

International Journal of Science and Research Archive

eISSN: 2582-8185 Cross Ref DOI: 10.30574/ijsra

Journal homepage: https://ijsra.net/



(REVIEW ARTICLE)



Ohaneze Ndigbo and Security in the South East, Nigeria

EKENE EMENIKE and OBIORA ANTHONY UZOR *

Department of Public Administration, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University, Anambra State, Nigeria.

International Journal of Science and Research Archive, 2023, 10(02), 287-295

Publication history: Received on 23 September 2023; revised on 16 November 2023; accepted on 19 November 2023

Article DOI: https://doi.org/10.30574/ijsra.2023.10.2.0896

Abstract

This work examined Ohaneze Ndigbo and security in the South East, Nigeria. One research question was formulated to guide the study; as well as one objective. The study adopted the neo- Marxist theory of the post-colonial state that was propounded by Karl Max in 1921 which is an offshoot of the classical Marxist political economy approach. The study adopted Ex-post facto design. The main sources of data is through secondary method that depends on textbooks, journals, magazine, etc. The finding of the study shows that the major challenges facing Ohaneze Ndigbo as an Organisation in enhancing South Eastern security are funding and power of sanction. Hence, the study recommends that there should be contributions of the Igbo stakeholders periodically to finance the affairs of the organization.

Keywords: Ohaneze Ndigbo; Security; South-East; Nigeria; Challenges; Economy

1. Introduction

In any civilized society, one of the primary duties of government, if not the most pertinent, is the safeguarding of the welfare and security of its people. This is so, as the state possesses military capacity and threat of force which other parts of the society are most times incapable of. However, this 'security monopoly' trend is rapidly changing (Ikelegbe, 2019).

In a globalised world, preempting violent conflict and building sustainable peace requires complex strategies which include cooperation with other stakeholders such as the civil society and staying true to good governance, transparency and accountability as we would argue in this paper. But it is not the case that the civil society in many countries of the world, especially Africa, which is conflict prone, has not been working to ensure peace in the society. In fact, as people become directly affected by armed conflict, civil society organisations (CSO) have developed interest in contributing to its resolution. The collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries and the birth of 'Third Wave' democracies signaled a strong re-entry of the term civil society around the world (Omah, 2018). In Africa, the civil society has been consistently on the rise since the post-independence era (Fellio, 2020).

Armed conflicts in Africa can be traced back to the post-independence era. As far back as 1967, the Igbo section of the Nigerian community, led by the unbreakable Biafra Warlord, Lt. Col Dim Odumegwu Ojukwu, raised arms to secede from the Nigerian state. All over Africa from Lagos to

Luanda, Mali to Maputo, conflicts were the order of the day. African countries experienced decades of devastating wars including the Congo war, Somali War, Rwandan Genocide, Northern Mali conflict, Angolan Civil War, Sudanese War, East African Campaign, to mention but a few and these wars crippled governance and development in several African States.

^{*} Corresponding author: UZOR, OBIORA ANTHONY

With the proliferation of armed conflicts which reached its peak in the 1990s and together with the burden of peace building on the shoulders of the international community, the attention of donors and peace building practitioners turned to the potential role to be played by civil society (Obasi, 2020).

Meanwhile, Nigeria, the most populated country in Africa and arguably its most economically advanced country, has been a theater of various conflicts recently and one of the most unstable environments in terms of insecurity to human lives and properties. The federating units making up the country are yet to truly recognise each unit as constituents of one nation and owing to other factors such as religious, economic, political, social, among others; the Nigerian environment is unnecessarily prone to conflict. Even government interventions and international support is proving inadequate in addressing this malaise (Obasi, 2020).

