

EFFECTS OF BWARI CONFLICT AND ENUGU SIT-AT-HOME ON WOMEN



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WOMEN**

Research Report

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Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Chapter 1: Introduction | 5 |
| 1.1 Background..... | 5 |
| 1.2 Research Questions | 10 |
| Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework .. | 11 |
| 2.1 Drivers of Violent Conflicts in Nigeria | 11 |
| 2.2 Historical Overview of the Gbagyi in Bwari, Abuja | 15 |
| 2.3 Historical Overview of Sit-at-Home Order/ Directive in South Eastern Nigeria | 19 |
| 2.4 A Dialectical Discourse of Nigerian Women's Economic Empowerment Activities | 25 |
| 2.5 Nexus between Women and Conflict..... | 33 |
| 2.6 Theoretical Framework | 42 |
| Chapter 3: Methodology | 47 |
| 3.1 Research Design | 47 |
| 3.2 Study Area | 48 |
| 3.3 Population and Sampling..... | 48 |
| 3.4 Sources of Data Collection | 49 |
| 3.5 Instrument of Data Collection | 50 |
| 3.5 Procedure of Data Collection..... | 50 |
| 3.6 Method of Data Analysis | 51 |
| 3.7 Validity and Reliability of Instruments | 52 |
| Chapter 4: Result and Discussion | 53 |
| 4.1.1 Research Objective 1: Origin of the Bwari Conflict | 53 |

| | | |
|---|---|------------|
| 4.1.2 | Research Objective 2: Cause of the Bwari Conflict | 60 |
| 4.1.3 | Research Objective 3: Effects of Bwari Conflict on Market Women | 64 |
| 4.1.4 | Research Objective 4: Management of the Bwari Conflict | 71 |
| 4.2 | Sit-at-Home in Enugu | 75 |
| 4.2.1 | Research Objective 1: Origin of Sit-at-Home | 75 |
| 4.2.2 | Research Objective 2: Causes of Sit-at-Home. | 84 |
| 4.2.3 | Research Objective 3: Effects of Sit-at-Home in Enugu | 86 |
| 4.2.4 | Research Objective 4: Management of Sit-at-Home in Enugu | 92 |
| 4.3 | Discussion: Effects of Bwari Conflict and Enugu Sit-at-Home on Women | 99 |
| 4.3.1 | Similarities in the Effects of Bwari Conflict and Enugu Sit-at-Home on Women | 106 |
| 4.3.2 | Difference in the Effects of Bwari Conflict and Enugu Sit-at-Home on Women | 115 |
| Chapter 5: Policy Implication and Conclusion | | 117 |
| 5.1 | Policy Implication | 117 |
| 5.1.1 | The Federal Government | 117 |
| 5.1.2 | FCT Administration | 118 |
| 5.1.3 | Enugu State Government | 120 |
| 5.1.4 | Bwari Chiefdoms | 121 |
| 5.1.5 | Civil Society Organizations | 122 |
| 5.2 | Conclusion | 123 |
| Appendices | | 125 |
| References | | 132 |

CHAPTER ONE:

Introduction

Background

African nations have infamously been named among the worst places in the world for women to live in and precisely the worst place on Earth to be a mother (Amnesty International, 2018/2019). The reasons alluded for this kind of claim by this international human rights body include the high incidences of rape and other forms of sexual and gender-based violence, poverty, malnutrition, displacement, social, economic and political gender inequality and armed conflict. In the last four decades, Africa has witnessed the world's highest number of conflicts in places like Rwanda, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Chad, Liberia, Somalia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Uganda and Nigeria (Nobel Women Initiative, 2001).

In Nigeria, the expression of conflicts and violence varies across diverse parts of the country in-line with her large size and geography. That notwithstanding, hostilities along ethnic and religious lines have the most far-reaching consequences for the nation's unity, democracy and development (Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2012). In Central Nigeria, conflicts along ethnic and religious lines are rift but they are depicted as arising mainly from Plateau, Nasarawa, Benue, Kaduna, Taraba and Kogi

States with spillover effects in other parts of the country (Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2012).

According to Alubo (2006) the North-Central region has been described as the hotbed of Nigeria's ethnic conflict hosting one third of the country's ethnic conflicts since the dawn of democracy which are characterized by civil disturbance and the broader contest of citizenship, identity and politics of inclusion and exclusion. Albert (2003) cited in Nwaneri and Ukandu (2019) quips that indigene-settler conflict is one variant of ethnic conflict in the region that arises as a result of questionable rights which settlers enjoy in host communities. Within the Federal Capital Territory, the Bwari conflict clearly falls within this description but very little is known of it, perhaps due to its proximity to seat of power in Abuja. Precisely on 25th of December 2017, the first violent eruption of conflict in Bwari emerged with a good number of costs for both human and materials with arson committed at the Bwari market (Nwaneri and Ukandu, 2019).

Nwaneri and Ukandu (2018) identified the remote and immediate factors that caused the Bwari conflict. They explained how it was managed and accounted for its multidimensional costs with salient recommendations proffered on how to transform the conflict, yet no specific mention was made of women let alone how the conflict case uniquely affects them as wives, or mothers and victims or survivors.

On the other hand, in the South East there is a lingering perception of marginalization occasioned by the civil war which has triggered formation of ethnic militias like Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Biafran Zionist

Movement (BZM) and of recent entry the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) among related separatist groups (Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2012; Ukandu, 2018). Nnamdi Kanu a Nigerian-British Igbo activist formed the Indigenous People of Biafra and with his underground broadcast from Radio Biafra based in London he centered his narratives on marginalization of the Igbo people by the Nigerian government and freedom for the Igbo while criticizing the recurring corruption among successive Nigerian government (Uwaegbute, Nweze and Chukwuma, 2022; Mark, Obi and Chibuzor, 2022).

This new group soared to national and global significance after the federal government incarcerated her leader and Director of Radio Biafra, Nnamdi Kanu alongside other IPOB members (Amanambu, 2017). After the arrest of Nnamdi Kanu on October 2015 and his grant of conditional bail in April 2017 the leader of IPOB charged every citizen of the defunct region to have a sit-at-home solidarity demonstration to mark the 50 years anniversary of the declaration of the Defunct Biafra Republic on June 30th, 2017 (Amadi and Anokwuru, 2017). A military offensive which lasted from 15 September to 14 October 2017 code-named Operation Python Dance, also known as Egwu Eke II in the Igbo language was launched across the East (Nwangwu, 2023). With the raiding of Kanu's home which warranted his disappearance and resurfacing in Israel from where he moved around the world gathering solidarity for the Biafran cause with regular broadcast from Radio Biafra (Amadi and Anokwuru, 2017; Ukandu, 2018).

While at large in Britain, on the 12th of December, 2020, Kanu announced the formation of the Eastern Security Network (ESN) to

flush bandits and all illegal occupants of forests in Igboland (Mark, Obi and Chibuzor, 2022). This emergence of ESN heightened the tension between Nigeria's security services especially the military and the police and members of the proscribed group (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2021). The eventual rearrest, repatriation or renditioning (as some would claim) of Kanu from Kenya on 19th June 2021, marked a new beginning for the sit-at-home order which began on the 9th of August 2021 as a protest strategy by IPOB for their leader's release from Department of State Security (DSS) dungeon in Abuja and eventual freedom for Biafra (Mark, Obi and Chibuzor, 2022).

The forceful enforcement of these sit-at-home orders across the geopolitical zones and Enugu its regional capital, had widespread implications for citizens and residents alike, as the elderly, adults, youths, children and women were no exception. For example, Mark, Obi and Chibuzor (2022) reports that on August 2021, over six people were killed and three buses set ablaze in Anambra State. Similarly, the authors disclosed that two travelers were burnt to death with shops and vehicles including buses belonging to Libra and Okey transport companies were reportedly set ablaze in Imo. On the 7th of July 2021 Professor Samuel Ndubuisi, the Director-General of Scientific Equipment Development Institute (SEDI) was gruesomely murdered along the Enugu-Port Harcourt expressway, Enugu State. Two days earlier Ifeanyi Okeke, the Chief Executive Officer of AutoEase was killed in the same area (Nda-Isaiah, 2021).

Consequently, Chukwugekwu and Shola (2021) identified nation building as the core challenge of the sit-at-home order.

Anyadiegwu and Nzekwu (2022) accounted for the impact of insecurity and IPOB sit-at-home order on teaching and learning in schools across the Southeast. In fact, Obibuba (2023) specifically mainstreamed academic performance of primary school pupils in Anambra state as the core effect of IPOB sit-at-home protest order.

Owoeye, Ezeanya, and Obiegbunam (2022) presented the Monday sit-at-home order from IPOB as having negative socio-political and economic implications in the zone. Mark, Obi and Chibuzor (2022) construes the ills of IPOB sit-at-home as a challenge to economic development in the area. A more recent publication on the subject matter by Amana and Okpoko (2023) deriving their evidence from newspaper reports in Nigeria, likewise came to the conclusion that the country, daily earners and businesses are losing money thus restricting the challenge IPOB sit-at-home to economic and financial terms.

Just like the Bwari conflict case, the Enugu sit-at-home protest order has not been given any scholarly attention to examine its implications for women. This is not in any way a denial of the fact that the conflict and criminal violence it has birthed, did not compromise the economic empowerment enjoyed by women in the area. Like the National Peace Policy document unequivocally quips that, “patterns of conflict and violence have taken heavy toll on vulnerable groups such as women” (Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2012: 21). As Agbaje (2019) rightly observes, women are the primary target of violence during conflict, and of course men are victims too. The challenge as she puts it, “lies in the fact that there is very little disaggregated data available that can provide detailed and clear gender maps of victimhood”.

Thus, this research aims to examine the effects of conflict on women using a comparative study approach. The cases of Bwari conflict and Enugu sit-at-home protest strategy will be compared and contrasted with focus on their effects on women.

1.2 Research Question

In the light of the foregoing, this research investigated the effect of Bwari conflict and Enugu sit-at-home on women. The questions emanating from the study are:

- a. What is the origin of Bwari conflict and sit-at-home in Enugu?
- b. What are the causes of Bwari conflict and sit-at-home in Enugu?
- c. What are the effects of Bwari conflict and sit-at-home in Enugu?
- d. What are the strategies adopted in managing Bwari conflict and sit-at-home in Enugu?

CHAPTER TWO:

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Drivers of Violent Conflicts in Nigeria

Kett and Rowson (2007) enthused that the term conflict drivers imply the dynamic nature of factors and processes that contribute to violent conflict. They identify factors that cause, trigger and sustain conflict as the drivers of conflict. Collier (2007) situates the dissatisfaction of academics on the use of root cause because it connotes that there is a justifiable grievance behind every outbreak of conflict. The academic debate on drivers of conflict has been depicted as a dualism between greed versus grievance in-line with the shift in the nature of modern conflict from traditional symmetrical (between armies) to intra-state conflict and asymmetric war (between state and militia) (Kett and Rowson, 2007). While drivers like poverty and inequality speak to grievance, material interest on the other hand relates to greed as the driver of conflict. Thus, grievance and greed stand as the foundation upon which all conflicts are premised (Kett and Rowson, 2007).

The three broad categories of conflicts in Nigeria generally fall under identity-based, resource-based and political power-based conflicts (Suifon, 2017). A major challenge at the level of political

power-based conflict especially at the aftermath of election is uniting diverse groups that competed during the election campaign, while at the same time, maintaining balance between preventing hate speech while preserving freedom of speech and that of the press. Thus, Nigeria is neither immune from causes of conflict nor the challenges of peacebuilding.

Causes, Triggers and Sustainers of Conflict

Associated with the indigene-settler crises in Nigeria is the ownership of land. It includes issues such as struggle for ownership of land, land boundary, land demarcation and land inheritance within and between communities (Adegbami, 2020). Porto (2002) argues that ethnic dialects and traditions make ethnic identity stronger and more enduring than other collective identity based on class or ideology, because ethnicity is most likely to provide the bases for political mobilization and conflict when it provides the basis for invidious distinctions among people. De Villiers (2015) observes that religious conflict manifest due to grievances as a result of political and socio-economic marginalization and the inequitable distribution of resources. Chingono (2016) summarized violent conflict in Africa as arising from material conditions of poverty and deprivation which have provided fertile ground for politicizing ethnicity and for preventing religious ideology to flourish.

In Nigeria, Agbibo (2013) acknowledges the overlap between the majority ethnic divisions and the religious split of predominantly Sunni Muslim north that is approximately 50 percent and 48 percent Christian south. The Institute for Peace and Conflict

Resolution (2017) observes that religious tension exists in most parts of Nigeria given the domineering nature of most religious majorities over the religious minorities. The Report opines that tussle between or within religious groups and state governments on the mode of dressing, ownership of schools and curricula were found in north-Central and South West.

Higazi and Yousef (2017) argue that the politicization of religious and ethnic difference is evident in farmer-herder conflict in the country in that majority of pastoralists are Muslim and ethnically Fulani, while farmers tend to be Christians and non-Fulani. Adegbami (2020) contends that the multi-ethnic nature of the Nigeria state has been one of the factors that breed conflict since thousands of people have been killed in ethnic clashes. He situates the fear of being schemed out of politics and socio-economic benefits as underlying factor behind ethnic identity conflict.

Alao (2010) contends that natural resources as a driver of conflict arise through accumulation or control of resources which can become an objective of war. Their high profits are used to fuel and sustain conflict and they can be a source of political grievance when their ownership is contested with distorting effect on governance. For one, water is fast becoming a conflict issue through water scarcity and access to water sources especially in farmers and pastoralist context that has seen water becoming a national security concern (Abegunde and Dada, 2021). Abegunde and Dada (2021) further argues that another natural resources that has frequently led to conflict in historical and contemporary times is land because armed groups fight over its control, population and resources leading to forceful displacement from ancestral homeland.

Adegbami (2020) identifies issues of economic and resource control as causes of conflict in Nigeria. The Niger Delta region is prone to inter and intra communal conflicts because the area has remained economically marginalized and underdeveloped through exploration and exploitation of crude oil. He attributes that challenge to the emergence of different militia groups like movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA). Similarly, groups struggle for separation from the Nigerian state such as Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB).

The Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (2017) identifies self-determination as a political manifestation of conflict in Nigeria. The body quips that since the advent of the Fourth Republic in 1999, groups affiliated to ethnic nationalities have been agitating for self-determination especially with OPC in the South West and MASSOB and IPOB in the South East geo-political zones. Ibeanu and Iwuamadi (2016) identified three explanations for repeated agitations in the South East. They are about those that emphasize ethnic rivalry and separation, those that emphasize economic discontent and those that emphasize state-society relations. Ukandu (2018) identified Nnamdi Kanu, the Director of Radio Biafra as the leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). Kanu was detained on treason charges from 2015 to April 2017 (Human Rights Watch, 2018).

Youth restiveness has been a recurring issue that gives rise to violence and conflicts in contemporary Nigeria. This is owing to improper planning evident in unemployment for youths with basic

qualification and strength to work (Adegbami, 2020). Ohene-Asare, Aklavon, Moussou and Ikelegbe (2017) describes Nigeria as a huge market for domestic, regional and international arms dealers and syndicate destination for illicit small arms and light weapons (SALW) flows and a centre for illicit trafficking.

2.2 Historical Overview of the Gbagyi in Bwari, Abuja

Migration

The origin and identity of the Gbagyi people have been told from various standpoints. On the account of Darlington (2004), he opined that the Gbagyi people's history can be traced to the Chadians where they settled in 1810 but Hugh (1966) gave a different account and opined that the Gbagyi people migrated to Zamfara in 1810. However, the historical migration of the Gbagyi people either from Chad or Zamfara, is notable, but similarity in the year of their migration remains the same. Incontrovertibly, a different perspective of the historical underpinning of the people stated that the Hausa/Fulani people claimed to have created the Gbagyi community and the Gbagyi people were settlers and not indigenes (Kuta 2001). On a different account, it was stated that their presence in Abuja however predates that of the Hausa people who moved to Abuja in 1807 after the Sokoto Jihad which exiled a faction of the ruling house of Zaria (Cadman 1913). Thurley (1931); Thomas-Emeagwali (1989) asserted that the Gbagyi people originated from Bornu Empire in the early 1750s but were

later expelled from the region as they displayed resistance to convert to Islam. Abuja at that time had ethnic groups that were politically significant and were seen as majority. From a different account, Morgan (1914) asserted that Koro and Gbagyi were the earliest settlers in the region with Arago, Ganagana and Hausa migrating to the area later. On the other hand, Cadman (1913); Shekwo (1986), stated that Nupe has a close language affinity with the Gbagyi who share close relations with Koro because they settled in the districts of Diko, Ushafa, Garki and Zuba in the Kare district together but all these can also be traced to Wukari and Kwararafa empire and so, the origin of the Gbagyi is also interwoven with the Jukuns.

The People and their Lifestyle

The Gbagyi are an ethnic group in Northern Nigeria, found most especially in villages of some States in the North-Central geopolitical zone of Nigeria. Gbagyi is the name and the language of Gbagyi ethnic group who are predominantly found in Central Nigeria, with a population of about 12 million people. They are found in Niger, Kaduna, Kogi and Nasarawa States, and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja (Omoniyi 2011). It is believed that Gbagyi which means world was a product of Shekwoyi/Swashe which is a part of seven worlds that was created by Shekwoyi'skala, who is referred to as the power behind the creation (Ayuba 2016). The Gbagyi is a traditional African society that believes in Communal living with high priority on family (Omoniyi 2011). The Gbagyi culture sees the head as the most important part of the body. The head is believed to be divine and should not be used to

carry things. Instead, the Gbagyi people use the shoulders to carry loads. Also, in the tradition of the Gbagyi, if a man is interested in a woman he would serve on the farmland of the girl's father for seven years, time during which he would also supply grain with which his wife is to be fed so that she can be fattened before the marriage (Omoniyi, 2011) as it assures the father of the bride that the husband-to-be is not a lazy man, but rather is one who would be able to fend for his daughter if given her hand in marriage (Ebije 2012).

But in present day, the marriage rites procedure involves the man's presentation of the woman to his parents first and then to the elders of his extended family. Zamani (2012) stated that it is compulsory that a four-man delegate accompanies the man to the bride's family for further arrangements. A Gbagyi bride is visually differentiated from the guests by her hair style which is special for that one day, and by the use of laali to design her hands and feet. The laali is made from leaf, pounded and dried, then soaked in a little water. The hands and feet of the bride are then soaked in the laali for between thirty minutes and one hour (Wilson 2005). During festivals and when a couple is about to be wedded, a special outfit called Ajeside is worn by the Gbagyi (Thomas-Emeagwali (1989); Wilson 2005; Omoniyi 2011; Ebije 2012) while the Ajeside worn by chiefs are made in the form of a babariga to signify his special status. On the other hand, similar to the Igbo culture where a traditional red cap is worn to connote leadership, the head chief of the Gbagyi village is the only one that wears the red cap while others wear black caps.

The Gbagyi people are predominantly farmers as they live mostly in the hinterlands in Abuja while some are blacksmiths, weavers and merchants (Thomas-Emeagwali, 1989; Ichaba 2017;

Orisaremi 2020). Megudu (2012) opined that from the six area councils in Abuja, five are hinterlands with 49 villages as settlements and they were forced to move to the villages as urbanisation did not give room for their farming lifestyle to continue. In corroboration, Omoniyi (2011) asserted that asides urbanisation which made them move to other places within Abuja was for the actualization of the vision of the federal government to have a federal capital territory in 1976. Furthermore, Wilson (2005) identified the indigenous media of the Gbagyi people as instrumental and demonstrative communication in nature. The instrumental ones are used for music while the demonstratives are used as a means of communication that is unique and identifiable by the people in order to distinguish them from other ethnic groups. Ideophones, aerophones, mwayiyako, tupmatu, membranophones, karegu, sungun, gojeye, agaga and kaburu are the instruments used for music and dance. The Gbagyis use gunshots as a communication medium to celebrate the life of their kinsmen at funerals while kolanuts and dates (debinu) are used at weddings to welcome guests and at home to welcome visitors. Feathers are also used to signify the different masquerade types. There are two masquerades: Owoe and Kaka; and while Kaka doesn't use feathers, Owoe uses chicken feathers (Wilson 2005).

