension and created adverse effects on the residents in Igbo land. A lot of negative effects has been recorded since the exercise began. Some hoodlums have seized the opportunity to terrorize the residents of the region. This has resulted to destruction of lives, goods and properties. It has created a restive and chaotic atmosphere in South East. Reports from various newspapers revealed the drastic effects.

According to Punch report, Anambra State Governor, Prof. Soludo lamented on adverse effects of the sit-at-home order in the state.

He disclosed that the state loses ₦19.6billion on every Monday sit-at-home observed.

Business and investments are being relocated outside Anambra and South-East in general.

The execution of the IPOB/BZM orders have dwindled the economy of the state since the restive and unfriendly atmosphere in South-East scares prospective investors.

The incessant sit-at-home order in the state has caused disobedient to law and order. Due to this, school curriculum has been interrupted and lagged, thereby affecting the students psychologically and academically. Tribune's report highlighted that the IPOB's order was initially obeyed by the citizens in South-East in solidarity with the cause. Subsequently, the regular observation of the order caused pains and deprivation to the people. Patronage of business reduced drastically. Due to the pains and suffering endured and the people unsure of federal government's response to the quest, the residents flouted the Simon faction of IPOB's order, IPOB

enforcers, often referred as unknown gunmen resorted to violence. Their reactions in the bid to enforce compliance resulted in the destruction of lives, government and private properties. Hotels, restaurant and related businesses were invaded, looted and shut down. All these IPOB activities rendered South-East one of the most unsafe and insecure regions in Nigeria. Hence, the separatist group activities brought pains and untold suffering to the South-Easterners in the region as well as effect negatively to the peace building and sustainability in Igbo land.

The Positive Effects of Sit-At-Home in Achieving Peace and Sustaining Peace in South East Nigeria

Sit-at-home order has reawakened the national consciousness of the Igbos. The struggle for Biafran nation is a peaceful struggle. The Igbos believe that the agitation to have their own nation will bring about peace in Nigeria. Sit-at-home order is a peaceful protest towards this freedom. The order has united the igbos so much that they feel that they are fighting for a common cause. An average igbo person believes that IPOB sit-at-home order is designed for the freedom of *ndigbo* from Nigeria and a way of building peace and sustaining peace among themselves in Igbo land. This is the reason why most South Easterners respond to this order willing. The slogan “onye aghana nwanne ya” has become a household statement in fight for Biafran nation. Sit-at-home order could be seen as another way of telling the Biafran story. So it has educational value. biafran youths and children are reminded of their history, making the Biafra story to exist in their hearts, and not only in books. It is sit-at-home order has kept Nnamdi Kanu alive. The Igbos believe that the federal government knew that he is

fighting for his people. Despite President Buhari's refusal to release him since October 13, 2022 as ordered by the court of appeal, the relentlessness of the Igbos have kept the government on check.

The federal government thought that Biafra agitation will die a natural death with the arrest of MNK but Simon Ekpa took over and has sustained the struggle in the absence of his master. The struggle continues because the Igbos believe that once they separate from Nigeria, they will live in peace and harmony. They believe that their economy, education, politics etc. will be better.

The Negative Effects of Sit-at-home order on the Igbo citizens

The negative effects of sit-at-home order is by far outnumbering the positive effects. People are dying, poverty is settling in Biafra land, businesses are leaving their environment because of low turnout, people are living in fear, rural communities are abandoned as everyone is looking for safety in the cities. Sequel to Nnamdi Kanu's extradition from Kenya, IPOB have ordered a sit-at-home protests every Monday till he is released. The protest which has become a major pain in South-East has divided residents in the region and Igbos in diaspora with the rest of Nigeria watching to see what the exercise would ultimately achieve. Undoubtedly, the sit-at-home order has caused the residents of the south-East a lot in terms of lives and properties. It has indeed adversely impacted on the South-East economy and Nigeria at large. Transportation is an important sector in the region as it hosts the two major markets in Nigeria, Onitsha main market and Aba market. Report says that transporters lose a huge amount of money for each sit-at-home order. This is a double tragedy for a country whose national economy is already on its knees as reduced

income means reduced purchasing power for transports in the South-East, with attendant reduction in tax remission to state governments.

The South-East, with prides itself as a trading hub. Unfortunately, traders are compelled to stay at home on Mondays which is usually the busiest day of the week and most productive for some. This has translated to a trading loss that amounts to something between ₦700bn and ₦3trn. Consumers or dealers who order products are affected as their goods are not delivered. This makes them lose confidence in dealing with products whose major suppliers are from South-Eat. In hospitality and tourism section, cities like Owerri and Enugu which used to bubble with nightlife have become shadows of themselves as their usual patronage have dwindled. In 2021, a national conference scheduled to hold in Enugu by National Society of Engineers was moved to Abuja with the organizers citing insecurity as a reason.