In 2020, ACLED recorded five instances of violence by the separatist movement Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), a proscribed terrorist group since September 2017398, and one instance by the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), which took place on 23 July 2020.399 Since August 2020 violence between IPOB and the Nigerian security forces has 'escalated', with reported killings of civilians and retaliatory security incidents.400 Global Rights noted that 'it was also clear that the government sought to suppress' the IPOB in 2020 by 'deliberately' targeting persons suspected to be IPOB members, which they substantiated by reports of arbitrary arrests and detention of hundreds of men, as well as the killings of 'a least 21 persons'.401 In 2021, security forces increased operations against the Eastern Security Network (ESN), such as on 18 February 2021 when helicopters and hundreds of troops were deployed in Orlu and Orsu areas (Imo state), razing several ESN camps. The security situation in South East Nigeria, is rapidly deteriorating, as several incidents in Abia, Imo, Ebonyi, and other southeastern states show.402 On 5 April 2021, unknown gunmen stormed the headquarters of the Imo State Police Command and the Owerri Correctional Centre (Imo state) and freed more than 2 000 inmates. 403 The attack, allegedly by members of the ESN (the armed wing of IPOB), led The New Humanitarian to comment: 'The Igbo speaking southeast is Nigeria's new zone of instability.' While IPOB intended to create a 'new Biafra' via a referendum, 'the ESN, formed in December last year, has taken a far more radical position. It fought with security forces in the town of Orlu in late January, after which IPOB declared that the "second Nigeria/Biafra war" had begun (Ikelegbe, 2021).

The recent Multi-stakeholders Consultative Forum on Peace and Security Challenges in Nigeria, which was organised by Civil Society Legislative and Advocacy Centre in collaboration with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and support from European Union, was targeted at addressing the security crisis that has riddled the South-east region, particularly the attacks on security institutions.

Undoubtedly, the growing security threats from Nigeria's South-east region gives cause for concern. But it was not always so. Until recently, the South-east region was arguably the most peaceful part of the country, but now, it has evolved into a hotbed of violence targeting state security institutions by armed men popularly referred to as unknown gunmen. In fact, between January and April 19, 2021, over 17 police stations, in addition to a correctional facility, have been targeted by the gunmen, leaving in their trail dead officers, charred police stations, freed prison inmates, and empty armoury (Okeh, 2019).

Before 2021, the South-east region was mainly known for the hustle and bustle associated with markets. Although just like other regions, there also were cases of criminal violence manifesting as cult wars, ransom kidnaps and armed robbery. Added to these are sustained episodes of pro-Biafra secessionist agitations that turned fatal in some instances. Five months into 2021, 149 people have been killed in 36 attacks in south-east Nigeria according to Nextier Security, Peace and Development (SPD) violent conflict database (Okeh, 2019).

Nextier SPD, an international development consulting firm based in Nigeria which utilises evidence-based research and policy in developing knowledge and skills for governing the society, also disclosed that multiple attacks, especially at police stations, courts, and other state infrastructure, have been recorded. "The now-unstable region is increasingly witnessing gruesome murders and incessant attacks by violent actors widely regarded as "unknown gunmen", they added.

They further posited that "while Nigeria's security operatives have fingered the indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and its offshoot, the Eastern Security Network (ESN), the pro-Biafra group, have continually denied responsibility for the ongoing carnage in the South-east. The situation leaves many conflict experts perplexed towards a comprehensive understanding of the triggers and consequences of insecurity in South-east Nigeria (Onah, 2020).

"Also, if the violence persists, it spells doom for the region and the country in general. For instance, terrorism in the Lake Chad basin may be more demanding with the death of the resilient Chadian's president, Idriss Deby and the new

power ascendancy of Islamic State West African Province (ISWAP). Recently, ISWAP was reported to have killed Abubakar Shekau, the leader of Boko Haram. The volatile South-east, and by extension, the South-south zone, adds to a long list of security challenges the Nigerian government has to manage" (Onah, 2020).

In its analysis of insecurity in the region, they disclosed that from its violent conflict database, about 724 people were killed and 802 kidnapped in 336 incidents in the first quarter of 2021, while in the last quarter of 2020, 384 people were killed, 510 persons kidnapped in 256 incidents. "The statistics portray an increasing wave of violence despite the Nigerian government's efforts to contain these issues. The result is the emergence of non-state actors in some instances complement efforts the state security -Amotekun, Vigilantes- and some cases challenge- IPOB, ESN- the state.

"In the last five months, 55 attacks were recorded in the South-east, ranging from communal clashes to farmer herders. The attacks have led to the death of over 155 persons. The new wave of insecurity indicates that the Nigeria Police Force expected to maintain law and order during the polls are as vulnerable as citizen (Chukwuemeka, 2019).