The modern institutional structure of the Gbagyi people is family oriented with elders at the top making decisions but in earlier times, a traditional system of leadership was practised. The most senior in a household is the leader and representative of that house while elders in the community are grouped together to represent their communities with the village chief presiding over all matters

concerning the community. Also, Gbagyi settlements were divided in accordance with their interests. Such divisions led to what is known as districts, divisions and provinces.

2.3 Historical Overview of Sit-at-Home Order/ Directive in South Eastern Nigeria

Post-Independence Era

Nigeria was ruled in the colonial era through direct rule in some regions and indirect rule in others. It was the unique nature of the traditional rulership setting highly influenced the method used by Britain. This in a way gave more access to rulership of the Nigerian state to the regions where direct rule were practised. Thus, at the dawn of independence, the three major ethnic groups began the tussle for political leadership and dominance. This led to separatist agitations from various groups. Michael Okpara first called for secession after the surrounding issues of the federal elections 1964 and a year later, the secession call became intense as it was alleged that the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons were rigged out from the elections (Alumona, Azom and Iloh 2017). The Nigeria/Biafra civil war from 1967 to 1970 was solely for the actualization of the sovereign state of Biafra because the people from that region felt they were marginalized (Chima, 2013; Chukwudi et al 2019; Igwebuiké, 2020). This started after a coup d'état ensued and civil unrest took place which resulted to the death of Igbos in the Northern parts of Nigeria (Madiebo 1980; Achebe 2012). Before the civil war, the middle of 1960s, the Nigerian state

suffered economic, political instability and ethnic tensions and this in a way led to the resentment of the Igbos (Home Office 2022) which resulted to about thirty thousand deaths in the Northern region with majority fleeing to South Eastern Nigeria. In corroboration, Alumona, Azom and Iloh (2017) opined that the attempt of the Igbos to secede from Nigeria reached its peak as the country was faced with a series of contradictions which the various constitutions had tried to address but the salient issues like ethnic differences, political tension, power and leadership tussle from colonial rule which spanned to amalgamation period largely contributed still lingered.

Several attempts were made by regions to resolve the lingering issues but an agreement was never reached and on the 30th of May, 1967, Odimegwu Ojukwu, the then Head of the Eastern Region with the authorization from a consultative assembly declared the region a sovereign state of Biafra and this led to the civil war as the then Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon refused to recognise Biafra's secession (Home Office 2022). After the Biafran soldiers surrendered, General Yakubu Gowon created a policy of no victor, no vanquished with the policy of reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation in order to manage the adverse effects of the war (Osita, Anoke and Eze 2022). These policies were not properly implemented as the fundamental reasons for the civil war by the Biafrans were not addressed. This led to agitation groups to be formed in 1998, tension began to build and shortly after the return to democracy in 1999, the Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) clamoured for a Biafran state.

Agitations in the Fourth Republic

A clear-cut separation cannot be defined as agitations by the Indigenous People of Biafra for a sit at home order has linkage with the Biafra civil war. The Biafra civil war lasted for over three years which was as a result of secessionist agitations by the Igbos. As opined by scholars, the recent agitations for the state of Biafra began with the Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) which was championed by Raph Uwazurike in 1998 (Osita, Anoke and Eze 2022) and gained popularity through the formation of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) by Nnamdi Kanu in 2012 (Ekechukwu, Nwogu, Odinaka and Emerho 2022). However, it was further purported that the formation of IPOB was from the reorganisation and regrouping of two pro-secessionists known as the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the Biafran Zionist Movement (BZM) with a united goal to reawaken the defunct Biafra territory as initially proposed by Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu (Jacob, Nwobi, and Igboji, 2020) as it was perceived that the Igbos were marginalized in public office appointments and the wielding of excessive power by the Nigerian state (Mark, Obi, and Chibuzor 2022).

Prior to the formation of the Indigenous People of Biafra, Nnamdi Kanu established the Radio Biafra in 2009 which accelerated the evolution of IPOB in 2012. The Radio Biafra was used to propagate messages and criticize the Nigerian government (Mark, Obi, and Chibuzor 2022). The radio in due time gained dedicated followership as majority of the Igbos have lived with the tales of the Biafra civil war which made past hurts to linger and also with the notion that they were not included in some public and political

appointments. On the other hand, messages propagated through the radio station were seen as treasonable to the Nigerian state. The Nigerian government were concerned about the high dedication and followership of the Radio Biafra and its leadership. In other words, Radio Biafra, the Indigenous People of Biafra and its leadership were seen as potential threats to the nation's unity. With this, the Nigerian government announced the commencement of Operation Python Dance II in South Eastern parts of Nigeria and barely a day after the announcement, the Nigerian army invaded Nnamdi Kanu's home which led to the arrest and detention of IPOB'S leader, Mazi Nnamdi Kanu in late 2015 (Ogbonnaya-Ikokwu 2017; Osita, Anoke and Eze 2022; Owoeye, Ezeanya, and Obiegbunam, 2022). This further led to dissenting voices speaking against his arrest with violence erupting in the South East of Nigeria. Mark, Obi, and Chibuzor (2022) asserted that most parts of Anambra, Umuahia and Enugu states recorded high spates of protests and violent clashes with the Nigerian police with a death of not less than 129 deaths and injuries.

Following the widespread violence and agitations in 2015, Nnamdi Kanu was bailed. After Nnamdi Kanu's arrest, the Federal government proscribed IPOB and the group was labelled as terrorists by a court judgement. Consequently, a number of supporters were put in detention because they attempted to hold or participate in peaceful assemblies by security forces who used excessive force against activists on several occasions (Amnesty, 2017). According to Gabriel, Agbakwuru, Yakubu and Agbo, (2017), this meant that as IPOB was proscribed as a terrorist group, Nigeria's armed forces are allowed to apply the use of force if they were found gathering. In corroboration, Obiejesi (2018);

Chukwudi, Gberevbie, Abasilim and Imhonopi (2019) opined that the consequence of IPOB's gathering and engaged in activities or anyone associated with them is that, they could serve twenty years in prison when convicted as stated in section 2 (3) (i) of the terrorism prevention acts of 2011. In response to the proscription of IPOB as a terrorist group, Human Rights Watch (2019) reported that the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) in March that Nigerian government's proscription of the group and attacks on its members as an obvious violation of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

After an attack by the Nigerian security forces in Enugu on IPOB during a rally in August 2020 which led to the deaths of twenty-one unarmed IPOB members and two police officers, it advised its members to put into measures self-defence mechanisms and as a result of this, Nnamdi Kanu announced the Eastern Security Network in December 2020 to protect Eastern states from attacks from security forces and Fulani herdsmen who at the time raided and killed farmers (Mezie-Okoye 2022). However, the Nigerian government ordered the military to identify and disband the unlicensed paramilitary group in January 2021 (Mezie-Okoye 2022).

However, in June 2021 he was arrested in Kenya and to register their displeasure, his followers ordered a sit at home on Mondays. Sunday (2021) reported that IPOB issued a press statement on the arrest of Nnamdi Kanu which stated that:

We the global family of the Indigenous People of Biafra IPOB (IPOB) ably led by our great leader Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, wish to announce to all Biafra citizens, friends of Biafra and lovers

of Biafra freedom and independence that IPOB leadership has declared every Monday a ghost Monday. This declaration takes effect from Monday, August 9, 2021. We wish to state full details of this coming ghost Mondays every week, our people must understand that it was designed to show the world how serious we are towards this fight for Biafra freedom and independence everybody must adhere to this clarion call put in place by the leadership of IPOB and it would be good for everyone to know that IPOB will not relent until Biafra is fully achieved. We declare every Monday sit- at- home throughout Biafra land until our leader Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, regains his freedom. The federal government must allow him access to his personal physicians, and allow him to sign documents given to him by the British Government to provide him consular assistance. This peaceful protest will continue once every week until our demands are met.

This act birthed the sit-at-home protest strategy employed by IPOB to demand for the release of their leader. Ugwe (2022) opined that the sit at home order was initially for the purpose of demanding his release but was later extended to any time Nnamdi Kanu appears in court. The initial stage of the sit-at-home witnessed a widespread support from South Eastern Nigerians but the prolonged strategy used by the group has begun to affect the socio-economic lives of the South Eastern states. As reported by Ogunode and Chijindu (2022), enforcing compliance in recent times result in the destruction of goods in the tune of billions. Also, South Eastern states on Mondays are quiet as people fear for their lives as reports show that traders and commuters who float the rule are attacked (Ugwe, 2022).

2.4 A Dialectical Discourse of Nigerian Women's Economic Empowerment Activities

Women and Market

Nigeria is characterized with a higher population of women than men but the recorded value of their productivity and contribution is seen to be lesser (Olukemi 2009) as they are assigned specific gender roles from time immemorial. Nwankwo (2017) suggested that women's focus on trading is dictated by the gender division of labour as men were largely assigned to farming and women to trading as it was more convenient to combine such role with child bearing. As Raji, Olumoh and Abejide (2013) corroborated, though roles are traditionally assigned to women, they still participate in various forms of commercial activities to compliment men. Aluko (2010) stated that women have played active roles in different social systems from the pre-colonial era till the fourth republic even though male dominance is more prevalent. It was seen generally as an anomaly in recent past when women engaged in other activities except teaching, trade, nursing, amongst others. However, due to the change in trend and dynamics because of globalisation, women have been seen to play significant roles in trading activities in recent times. This means that women are playing a vital role in the economic system as they majorly engage in trade. As it is for most women, the more likely route to financial independence is trade.

One of the reasons of women's high involvement in trade is as a result of the challenges they are faced in the country. As noted by the British Council (2012), though Nigeria's economic growth is evident, there is widespread of poverty and majority of those living

in poverty are more of women as a result their reproduction roles and lack of access to production aids and assets thus making fewer employment options available to them, leading to a high concentration of women in the self-employment sector which in most cases is trading in various forms (Nwankwo 2017). It is common place that these women groomed their daughters in the art. Iyela (2012) opined that the indoctrination of women into trading activities started as young girls for they assist their parents to take care of the family. Though it is accounted for that fathers have influenced their daughters in trading activities, however, mothers have greater influence. To some mothers, it is seen as a way to bond with their daughters, help their mothers during holidays to others, it is seen as a way to build economic literacy. Consenting to this view, Yusuf (2013) opined that mothers are the entry point to trading and it is considered natural that the girl child continued the family's business.

Another reason for the high involvement of women in trade Staveren and Olabode (2007) more than often is that inheritance marriage norms as practised in most Nigerian ethnic groups have the boys and men as major beneficiaries as whatever the women owned is transferred to their husbands and fathers. Women are still highly involved in trading activities in Nigeria and their participation have greatly impacted on the growth of the economy (Ugwu, 2013).

Women and Agriculture

Nigeria is a Sub-Saharan African country that has agriculture as one of her economy's main stays. A typical Sub-Saharan household has

a clear-cut distinction in the roles played by both genders as there are defined patterns for the exchange of goods and services with elaborate preparations made to determine the agricultural processes from planting, harvesting and sales of farm produce. It is argued that the productive labour age of women in agriculture in Nigeria is within 16 to 40 years and this puts the most active demographics of these women to be the unmarried (Bawa, Donye and Nuhu 2010; FAO 2011).

Sasa, Adebayo and Maurice (2022) opined that Nigerian women are 80% involved in food production, process and marketing while 70% mostly manage small-scale enterprises and about 33% of all households are sustained by them.

As busy as these women are, TCA (2017) opined that many of their activities are considered to be essential to satisfactorily contribute to the welfare of the household but it cannot be counted as economically active employment nationally. Independent Evaluation Group (2009) noted that agriculture can be used as a tool for growth and poverty reduction in countries but as observed, the agricultural sector has achieved less so far and this can be attributed to the fact that women who represent a crucial part in the sector face more challenges than men in terms of access to productive resources.

Kabeer (1994); Njobe (2015) is of the opinion that about 60 to 80 percent of the women's population have been recorded to be a major contributor to their individual country's food. Though this seems like a relatively good percentage, it is believed that these women still face a major obstacle in terms of access to aids and provisions to upscale their agricultural productivity. In the same vein, FAO

(2011) stated that women are faced with a myriad of agricultural productivity problems which ranges from a constraint to financial services, management of agricultural resources and access to agricultural knowledge, skills and education. Sofa and Doss (2011) opined that 79 percent of women make agriculture their primary form of employment, however, they are still regarded to be at a disadvantage in agricultural production engagement. Moma, Mfoumou, Zibi and Lebailly (2014) attributed the low agricultural production of women to gender roles assigned to them as it is often seen that they have less influence in taking household decisions which in turn affects productivity and efficiency in other areas. In corroboration, Aluko and Amidu (2006) opined that a country like Nigeria which is characterized with patriarchy makes the allocation of land due to inheritance processes a bit complicated for some women and this limits their usage for agricultural purposes.

It is also argued that though women play active roles in agriculture, they experience limitations which can also be attributed to the huge role played by patriarchy. Nigeria is a patriarchal society as men are given more control as regards decision making and piloting the day-to-day affairs of the home. In most cases, men are largely invested in the farming of cash crops and getting the finished goods to the consumers in large quantity with women handling the bulk processing of the crops at the subsistence level (Mtsor and Idris 2014). For instance, some crops like cassava, melon and cocoyam are regarded as female crops while a crop as yam is traditionally tied to respect for male farmers because of the yam harvest in the South East (Amusan, Akokuwebe and Odularu 2021). How be it, women's access to the necessary agricultural investments and funding have been relatively low as a result of patriarchy which is

interconnected with religious, cultural, marital discriminatory factors.

More so, in terms of credit facilities, women have more difficulties than men especially in rural communities. National Bureau of Statistics (2007) opined that women face problems of access to their inputs which include credit as women farmers receive less than 10% of the credit offered to small-scale farmers. To address the challenges faced by women in agricultural production, FAO (2011) opined that the role of agriculture has to be revalued to show the importance of women's participation in agricultural activities as it is imperative for planning policies and programmes for development and economic stability of a nation.

Women and Politics

Women constitute more than half of the world's population today. Globally, these women play key roles in the society (Oloyede, 2016) but in similar context with the world's population, Nigerian women's role in most sectors have less representation especially in politics. A low representation of women in Nigeria is often times tied to cultural, religious and patriarchal factors. While Ibizugbe (2023) asserts that, women's underrepresentation in governance can be contributed to a larger percentage of most parties' memberships to be more of men than women. This in turn affects the selection or election process as internal party politics could be influenced by men due to their large numbers. Agbalajobi (2010) opined that about 51 percent of women are involved in the political process in Nigeria but with a high percentage as this, they are still underrepresented in governance as the overall representation of

these women is less than 7 percent. This is not to say that efforts have not been made by governments, non-governmental organisations and women groups to increase their representation. Oloyede (2016) opined that efforts to boost women's participation have been made by adopting the resolutions from the fourth World Conference on women in Beijing which advocated for 30% affirmative action coupled with the recommendations from the National Gender Policy which advocated for a more inclusive representation with 35% affirmative action.

Since Nigeria became a democratic state in 1999, seven elections have been conducted and women's representation does not correspond with the 30% affirmative actions from the Beijing women's conference or the 35% recommendation from the National Gender Policy. Succinctly put, Oloyede (2016) Orji, Orji and Agbanyim (2018) averred that from 1999 to 2015, the highest representation of women is 7% while records show that the 2023 elections had 35 women run for the lower chamber and 11 run for the upper chamber but produced 14 women in the House of Representatives and 3 in the National Assembly (Ibizugbe 2023) and it is attributed as the lowest representation since 1999. In addition, Nigeria amongst many nations is a party to the gender policy which advocates for female inclusion in all spheres with further provisions of institutional structures to enhance a fair representation. The above shows that despite significant presence of women in other sectors, women's presence in terms of political representation is still lacking. This therefore means that the underrepresentation of women in governance is faced with several challenges as it is known that the Nigerian government, civil

societies and non-governmental agencies are making conscious efforts to improve the representation of women in governance.

Challenges faced by women in politics are attributed to certain factors. Scholars are of the opinion that the common factors to underrepresentation of women in governance are specific gender and cultural roles assigned to women. In addition to this, Okoosi-Simbine (2012) opined that women are faced with a constraint in political representation as a result of the political practice of parties in Nigeria. These practices as stated by Okoosi-Simbine (2012) include the manner of political nominations and campaigns which are often times expensive, the intrusion of prebendals to select who represents the party and in some cases, violence is exhibited in the party which women might not have the capability to handle because it is observed that Nigeria's politics is more masculine. In other case, despite the supportive role of government to adopt gender friendly policies, there is still the problem of implementation. Agbalajobi (2010) opined that the problem of implementing affirmative actions in Nigerian politics is evident as women's representation in elections since democracy have a low percentage.

Supporting the case of women enmity or antagonistic attitude towards themselves, Okpalaobi cited the incidence at the Presidential primary of People Democratic Party (PDP) held on the 16th January 2011 where three candidates were nominated for the primary, two male, and one female. Of the 4000 delegates for the primary, women numbered up to 2000 and yet the only female candidate in the primary Sarah Jubril got only one vote despite the presence of 2000 women delegates. The factor of women being enemies of themselves is further exacerbated by challenges such as

envy, jealousy, and other challenges that accompany interpersonal relations among women. Also, in the 2015 election, despite the advocacy of women's group for women representation in politics, the only female presidential candidate (Professor Remi Sonaiya) won less votes compared to the male candidates. In 2023 elections, the only female presidential candidate (Princess Ojie) got twenty-five thousand votes. The number of votes gotten by the presidential candidate of 2023 was a remarkable improvement from the previous election but the margin is low for a democratic state.

According to Lovenduski and Karam (2002), four aspects of political processes need be changed to accommodate more women. These are institutional or procedural change which include cultural changes and greater gender awareness. There should be a continuous sensitization that both men and women are capable of ruling regardless of their class, race or marital status. Representation change has to do with action plans that are capable and strong enough to enhancing and securing women's continuous access to legislature. Women politicians should be encouraged by appointing them into executive positions within the parties and the party structure should compulsorily be made gender sensitive with a purposive plan to place women in crucial political positions. All the major political parties in Nigeria as of today, do not have women in key executive positions. At the very best, women are made women leaders within the parties but this can be changed as laws and policies on women should be on the agenda of any policy making. Also, legislations should be used to change public opinions of women politicians as they should be perceived in the same way as men in terms of reasoning and intelligence.

2.5 Nexus between Women and Conflict

The literature on women and conflict is traditionally presented in terms of women as victims or survivors of conflicts. Later attempt of scholars were to show women agency in conflict both as violent actors and peacebuilders. Here, women fighters and conflict preventions and resolution activities are central expressions of their active involvement in conflict. The effect of conflict is a fourth dimension of their relationship with conflict at the level of impact.

Women as Victims and Survivals of Conflict

Chawade (2016) observes that the conduct and impact of conflict are gendered which is signified by the actors of wars being mostly men and victims of war being mostly women. Adimula (2019) posits that men, women, boys and girls experience similar phenomena during and after conflict, the difference is in their experiences and levels of vulnerability as influenced by their gender. Akinsulure-Smith (2014) earlier argued that all members of society suffer greatly during armed conflict, but it is the most vulnerable made up of women and children who comprise the vast majority of civilian casualties. This clearly conforms to the views of Oguonu (2009) that women and children account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by conflict either as refugees and internally displaced persons or increasingly as targeted by combatants and armed elements.