Events like traditional weddings and funeral ceremonies are now taking place outside the shores of south-East. Not only it affects the traditions of Igbo people, it also affects local economy as hotels and other civic centers will continue to lose patronage. The people of South-East have also decided to stop coming home for Christmas and other festivals, all of these are causing reduction to local economy. Academic is badly affected; many times schools don't get to finish their curriculum.

Interpretation of Data Collected From Different States in the South East with Particular References to the Negative Effects of Sit-At-Home Order in the South East

Eight killed as IPOB'S Sit-at-Home order turns bloody in Nnewi and Onitsha (cf Punch Newspaper, 10th August, 2021). The hoodlums wreaked havoc in Anambra state, killing four policemen and four other persons. Gunmen, who went on a shooting spree in Anambra, attacked a police Area Command in Nnewi axis of the state. The incident was said to have occurred few hours after a joint security patrol team allegedly killed two persons suspected to be members of Eastern Security Network/IPOB, who were enforcing the group's sit-at-home directives in the area. Premium Times recorded that in May, 16, 2022, there was a shootout night in Onitsha when gunmen attempted to attack some soldiers. The shootout lasted for hours, while the soldiers repelled the assailants. This incident happened at the Federal Housing Estate, Nkwelle Ezunaka. The gunmen also went to Government Reserved Area in Onitsha, where they fired sporadic shots. Both attacks happened barely 48 hours after Governor, Charles Soludo, visited Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of IPOB at the State Security Service facility in Abuja where he is being detained. Anambra has witnessed some worst of attacks so far. (cf. www.premimtimes.com)

Igwedibia, Ekeh, Esimone-IPOB Sit at Home Order in South Eastern..

Below Are The Pictures Of Attacks In South East



Hoodlums burn bus, tricycle to enforce sit-at-home directive in Onitsha



Igwedibia, Ekeh, Esimone-IPOB Sit at Home Order in South Eastern..



Tricycle

Igwedibia, Ekeh, Esimone-IPOB Sit at Home Order in South Eastern..



Hoodlums enforcing IPOB sit-at-home in Aba set Keke on fire

Igwedibia, Ekeh, Esimone-IPOB Sit at Home Order in South Eastern..



Sit-at-home: Trailer, shop set ablaze in Aba, Enugu and Anambra

Igwedibia, Ekeh, Esimone-IPOB Sit at Home Order in South Eastern..



Hoodlums allegedly enforcing IPOB sit-at-home set ablaze bus carrying foodstuffs in Enugu

Findings

The researchers have found out that in many parts of the South-East, insecurity has been worsened by the Monday sit-at-home order issued by non-state actors. The sit-at-home order has continued to paralyse economic and social life in the South East. There have been repeated outcries of anguish disclosing that every Monday businesses in South East lose billions of Naira because of the sit-at-home order. Likewise, many poor families that eat from hand to mouth go to sleep at night with empty stomachs every Monday on account of the sit-at-home order, which compels them to stay in-doors out of fear of losing their lives or property.

Recommendations

This research recommends that for peace to be built and sustained in the South East and Nigeria in General, the federal government should endeavour to have a discussion with the IPOB leaders. Using force on them should not be encouraged at all. It is important to emphasize that at this period of economic downturn, when most families have to struggle hard every day to survive, the federal government is expected to seriously address the Monday sit-at-home order, which is fueled by the continued detention of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, the IPOB leader. The Supreme Court had on 15 December 2023 ruled that “Even though illegalities were committed with deployment of brutal force to invade his home town after he was

granted bail and the extraordinary rendition (from Kenya) into the country, there is a civil remedy.” Mr. President should use his good offices to explore the “civil remedy” in the best interest of the people of the South East, whose economic and social life has been greatly crippled on account of the continued detention of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu. Releasing Mazi Nnamdi Kanu would open the pathway to economic and security recovery of the South East with its corollary of positive impact on the entire country.

Conclusion

The perlocutionary effect of the sit-at-home order in South East Nigeria for peace building and sustainability depends on various factors, including the nature of the protest, the response from the government and security forces, and the level of support or opposition from the local population. For a peaceful and sustainable resolution, it is essential for all stakeholders to engage in dialogue and find peaceful means to address the underlying issues and grievances. Without mincing words, a consensus should be reached and agreed between the two parties. Though none conformity of the Nigeria government, and the ideology of “not giving up on this agitation” has made things go haywire.

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