However, it is based on these problems and antecedents that the researcher delves into the search and study of the Ohaneze Ndigbo and security in the South East, Nigeria.

Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of the study is to assess the impact of Ohaneze Ndigbo on security in the South East, Nigeria. Specifically, the paper seeks:

To ascertain the challenges facing Ohaneze Ndi Igbo as an Organisation in enhancing South Eastern security.

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1. Ohaneze Ndigbo

Ohanaeze Ndigbo is the apex Igbo socio-cultural organization in Nigeria. The group represents all the Igbo within and outside Nigeria. The Igbo, it is believed, make up one of the three largest ethnic groups in Nigeria. Although the group is not a political party, part of the objectives of its creation is to foster unity among its members in order to ensure a pride of place within the country, Nigeria. After the Nigerian civil war, some prominent Igbo gathered to proclaim the need to unify Ndigbo under a common umbrella body. This initiative was much welcomed considering maximum displacement of the Igbos during the Nigerian civil war and its aftermath. An organizational assembly was created, referred to as the Igbo National Assembly (INA). This organization was later banned by the Federal Military Government at the time, probably due to the government's fear and suspicion of their intention.

Hence, the creation of Ohanaeze Ndigbo, in 1976. Professor Ben Nwabueze, a foremost constitutional lawyer, assembled prominent Igbo leaders to form the organization of which he emerged the Secretary-General spanning a period of 20 years (Ohaneze Ndigbo, 2021). The Igbo are the second largest group of people living in southern Nigeria. They are socially and culturally diverse consisting of many subgroups. They are found in south-eastern Nigeria and have many interesting customs and traditions. With a population of around 40 million people throughout Nigeria, they are one of the biggest and most influential tribe. Equally, they are well known for their entrepreneurial endeavors (Adejoke, 2018).

Traditionally, the Igbo people are mostly farmers, craftsmen and traders, the evidence of crafts and metalwork were found in archaeological discoveries and documentation all over the world. Their contributions in Nigeria are astonishing and they have contributed to the country's resources with great emphases in socio-cultural gains and potentials to transform the country's socio-cultural and economic growth to benefit the people (Chukwu, 2005). Conflicts and tensions in a country may result in clashes and war. Nigeria experienced the effects of such tension through the Nigerian Civil War also known as the Biafra War. Following the independence of Nigeria from the United Kingdom in 1960, most of Igbo land was included in its Eastern Region. The Nigerian eastern region, proclaimed themselves, the Republic of Biafra. The proclamation of Biafra was as a result of political conflicts, injustice in the distribution of the economy of the country, cultural and religious tensions mainly between the Hausa of the north and the Igbo of the east of Nigeria. It began in July 1967 and ended in January 1970 (Chuka, 2018).

Following the civil war, the need for a voice for Ndigbo arose. Some prominent Igbo came together for the need to unify Ndigbo under a common umbrella body. This initiative was welcomed considering maximum displacement of the Igbo during the war and its aftermath (Onu, 2009). The unification effort resulted in the birth of the organization known and called, Ohaneze Ndigbo (Aguomba, 2010).

Ohaneze Ndigbo, as the umbrella organization of Ndigbo has been in existence for over three decades having assumed most of the unifying and progressive objects and guiding philosophy of the now defunct Igbo State Union, which are relevant in today's Nigerian environment. It was established to promote Igbo unity and to present a common front to fight the course of Ndigbo, and above all to ensure that they attain and maintain their own rightful position and status in Nigerian enterprises (Irukwu, 2004). Although as a side effect, it has broken the communities that had once commonality of identity, behaviour and manner neglecting also the cultural aspect. Thus, a solution to these loosely tied and unevenly provided for groups in the cities was through architecture which can act as an adhesive matter by creating spaces that are appealing and need-responsive to bring people together (Sena, 2019).