In the contrary, Okonkwo, Uniga and Bodi (2020) argued in terms of vulnerability that women are even more vulnerable than children. These gender scholars substantiated their position by

remarking that as mothers, women not only struggle to save themselves during armed conflict but equally save their children as a matter of moral burden. They further painted a picture of women in conflict theater as committed to carrying their children on their backs and at the same time carrying other valuable property with their hands. It is for reasons as these that the United Nations Population Fund (2002) explicitly maintains that conflict hit women and girls harder than it does their male counterpart. This agency of the world body further estimated that women and girls constitute close to 80 percent of internally displaced people and refugees worldwide with war having a devastating effect on their lives and dignity.

From the Zimbabwean perspective, which coincides with the Nigerian example, Mpapa and Mulea (2020) contends that wherever there is conflict and disorder in society, women are the most victims more than men. Best (2016) posits that the depiction of women as mainly victims in conflicts not only negates women's participation in bringing peaceful solutions where men have failed but equally reinforces stereotypes about their capabilities.

From the perspective of Boko Haram conflict and insurgency in Nigeria, Ajeh (2021) identified internal displacement, sexual violence against women and girls, protection deficit in humanitarian responds, access difficulties to obtain funding to tackle sexual violence especially those that are sexually-based, gender segregation and distance from service points as the impact on women and children. Similarly, Ochugwu and Dauda (2021) while reflecting on the impact of insurgency on women and children in Nigeria's northeast mentioned healthcare, abuse of

sexual rights and sundry human rights abuses both in communities and in internally displaced persons camps.

Oguike and Orakwue (2021) while addressing vulnerability of women during water resources conflict arising from climate change argue that social and economic instability, gender issues, water sanitation and hygiene are rift as a result of water scarcity as a trigger of conflict. International Committee of Red Cross (2003) remarks that threats of attack can even come from women's own community because they are held as symbolic bearers of culture and ethnic identity alongside the producers of the future generations of their community and threats of attack can even come from their own community.

As victims of conflict, violence against women and girls are in different categories. They include male exchange through violence toward women and girls; the symbolism of gender and punishment of women and girls; sexual or reproductive coercion, harm, torture or mutilation; targeting mothering; women, productive labour and property; women and social capital; and gender multipliers of violence (Adimula, 2019).

Women as Fighters and Protectors

Haeri and Puechguirbal (2010) observe that the depiction of women living in conflict or war zone as vulnerable and helpless despite their remarkable capacity to adapt to and survive the violence, loss and deprivation that goes side by side with armed conflict does not account for the reality. Wall (2009) identifies the function of spies and informants during conflict as a role played by women. This for him is an attestation to the fact that women are not

susceptible to suspicion like their male counterpart and the historically proven reality that men traditionally fall prey to women's craft when they are sent to seduce and extract information from men in conflict context.

Similarly, Stewart (2010) avows that in war context, women are involved in providing support services to combatant or actively engaged in arms fight and wield weapons just like their male counterpart. In the circumstance of support services, women serve as cook, run errands and wives and mistresses is made of them. Okonwko and Popoola (2019) adequately made the point when they identified women as conflict actors. They assert that women could be found among combatants as forced participants, as dependent followers of fighters, as shields for combatant and as active fighters.

From the case of Rwanda genocide, Hedstrom and Senaratha (2015) opine that contrary to common perceptions of women as victims or innocent bystanders, women living through the genocide exercised political agency as both perpetrators of violence and rescuers and gender-based blindness facilitated women's impunity for the crime they committed. Chinade and Bivan (2015) disclosed from the Northeast conflict theater in Nigeria that members of the civilian Joint Task Force were inclusive of women who doggedly fight alongside their male counterpart the Boko Haram insurgents.

Mckay (1998) construes women as primary child caregivers and in this regard, they play the role of protectors in many cultures as mothers, older sisters, aunts or grandmothers who share responsibility for children's physical and psychosocial development.

Women and Conflict Prevention, Resolution and Reconciliation

Uchem (2001) argues that the situation of gender inequality did not come with the introduction of Western and Medieval cultures into Nigerian society through the instrumentalities of colonization and missionary activities, it simply worsened the situation for women. Shahid (2021) corroborated this view when she acknowledged the political and socio-economic contributions of women in Nigeria before the advent of colonial rule and the eventual amalgamation in 1914. She went ahead to mention Queen Amina of Zaria, Moremi of Yorubaland, Queen Kambasa of Ijawland, and Queen Owani of Ilesha and many protesters in Igboland that intervened in family and communal conflicts. Cases of traditional autonomy of women were silenced by the colonial interruption of which the Aba women's right in 1929 was reaction against the colonial influence.

Shahid (2021) rightly observes that women are deeply involved in informal peace processes and associated such practice as a basic feature of human experience. In this regard, she argues that women constantly advocate for prevention of conflict before they begin and commit themselves to heal the wounds after they have occurred. Tefera (2005) alludes to the fact that women are directly and indirectly instrumental to peace processes in many communities but decried that reality of formal peace negotiations and traditional institutions excluding women from participation in leadership and decision-making positions.

Oguonu (2009) argues that women suffer exclusion in conflict resolution despite the fact that they are the worst victims of conflicts. In this regard, Shahid (2021) describes this as a loss of

opportunity by women to voice their perspective within formal processes where permanent and long-lasting verdicts are made.

Reasons alluded for the barriers to the involvement of women in peacebuilding are endemic discrimination and sexual violence, economic problems where inheritance laws, taxation laws and banking laws are constantly dwarfing women from capital generation and wealth accumulation. Okonkwo and Popoola (2019) added the fact that peace processes often start at the negotiation table, which is mainly peopled by warring parties generally made up of men.

Madu (2015) avows that the 1995 Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration adopted during the Fourth World Conference on Women under the section on Women in Armed Conflict has six strategic objectives aimed at increasing the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels. Inclusively, Madu (2015) identifies the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security 2000 as the first UNSCR to address women's roles on conflicts and peace processes as well as the impact of war on women. Shahid (2021) confirmed the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 as depicting the importance of women's role in conflict resolution, and prevention, peacebuilding, peacemaking and reconciliation.

Ferris (1993) and McKay (1998) advocated for the development of women's capacities by getting them involved in negotiations to put to an end to fighting in order to develop peace accords and judicial processes for the reconstruction of communities alongside building peace and promoting reconciliation. Garba (1997) will agreeing to the importance of empowerment of women as a way of improving

their capacities, went ahead to observe that it will aid women influence and participation in decision-making in ways that will directly or indirectly affect their lives. Okonkwo and Popoola (2019) quip that as persons who pay the heaviest price when peace is absent, women are natural stakeholders in peace processes.

Effects of Conflict on Women

Okonkwo and Popoola (2019) observe that women are not usually at the forefront of instigating conflict but they are at the receiving end. They further argued that women suffer more either as combatants or non-combatants. They disclosed that this is the reality in many international and local conflicts like the World Wars, the Holocaust, the Rwanda genocide and Nigeria civil war. They went further to identify displacement, assuming responsibilities as providers and bread winners, sexual exploitation, and public health hazard as major conflict effects on women.

Adimula (2019) asserts that the indirect effects of militarized conflict are more deadly and they have great impact on women. She argues that they include limited food and water access, poor sanitation, and hygiene, weak or collapsed health services, increased displacement, family dislocation, family stress and domestic violence.

Turshen and Twagiramariya (1998) remark that during wartime, violence directed at women are to either demoralize their communities or break their resistance. That is to say they are deployed as strategic or political or done to target the personal

identity of women. Turshen and Twagiramariya (1998) reports that these tactics is used by both rebel and government armies with some women combatants taking part in it. They further alluded three reasons why acts of rape are engaged in during conflict situations to include the thinking that women are 'walking wombs' who can be impregnated to introduce children of other ethnicity to their area. Secondly, to show other men that they have been defeated in the sense of rape being a rightful reward for victory and thirdly, men demand sexual favours from women during times of hostilities in order for such women to gain access to their family members or as the price for their personal survival.

Skjelsbaek and Smith (2001) construes women in context of violent conflict as chosen victims of male rapist as well as incidental victims of war. In corroboration to this fact, Adimula (2019) describes rape as piling vulnerability on vulnerability and argues that the act is a deliberate and systematic means of torture of not only the woman but others who she may be protecting. One agrees to this assertion because torture melted to women is not only personal but equally symbolic and theatrical.

The United Nations (2002) opines that one health impact on women during famine or food shortage is that they are more susceptible to malnutrition than men because of inequitable distribution of food within households and the community level. Similarly, crowding, poor housing conditions, and inadequate sanitation within villages, towns or camps often increases rates of and exposure to malaria, tuberculosis and other communicable diseases (United Nations, 2002). Adimula (2019) remarked that when food access is reduced, males are generally given priority

when rations are scarce. She further notes that such practices lead to the deterioration of women's health because women are physiologically more susceptible to vitamin and iron deficiencies. In conflict contexts where there is general decline in health services, women are negatively impacted because of their reproductive and care roles, decrease in obstetrical care and increase in child and maternal morbidity.

The United Nations (2002) argues that psychological and social impacts of armed conflict are intertwined. Changes in social interactions may create psychological distress. Okonkwo, Uniga and Bodi (2020) observe that conflict fragility can disrupt traditional gender roles which can propel women to take on new activities outside the home like becoming the main economic providers. Chawade (2016) situates one area of impact of conflict as changes in gender roles and relations in societies. For example, women can become warriors and household leaders. Gopal (1998), Benjamin and Murchison (2004); and Luke and Munchi (2010) in the contrary see the social positions of women as static even in times of armed conflict or in times of changing social conditions. A strong reason alluded by these researchers is that despite changes made to gender roles and relations, women never give up their roles as housewives with regular activities like cooking, caring and looking after the family. They argue that when women become household heads in the absence of their husbands, this household leadership does not bring any changes in their domestic status. Thus, women can become household heads and still remain housewives in terms of carrying out their household chores and domestic duties (Benjamin and Murchison, 2004; Luke and Mushi, 2010).

2.6 Theoretical Framework

To explain the Bwari conflict case, the research adopts the integrated threat theory. The theory was first proposed by Walter G. Stephan and Cookie White Stephan in 2000. The main assumption of the theory is that it identifies triggers of prejudice. This also means that social groups can feel threatened irrespective of the social class or status because of the feelings of bias or discrimination. As opined by Stephan and Stephan (1993; 1996; 2000), this theory helps in the understanding of prejudice actions towards out-groups by in-groups. These out-groups are regarded as foreigners, settlers, strangers or new people who migrate to another place while in-groups are people that are citizens, indigenes of a location or a group of people who feel they are practising the right moral values, cultural system with a notion that the other group is inferior.

The integrated threat theory postulates that negative attitudes are as a result of imagined threat. Thus, it explains that there is a potential threat about to occur on a group of people of a particular race, colour, religion, cultural beliefs and moral views due to the manner these groups are perceived by another group. For Clifton (2011), integrated threat theory explains that there exist negative attitudes born out of the perception of realistic threat which can be as a result of scarcity or the loss of resources, symbolic threat which can be attributed to morality, intergroup anxiety and the exhibition of negative stereotypes.

According to Ngwayuh (2017), this theory is built on the premise of four major threats; realistic, symbolic, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes and these threats are determinants to which

out-groups like settlers, asylum seekers or refugees are seen as potential threats by the in-groups. Of all the four major threats, symbolic threat is the closest to explaining the potential dangers on out-groups by in-group. The symbolic threat strand is built on the fear of an infiltration of a culture or a practised closed system. As Stephan and Stephan (1996) explains it, when group move into a new society, there is a reformation of the cultural mindset of these groups while the in-groups are highly concerned that a group with a different cultural system is likely to cause damages to their culture which represents their identity. More so, Croucher (2017) is of the opinion that when different cultures interact, real or imagined conflict is likely to occur because the cultural relationship of settlers or migrants and the host community is seemingly complex as it takes a long process of infusion of migrants into the political, economic, social and communicative system of the host community.

In addition, in-groups behaviours or actions often have behavioural, cognitive and emotional effects on out-groups. These effects include discrimination, voting down of certain policies that would be favourable to in-groups, intolerance, resentment, contempt and guilt (Stephan, Ybarra and Rios-Morrison 2015). More so, individuals within in-groups view individuals within out-groups as a threat to their group morals, standards, beliefs, and attitudes. The more important group membership is to in-group members' sense of personal identity, the more likely in-group members will be to seek out differences between the groups, hold negative stereotypes about out-group members, and believe their in-group is the best (Stephan 2016). Applying this theory to the Bwari conflict, the Gbagyi people known as the in-group in this

context have felt some form of anxiety due to negative past experience. The negative past experience of discrimination and partiality faced by the Gbagyi people in a way shaped their interactions with the Hausa who are the out-group. Also, social dominance of the out-group is a source of trigger on the in-group. The Hausa group have dominated the Bwari community which is owned by Gbagyi people. This social dominance in turn has led to stereotype exhibited by the Gbagyi on the Hausa.

Both ethnic groups involved in the conflict have deep cultural values and these values have influenced their real or imagined threats. Both cultures encourage hierarchy and this further promotes social divides that could result to social class struggle. Markus and Kitayama (1991) asserted that ethnic groups sometimes display some level of uncertainty and there is likely to be some avoidance because of perceived threats faced by the ethnic groups. Cultural backgrounds play vital roles in the perception of groups. The differences experienced can lead to Also, Stephan and Stephan (2000) opined that in-group members (Gbagyi) can start feeling threatened because of the emotions faced. Stephan and Stephan (2000) further explained that the in-group in this context, Gbagyi might experience threats that have to do with their physical wellbeing, welfare, economic and political power. In this case, the Gbagyi people who claim to be original owners of the land are feeling less favoured politically and economically as the Esu of Bwari still remains as a third-class chief while the Sarkin Bwari was initially elevated to a first-class chief and after complaints from the Gbagyi people, he was given a second-class position.

In addition, Islam and Hewstone (1993) opined that the out-group might experience unprecedented real or imagined preferences and

advantages which make in-group members feel and, in some cases, express their emotions against the out-group. As a result, negative feelings and intergroup anxiety may lead to negative attitudes, behaviours and expressions toward the out-group. In other words, prejudice is related to negative stereotypes because negative feelings and attitudes will take place if the out-group members do not meet the social expectations of the in-group. There also exists some forms of attachments of the in-group (Gbagyi) to each other, a level of mistrust displayed towards the out-group (Hausa) with a rigid social and cultural structural hierarchies and an authoritative norm from the past or present are conditions that have shaped the attitudes exhibited by the in-group and predisposition towards the out-group.

For the Enugu sit-at-home protest strategy declared by the Indigenous People of Biafra, the research adopts Emile Durkheim's (1893) social solidarity theory as captured in his book "Division of Labour". Durkheim in this book showed how society is an entity of its own beyond the mere sum of individuals (Nickerson, 2023). The theory is based on the interconnection between individuals in society which allows them to believe they can improve the lives of others. The theory is premised on the grounds that diverse groups in society have similar values and beliefs. The idea of solidarity is a human connection or association with one another that leads to an unusual bond that binds persons or groups together. Solidarity is motivated by a variety of factors such as affection, shared values and beliefs and self-interest for some (Douwes, Stuttford, and London, 2018).

Durkheim identified mechanical and organic as the two types of solidarity. While mechanical solidarity is the social organization of

individuals in society who have one belief system, this single belief system can spark up individual members to work cooperatively and harmoniously. On the other hand, organic solidarity is a social organization that manifests due to individuals need for one another. The theory considers individual acts that could influence possible happenings within a group.

Thus, in its application to the sit-at-home case in Enugu, IPOB declared a mandatory Monday sit-at-home order in protest of the arrest of Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of the organization. Individuals and groups showed solidarity to this order as they complied with it across the South East and beyond. Individualized actions led to group actions of people working together to attain the singular goal of unconditional release of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu from the custody of the Federal government. The mechanical aspect of the theory also sits well with the Enugu case because the people (Igbo) have common values and beliefs about their freedom which constitute a collective consciousness to them. This consciousness is what is compelling individual members to cooperate with the demand for Kanu's release.

CHAPTER THREE:

Methodology

3.1 Research Design

The design of the research is comparative case study. This design is built on the traditional case study which seeks to engage with and report the complexity of social activity in order to represent the meanings that individual social actors bring to the setting (Parlett and Hamilton, 1972). Case study is generally a research strategy or design that study a social group (Yin, 2009) but as an approach, comparative case study promotes a model of multi-sited fieldwork studied through and across sites and scales (Bartlett and Vavrus, 2017).

Like Miles and Huberman (1994) cited in Merriam (1998) argued, a case is understood as a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context. This context should be bound to relevant social group, geographic area, and the time covered by the case (Yin, 2011) and activity (Creswell, 2013). Regrettably, the world is not arranged in a way that makes life easy for the social scientist because cases are rarely available that have patterns of similarity and difference that may easily allow for interesting comparison (Prescott and Urlacher, 2017). This difficulty in selection of cases was laid to rest when Vogt et al (2011) posit that, case selection can be identified depending on the analytic purpose which include very similar case, very different cases, extreme or universal cases,

deviant or unexpected cases and influential or emblematic cases”.

The study compares and contrast the effect of Bwari conflict and Enugu sit-at-home protest on women in order to identify the place of context in their patterns. This different cases were studied to gain deeper understanding of the effect of conflict and protest on women supported by qualitative method of study. This study examined the sit at home protest strategy employed by the Indigenous People of Biafra since 2021 and its effects on market women and three other sectors namely; education, banking, and civil service. It also looked at the Bwari conflict of 2017 and its effects on market women. The choice of both cases is due to the peculiarities faced by women in those locations.

3.2 Study Area

The Nigerian state is comprised six geopolitical zones with thirty-six (36) federating states and a federal capital territory (FCT). These states are spread across two regions namely northern and southern regions. North-West, North-East and North-Central makes the northern region. While South-West, South-South and South-East constitute the Southern region. The study was conducted in Federal Capital Territory in North-Central and Enugu State in South East geopolitical zones respectively. The research covered Bwari in FCT and Enugu, the capital city of Enugu State.

3.3 Population and Sample

Across the two study settings, adult and elderly women of 30 years and above were selected in Bwari and Enugu. It covers only women

respondents. It was limited to two purposive selected setting; one within an area council and the other within a local government area with different cases. The reason for this choice is based on the grounds that it will allow the researchers an opportunity to recruit participants with different experiences with the aim of comparing such cases across various sites to understand their similarities and differences as conditioned by their separate contexts.

A total of sixty (60) respondents were sampled for the study. In-depth Interviews (IDI) were carried out with thirty (30) respondents in Enugu, Enugu state and thirty respondents in Bwari. The market in Bwari was solely used as the research site because that was not only the theatre of the conflict, but equally where those impacted were domiciled. On the other hand, the Enugu case is more widespread with multiple theatres and groups impacted spanning across markets, schools, civil service, banks, and transportation sub-sector. The exclusion of transporters was because of the observation that it is men dominated. As a result, the respondents in Enugu were distributed as follows; fifteen (15) Ogbete market, five (5) teachers, five (5) civil servants and five (5) bankers. The selection of the IDIs was based on those who had first-hand knowledge of the issues and were affected by the conflict or protest across the respective research sites.

3.4 Sources of Data Collection

Data was collected through primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include archival materials and in-depth interviews to get information about experiences of the research participants. Our in-depth interviews was structured because they have a

sequence of themes to be covered, as well as suggested questions. More importantly, the in-depth interview was done face-to-face to enable us ascertain the interpersonal situation, have a conversation in which knowledge evolves through a dialogue (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The secondary sources were derived mainly from journal articles, news media, text books, policy documents, and government reports.

3.5 Instrument of Data Collection

Data was qualitatively collected through In-depth Interviews (IDIs) with randomly selected respondents in both markets and other areas or social settings in Enugu. The fact that individual respondents have adequate and valid experiences of the conflict in their area restrained the researchers from employing focused group discussion (FGD), especially when resistance was displayed by almost all the respondents before they finally gave their informed consent to participate in the research. Also, the security sensitive nature of the issue made most potential respondents to be agitated toward giving their consent.

3.6 Procedure of Data Collection

The process of data collection was birthed by visits to Bwari market in FCT and Ogbete market in Enugu. Inclusively, banks, schools, and state civil service offices were visited within Enugu North Local Government Area to make for variation in the recruited participants that will constitute the respondents. Adequate introduction and honest explanations were made on the aim of the

research that enabled the granting of informed consent with dates agreed upon to have the interviews. While a research assistant was engaged after some training and simulation exercises conducted in Enugu, both the Principal Investigator and Assistant Researcher conducted all field works in Bwari as the site is proximate to their current residents. Both researchers visited Enugu for the collection of primary data. Some recorded interviews were first translated before their eventual transcription.

The field work commenced from to 6th of July through 4th of September 2023. While the data collection started at Bwari and lasted for about three weeks, three visits in total were made to Enugu State due largely to the interruptions of movement occasioned by the sit-at-home order.

The general field work was quite revealing and informative for the researchers as it availed an opportunity for them to encounter some of the lived experiences of the respondents. The level of human misery across both research sites were life threatening and empathy evoking at the same time and this accounted for the high level of apathy initially displayed by most prospective and actual respondents, as time later revealed.

3.7 Methods of Data Analysis

Data from In-depth Interviews (IDIs) were transcribed and compared with archival materials and various secondary sources. The data were further interpreted and sectionalized into themes based on the research objectives. The content of the data was analyzed using thematic, descriptive and narrative techniques to

enable us have a rich, nuanced understanding of the experiences of women during conflict and protest.

3.8 Validity and reliability of instruments

To measure the extent of which the survey instrument had been able to achieve its aim, the process of content validity was used to cross-examine and verify collected information. The knowledge gained from other investigators, literature review, theoretical framework and research methods helped greatly to validate the content of the instruments.

The reliability of the instruments showed the consistency and dependability of the instrument used in the research study. Following the measurement and validity test performed on the instrument (in depth interviews), it showed that these instruments were reliable.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Results and Discussion

4.1 Research Objective 1: Origin of the Bwari Conflict

Cult Clash

The origin of the Bwari conflict has been narrated from two major perspectives. Though there exists scanty literature on the subject matter, scholars and respondents have recounted the origin in similar ways. Sunday (2018) opined that the Bwari conflict started in late 2017 and he stated that it was a cult clash. This cult clash led to the destruction of the Bwari market. Adebowale-Tambe (2017) stated that the conflict started because a Hausa man on Christmas Eve killed a Gbagyi man. In order to revenge, the Gbagyis residing in the area burnt down the Bwari market. Mrs Uzoamaka Ejike, a 38 years old woman who has been selling female lingerie and kiddies' underwear for 7 years stated that the Gbagyis took revenge by burning the market because they stood to lose little or nothing as majority of the shop owners and road side sellers are either Hausas or non-indigenes (In depth Interview (IDI) with Mrs Uzoamaka Ejike at Primary school near Bwari market on 10/08/2023). Corroborating this, Mrs Binta Yakubu, a 50 years old woman who has been trading palm oil for more than 30 years said she was affected by the conflict. In her words;

Bwari na peace we dey before. No quarrel dey before. Even the two chief, na one mind we dey. If no be the craze people wey come burn market, wey dem kill person, we no get problem for Bwari. If we get problem, I go tell you. We no get wahala, children na them spoil. Na children bring wahala wey make them burn the market and he affect everybody. Them kill person, na young boy. Na secret cult. Everybody know say if them kill person them go find another person kill (IDI with Mrs Binta Yakubu at Bwari market on 6/07/2023).

Another respondent recounted the ordeal of the origin of the conflict but with a slight variation. She stated that though the two young cult boys, a Gbagyi and a Hausa Muslim had issues with the Gbagyi getting killed in the process but it had no correlation with the market. For Chiwendu Richards, a 52 years old food items seller of over 8 years, she said that the market has been a contested issue. The cult boys started the conflict but it was an opportunity for them to burn the market since they wanted them to move it to another location. Furthermore, in her words, “you cannot tell me that two cult boys are fighting and the next thing is the market is on fire. Rumour has it that the market was burnt by another people. The cult clash was just a distraction used by them to hatch their plan. It is best known to them” (IDI with Mrs Chiwendu Richards at Bwari market on 6/07/2023). Supporting this view, a respondent opined that it was a cult clash but the market was burnt which was surprising to her (IDI with Cecilia Odia at Bwari market on 8/8/2023). On another account, the cult clash started the conflict and since the market issue was pending, some people used it as an opportunity to burn the market since relocation has been an issue.

They asked us to relocate to a new site along SCC road. But we and our chairmen refused because no security, no fence and that place dey along express road. Traders say make them no move us, the place small and he no go contain us. He too expensive. No body fit afford am except big men from Kubwa and town (IDI with Ogbonna Faith at Bwari market on 06/07/2023). A similar opinion from a soup ingredients seller said It is a cult clash between two boys from different ethnic groups and there has been rumours that the market would be moved but we do not want it as it is small, not conducive and it is by the express road. I do not think the burning of the market is related to the cult clash or is the reason the conflict started (IDI with Chigozie Eze at Bwari market on 11/07/2023).

Nwaneri and Ukandu (2019) were of the view that the conflict started because of secret cult clash. It was alleged that a member of a group wanted to denounce his membership but was denied the appeal. He got stabbed and he eventually died at the hospital. This was further backed with a police report after investigations that the December 25th conflict occurred because of rival clash between the red and the blue on the account of revenge mission of past incident from years ago. Buttressing this view, a respondent stated that it was common place for young boys to form groups and such groups most times metamorphose into rival groups because of the need to show superiority. In this situation, the rivalry became uncontrollable and a fight ensued with a Gbagyi youth dying in the process (IDI with Mrs Omale at Bwari market on 10/08/2023). A stationary seller asserted that it was a cult clash but Nigerians always bring ethnic dimension into most things. She further purported that assuming the cult clash was between two Gbagyis or

two Hausa-Fulanis, it would not have degenerated into the destruction of the market (IDI with Mrs Abigail Osazuwa at Bwari market on 08/07/2023).

Nwaneri and Ukandu (2019) also stated that the death of the Gbagyi indigene without a quick response from the Bwari Police command and the prevention of the procession to the burial site which required going through the Sarkin of Bwari's palace created tension which resulted into the 2017 conflict. In support of this, a food items seller said that the prevention of the Gbagyi mourners to the burial site by the Hausa Muslim for fear that there might be chaos because of the built-up tension (IDI with Miss Christiana Olaniran at Bwari market on 10/08/2023). Corroborating this, a provisions vendor stated that tension already exist from the turban celebration that took place before the cult clash between the Gbagyi and the Hausa men. With the tension, she felt the Hausas were feeling scared that it might degenerate further (IDI with Mrs Victor Udo at Bwari market 06/07/2023).

Chieftaincy Position

The Sarkin Bwari, His Royal Highness Alhaji Muhammad Musa Ijakoro died on the 29th of August 2017 and the FCT Minister at that time, Mallam Muhammad Musa Bello exercised his constitutional authority by appointing the late Sarkin's son as the new Sarkin Bwari of Bwari Area Council (Akilu 2017; Onukwuba and Dominic 2022). The appointment of his son as the Sarkin Bwari was not welcomed by the Bwari indigenes known as the Gbagyis. The indigenes were not happy because they were informed that when his Royal Highness Ahaji Muhammad Musa Ijakoro dies,

power will be returned to them (Nwaneri and Ukandu 2019). According to a clothes seller who is an indigene of Bwari, she stated that the people were not happy because they thought that power will return to the Esu as the recognised leader (IDI with Mrs Blessing Dakwoyi at Bwari market on 08/07/2023). The dispute between the two palaces that rule Bwari in the Federal Capital Territory was renewed with the death of the Sarkin Bwari with the Sarki of Koro extraction and the Esu of Bwari of the Gbagyi origin. The demise of the Sarki Ijokoro made both sides to renew their claims as right occupants of the traditional stool (Umar 2017). Buttressing this, the FCT Administration tried to reduce the tension by way of conflict management through elevating the Esu chieftaincy position to a third class as the newly elected Sarkin Bwari was initially elevated to a first-class chief then graded to a second-class chief (Onukwuba and Dominic 2022). In support of this view, a respondent opined that “it was not even proper to give an outsider a higher rank in chieftaincy than the real owners of the land. For example, I come from Imo state, you cannot see a non-indigene as a king and then be given a rank higher than that of the Imo ruler. It is wrong and anyone in such position would be unhappy” (IDI with Mrs Chidinma Ezeogu at Bwari market 11/07/2023).

To further register their displeasure TVC News (2017) reported that a protest was held at the office of the FCT minister at the realisation of the formal appointment of Alhaji Awwal Musa Ijakoro as the Sarkin Bwari. It was further reported that the people expressed that firstly, he is not from Bwari and most importantly, he was elevated from a second-class title as opposed to the third-class title his father occupied. Ujah and Ochayi (2017) further reported that the Bwaru

youths protested at the Three Arms Zone in Abuja, the office of the FCT minister and the National Assembly with the aim to stop Awwal Musa Ijakoro from receiving the staff of office. The Esu palace spokesman insisted that it was an injustice to give him the staff of office and make him a second-class chief as this is seen as a threat to the peace and security of the area. On the account of a baby items seller, she asserted that the 2017 Bwari conflict occurred because of a chief installation gone wrong. To her, it was known to even non-indigenes that after the death of the Sarkin Bwari, the Esu of Bwari was going to be installed as the overall leader of the Bwari chieftdom as the family of Ijakoro has been ruling for a long time in a land that did not belong to them (IDI with Mrs. Joy Chidi at Bwari market on 12/07/2023).

On a similar note, the Bwari Youths Development Association as a result of the installation of Alhaji Awwal Musa Ijakoro as Sarkin Bwari with an elevation in status, they demanded the abolition of the position as they recognised the Esu of Bwari as the legitimate constituted authority. The spokesman for the association, Theophilus Baba refuted the claims made by the FCT Minister that the reason for the Bwari conflict was as a result of cult clashes when the actual reason was because of tension built over time for the contestation of chieftaincy position and legitimacy (Adepegba 2018). Also, Gbagyi people faulted the FCT Minister for his choice and according to them, he disregarded the owners of the land by elevating a non-indigene to a first-class chief but later downgraded him to a second-class chief after much complains from them (IDI with Mrs Binta Danladi at Bwari market on 12/07/2023). They further backed their claims by providing evidence that Alhaji

Awwal Musa had initially contested for a senatorial position in Niger State (TVC News 2017; Ujah and Ochayi 2017). In support of the claims put forward, the indigenes felt it was a sabotage by the FCT Minister and the king makers to disregard the legitimacy of the Esu of Bwari (IDI with Miss Salamatu Adamu on 11/07/2023). Corroborating the above, the Gbagyi people sought the legitimacy of the Esu of Bwari by seeking a court injunction to stop the installation of Alhaji Awwal Musa (Ujah and Ochayi 2017).

Refuting the claims made by the Gbagyi people, Aliku (2017) reported that the position of the Sarkin of Bwari had long existed as the Late Sarkin was among the 19 recommended chiefs for the Federal Capital Territory as a position for the Esu of Bwari was only created later. He further claimed that 14 elected chiefs in the FCT were properly gazetted. Further backing up the claims of the legitimacy of the Sarkin, it was reported that the FCT Minister followed due process as the appointment was done with the powers conferred on him under the relevant sections of the FCT Chiefs Act of 1997 and in accordance with established customs and traditions of the Bwari Chiefdom. In support of this claim, a respondent said that though the Gbagyi people rightfully own the land but they failed to properly document the process of their rulership and promises made to return authority to them (IDI with Mrs Idia Umar on 08/07/2023).

From respondents' analysis, it is evident that the origin of the conflict amplified already existing tension exhibited by both parties. These are seen as triggers to the underlying reasons for the conflict. Respondents had similar opinions as they stated that cult clashes were tagged an ethnic conflict because of the tension

brewing amongst them. As observed by the researchers, these are preamble to the main cause of the conflict. The Bwari conflict of 2017 is peculiar in a way because it was observed that the people were living in cordiality despite it was evident that there was an impending conflict. It was also observed by the researchers that the early warning signs to prevent the slightest trigger was there but it was not addressed. This led to the root cause of the conflict.

4.1.2 Research Objective 2: Cause of the Bwari Conflict

Struggle for Power

The struggle for power dates back to the era of British conquest of Abuja in the 1900s which involved the ruling circles of the Hausa, Fulani, Gbagyi and the Koro (Thomas-Emeagwali, 1989). This struggle for power was more of effective wielding of military power amongst the dominant factions in the prominent ethnic groups. In some way, this affected development to a large extent in Abuja. The Gbagyi presence in Abuja however predates that of the Hausas who moved to Abuja in 1807 after the Sokoto Jihad which exiled a faction of the ruling house of Zaria. The Fulanis invaded Abuja in the 1890s under the leadership of Emir Usman Yaro. However, the Koro tribe later migrated to the famous Zuma rock area of the present-day boundary between the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja and Niger State (Ichaba, 2017). In the same vein, Ujah and Ochayi (2017) purported that Bwari, a predominantly Gbagyi settlement with an Esu Bwari Dynasty, founded in 1902,

while Ijakoro a native of the Koro community is reported to be from Tarfa Local Government Area of Niger State. Similarly, respondent opined that the traditional office of the Esu of Bwari existed because according to history, after the initial struggle for sphere of control in 1900s, the Koro tribe left in search of other places to settle, the Hausas and Fulanis were the minority but they stayed and the Gbagyis being the majority occupied the territory (IDI with Mrs. Salamatu Ayuba Ibrahim at Bwari market on 17/08/2023).

The above mentioned was supported by a 65 years old tomatoes seller who stated that the Sarkin of Bwari came to power through his installation by the Minister, Lt. General Jeremiah Useni. She further said that the reason for the installation of a settler as a king when the Gbagyi people had one was seen as abnormal (IDI with Mrs Ramatu Aminu at Bwari market on 08/07/2023). Another respondent said that the then Sarkin of Bwari was given the position because he was able to read and write and because of his important role of interpreting for the then Esu of Bwari maybe that was the reason (IDI with Mrs Lydia Yaro at Bwari market on 11/07/2023). For Ujah and Ochayi (2017) reported that the power tussle started after a young man from Koro, Ijakoro came to Bwari as a tax official and because he was educated, he was of great assistance to the Gbagyi people as majority of them were illiterate by interpreting from English to the local dialect. Then in 1996, the Bwari Area Council was created and it was at that point that the then Minister Lt. General Jeremiah Useni brought a letter that the Hakimi who was a chief at that time was to be appointed, made a second-class chief and then he was turbaned as the Sarkin Bwari (Ujah and Ochayi 2017; Akilu 2017) in 1997.

In a contrary view Akilu (2017) asserted that the position of the late Sarkin of Bwari had been in existence for over 40 years before the existence of the office of the Esu of Bwari. He further stated that the late chief was appointed a District Head of Bwari in 1976 and at that time, he appointed village heads known as Mai Angwa with his territory which stretched to Dutse, Kubwa and Maitama. The Gbagyi Bwari people were displeased with the appointment but because of their peaceful and accommodating nature, they did not act on their displeasure (IDI with Miss Blessing Jeremiah at Bwari market on 12/07/2023). Supporting this view, Chigudu (2021) opined that the Gbagyi people are believed to be calm people to an extent that the Northerners have a saying *muyi shi Gwari* which means let us do it like the Gbagyi. He further stated that though the Gbagyi resigned to their fate but the installation of a settler as the Sarkin of Bwari created tension. Despite the tensed but cordial atmosphere between the Gbagyis and the Hausas who answer to the Sarkin of Bwari, the Gbagyis believed that after the rulership of Alhaji Muhammad Musa Ijokoro, power will return to the Esu of Bwari (IDI with Mrs Peace Danladi at Bwari market on 08/07/2023).

The Gbagyi people felt that the then Minister, Lt. General Jeremiah Useni committed an error and upon his death in August 2017, they insisted there was no need for a replacement (Omoniyi 2012; Ujah and Ochayi 2017). To them, the government listened and promised to address the issue instead in October 2017 the FCT Minister, Alh. Mohammed Musa Bello, called for a security meeting with the Chairman of Bwari Area Council, Hon. Musa Dikko, and the Esu of Bwari, Ibrahim Yaro, in Garki. It was in that meeting that he said he

had appointed Alh. Awwal Musa Ijakoro to take over from his late father without due process. Asserting to this view, a respondent stated that the people thought everything will be resolved with the death of the Sarkin but to their surprise they heard that his son was appointed (IDI with Mrs Amina Musa at Bwari market on 17/08/2023). Mrs Amina Musa further said that the appointment of the late Sarkin's son as the new Sarkin is the real reason the Bwari conflict occurred. In corroboration, a food item seller said that the Sarkin died in August and the new Sarkin was installed in October then the market was burnt and they were clashes in December (IDI with Miss Ruth Ijiogu at Bwari market on 11/07/2023). She further said that the cult clash was said to be the reason for the Bwari conflict but the actual reason was the installation of a new Sarkin as it was glaring from the date of the death of the former Sarkin to the installation of the new one.

Another respondent asserted that it was not common place to have two leaders in one place. In her words,

We do not have two presidents in a country. Neither do we have two captains in a ship. The only thing that is allowed is that one will be the leader and the other will be the second in authority. The Sarkin of Bwari and the Esu will always have power contestation because one does not want to be seen as less superior or second in authority. Besides, the Gbagyi people are the owners of the land and imposing someone from outside on them as a higher authority will definitely cause problems (IDI with Mrs Jumai Isa at Bwari market on 17/08/2023).

In support of the above, the monarchical structure of the traditional institution in Bwari Area Council is seen as two kings existing side by side and this has raised concerns over time. Their existence in the same place is not the problem but superiority in position is the real cause of the problem as a settler was conferred as a second-class chief and the owners of the land still remains a third-class chief (IDI with Mama Ifeoma at Bwari market on 08/07/2023). Another respondent opined that the government sees the Sarkin of Bwari as higher in authority and communicates with him more than the Esu of Bwari. This act alone can result to conflict. The cult clash that led to the death of a native was used to ignite an already tensed environment (IDI with Mrs Grace Ibrahim at Bwari market on 12/07/2023). Similarly, the power struggle led to the down grading of the Sarkin's stool but this did not satisfy the Gbagyi because they assert that they are the majority and original residents of the town. The Gbagyi have also said that it was agreed that Ijakoro's son, Muhammad Auwal Ijakoro, would take over as Sarki of Bwari after his death. However, this never happened, as Muhammad Auwal Ijakoro became the new Sarki of Bwari (Onukwuba and Dominic 2022).

4.1.3 Research Objective 3: Effects of Bwari Conflict on Market Women

Findings indicated that the market women in Bwari were affected by the conflict directly and indirectly. Loss of human lives, destruction of property, loss of means of livelihood and distortion of family's routine and lives were noted as specific effects of the

conflict. General effects include hunger, trauma, suspicion and fear of conflict reoccurrence.

Loss of Human Lives

The Bwari conflict as observed through findings was not on a large scale. However, there were loss of lives during the conflict and after the conflict. Adewale-Tambe (2017); Adeniyi and Isah (2017) reported that three people died in the course of the conflict but a respondent opined that there were more than three deaths in the conflict (IDI with Mrs. Jumai Isa at Bwari market on 17/08/2023). A respondent stated that the conflict did not really claim lives because the Hausas began to run towards Kaduna upon the death of the Gbagyi boy caused by one of theirs (IDI with Mrs. Amina Musa at Bwari market on 17/08/2023). Corroborating this, Adebowale-Tambe (2017) stated that the Hausas out of fear fled the area to Jere and other nearby environs of Kaduna. But a respondent stated that a few were killed during the conflict but more people died after the conflict (IDI with Mrs Hope Danjuma at Bwari conflict on 12/07/2023).