To buttress the resolve of Ohaneze Ndigbo in ensuring the security of the Igbo nation, according to Sahara Reporter (2021), the group, however, urged the President to restore the sense of belonging in Nigeria which has lost especially in the region adding that equity, justice and fairness are needed to preserve the country. To Sahara Reporter (2021), Ohanaeze disclosed this in a statement read by its President-General, Prof. George Obiozor during the President's visit to Imo State to commission some projects executed by Governor Hope Uzodinma on Thursday.

2.2. Security

The meaning of security is ambiguous and its scope continues to expand every day. The elastic nature of the concept of security attracts different meanings and different views. Security is an important concept that every human person desires and it has one or two meanings though it defies precise definition. This account for the position of Barry Buzan (1991) who describes security as an ambiguous and multidimensional concept in which military factors have attracted misappropriate attention. This chapter therefore examines the concept of security taking into cognizance diverse views of different scholars. It equally covers the notion of national security, international security and the concept of human security, which is the basis of all other forms of security.

Security has to do with the process connected with assuaging any kind of threat to people and their precious values. This is why Buzan asserts that security is about freedom from threat and ability of states to maintain independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile while its bottom line is survival (Bodunde, et.al., 2014). From the foregoing, security is generally agreed to be about feeling of being safe from harm, fear, anxiety, oppression, danger, poverty, defence, protection and preservation of core values and threat to those values. William (2008) equally submits that security is most commonly associated with the alleviation of threats to cherish values, especially those threats which threaten the survival of a particular reference object. In line with the above, Imobighe states that Security has to do with freedom from danger or threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interest and enhance the well-being of its people. Thus internal security could be seen as the freedom from or the absence of those tendencies, which could undermine internal cohesion, and the corporate existence of a country and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values and socio-political and economic objectives, as well as meet the legitimate aspirations of the people (Ogaba. 2010).

It could therefore be inferred that security, be it classical, state-centric and traditionalist or non-traditionalist, is all about protection of assets including living and non-living resources against loss or damage. There are two major Schools of Thought to the concept of security – Traditional and Non – Traditional. Traditional School of Thought favours the maintenance of the Cold War conception of security. This school of thought defines security in this sense to mean safety from danger and from external attack or infiltration. Traditional security paradigm is a realist construct of security in which the referent object is the state (Abolurin, 2010).

2.3. The People of South East, Nigeria

Until 1967, when Gen. Yakubu Gowon was forced by military necessity to reorganize Nigeria into 12 states, the country operated four regional governments: the Northern, Western, Eastern and Midwestern Regions. The Southeast was carved out of the Eastern Region. It comprises the states of Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo. Apart from few non-Igbo tribes on the fringes of the Zone, the aborigines of the Southeast are the Igbo. This is why the Zone is called the home of Igbo people (Slattery, 2016). However, Igbo land is not limited to the Southeast. According to Slattery, besides the five Southeast states, Igbo land also includes northern Delta and Rivers States and small parts of Akwa Ibom State. Udenta, et al (2015: 2) also states that: there are Igbos in the South-South region as well as in parts of the Middle Belt. While the dichotomy between the Southeast and Igbo land is obvious, in literature the two terms are often used interchangeably. This practice is not adopted here because the scope of the study is limited to the Southeast not Igbo land. Culturally, the Southeast is considered the most industrious Zone in Africa (Udenta, et al 2015, p. 4). Because of this, it is often characterized by the great personalities that have decked the history of the Zone.