In support of this view, a respondent gave an account of a man who had stocked his shop with bags of flour, baking ingredients and baking tools because it was festive period. According to her, he was hoping to make sales but his shop got burnt in the process of the conflict and sadly, he died three days later due to his loss (IDI with Miss Christiana Olaniran at Bwari market on 10/08/2023). On the account of another respondent, she stated that festive period was a time for business people to make money and it was only natural for some to borrow money to stock their shops while others used their

monies in the hope of making huge returns (IDI with Mama Ifeoma at Bwari market on 08/07/2023). People borrowed money from Life Above Poverty Organisation (LAPO), a microfinance bank and their shops were burnt. They had no means to pay back and some slipped into depression and it was rumoured that like three people died from the incident (IDI with Mrs. Grace Ibrahim at Bwari market on 12/07/2023).

Recounting the ordeal of a family who used to sell in the market, a respondent stated that the family owned a big shop and he was one of the wealthiest too. Like most people, they stocked and lost everything. The man died within the week of the incident and the wife started behaving mad (IDI with Mrs Jumai Isa at Bwari market on 17/08/2023). Alesina and Perroti (2016) asserted that men are more likely to suffer death and permanent injuries from conflicts subjecting women and children to untold hardships due to financial stress. As observed by the researcher, the death toll was more than before the conflict. This is as a result of market sellers were the indirect victims of the conflict. The thought of starting all over was an issue for some, while some had borrowed huge monies and has made little or no gains and some died because of the shame.

Destruction of Property and Loss of Means of Livelihood

According to the reports made by Adebowale-Tambe (2017), traders suffered a huge loss as a result of the conflict. It was recounted that a fashion designer Miss Blessing Ezeh said she lost all her customers clothes, her machines and money in the fire. Adebowale-Tambe further opined that clothes scheduled to be collected for the New Year

celebration and children's uniforms were destroyed. On another account, a sales boy stated that his boss had two shops but the fire gutted only the small shop as the big shop was restocked two days to 2017 Christmas celebration. Another individual counted his loss to be over fifteen million naira as he lamented that he knew nothing about the fight between Hausas and Gbagyis but somehow, he paid for nothing of his concern (Adebowale-Tambe 2017). On the account of a kitchen wares seller, she opined that she had just bought goods from Kano but was called on Sunday the day of the fire that the market was burning but getting to there to see how she could salvage some things, she noticed that her shop was bugled and everything was carted (IDI with Mrs. Omale at Bwari market on 10/08/2023). For her, the fire did not majorly destroy traders' property. It was more of looters using the opportunity to operate.

In the words of another respondent, she stated that “I used to own two big shops and I sold frozen foods. I had two freezers but everything is gone. The fire did not get to my shop quickly as I was told but it was some boys who took my freezers away. Look at my shop now, I sell kitchen wares and the shop is scanty. I am yet to recover from the loss of my goods” (IDI with Mrs. Chuwkudi at Bwari market on 12/08/2023). In support of this, it was stated by a respondent that the fire was burning only a section and the fire fighters came but were prevented from putting out the fire. For her, she felt that burning the market was a way of revenging the death of the Gbagyi man that was killed (IDI with Anonymous at Bwari market on 10/08/2023). In addition, a respondent said that “majority of the Hausa traders kept money in their shops while the market has few Gbagyis owning shops. The Gbagyi people sold more of petty things like corn, leaves

and groundnut along the road. They had little or nothing to lose but a settler like me lost everything. I used to own a big shop but now, it is a kiosk to sell stationaries” (IDI with Mrs. Abigail Osazuwa at Bwari market on 08/07/2023).

Ojoye (2017) stated that over 1,500 shops were burnt with traders recounting their losses to be over 500 million worth of goods and property in the conflict. It was further reported by Ojoye that some traders had more than one shop and a certain trader identified as Yellow lost seven shops to the conflict. Corroborating this statement, a respondent who owned two shops asserted that she could not salvage anything and since 2017 till now, it has not been easy for her to recover (IDI with Anonymous at Bwari market on 10/08/2023). Another respondent recounted her loss to the tune of 7 million naira as she had two shops and had just bought goods (IDI with Mrs. Joy Chidi at Bwari market on 12/07/2023). A children's clothes seller lamented that she had made more than 500,000 naira on Saturday but could not deposit the money in the bank as Sunday was not business hours. She further reiterated that she felt that it was safer to leave the money in her shop and on Monday a deposit will be made but sadly, the money and her goods were destroyed in the fire set up by the Gbagyi youths to revenge the death of one of theirs (IDI with Mrs. Binta Danladi at Bwari market on 12/07/2023).

Distortion of Family's Routine and Lives

In the aftermath of a conflict, victims begin to readjust to the new life offered to them. In most cases, some never get to recover from the conflict. The Bwari conflict occurred in December 2017 and six

years after the conflict, some respondents stated that it has not been easy adjusting to the new normal. One respondent asserted that the loss suffered by her family has disrupted their lives. For her, the children could not continue in the school they were and the luxury lifestyle they once experienced is no more. Reason for this is that they had to pay off loans collected and start over again (IDI with Mrs. Mercy Funto at Bwari Market on 16/08/2023). Similarly, a baby wares seller said that the routine she was once used to a certain lifestyle but adjustment had to be made (IDI with Mrs. Joy Chidi at Bwari market on 12/07/2023). Put differently, a provisions seller stated that though she lost her goods to the fire, 6 years after, she has recovered to a large extent though the investment pattern of her husband and her are no longer the same (IDI with Mrs. Victor Udo at Bwari market 06/07/2023). Also, immediately the conflict occurred, a lot of us ran to the military camp along SCC road. We were not sure what was going on at the time. We stayed in camp for a few days before going back. At that point, a lot of people were uncertain of their life's routine. It took a long time for my family to adjust (IDI with Miss Ruth Ijiogu at Bwari market on 11/07/2023).

Other common effects of the Bwari conflict as outlined by respondents such as hunger, trauma, suspicion and fear of conflict reoccurrence. A respondent opined that some traders survive on the profit made for the day. If they do not sell, they cannot eat. As the market got burnt, they had nothing to sell (IDI with Mrs. Blessing Dakwoyi at Bwari market on 08/07/2023). Similarly, another respondent stated that,

The period of the conflict was a week into the New Year and we all know how the New Year usually is. People have spent a

lot and sales will be slow but, in our case, we had lost everything to the fire and people we asked for assistance said that you know this is January and you know how it goes. There is no money for now and that we should just manage with whatever we had at that time (IDI with Anonymous at Bwari market on 10/08/2023).

It was also reiterated by many respondents that some sellers did not recover from the experience as it was told that some left Bwari, some went to their villages. Also, it was a traumatic experience for respondents as they spoke with consenting voices. One respondent said “it was an unexpected experience as it did not show that such was going to happen. Assuming we had prior knowledge maybe we would have salvaged our goods but then again, we did not know that the chieftom fight or the cult clash would result to the destruction of the market” (IDI with Mrs. Roseline David at Bwari Market on 16/08/2023). Another seller said that two weeks after its occurrence, it felt like a dream as the market was burnt deliberately even though efforts were made to stop it, they met with resistance. To her, it was already planned and the death of the Gbagyi man was a good reason to execute. She further opined that knowing people could do it to their fellow humans to inflict pain has made her to be wearier of the people (IDI with Anonymous at Bwari market on 10/08/2023).

Respondents also said that the conflict is likely to resurface as it was not completely resolved. For a food item seller, she opined that both warring parties are pretentiously living together despite the tension. For her, the Gbagyi side is dissatisfied with the outcome of the conflict because the land is rightfully theirs and it is only natural that a superior title be given to their chief (IDI with Mrs Chiwendu

Richards at Bwari market on 6/07/2023). Another respondent said that the conflict was only managed and not resolved. In this case, the Gbagyi people are “suffering and smiling” as they had no choice than to accept the decision of the government (IDI with Miss Christiana Olaniran at Bwari market on 10/08/2023). The conflict has not been resolved and there is a likelihood for it to reoccur as the main issue was not critically addressed (IDI with Miss Ruth Ijiogu at Bwari market on 11/07/2023).

The researchers observed that most conflicts either managed or resolved tend to have positive effects. Conflict as known can be destructive but it can be constructive in nature. In the case of the Bwari conflict, the conflict was managed but not resolved as conflicting parties are not physically fighting but there exists some form of tension. The unresolved issues are likely to resurface with a minor trigger. As with most conflicts, when the surface causes are only addressed, the chances of its reoccurrence are high but when both surface and root causes are properly addressed and concerns of parties are clearly stated, the likelihood for the conflict to resurface is low.

4.1.4 Research Objective 4: Management of the Bwari Conflict

Curfew

The Bwari conflict occurred on Monday, 25th of December 2017 and to restore tranquillity, policemen and soldiers were deployed to patrol the environment (Adebowale-Tambe 2017; Omonobi 2017).

This was a temporary measure enforced to deter further clashes by the conflicting parties. As armed forces patrolled the area, the Federal Capital Territory Administration imposed a curfew from dusk to dawn. This was declared after a closed-door meeting with the stakeholders of the Bwari Area Council. A respondent stated that the conflict made residents to be uncertain of the next likely occurrence as people scampered for safety in the military camp (IDI with Mrs. Ramata Aminu at Bwari market on 10/08/2023). Another respondent opined that the heavy presence of the armed force helped in the de-escalation of the conflict (IDI with Miss Ruth Ijiogu at Bwari market on 11/07/2023).

TVC News (2017) similarly reported that the curfew was declared from 6pm. to 6am, while the FCT Minister assessed the extent of the damage in Bwari. To ensure compliance, armed forces were strategically positioned within the Bwari community (IDI with Mrs Chiwendu Richards at Bwari market on 6/07/2023). Put differently, a respondent said that curfew is usually the first step taken to restore normalcy and so, she was not surprised when it was imposed on residents (IDI with Mrs Helen Chukwuji at Bwari market on 06/07/2023). Another respondent opined that the government used armed forces presence to coerce conflicting parties from continuing the conflict (IDI with Cecilia Odia at Bwari market on 8/8/2023). The imposition of a curfew and the heavy presence of armed forces gave room for dialogue to commence as the conflict which was initially a cult clash turned out to be an ethnic conflict between the Gbagyi and the Hausa people (TVC News 2017; IDI with Mrs. Mercy Funto at Bwari Market on 16/08/2023).

Humanitarian Assistance

Respondents gave varying views on how humanitarian assistance was given to them. Some opined that they got some relief and some did not. Falaju (2017) explained that NEMA and FCT emergency management agency took a detailed assessment of traders whose shops were set ablaze during the conflict. He said that though the government cannot compensate them for lost property, it would complement the Area Council by providing relief. In corroboration to the above statement, a respondent gave a vivid explanation on the conflict management response by the government. She opined that the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) in the early part of 2018 asked that affected traders give an inventory of the goods and other valuable items in their shops before the fire. In her words, she said that,

We felt some form of relief as the government through one of their agencies decided to help us. NEMA and the Bwari Area Council worked together to get our details in order to offer help but we were not given any financial assistance. Traders had high hopes and we got nothing. It was empty promises made by them. What we got instead was maize, wheat, garri in small quantities. That was not what we wanted, what we wanted was financial assistance to at least pay part of the loans some of us took to stock our shops or monthly stipend for a period till we are relatively stable” (IDI with Anonymous at Bwari market on 10/08/2023).

Another respondent stated that LAPO and some financial institutions extended the payment dates for the loans collected. She

further asserted that the elongation of the payment date helped reduce the panic faced by them (IDI with Mrs Ramatu Aminu at Bwari market on 08/07/2023). In a similar opinion, it was rumoured that bags of rice kept at the Bwari Area Council office meant for distribution to traders were allegedly stolen (IDI with Mrs Chiwendu Richards at Bwari market on 6/07/2023). Falaju (2017) is of the opinion that NEMA handed over relief materials to people displaced by the conflict. The items were shared strictly to the affected persons who ran to the military camp at SCC road in Bwari as they feared the possibility of renewed attacks. A food items seller asserted that,

The government only gave us some expired things like beans, rice and some people get but some did not get. They gave oil, groundnut oil but we didn't get it. Our chairman said since we did not get anything that he will go to court and some product gotten will be sold and will be use to pursue court case and seek for help. But after everything we didn't see anything. Churches openly supported their members as they wrote their names and gave them support materials. Like me, I am a Deeper Life member our church gave N10,000 with some food items and other churches did so too. Like Catholic church, they did it according to what you are selling. If your business requires small money, they will give you small money and if it needs big money, they will increase it (IDI with Mrs Helen Chukwuji at Bwari market on 06/07/2023).

Other respondents largely opined that financial support came from family members and friends to start trading while some persons had

no assistance from anyone. To them, this led some traders to sell small things in order to survive. To some, companies that did business with gave them the goods to sell and pay. This assisted most traders to build capital from the profits made.

4.2 Sit-at-Home in Enugu

4.2.1 Research Objective 1: Origin of Sit-at-Home

Conceptual Notions

There is a seeming consensus position among respondents about their understanding of the phenomenon and concept of sit-at-home as staying at home as a form of protest strategy adopted by people of Southeast to seek the release of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra. Mrs. Sophia Amarachukwu Nwadinobi, a 34 years of Primary Education Teacher with over 4 years teaching experience gave a down-to-earth clarification of the concept when she stated that to a lay man understanding, sit-at-home is just when movement is being restricted. Like don't go out today, everybody sit-at-home. Whatever you want to do, do it at home.

The idea that it is about a solidarity was highlighted by Mrs. Ozoemena Blessing Benjamin a 43 years old banker with 9 years working experience in the financial sector when she emotionally commented that, “it is a day declared by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in honour or solidarity with Nnamdi Kanu who has

been in custody with the federal government”. Similarly, it simply means staying at home to protest the arrest and detention of Nnamdi Kanu (In-depth Interview IDI with Mrs. Juliet Odofia at an International School, 04/09/2023).

The context for the sit-at-home order was highlighted thus;

It is an order issued by the Indigenous People of Biafra to people of the South East to stay at home on Mondays and every court day of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu. It is an act of protest or civil disobedience against the Nigerian state (IDI with Mrs. Felicia Nwokedi at Head of Banking Operations Office, 30/08/2023).

Due to the level of violence, brutality and mob action carried out on innocent citizens and the general uncertainty associated with days declared as sit-at-home, safety and security concerns has coloured understanding of the concept. Like Mrs. Ifeoma Faith Onuoha, a 35 years older Banker with 16 years' experience, remarked that sit-at-home as means people should stay at home and not have problem. Some women that went out faced problem and some died along the line while others sustained injuries. Emphasizing the importance of the person of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu to the general masses in the South East, Mrs. Amaka Okenwa, a 30 years old trader in ladies wear for about 10 years at Ogbete main market, explains that, the people of IPOB use it to demand the release of Nnamdi Kanu that the government is holding. If we don't sit-at-home the government won't know the man is very important to us. So, they have to release the man.

Background

The context for the declaration of sit-at-home order was given a practical and substantive interpretation by most of our respondents. Mrs. Felicia Nwokedi, a 49 years Banker with 12 years working experience in the financial sector, explains the background to sit-at-home as the agitation for the liberation of the Igbo and people of old South Eastern region from the Nigerian state. It is a movement called IPOB that are calling for the declaration of defunct Biafran Republic through referendum. Mrs. Ifeoma Faith Onuoha, a 35 years Banker and Business woman with for 16 years corroborated this view when she declared that Igbos have declared themselves as Biafrans and they want to stay on their own to avoid problems. That is why they declared sit-at-home which is affecting everybody across social and economic classes.

Similarly, the background to sit-at-home was empathically and prescriptively identified as resulting “from the fact that they are holding Mazi Nnamdi Kanu and there is no other reason. They should release him and everything will get normal again” (IDI with Mrs. Amaka Okenwa at Ogbete Market 01/08/2023). Mrs. Chidinma Amabede, a 43 years School Principal with 17 years administrative experience, identified a particular event that marked the beginning of the sit-at-home when she narrated that it started on a Monday in 2021. The court sitting did not hold and Nnamdi Kanu was not in court. That is how it started. So, because the court sitting did not go the way they wanted, they had to now have a sit at home every Monday.

A respondent situates it in the injustices and marginalization that

the people of South East have been crying for years which made Nnamdi Kanu and his group to begin to fight for the State of Biafra.... Later, he was arrested by the federal government and kept with the DSS in Abuja (IDI with Mrs. Juliet Odofia at the school compound during holiday lesson. 04/09/2023)..

The historical antecedence of sit-at-home was summarily captured thus;

It started when IPOB protested against the country and Army was sent to come and kill them. This sit-at-home is a very welcome idea, if there is no life, you cannot make money. If no security, you cannot make money because you will lose your life. We are fighting for our security... Concerning the IPOB people, they protested and were killed, and now they decided to sit-at-home until they get their freedom (IDI with Mrs. Ngozi Ude at her Office, 04/07/2023).

Mrs. Ama Danieli-Batubo, 30 years crèche business owner with 5 years working experience reduced the background issues to independence struggle and the arrest of Nnamdi Kanu. In her words, Yes, I think from the stories, the first thing is that the Igbo people want their independence. Secondly, the arrest of Nnamdi Kanu.

Declaration of Sit-at-Home Order

Among respondents there are three main sources associated with the declaration of sit-at-home. They are Mazi Nnamdi Kanu himself, Mr. Simon Ekpa his disciple and the Indigenous People of

Biafra. Mrs. Maria Ujunwa Odo, a 45 years old Banker presented the declaration of sit-at-home as first emanating from Nnamdi Kanu and later from Simon Ekpa. This can be understood from chronological perspective that Simon Ekpa sustained the call for sit-at-home after the arrest and detention of the former.

The second source for the declaration of sit-at-home is the person of Simon Ekpa, a disciple of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu resident in Finland. Mrs. Amara Jane Ugwu, a 32 years old dealer on phone accessories and point of sale machine (POS) business operator for the past 5 years in Ogbete market clearly identified Simon Ekpe when she narrated that, well, from what I heard it's Simon Ekpa, one of the leaders of the IPOB group. Mrs. Felicia Nwokedi, a 49 years old Banker gives adequate context to the legitimacy of Simon Ekpa's in the scheme of things when she observes that sit-at-home are declared by the Indigenous People of Biafra and the disciple of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, Simon Ekpa in Europe. While acknowledging the place of social media in information gathering and dissemination in the contemporary world in the context of sit-at-home declaration, a respondent commented thus;

To me we don't know, but you know through Facebook and other things is what we read. According to them is Simon Ekpa, to me o, I don't know for other people. He is a member of IPOB, I think he is the second in command. Whenever he say do this, everybody will just obey, nobody wan die na. Whether the information is real or not, as far as it is coming from him (IDI with Mrs. Sophia Amarachukwu Nwadinobi at School Premises 04/09/2023).

With the accusations and counter accusations surrounding recent happenings between IPOB and Simon Ekpe, there seem to be likelihood that he is operating autonomously from the IPOB hierarchy. This may have influenced Mrs. Nwachukwu Ruth Chinecherem, a 34 years old civil servant to speculatively comment that Simon Ekpa is the one. He is a member of IPOB for now.

For the third school of thought which favours IPOB as an organization, Mrs. Ozoemena Blessing Benjamin, a 43 years old Banker precisely commented that, I would say it is the Indigenous People of Biafra. Mrs. Kemi Ara, a 48 years old public servant with over 10 years work experience confirmed this position when she commented that, I think it is IPOB, but I don't know the exact person but it is not Nnamdi Kanu himself. Mrs. Juliet Odofia, a 39 years old Teacher identified the organization of IPOB and Simon Ekpe as the agent declaring sit-at-home.

A fourth category seems to ascribe the declaration to an anonymous personality or group. This was clearly captured by Mrs. Ngozi Ude a Civil Servant when she disclosed that they are those that appreciate the work of Nnamdi Kanu. It is a way of showing appreciation. In corroboration to this anonymity viewpoint, Mrs. Nnena Ude commented that, if you ask me, I will tell you I don't know. It was in a platform, social media. It was like a joke and it became real. Inclusively, this category was summarily ascribed to the people of Biafra as a collective. This was the position of Mrs. Nwokoro Chiwendu, a 50 years old petty trader at Ogbete Market when she insisted that the sit-at-home was declared by the people of Biafra. What remains unclear is if the people of Biafra is one and the same as the Indigenous People of Biafra as an organization.

This uncertainty was further deepened when Mrs. Ifeoma Faith Onuoha, a 35 years old business woman and banker acknowledged that, we all Biafrans declared the sit-at-home because of what we are struggling with the government. The people want to stay alone, but government is fighting them.

Enforcement of Sit-at-home

Respondents articulated four likely actors that are enforcing the sit-at-home order in Enugu. This entails IPOB who declared the sit-at-home order In first instance. The second category of enforcer is Simon Ekpe and his boys. The third and fourth are unknown gunmen and politically empowered enforcers respectively which both conform easily to conspiracy theories.

A number of respondents do not find it hard to mention the Indigenous People of Biafra as responsible for the sit-at-home enforcement. Like Mrs. Chidinma Amabede, a 45 years old School Principal succinctly responded, it is the Indigenous People of Biafra. Similarly, Mrs. Nwokoro Chiwendu, a 50 years old Petty Trader at Ogbete market observes that it is the people of Biafra, the Igbo people. In corroboration to the this view, Mrs. Kemi Ara, a 48 years old Public Servant emphasized that, I think it is IPOB but it has been hijacked by hoodlums or there is a misconception. We do not know who is who again. While observing the collective inaction and fear expressed by Enugu masses in the face of sit-at-home enforcement, a respondent commented thus;

The IPOB people and Simon Ekpa is contributing. He is adding fire. The youths also are contributing because they

strongly believe in the struggle. I strongly think we ourselves are part of it. If everybody just come out, it will die down. But nobody wants to come out and get their shop burnt down. As such, fear is a major factor (IDI with Ama Danieli-Batubo 04/07/2023 at the Creche).

The second position holds that Simon Ekpa and his foot soldiers are responsible for the sit-at-home enforcement.

Another respondent gave a detailed narrative on the enforcers of the sit-at-home with additional comments on the challenges associated with it. It was observed that,

The man Simon Ekpa and the members of that IPOB are the one enforcing it, making sure that people comply to it whether they like it or not. So, the previous one they did, the two weeks sit-at-home so many bad things happened. People lost their lives, injuries, gunshot everywhere. We were in school, but our director asked us to come to school. People were running, people were dying. We are not safe as a people. The following day we didn't come to school. So, our director called us to come to school. Omo me I no come o, because I no want to die (IDI with Mrs. Sophia Amarachukwu Nwadinobi at School Premises 04/09/2023).

Unknown gunmen is suggested as responsible for the enforcement of the sit-at-home order. Mrs. Felicia Nwokedi a 49 years old Banker with about 12 years working experience in the financial sector gave a chronological order of the entities that have enforced the sit-at-home. In her words it was, “the IPOB initially, but now it is the boys of Simon Ekpa and unknown gunmen who we don't

know who they are”. Similar responds was made by Mrs. Ujunwa Odo, a 45 years old Banker with about 15 years working experience in the Banking Sector, when she asserts that it is, “the people of South East through IPOB and some unknown people they call unknown gunmen”. In what looks like an unravelling of the true identity of the unknown gunmen as enforcers of the sit-at-home, Mrs. Amara Jane Ugwu a 32 years old dealer on phone accessories and point of sale machine business (POS) in Ogbete Market initially expressed uncertainty but went on to state that, “well, you cannot really say. They are faceless. Though we know they are IPOB, but we cannot identify them”. This clearly situates unknown gunmen as the enforcers of sit-at-home order as a conspiracy theory as it is fraught with speculation, guess work and uncertainty.

The idea of politically assembled element is the second conspiracy theory ascribed to the enforcement of the sit-at-home order.

While IPOB is generally acknowledged as the originator of the struggle and its enforcement, a respondent expressed involvement of the government through the use of unknown gunmen. She commented that it is,

IPOB and ESN. But they have withheld the sit-at-home order but we suspect the government is using the unknown gunmen to subdue the people. In fact, it is the government holding Nnamdi Kanu that want to use unknown gunmen to destroy the people of Igboland (IDI with Mrs. Ngozi Ude at her Office, 04/07/2023).

While not necessarily accusing the government as responsible for the enforcement of the sit-at-home order, a respondent highlighted

the ineffectiveness of government's management strategies in the face of uncertainty as to the real enforcers of the order. She remarked that,

Whoever tells you that, is just guessing. I don't believe in rumour. But all I know is that government is not handling it well. People go out without security because once you lose your life, it is gone and you cannot come back (IDI with Mrs. Nnena Ude at her Office, 05/07/2023).

In what sounds like an exoneration of all named enforcers of the sit-at-home, a respondent was dismissive of pinpointing any particular group that currently enforces the order. She unequivocally comments that, “nobody is enforcing it. If you like you come out or you stay at home. It has been very long they enforced the sit-at-home order in Enugu”.

4.2.2 Research Objective 2: Causes of Sit-at-Home

There is very little variance as to the causation of sit-at-home order by most respondents. Their general response is associated to the arrest, detention and the need to release him to enable him pursue the freedom of Biafrans.

Arrest and Detention of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu

Mrs. Ozoemena Blessing Benjamin, a 43 years old Banker commented that sit-at-home was caused by the need, “to secure the release of Nnamdi Kanu”. Mrs. Nnena Ude, a 52 years old civil servant gave the identity of the adopters of Nnamdi Kanu by

observing that the reason for the sit-at-home was “to release Nnamdi Kanu from the hands of federal government”. Similarly, Mrs. Amara Jane uwgu, a 32 years old phone accessories and point of sale machine dealer argues that, “it is because they arrested the founder of IPOB who is now in detention. So that they are using it as a way to persuade the federal government to release Nnamdi Kanu”.

While not contradicting the earlier alluded rationale for the sit-at-home, a respondent decried government's unwillingness to release the IPOB leader as spelling more doom and sustaining the violence in the area. In her words;

The UN has declared that they should release Nnamdi Kanu, for some reasons he has not been released. The government have their own reason why they have not released him. But this has not reduced the killings and destruction in South-East (IDI with Mrs. Nwachukwu Ruth Chinecherem, Civil Servant 04/07/2023).

In what seems like an acknowledgement of the killings and wide spread destruction across the South East especially from herdsmen, Mrs. Ngozi Ude, a 63 years old Civil Servant situates the cause of sit-at-home, “to demand for the release of Nnamdi Kanu and to secure Igboland”. Insecurity of lives and property in the South East was alluded as a reason for the formation of Eastern Security Network by the IPOB. Thus, it was to secure the freedom of Nnmadi Kanu and for the people of South East to get their country (IDI with Mrs. Mrs Juliet Odofia at School Compound 04/09/2023).

Separatist Agitation for Biafra

Mrs. Kemi Ara, a 48 years old Public Servant construes the cause of sit-at-home to the separatist agitation of Biafrans. In her words, “it is the failure to yield to the agitation for the Biafran State”. This point was corroborated and expressly made by Mrs. Maria Ujunwa Odo, a 45 years old Banker when she posits that the cause of the sit-at-home was “to free Nnamdi Kanu and declare a state of Biafra”. Similarly, another Banker, Mrs. Felicia Nwokedi and a 49 years old, reiterated that, “Like I said, it is to free Nnamdi Kanu who is demanding for the freedom of Ndi Igbo”.

4.2.3 Research Objective 3: Effects of Sit-at-Home in Enugu

Respondents generally identified a good number of negative effects of the sit-at-home in Enugu. Chief among these are the human cost, educational effects, economic effects, and psychological effects.

Human Cost

Mrs. Amara Jane Ugwu a 32 years old Phone Accessories and Point of Sale Machine business operator at Ogbete market commented that,

It has led to many deaths especially among the youths. Damage of properties especially cars, shops, and homes. Starvation is another point. There are people that go out every day to get what to eat but they are deprived because of the sit-at-home order.

Still on the human cost of the sit-at-home, another respondent observes that Enugu residents are not coping with the situation. For her;

They are suffering hunger. Some die because of hunger. When they closed the bank one man fainted here and dead. Goods are so costly because of sit-at-home. Some banks were affected. They break into some banks like First Bank and Union Bank. Sit-at-home have brought about sickness as people don't eat very well (IDI with Mrs. Ifeoma Faith Onuoha at then Banking Hall 30/08/2023).

The human cost of the sit-at-home was considered as interconnected to other social, educational and economic concerns. This point was adequately made when a respondent opines that;

The lives of people is the major issue here. Work, family arrangement, schools and business. The volume of business is badly affected and you can see it in our banking halls. Very low turnout of in-banking transactions especially deposits of huge sums of money. We operate close to Ogbete market and before now we enjoy huge daily deposits from some businessmen and women. But now all of that has changed. Hmm, thank God our regional managers have not used it against us in the Enugu and South East zone in general (IDI with Mrs. Felicia Nwokedi at Banking Hall 30/08/2023).

Similarly, Mrs. Ngozi Ude, a 63 years old Civil Servant observed the importance of human lives when compared to economic activities which the Igbo are well known for when she stated that, “economic wise, yes, but then, like I said, if there is no life, there is

no people. There is war in Igboland, let them release Nnamdi Kanu and sit-at-home will die a natural death”.

Educational Effects

Education was given an autonomous attention in the scheme of things that are negatively affected by the sit-at-home civil disobedience or protest. This point was made by Mrs. Nwachukwu Ruth Chinecherem, 34 years old Civil Servant when she decried the fact that, “teachers cannot cover the curriculum and student are now very lazy”. Corroborating this view another respondent concluded that,

There is no proper education for the populace... They are in loggerhead with the government. The government say nobody should sit-at-home, but IPOB say people should sit-at-home. Are the government not part of Biafra? It seems as if there is confusion and division (IDI with Mrs. Ozoemena Blessing Benjamin at the Banking Hall 31/08/2023).

While focusing on women in the educational sector, another respondents opines that,

It has affected women in the educational sector. Monday is the first day of the working week, some subjects are to be taught four times a week because of their importance. Working women are affected, their husbands who are to work and bring money don't get anything. It is difficult to schedule things (Mrs. Chidimma a School Principal at her Office 08/08/2023).

While acknowledging the educational effect of sit-at-home, a respondent highlighted some ways the order gravely impact on activities in the area. Like disclosed that,

The educational sector is affected because other states open every Monday but we cannot meet up with the syllabus. The economy is also affected especially the poor masses as some people live on daily income. All these artisans and labourers suffer because no work, no pay. Unlike us the public servant we get paid. A lot of things have been destroyed and there is loss of assets with some persons closing their businesses (IDI with Mrs. Kemi Ara, a Public Servant, 04/07/2023).

Economic Effects

The economic effects of the sit-at-home was also emphasized by Mrs. Chibuzo Udoka, a 46 years old businesswoman who deals on clothing materials when she specifically speaks of it in absolute sense that, “it is affecting business negatively. It is affecting our economy which is the main thing”. It is within this context that one can appreciate the comment of Mrs. Amaka Okenwa a 30 years old Trader in Ladies Wears with over 10 years business experience when she limited her focus on the negative effects of the sit-at-home solely to business by decrying that, “the market you are supposed to sell can't work. If you come out nobody will come and buy from you”. A more vivid picture of the time implication of some unsold goods was emphasized by Mrs. Nwokoro Chiwendu, a 50 years old petty trader at Ogbete market when she reveals that “sometimes our goods expire and rotten because of sit-at-home. Unknown gunmen use to injure and kill people that come out during sit-at-home.

One respondent aptly situates local and foreign flight of capital investments and sharp decline in the area as a tourism destination as a dimensions of economic effects arising from the sit-at-home in Enugu. In her words:

The commercial life of people is affected. People are afraid to invest in the city. Tourism is affected as no one will want to come for sight-seeing because of the sit-at-home. Education is also affected because no one outside the South East will like their children to come and school here. Even intercultural relations between the people of South East and other regions are affected too (Mrs. Kemi Ara, a 48 years old Public Servant, 04/07/2023).

In corroboration to this view, Mrs. Ama Danieli-Batubo, a 30 years old Creche owner disclosed that, “the South Easterners are known for their festivals, but people no longer come in for tourist visit. International investors are scared and most companies are leaving to South-South, South-West and Abuja”.

In what seems like a depiction of the sit-at-home as a self-inflicted harm on the volume of business and bank savings, a respondent contends that,

Even the so-called federal government, they are not affected rather it is the states that are affected. Federal government have not done anything, they have not said anything. That means this thing is not affecting them, we are the ones it is affecting. Well, people are finding their way around it but we don't get transactions in our bank like before (IDI with Mrs. Ozoemena Blessing Benjamin at the Banking Hall on 31/08/2023).

Socio-psychological Effects

Socio-psychological effects is one major impacts reported by most respondents in the Enugu case. A respondent observes that,

It affects everybody in the South-East. No movement, businesses are affected even schools. The issue of killing people, we don't know whether it is the enforcers. Criminals have hijacked it. So many people have lost their lives. Bus drivers, Keke riders, have lost their vehicles. They are burnt but not stolen (IDI with Mrs. Chioma Onyegbu at her Shop in Ogbete Market 05/07/2023).

Similarly, respondent highlighted the collective effect of the sit-at-home when she reveals that,

Once you can't go to work, your children cannot go to school. When you are in the house, you cannot go to market, you will just lock yourself. You are asking me if there is negative effects. Market price...things are very expensive. What you buy one naira, you pay ten naira. The rich also cry, it affects everyone (IDI with Mrs. Nnena Ude a Civil Servant at her Office, 05/07/2023).

In what seems like a summary of negative effects of the sit-at-home in Enugu, Mrs. Maria Ujunwa, a 45 years old Banker comments, “can we count them? Education, banking, business, churches, civil service and safety. Despites these negativities identified by most respondents, one respondent Mrs. Maria Okechukwu a 38 years old Revenue Officer with the State Civil Service at her office construes the entire sit-at-home exercise as something positive because of the

security hitherto provided by Nnamdi Kanu to the people of the region. In her words, “no negative, only positive”. She further remarked that, “kidnappers are everywhere killing people. Unknown gunmen are everywhere and some people are saying they should release Nnamdi Kanu for us to get our freedom. For me, if I don't go to work, I cannot earn money”. This implies that insecurity is a major challenge in the area before the arrest of Nnamdi Kanu and subsequent declaration of sit-at-home order. Another respondent expressed similar views but added the fact that the sit-at-home birthed a state of fear and general insecurity as the dominant psychological condition. She asserted thus:

They are so many. Let me start with food and money that are in short supply. Businesses are struggling. Schools are badly affected with our children not learning properly because of the reduction in the days they are allowed to come to school. That is why we are taking this holiday lesson very seriously. Security and peace of mind is no more. We are all living in fear. Fear from not knowing what will happen the next minutes (IDI with Mrs. Juliet Odofia, a Teacher at the School Premises, 04/09/2023).

4.2.4 Research Objective 4: Management of Sit-at-Home in Enugu

To understand how the sit-at-home order and the challenges associated with it are been managed, research participants were asked about the various efforts, humanitarian assistance offered and their suggestions on the way out. What follows are their views.

Kinetic Approach by the Governor

Among the various levels of stakeholders and partners which comprise of the federal government, state government, local government, international organizations, and non-state actors which comprise foreign and local non-governmental organizations, traditional rulers and religious leaders, it was only the newly elected governor that was identified as making some efforts to address the scourge. She observes that:

It is only this new governor that is trying to address this issue with all the power that he has as chief security officer of the state. But even at that, the people are not coming out because of fear and as they have not released Mazi Nnamdi Kanu Mrs. Juliet Odofia a Primary Education Teacher, at the School Compound during Holiday Lesson, 04/09/2023).

The governor was also acknowledged for his persistent efforts at addressing the sit-at-home menace by putting a stop to its observance, another respondent in commendation to the governor posits that,

The governor of Enugu State, Peter Mbah, Dr., sorry, His Excellency, Governor Peter Mbah, the man is trying to put an end to this sit-at-home. The last time I heard people that refused to go out that very day at main market, the governor asked taskforce to lock their shops. So that caused riot. So, he was like, why are they still sitting at home since he has declared them to go out. They should just go out there and work. During my research I heard that Anambra has stopped their own but I don't know if it is true. So, one of my friends

was telling me that they no longer sit-at-home, but I was like really. She said yes. I told her that in Enugu we are still sitting at-home but the Governor is trying his best to make sure that everything is normalize (IDI with Mrs. Sophia Amarachukwu Nwadinobi, Primary School Teacher at School Compound during Holiday Lesson, 04/09/2023).

Speaking of His Excellency, Barr. Peter Mbah, Governor of Enugu State and his interventions on the matter, another respondent explains that,

The new government tried to stop it but it was chaotic. It was chaotic because the governor sealed some shops because the owners didn't come out. There was also riots because of that. The recent two weeks sit at home was unreasonable and it caused a lot of damages. The government provided security but that is the only thing that has been done but people are scared (IDI with Mrs. Chidinma Amabede, a School Principal, 04/07/2023).

Mrs. Kemi Ara, a 48 years old Public Servant acknowledged the fact that the governor is doing his best but adjudged such efforts as inadequate. In her words, “the new government is trying their best to manage it by putting security everywhere but the security is not enough. The security is not enough and even the security run away sometimes. Soldiers are posted in some strategic places”. Mrs. Felicia Nwokedi, a 49 years old Banker with 12 years working experience was in agreement with such a view point when she asserts that, “the state government seems helpless and are just making promises and threats at the same time. The new governor

really want things to be normal again but the force he is using is not helping matters”.

In the light of the foregoing, another respondents avails us that,

The government have said things about it. They even ask workers to go to work or no pay, they now go to work. They even promise to release Nnamdi Kanu but nothing. So, it is until Nnamdi Kanu is released that it will stop because they are intimidating him for speaking for the Igbo (IDI with Nwachukwu Ruth Chinecherem, a Civil Servant, 04/07/2023).

Another respondent identified a challenge associated with the order of the Governor for all workers and traders to go to work despite the fact that transport system in the city is usually grounded on sit-at-home days. She alluded that,

The question is difficult, the last I heard is that our newly elected governor Peter Mbah, said all workers should go to work. The problem is people want to go to work, but there are no cars. What if the person is staying at Emene and their workplace is Ogbete? It is not possible.

In her considered opinion of the government's efforts and the resultant turnout of events, a respondent concludes that,

They are not managing anything. They are increasing the situation. They are still keeping Nnamdi Kanu. I saw Simon Ekpa saying they are bringing a tougher measure to face the government. Even the police are compounding the problem with their behaviour (IDI with Mrs. Ama Danieli-Batubo, a 30 years old Creche Owner, 04/07/2023).

Thus, Mrs. Nnena Ude, a 52 years old Civil Servant was in doubt if there is any attempt at managing the sit-at-home scourge in the state with uncertainty and insecurity staring at the people when she commented that, “I wonder if there were such things in place and the issue remained like this. Government will say go to work but when you come out you are on your own. I wonder if they are managing anything”.

It is for this kind of reason that Mrs. Ngozi Ude, a 63 years old Civil Servant unequivocally concludes on the management of the sit-at-home that, “I have seen nothing positive that the leaders have done to manage the situation”. A comment as this may have arisen from the backdrop of the Governor's forceful approach to addressing the return to normalcy. Like Mrs. Amaka Okenwa, a 30 years old trader on ladies wear rethought, “It is only our governor that is forcing people to come out and trade”. The use of force by the state Governor was considered as a very negative approach as Mrs. Maria Ujunwa Odo, a 45years old Banker observes,

They are always using force through military men. They are just intimidating the people of South East. But what do you think, when our big men have sold their birth right. Nothing really has been done that is why the issue has not been resolved.