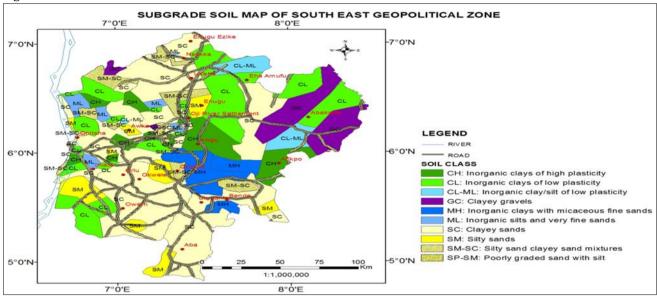


Figure 1 Subgrade Soil Map of South East Geopolitical Zone

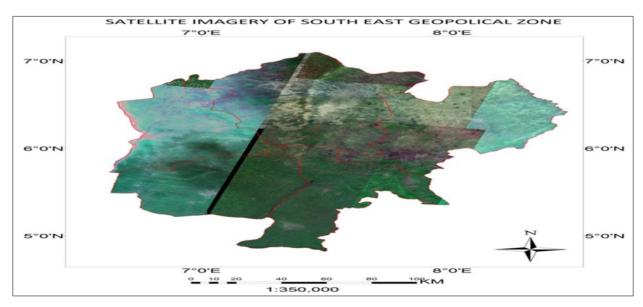


Figure 2 Satellite Imagery of South East Geopolitical Zone

In terms of population, density, Nwajiuba (2005), observes, that four states in the Southeast (Anambra, Imo, Abia and Enugu) are among the seven most densely populated states of Nigeria, implying that the Southeast is the most populated area in country. It has in fact been stated that apart from the Island of Mauritius, The Southeast is the most densely populated part of sub-Saharan Africa (Government Printer, Abuja, 1998). As a result of this increased human pressure on finite resources, there is intense competition for the available natural resources in the Zone leading many Southeasterners to view emigration as an alternative option of securing a livelihood. In addition, when the population pressure is combined with the marginalization the people of the Zone are suffering in the hand of the government at the centre, the result is disaffection and agitations to pull out of Nigeria by the youth. This principally is at the root of the insecurity in the Zone. Likewise, as already observed above, the Zone has on several occasions been identified as the most, peaceful and secure place in the West Africa sub-region. As a way of explaining this, it is often claimed that commerce requires a secure environment to thrive and since the people of the Zone are mostly business people, they do everything to create a secure and peaceful environments to grow their businesses (Anieke, 2021). Thus, the recent spate of insecurity in the Geopolitical Zone has been a source of worry to many and a lot has gone into looking for the causes and the ways to resolve the problem.

The southeast geopolitical zone of Nigeria is made up of five states, namely, Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo States with eighty-five Local Government Areas (LGAs) and a population of over twenty million people dwelling in over ten commercial cities and large towns (Alozie, 2021). Apart from agriculture as the mainstay of economic activities for the majority in the rural communities, the zone is also known for its commerce and trading activities with a preponderance of micro, small and medium indigenous industries that are into manufacturing, fabrication and agroallied produce. Agriculture thrives very well in the area because the zone is endowed with arable land. The main food crops grown in the zone include yam, cassava, rice, cocoyam and maize while the cash crops include oil-palm, rubber, cocoa, banana and various types of fruits (Ebonine, and Akinyetun, 2021).

2.4. Igbo Nation in the South-East Geo-political Zone of Nigeria

We could begin by asking, who are the Igbos, who and who does this Igboness encompass, and where are they found? Certainly, the Igbos are those who have as their natural home the Igbo-land which is located formerly in the East Central region of the Southern Nigeria, but of today located in the South East geopolitical zone comprising five core Igbo speaking states – Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo. It also extends to some parts of Delta state (Agbor, Ika, Issel-Uku, Anioma) and parts of Rivers State (Obigbo, Ikwerre, Egbema, Elle, Omoku). Typically, the Igbo nation is one of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria, the others are, Hausa-Fulani and the Yoruba (Nwala, 1985; Ifemesia, 1979; Imoagene, 1990). The search for a scientific understanding of the Igbo nation is not recent; it has its historical roots in the early twentieth century, at a time when Igbo political consciousness and interest were aroused by the women's demonstration against the warrant chiefs system in 1929. The Igbo as a people have a great historical and cultural pedigree as widely acknowledged, recognized and attested by some world class anthropologists, colonial administrators and foreign missionaries who have always recognized their great human qualities, their strive and dynamism, their versatility and creativity.

For instance, Forde and Jones (1950: 25) contend that Igbo people are generally held to be tolerant, ultra-democratic and highly individualistic. They have a strongly developed commercial sense and a pragmatic approach to life. Corroborating this, Nwabara (1977) opined that the people exhibit a tendency of materialism resulting in a highly competitive and economically stratified society. To give full vent to their extraordinary business acumen, the Igbo often migrate in search of greener pastures elsewhere, creating in this process a vibrant Igbo diaspora population and culture.