Contrary to aforementioned views, one respondent identified other stakeholders that have made effort to address the issue as including the military, ex-governors and churches but without success. She comments thus:

Enugu state government have been encouraging people to go out, but out of fear people still remain indoors. Sometimes

you see security people going around to encourage people that nothing is going to happen. Some ex-governors have gone to meet the former president to release him but to no avail. Also, churches have been preaching and condemning the detention of the man, but to no avail (IDI with Mrs. Amara Jane Ugwu, a Businesswoman, 31/08/2023).

Grossly Inadequate Humanitarian Assistance

Mrs. Ama Danieli-Batubo, a 30 years old Creche Owner dismissed the likelihood of any humanitarian assistance rendered to women in Enugu due to the plight they suffer occasioned by the sit-at-home when she responded that, “I have not heard of any. Maybe I have not done my research”. Mrs. Sophia Amarachukwu Nwadinobi a 34 years old Primary Education Teacher was not certain of any humanitarian assistance rendered to women in the face of various challenges associated with the effects of the sit—at-home in Enugu. In her words,

I don't know o. I don't think. Everybody is just trying to hustle. Sometimes on Monday they will say don't go out till 4 o'clock, but before that 4 o'clock people will start going out to go and hustle. So, I don't know if there are women that got any help.

Mrs. Kemi Ara, a 48 years Public Servant was very precise in her responds to the form of humanitarian assistance received by women in the area, when she asserts that, “no assistance from anybody”. Mrs. Felicia Nwokedi, a 49 years old Banker on her part presents self-help and divine support as the readily available

options. She exclaimed, “help! From who? Women are just there struggling to support their families. I have not seen any help. Everybody is doing their best and believing God”.

Mrs. Ngozi Ude a 63 years old Civil Servant similarly observed that, “I have seen nothing. No organization has helped women. Everybody is on their own”. “I don't know if anyone has gotten help. None of them have gotten any help from government or any institution”, so affirmed Mrs. Nwachukwu Ruth Chinecherem a 34 years old Civil Servant. Similarly, Mrs. Maria Ujunwa Odo, a 45 years old Banker expressed disappointment over three classes of people she naturally felt help would have come from but, “nothing at all. Not from government, NGOs or even our big men in the South East.

Another respondents depicted the absence of humanitarian assistance to the people of the area as arising from discrimination and neglect. As she puts it,

Nobody is helping anybody. Maybe, because this is South East. But if it were other parts of the country both the federal government and NGOs will do something. That is why we say they are marginalizing and showing hatred to Ndi Igbo in South East (IDI with Mrs. Juliet Odofia a Teacher, 04/09/2023).

In what appeared sarcastic but realistic of her experience, Mrs. Amara Jane Ugwu, a phone accessories and point of sale machine business operator opines that, “I cannot really say, I have not witnessed any. Except individuals helping to bury those who died as a result of the agitation and protest”.

Contrary to the general responses on the lack of support to women, Mrs. Ifeoma Faith Onuoha, a 35 years old Banker and Businesswoman affirmed that, “some have gotten help from churches, government and individuals. Like one man in Otuku that went to Catholic church to help all the widows”.

4.3 Discussion: Effects of Bwari Conflict and Enugu Sit-at-Home on Women

From the analysis by the researchers, the effects of the conflict on Bwari market women are as a result of the origin and causes of the conflict. The origin of Bwari conflict is tied to an incident of cult clash between a Hausa Muslim man and a Christian Gbagyi man that resulted in the death of the later. This bellicose encounter serves as the immediate or trigger that led to the conflict in 2017 which culminated in the burning of the Bwari market by some Gbagyi youths in protest of their loss both in human and political terms. The fact that protest as a tool of the weak was engaged by oppressed, denied and subjugated Gbagyi indigenes makes the Bwari case very similar to the Enugu case in this respect. This no doubt reveals the ethnic and religious identities of the conflict parties. The remote or root cause of the conflict is the chieftaincy struggle between the predominantly Christian indigenous Gbagyi and the Muslim settlers. The conversion of a Hakimi (tax collector) from Suleja Emirate Council to Sarkin Bwari after the establishment of Federal Capital Territory had earlier set a context for competition, agitation and hostilities between both peoples. This is the case as the traditional chieftaincy stool of the Gbagyi, Esu of Bwari was not only challenged but equally derided when

categorized as a Third Class Chiefdom, while the visitor's, Sarkin Bwari, was made a Second Class chief.

On the other hand, sit-at-home was conceived as a protest strategy adopted by the people of South East to demand for the release of Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of IPOB from the custody of the federal government over his agitation for the independence of Biafra. The origin of Enugu sit-at-home protest has its roots in the Biafran separatist agitation as championed by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). Thus, the arrest and detention of Mr. Kanu at the Department of State Security (DSS) custody in Abuja serves as the trigger of the conflict. This arrest of the IPOB leader occurred in the year 2021. Before this time, Nnamdi Kanu had earlier called for a sit-at-home order in solidarity with all fallen Biafran heroes sometime in June 30th 2017 over the 50 years anniversary of the declaration of the defunct Biafra Republic.

The declaration and enforcement of the sit-at-home was controversial as opinion from respondents differs. Mazi Nnamdi Kanu, Mr. Simon Epka, IPOB as a collective and the people of Biafra are the persons or groups believed to have declared the order. On the other hand, the enforcers of the sit-at-home nearly coincides with those that were believed to have declared it. Apart from Nnamdi Kanu and Simon Ekpa that were mentioned again, the other two enforcing agents were identified as unknown gunmen and the government themselves who were accused as the body behind the unknown gunmen phenomenon.

A mono-causal explanation was alluded for the Bwari conflict. Respondents clearly situates struggle for power at the chieftaincy

level of administration as the cause of the conflict. Alhaji Muhammad Musa Ijakoro, the last Hakimi and first Sarkin Bwari was issued a staff of office, coroneted and captured in the official gazette of Chiefs in the federal Capital territory. The argument that Alhaji Ijakoro was an interpreter at the Esu Bwari Palace perhaps after the expiration of his services as the Hakimi goes to show the likelihood of low level of acquisition of Western education by the Gbabgyi as at that material moment made them vulnerable to manipulation and deceit resulting in subsuming of their interest and heritage. This is despite the fact that, Islam must have played a major role in the political determinant of the Sarkin Bwari chieftaincy. This finding is in tandem with the position of Bwari youths that called for the scrapping of the Sarkin Bwari title in the council because it is the cause of the crisis that engulfed the Bwari community (Lawal, 2018).

For the Enugu sit-at-home case, the arrest and detention of the IPOB leader, Mazi Nnamdi Kanu with treasonable charges leveled at him for belonging to association and terrorism charges. The arrest of Sunday Igboho at Benin Republic, the champion of Yoruba nationalist struggle for Oduduwa Republic happened similar time to that of Nnamdi Kanu. But Mr. Igboho has long gained his freedom while Mr. Kanu still languishes in DSS dungeon. One wonders if adequate consultations have not been made by the Igbo political, cultural and economic elites or it is a case of an absence of a consensus position in such negotiation. When one observes that Biafran separatist agitation as the root cause, and the other reason alluded for the Enugu sit-at-home, it at once increases the likelihood that national interest and the desire to keep the Nigerian

state as one may have taken the better side of such deliberations and negotiations between leaders of the South East and the federal government. The fact remains that the sit-at-home emerged as a protest strategy to secure the release of Nnamdi Kanu. Ugwe (2022) adequately made the point that the sit-at-home order was initially for the purpose of demanding his release but later was extended to any time Nnamdi Kanu appears in court.

The results of the study showed that the Bwari conflict had only negative effects on the market women. The effects of the conflict on women were both immediate and long term. From the findings, the researchers found loss of human lives, destruction of property and loss of means of livelihood alongside the distortion of family life as the effects of the Bwari conflict. Although the conflict reached its crisis stage with the death of the Gbagyi man after a cult clash which serves as its trigger on 25th of December 2017. It was the following day, being 26th of December that this conflict case reached its climax with an outburst of violence, destruction and arson with enduring impacts on business operators in the market and beyond. The conflict also led to disruption in trade, damage to markets which invariably affected the livelihood of the market women. In some cases, some of these women as shown in the study had to change their trade patterns, some relocated to other nearby markets and some completely stopped trading as the loss was enormous.

The study correlates with Adewale-Tambe (2017) report that the conflict was a low scale conflict with minimal death toll of three. The death of the individuals had little effect on the market women as they suffered more of property losses. On the other hand, the

destruction, burnt and stolen goods and property had a devastating effect on the Bwari market women. As it is clear that the physical destruction caused by the conflict had a significant impact on their ability to earn a living and support themselves and their families. The impact of the physical destruction of the market was unique to them and it reflected largely on the community as well. Ojoye (2017) point of view on the losses encountered by the market women corroborated with the findings of the study as not only did men suffer losses but the women did as a lot of them had multiple shops destroyed in the incident. Similarly, this study lends credence to the findings of Nwaneri and Ukandu (2019) which identified death toll, burning of the Bwari market, relocation of businesses out of Bwari, the trauma of the extended curfew and insecurity among others as the effects of the Bwari conflict.

For the Enugu case, there were such effects as human costs, educational effects, economic impacts and psycho-social effects. Loss of lives, human miseries and suffering of indignities were found to depict the human cost of the enforcement of the protest. Inability to cover school curricula, distortion of national exams like Junior WAEC, Senior School Certificate Exams and Joint Admission Matriculation Board Exams were common place due to the observance of sit-at-home exercises. Although school hours have increased to 4pm due to compulsory lessons and Saturdays are used for practical classes for Senior Secondary School II students and above, however, most schools still find it very difficult to cover their contents for subjects like Mathematics and English Language that should naturally be taught three times in a week but for omission of Mondays and subsequent court days. Economic impacts were widespread across traders, banks, and teachers.

However, those who relied on daily sales for survival were more hit by the sit-at-home order. This is where the loss of economic opportunities by women reveals a feminization of poverty due to the disproportionate ways that conflict which manifest through the enforcement of the sit-at-home protest affect the economic status of women. Socio-psychological effects of the Enugu case were discovered to have affected everybody's movement, businesses, schools, churches and group safety. The sit-at-home brought in its wake a complete distortion of social order and stability of patterned structures in the Enugu context. Fear as a psychological condition is very widespread due to the security situation that has gone out of hand. The inclusion of unknown gunmen in the enforcement of the sit-at-home makes it all the scarier, as the masses are uncertain over who will be next victim.

The researchers' findings show that the management of the Bwari case were principally through the imposition of curfew across Bwari main town and provision of humanitarian assistance. The services of Nigerian Police Force were employed to patrol the area, while the army were stationed at strategic locations around the town. The military showed adequate force and occasionally went beyond their bounds to engage in sundry rights violations especially on people who for one reason or the other could not meet up with the stipulations of the curfew. Here, the restriction of movement as declared by the Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) reveals a similarity between the Bwari conflict and the Enugu sit-at-home case. While the Bwari case was solely enforced by the police force and the army, the Enugu case was alleged to be enforced by the Indigenous People of Biafra, Simon Ekpa, unknown gunmen and politicians through some militia or

armed groups. The police and military in the Enugu context were deployed to ensure people were allowed to move around and go about their lawful businesses, while at the same time they serve as deterrents to the non-state actors and armed enforcers of the sit-at-home order. The agents of enforcements of these conflict may account largely for the mode of return to peace in these separate contexts.

Humanitarian assistance was one major way the effects of Bwari case was managed. This came through financial assistance, credit facilities, loans, and relief materials from family members and Christian and Muslim groups, distributors and business partners, microfinance banks and the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) respectively. While some women were able to cope through these interventions, most of them expressed displeasure over the few, inadequate, and expired relief items that NEMA brought to them. Among these interventions, the support from businesses that gave goods on credit was most appreciated and impactful, followed by the granting of loans by microfinance banks that cancel some loans for the women. Faith-based groups and denominational groups were very quick to show solidarity with their adherent in both material and financial terms. On the Enugu case, the State Governor was credited to largely be responsible for the management of the sit-at-home. However, his intervention are depicted as inadequate because of the kinetic approach that characterizes it. Former governors and church leaders have equally helped through negotiation with the Federal government and preaching against or condemnation of detention of Nnamdi Kanu respectively. The failure of the governor's intervention are construed as his inability to ensure the release of the IPOB leader.

Despite the presence of government agencies, microfinance banks, and other nongovernmental organizations in the Enugu context, no support came from them. This may be explained as an attestation to the claim that people of the area are marginalized and denied governmental attention. In the contrary, the presence of enumerable wealthy men and women of Igbo extraction both in the homeland and diaspora without committed to the plight of the people creates a deep sense of concern because if the government whose authority is being challenged by the entire protest is seen as discriminating against the Igbo and their plight, what about fellow Igbo people who are showing no practical sign of concern through different forms of philanthropic gestures.

4.3.1 Similarities in the Effects of Bwari Conflict and Enugu Sit-at-Home on Women

Human costs

Although women were not primarily targeted because of their sex for victimization, both the Bwari conflict and Enugu sit-at-home protest have human cost as a major effect. While the Bwari case had very few death toll generally, not more than ten, there was no indication that women's lives were lost through direct violence but that cannot be said of those who died as a result of the emotional and psychological shock, depression and shame arising from the material losses and debts this incidence give rise to. Similarly, direct violence have claimed a sizeable number of women's' lives during the enforcement of sit-at-home order and the suppression of such order by the military. The difference in the number of death

and circumstance of death across both cases is based on their peculiar contexts. In this regard, the theater or location of the conflict, duration, and economic impacts are determinants of human cost of conflict.

Besides death as the ultimate human cost of the Bwari conflict, human suffering was another form recorded. The burning down of shops, destruction of goods, and loss of family members which resulted in the imposition of curfew, meant that human suffering was not far-fetched. Hunger, want, helplessness and desperation were rife among women. Many women were unable to access food due to the disruption of markets and supply chains which made some traders to move to Dutse market and others to Suleja market for supplies. They also lacked the resources to purchase food, as their livelihoods were often destroyed by the conflict in the Bwari case. The stress of hunger also took a toll on women's physical and mental health. The fact that they have to watch members of their households stay hungry and without some basic necessities of life like decent clothing and enrollment in schools, challenged their sense of caregiving and homemaking.

Similarly, in the Enugu case, human suffering came in the form of starvation and human rights violation especially in the area of freedom of movement. Associational rights, peaceful assembly and dignity of persons were implicated in the Enugu case as the suspicion of IPOB having meetings was uppermost in the minds of security operatives. It was not difficult to find passengers of commercial and private vehicles ordered to come down at specific checkpoints manned by soldiers. From the Enugu context, this often calls to mind a feeling that the South East is treated like a

conquered territory, hence her intimidation, marginalization and sundry dehumanizing conditions.

Economic effects

Economic impacts abound across both cases. Destruction of property and livelihood loss were the two dimensions of the economic effects of the Bwari case. The fact that Bwari market was burnt with shops and goods destroyed meant that the conflict context serves as a causal process tracer for the chain of events that lead to women's experience of economic hardship and raises the case of feminization of poverty because of the disproportionate way the conflict has affected women's economic status. This is the case because with this came drastic reduction in women's abilities to provide for their families, increased their relapse to poverty trench hold and their vulnerability which could have long-term effects on women's economic opportunities.

Although a number of support were available to women to help them get back at their feet and rebuild their lives, the impact of such assistance, which majorly came through loans and credit facilities, had very minimal impact on women's economic opportunities because it never helped them to get back to their pre-conflict levels of income and standards of living. A likely reason for this low impact of loans and credit facilities to rebuild women's businesses is the continuous lack of resources to invest in renting of new shops and inventories or goods. More so, in the face of high cost of caring for their family members, it is possible that some women could not take full advantage of these loans and credit facilities.

It is also clear that the conflict had a severe and lasting impact on the lives of market women and their families. Many women were left without a source of income which made it difficult to provide for themselves and their families as discovered in the study. This also led to increased levels of poverty and untold hardship. Supporting this view, Alesina and Perroti (2016) stated that women and children are subjected to untold hardships due to financial stress. The burnt Bwari market as shown in the study left the women in financial stress as the loss brought about a downward trend of their income which could not equate their level of expenses. In addition, the disruption of routines and normal life caused significant stress and anxiety for some of the market women due to fear of uncertainty faced. The conflict also led to the breakdown of social structures and support systems which had a particularly negative impact on women who were vulnerable.

The Enugu case is tired to sales decline, expiration of manufactured goods and rotten of perishable ones, investment capital flights, and tourism dis-attraction. All these factors give rise to increase in the prices of goods and the shrinking of business volume. The impact of these on women is severe when one considers their place in the economic life of the area. Many women are involved in the informal economy, selling goods in markets and providing a wide range of services like hairstyling, makeup and other forms of body care. The sit-at-home regularly reduces their access to markets and customers leading to a decline in sales and income. With the indiscriminate declaration of sit-at-home order with people forced to remain indoors, there is loss of investment capital as women's savings were wiped out or significantly reduced because businesses were forced to close. This loss of investment capital is

also applicable to women whose goods suffer expiration and get rotten because of the time implication on their line of business.

The loss of livelihood was also common place as business premises and markets have been attacked resulting in property destruction and injuries. This particularly poses a challenge for women that are the primary breadwinners of their households, even if their spouses are still alive. This led to a loss of income which have devastating effect on their families and this may expose some women to turn to some negative coping mechanisms, like substance abuse or prostitution, in order to survive. These in turn may increase their risk of contracting diseases and throwing open a wide range of health challenges.

In the light of the above, it is clear that the economic effects of the conflict in Enugu will have long-lasting impacts on women's lives. Even when the violence arising from the sit-at-home enforcement and the military offensives and attendant human rights abuses have stopped, the economic damage will take years repair. In the main time, women may face increased poverty, limited opportunities and the likelihood of social isolation.

It is important to observe that women were not only impacted economically by the conflict, but also by the lack of support they received in the aftermath and still continuing. The paucity of humanitarian assistance in the Enugu case is one reality that spells doom and increases the likelihood of long-term economic effects on women. A major concern over this lack of support by the federal government is predicated on the grounds that it was not due to lack of funds, especially as some respondents have construed it as an

expression of and attestation to the marginalization rhetoric by the Igbo, which forms part of their reason for Biafra separatist agitation in the first instance. But to be fair to the federal government, how can they possibly be struggling to keep the Biafrans within the Nigerian state and be paying for the losses incurred by those who declared and are enforcing the sit-at-home. This may only make sense if such support were meant to show concern and empathy in order to win the hearts and minds of the Igbo.

More worrisome is the fact that state and local governments on the one hand, who are peopled by the Igbo and on the other hand, other Igbo economic elites who constitute a major percentage of wealthy individuals in the country, have done nothing to support women. This could call attention to a general understanding of insecurity and fear and not a lack of empathy which may be limiting them from investing in economic recovery. Also, it could be a sign that the end to the sit-at-home order is not in sight. Inclusively, this may as well be an indication that such wealthy Igbo men and women could be affected economically that the resources available to them may only be essential for their survival especially when their economic interest across states in Nigeria are targeted by federal policies and demolition tactics on markets with Igbo preponderance. As one respondent remarked, “Market price... things are very expensive. What you buy one naira, you pay ten naira. The rich also cry, it affects everyone (IDI with Mrs. Nnena Ude a Civil Servant at her Office, 05/07/2023).

Unlike the Bwari case that has the burning of the market by some Gbagyi youths as the causal process tracing of chain of events, the Enugu case has economic hardship of women arising from the

enforcement of the sit-at-home. This clearly makes the case that if the destructive elements of conflict are eliminated, the mere fact of disagreement expressed through protest is incapable of birthing loss of economic opportunities and pushing women to assume greater responsibilities in providing for their households thus slightly eroding their traditional gender role of homemaking.

Socio-psychological effects

Another area where the Bwari and Enugu cases converge is in their social and psychological effects. The social effect of the Bwari case manifested through distortion of family life. The patterned ways of family life were greatly impacted at the level of children and parents. Children discontinued schooling activities and joined their parents to flee to the nearby military camp. The displacement in Bwari was very short term as it did not exceed two or three days as the conflict did not escalate beyond the 26th of December due to the rapid deployment of peacekeepers. In Bwari, parents trading in the market had irregular income and that spelt fluctuations in family needs attainment. Food, clothing and education were affected. This clearly shows the agreement of our findings to the United Nations (2002) on food shortage giving rise to malnutrition among women thereby affecting their health.

As seen in the study the Bwari conflict affected the market women's sense of dignity and self-sufficiency as some women stated that they assisted their husbands financially. Lending credence to this as opined in the reports of (Omonobi 2017; Adepegba 2018), some of the shops were operated by couples as they worked together to raise income while some women assisted in income generation as the

income provided by their husbands were incapable of sustaining them in the long run. The women's loss of income reduced the support given to their husbands. This also reduced their purchasing power as discovered in the study.

On the other hand, the psychological effects of the Bwari case was depicted as encompassing trauma, suspicion and fear of the reoccurrence of the violent conflict. It is in this regard that post-traumatic stress disorder as a mental health condition developed as one of the core experiences of women who witnessed the violence and had their shops burnt. The shock associated with this trauma was accompanied by emotional numbness and avoidance of conflict trigger. General anxiety disorder, depression and suicidal thoughts were entertained. Also, taking up the primary role of breadwinners for their families is a significant source of stress for women. Regrettably, little or no attention was given to these dimensions of the conflict in Bwari as focus was mainly on the physical security and economic recovery of the traders.

The Enugu case has its socio-psychological effects peculiar to its context. The social impact is wide spread and cuts across all sectors and social groups. Education, banking, business, churches, civil service were negatively affected. Lack of movement which prevented parents from going to earn income manifested as restriction on children from going to their schools. No doubt there was social disruption of family life.

Fear and uncertainty constitute one major psychological effects of the Enugu case. When one relates the level of criminal violence perpetuated by enforcers of the sit-at-home order which goes with

intimidation, property destruction, maiming, burning of goods, disruption of social activities, and murder, the extent of fear it breeds in the area becomes very clear. On the other hand, the indiscriminate arrest and incarceration of alleged members of IPOB and any group of persons in the area had a significant impact on women in Enugu. Not only did it leave women to take on more responsibilities at home, but it also created a climate of fear and uncertainty. Like one respondent has it, “security and peace of mind is no more. We are all living in fear. Fear from not knowing what will happen the next minutes. This has forced women to take on new roles and responsibilities which may give them a sense of empowerment and independence. On the other hand, it also placed a great deal of stress and burden on them. This is because they may have to take care their families without the supports of their husbands or other family members. This finding aligns well with the literature that conflict brings about changes in gender roles and relations in societies (Chawade, 2016 and Okonkwo, Uniga and Bodi, 2020).

In the light of the foregoing, there is a loss of agency and control over one's life. Women may feel like they have lost the ability to make decisions for themselves and their families. On the one hand, this may have impact on their mental health because it can lead to a feeling of helplessness and hopelessness. This in-turn makes them feel like there is no future to look to. In the context of this reality, it may logically follow that fear and uncertainty created by the conflict had a profound impact on women's ability to engage in the rebuilding of their communities.

The other psychological impact of the Enugu case is suspicion and

loss of trust due to insecurity. Women feel unsafe even in their homes and within their neighbourhoods, and this plays out in them isolating themselves from friends and family occasionally. It is important to recognize that these suspicion and lack of trust among women as a psychological impact may be long-lasting, even if the violent enforcement of the sit-at-home and military abuses stops.

A fourth dimension of the psychological impact of the Enugu case is the increased level of stress and anxiety over the outcome of the court case between the IPOB leader and the federal government. The expected judgment is looked upon as a determinant of their lives. In this regard, the discharge and acquittal of the embattled leader is desired for peace to return to the area. Contrary to the assertions by scholars like Skjelsbaek and Smith (2001) and Adimula (2019) on rape as one effect of violent conflict on women, the Bwari and Enugu cases have no recorded incidences of rape.

4.3.2 Difference in the Effects of Bwari Conflict and Enugu Sit-at-Home on Women

Educational effects

There were recorded cases of children dropping out from school due to the economic setback experienced by their parents over the Bwari conflict of December 2017. While the Bwari case was occasioned by the financial constraint birthed by the conflict, the Enugu case is one of violent restriction of movement by the sit-at-home enforcers or the fear entertained by individuals of their possible attack by such enforcers. Thus, the educational effect in

Bwari is as a result consequential. This is contrary to the Enugu experience where there is direct educational impacts. Denial of access to schools through sit-at-home enforcements, poor performances arising from the inability to cover class curriculum and decline in reading culture among students were evident in the Enugu case. Like one respondent remarked, “the educational sector is affected because other states open every Monday but we cannot meet up with the syllabus (IDI with Mrs. Kemi Ara, a Public Servant, 04/07/2023). This has implication for one core universal human right known as the right to education. Even though there were some adjustments by some schools to increase their lesson time till 4 pm for primary and organize practical sections for science-based students from 11am to 1pm on Saturdays, the challenge of covering approved curriculums remains.

CHAPTER FIVE:

Policy Implication and Conclusion

5.1 Policy Implication

The findings as revealed by the study is that the Bwari conflict has a deep-rooted historical consolidation which escalated due to the tension between the Esu and the Sarkin of Bwari. In this regard as observed in the course of the research, the primary actors (Esu and Sarkin) with the aid of the secondary actor (the FCT Administration) need to resolve the conflict as the conflict was only managed but the slightest trigger can cause a reoccurrence and escalation. Similarly, the Enugu sit-at-home has the demand for Biafra freedom as its cause with the arrest and detention of Nnamdi Kanu as its core trigger. Parties to this violent conflict which manifest in the sit-at-home protest strategy are the Indigenous People of Biafra which loosely translate to the people of Igbo extraction and the federal/state government on the one hand and the people of Enugu and the enforcers of the sit-at-home on the other hand. This case is still ongoing despite Nnamdi Kanu's call from the DSS custody for the region to focus on economic recovery every Mondays.

5.1.1 The Federal Government

The Federal Government of Nigeria has not failed to assert its dominance over the South East geopolitical zone in reaction to the

demand for secession. To preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity, hard core military measures have been adopted to quench the rebellion in the form of Biafran separatist agitation. Like the thirty months civil war of 1966 through 1970, the need to adopt diplomacy and political compromises have not been internalized by the officials of state especially the Executive arm of government.

The saying that hunger is always the winner in any condition of violent conflict or war remains true, hence, the Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs should be mandated to intervene in Enugu and across the entire South East over the destruction, growing violence and widespread insecurity in the area. Coordinated humanitarian efforts should be directed at people that suffer from the Monday sit-at-home order, especially those who earn daily from the rising inflation and dwindling economic reality. It is when such deliberate affection is showed by the federal government that the hearts and minds of the people can be made amenable to dialogue and compromises. The Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be relevant in mediating a peace process and understanding the core needs of the agitators in order to broker peace and de-escalate the violence.

5.1.2 FCT Administration

The FCT Administration as a secondary actor played a vital role in the installation of the Sarkin Bwari which led to the displeasure expressed by the Esu Bwari and his people. The action taken by the Gbagyi people as stated by the Bwari market women aggravated an already tensed atmosphere. The quick fix response of the FCT

Administration to de-escalate the conflict was effective to an extent but cannot be adjudged as the best solution to resolving the main cause of the conflict. As conflicts are peculiar in nature, so also is their resolution measures. As shown in the findings, the FCT Administration only employed the use of armed forces and curfew to manage the conflict. To address the Bwari conflict completely leading to a mutually satisfied outcome between conflicting parties, there is need to go beyond the imposed peace agreement on the chiefs which can only lead to a negative peace in the short run. Consequently, there is a need for the Honourable Minister of State to mandate the Area Council Services Commission to carefully scrutinize the historical migration of the indigenes and settlers' pattern, power tussle and positional status between the traditional rulers and the tension between the Hausa and the Gbagyi people.

The FCT Administration should also call for a dialogue to address the real cause of the conflict because the study revealed that the traditional rulers were advised to take the positions as given to them. The FCT Administration should also clearly state that despite the disparity in power and influence, no traditional ruler is more superior to the other. Hence, an illegal or excessive use of power over the other should attract some form of sanction. This would also mean that the administration would precisely inform the traditional rulers of their power jurisdiction. More so, there is the need for the FCT Administration to address the need for a peaceful coexistence in order to avert a reoccurrence of the conflict.

Additionally, monetary support from FCT Administration would be crucial in helping the market women to get back on their feet and rebuild their businesses through the provision of food items that

will likely be helpful in the short term. However, it seems that the market women felt that sustainable forms of supports would have been more helpful. Invariably, the lack of monetary support exacerbated the economic effects of the conflict. Market women felt that humanitarian support was inadequate and did not meet their needs. A conditional cash transfer programme by the National Emergency Management Agency would be a valuable tool in helping market women in Bwari recover from the economic effects of the conflict.

5.1.3 Enugu State Government

The new administration of His Excellency, Dr. Peter Mbah as Governor of Enugu State has been commended by many for his concern to curb the security situation he inherited as governor. His over reliance on military approach and sanction to resolve the violent conflict that manifest through a sit-at-home protest strategy as adopted by the IPOB is yielding mixed outcomes. Prioritizing economic viability of the state over the security of lives and property should be reconsidered because it is people that are alive that will engage in productive ventures and grow a thriving economy.

While observing on the other hand the long-term implications, the economic damage in Enugu will take years to repair. Thus, it is crucial for the State Government to provide economic support for women in Enugu through microfinance loans and grants to grow their businesses. This effort should be accompanied by educational opportunities made available to women immediately to enable them address effects of the sit-at-home protest in order to improve

their inclusion in community activities which will give them a voice and greater ability to influence community life. While efforts are made to improve on such educational programmes, care should equally be taken to recognize the importance of women's experiences of trauma and other psychological dimensions of caregiving to eliminate the chances of secret and unnoticed suffering. It is thus imperative that Enugu State Ministry of Health should create mental health programmes to address the psychological effects of sit at home protest on women.

5.1.4 Bwari Chiefdoms

The primary parties to the conflict are the Esu and Sarkin of Bwari. As revealed by the study, the alleged cult clash was not the actual reason for the conflict. The Sarkin had been installed and made a second-class chief some months before causing an uproar within the Gbagyi people. Both traditional rulers have been instructed to live in cordiality but as discovered in the findings, there still exist some level of tension. In the short term, there is an urgent need to address this for the sole purpose of community development. As a result of this, the Chieftaincy of the Bwari Area Council should put in place an intense dialogue of action to identify and address amicably the underlying issues faced by each party. Additionally, the two chiefs should consciously and publicly display a cordial relationship as this would help their kinsmen understand the need for unity and peace.

In the long run, both chiefdom should jointly create awareness campaigns, enlightenment programmes and seminars to educate the Bwari community. By doing so, their kinsmen are likely to join

in the promotion of peace and let go of past hurt. Also, regular scheduled town hall meetings with both traditional rulers in attendance to show camaraderie can be used to promote peace. The town hall meetings can be used to address issues of grave concerns faced by both ethnic groups. Lastly, organising competitions like sports between the Gbagyi and Hausa can bring about healthy rivalry and sportsmanship.

5.1.5 Civil Society Organizations

The loss of lives and exposure of people to inhuman conditions should inform an aggressive advocacy campaign by civil society groups in the South East. Churches can deploy peaceful march protest around the city's major towns to create awareness of the need to respect life which is sacred and sacrosanct. Non-governmental organisations, especially development groups should explore radio jingles and SMS sent to different networks of phone users in Enugu and other parts of the South East with soothing words that guarantee peace communication. Considering the level of awareness and vast youth population in the area, digital peacebuilding programmes should be carefully crafted by social media influencer from the South East to calm the hearts and minds of the people as various social media platforms can be utilized in this regard.

Interest free loans are needed to stimulate economic growth in Enugu but this may be inadequate if the women who are members of large households of dependents to care and provide for are not taken into cognizance. In this regard, the Enugu State Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development should ensure that education, health care and school feeding programmes are

prioritized to reduce the financial burden of women identified for such empowerment schemes so that they can properly and optimally manage their interest free loans for profitability.

It important to support women's access to education and training, so they can gain the innovative skills they need to participate sustainably in the economy. A number of local non-governmental organizations can pull their expertise and resources together in an alliance formed to coordinate such training and development programme for women with relevant international non-governmental organizations brought on board. Economic recovery and empowerment of women is key to stability of society and survival of households as such this should be given immediate attention.

The need to prioritize the mental health of women is urgent. With the kind of stress, trauma, fear, anxiety and depression associated with both cases, there is need to engage the services of relevant experts drawn from the State Ministry of Health and health sector related NGOs to conduct preliminary investigations on the state of mental wellness of people in the area with the intention to offer treatments. There should be no blind spot over the psychological wellbeing of women with focus only on the physical destruction of property and other material losses. The fact that high blood pressure can easily be triggered with such level of anxiety, demands urgent attention of health-related non-governmental groups.

5.2 Conclusion

In the light of the above, it is obvious that the Bwari conflict and Enugu cases both have human, economic, social and psychological

impacts on women, while educational effects were only evident and grievous in the Enugu case. Although, women were not deliberately targeted in both cases, yet they suffered live loss, emotional and psychological shocks as the major forms of human suffering and indignities. While property destruction and livelihood loss were the major economic effects across both cases, the Enugu case had sales decline, expiration of manufactured goods and rotten of perishable goods, investment capital flight and loss of tourism attraction as its unique economic effects. Social effects in the Bwari case manifested through distortion of family life, while psychological effects involve trauma, suspicion, and fear among women. In the Enugu case, widespread social effects cut across education, banking, business, churches and even the civil service occasioned by movement restriction. The psychological effects include fear and uncertainty, loss of agency and control of individual life of women, suspicion and loss of trust, and increased level of stress and anxiety. In Enugu, educational effects fully manifest through denial of access to schools resulting in poor educational performance and decline in reading culture. The violent conflicts in Bwari and Enugu are adjudged as very similar cases with peculiar contexts that influenced how these named effects on women manifested with long term implications. The research sheds light on the experiences of women in violent conflict and highlighted the importance of understanding the specific context of each conflict. The findings will be of interest to scholars and practitioners working on gender and conflict.

Appendices

A. In-depth Interview Guide

Introduction

The interview is aimed at identifying effects of Bwari conflict and Enugu sit-at-home on women, and elicit suggestions on ways to resolve or manage the issues. The questions were based on relevant themes that are germane to the research such as origin, causes, effects and management of the Bwari case or the Enugu case. In this regard, your respected opinion is crucial and will be treated with utmost confidentiality and anonymity.

KINDLY READ THE INFORMED CONSENT FORM TO RESPONDENT AND ASK THEM TO SIGN IT OR TO SAY 'YES' ONCE YOU TURN THE RECORDER ON.

Section 1: Bio-Data

- i. What is your name?
- ii. How old are you?
- iii. What line of business are you into?
- iv. How long have you been trading in this market?
- v. Are you affected by the conflict in Bwari?

Section 1: Bwari Conflict

A. Origin of Bwari Conflict

- i. Do you know about any past conflict in Bwari
- ii. What is the background to conflict in Bwari
- iii. What led to the 2017 conflict in Bwari
- iv. Who were the parties to the conflict in Bwari

B. Causes of Bwari Conflict

- i. Do you know the causes of Bwari conflict?

C. Effect of Bwari Conflict

- i. What are the negative effects of Bwari conflict?
- ii. What are the positive effects of Bwari conflict?
- iii. How has the conflict affected market women in Bwari?

D. Management of the Bwari Conflict

- i. How was the Bwari conflict managed or resolved?
- ii. What forms of humanitarian assistance did women get as a result of the conflict in Bwari?
- iii. What do you suggest to better manage or resolve stage of the Bwari conflict?

Section 1: Bio-Data

- i. What is your name?
- ii. How old are you?
- iii. What line of business are you into?
- iv. How long have you been trading/working?
- v. Are you affected by the Sit-at-Home Policy?

Section 2: Enugu Sit-at-Home

A. Origin of Sit-at-Home Policy

- i. What do you understand by Sit-at-Home?
- ii. What is the background to Sit-at-Home?
- iii. Who declared the Sit-at-Home?
- iv. Who are those enforcing the sit-at-home?
- v. Why was the Sit-at-Home declared?

B. Causes of Sit-at-Home Policy in Enugu

- i. Do you know the reason why the sit-at-Home was declared?

C. Effects of Sit-at-Home Policy in Enugu

- i. What are the negative effects of Sit-at-Home?
- ii. What are the positive effects of Sit-at-Home?
- iii. How did the Sit-at-Home affect Women in Enugu?

D. Management of Sit-at-Home Policy in Enugu

- i. What has been done to manage the challenges associated with the Sit-at-Home?
- ii. What form of humanitarian assistance did women get as a result of the Sit-at-Home in Enugu?
- iii. What do you suggest to better manage and resolve the issues that gave rise to the Sit-at-Home?

B. Consent Form for In-Depth Interview

Research Title: **Effects of Bwari Conflict and Enugu sit-at-home on Women**

Lead Research: **I. M. Ukand, Ph.D;**

Associate Researcher: **Dr. N. I. Nneaka**

Introduction

We are academics (Departments of Religions and Intercultural Studies and Political Science and Diplomacy respectively) and researchers from the Centre for Peace and Development, Veritas University, Abuja. We are conducting research on the Effect of Bwari Conflict and Enugu Sit-at-Home on Women. We are interested in understanding the origin, causes, effects and management of both cases. We are asking permission to speak with you. You are freed to ask question on any part of the interview that you do not understand. The purpose of the study is to enable us come up with relevant recommendations to government and other nongovernmental bodies on practicable ways to solve the problem and manage its impact on women.

Procedure and Confidentiality

The interview will take about 15 minutes, but may take longer if you have more to share. During the interview, for the Bwari case, we will ask you about'

- The origin of Bwari conflict
- Causes of Bwari conflict
- Effect of Bwari conflict
- Management of Bwari conflict

On the Enugu case, we will ask you about;

- Origin of sit-at-home in Enugu
- Causes of sit-at-home in Enugu
- Effects of sit-at-home in Enugu
- Management of sit-at-home in Enugu

We are interested in capturing all your thoughts and will want to take notes on paper and also tape-record the interview to enable us write it down after-wards. At the end of the study, the notes and tape recordings from the interview will be destroyed. We assure you that the interview is confidential and if you don't want to tell use your name, which is alright, we will use a pseudo name. We assure you that the information given will not be used for any purpose other than academic and policy. We will provide a token to reimburse you for your time and transportation.

Risk and Discomfort

This interview will touch on a sensitive matter and experience you have had or are currently having. We are aware that lives were lost and you may have been affected directly by the violent conflict that is why you don't have to answer any of our question that makes you uncomfortable. You are free to discontinue the interview at any

stage if you feel uncomfortable with the entire process. We will ensure that this interview is conducted in a private place to guarantee privacy.

Benefits

The information you provide may help us to make useful recommendations that will inform policies of government and international organizations on the plights of women during conflict and protest. This could benefit women in particular and society in general through economic recovery programmes, education and training, and mental health care.

Contact Information

You can ask the interviewer any question that you have at any time. If you have any question about your rights as an interview participant or any other ethical concerns as it relates to research, you can contact the Lead Researcher; Dr. I. M. Ukandu on ukandui@veritas.edu.ng.

Assent

Having explained to you the purpose and procedure as well as the potential discomforts and benefits of this interview, I will now ask for your consent to participate in this interview. If you are willing to participate, please say 'Yes, I will participate', otherwise, say 'no' to decline from participating in the interview.

- Yes = this person agrees to take part in the interview
- No = this person does not agree to take part in the interview

I have explained to the participant the research purpose and procedures and we have discussed all the risks that are involved. I have answered questions to the best of my ability that the participant raised.

Signature of Interviewer _____

Date _____ / _____ / _____

Copy to: Participant

Investigator's File

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