As Smock (1971) put it, 'they are found in every part of Nigeria and even beyond particularly in cosmopolitan centers engaging in gigantic businesses. Migration of the Igbo to other parts of Nigeria is essentially a British creation. When the British government took over the formal control of Nigeria and with the construction of the Eastern District of the Nigerian Railway, Igbo people took-off in waves of migration crisscrossing the length and breadth of Nigeria. Some of these movements started with skilled or semi- skilled labourers. It is argued that around Igbo the majority of the workers in Northern Nigeria were mostly Igbo and this inflow of the Igbo northwards has been explained in terms of their early interest in Western education (Mgbeafulu, 2003).

3. Theoretical Framework

There is hardly any valid research that has no theoretical construct. Meanwhile, the essence of theorizing is to explain in order to reach generalization, predict and control. It is on this note that the study adopted the neo- Marxist theory of the post-colonial state that was propounded by Karl Max in 1921 which is an offshoot of the classical Marxist political economy approach.

3.1. Tenets of the Theory

The major tenets of the theory of post-colonial state are generated from the works of Ekeh (1972) Alavi, (1973); Ake, (1985); Ekekwe, (1986); who among others are the Marxist epigenists that have contributed to the explanation and understanding of the character of states in the periphery. The central focus of the theory is on understanding the nature, structure, history, composition and character of the (Nigerian) state in order to ascertain the dynamics of political development and processes within the state and this dynamics include CSOs and security enhancement with their various manifestations. They argued that it is the state that occupies the centre stage of politics and therefore is the major determinant of the most societal processes including civil society and security enhancement.

The theory suggests that the post-colonial state is a creation of imperialism. As such, it has followed the developmental strategies which include civil society organizations and democratic administration, dictated by the interest of imperialist and its local allies, not by those of the majority of the indigenous population. The post-colonial states has created for itself a deep crisis from which it can hardly extricate itself without fundamentally changing its present nature and this affirms the reason why Engels (1919) cited in Omoyibo (2014:23) saw the state as nothing but a committee for

managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. Little wonder, Ake noted that: The state is a specific modality of class domination, one in which domination is mediated by commodity exchange so that the system of institutional mechanisms of domination is differentiated and disassociated from the ruling class and even the society appears as an objective force standing alongside society (Ake, 1985:5).

3.2. Application of the Theory

The relationship between Ohaneze Ndigbo and security in the South East: A Study of Enugu State, 2019-2022 is better explained in the light of neo-Marxian theory of post-colonial state. This framework unravels the hidden relations that influences CSOs in the process security enhancement in Nigeria. The importance of this approach in interrogating CSOs and security in the country lies in the following:

First, this theory enables us to go beyond analyses whose account are limited to the features, origin, types and potentials of CSOs and their role in the process of security enhancement. The theory mirrors vividly the actual state of security in Nigeria because it is the nature and character of the Nigerian state that ultimately control and influence CSO's also account for the difference in security enhancement. This view was corroborated by Aiyede (2005) who noted that in this context civil society organization can hardly solidify as it becomes vulnerable to the overarching character of the state as the dominant employer, bearer of opportunities for upward social mobility, and manipulator. Although Nigeria state is a post-colonial state, however, there exist a difference in the nature and character of the state.

Unfortunately, the nature and character of the Nigerian state typifies this ugly picture yet finds it difficult to cross the hurdle. Alluding to this, Onyeoziri (2005) reiterated how the character of the Nigerian state, especially its authoritarian and Unitarian tendencies discourage the practice of good governance. For instance, according to Oladipupo (2011) statement credited to former President Olusegun Obasanjo, that the 2007 General Elections were going to be a door-die affair for the ruling party, is unimaginable and detrimental to transparent leadership succession. Little wonder, Onyeoziri opined that when the institutions of the state are too weak to enforce fairness, justice and the rule of law, thus allowing crude power politics to reign, then, there is no end in sight yet as far as electoral misfortune is concerned. This weakness disallows the state from thriving, democratically. The major headache is located in crude electoral processes which is a reflection of the character of the Nigerian state.

The Nigerian situation is aptly captured by Isa & Arowosegbe (2002) as cited in Ugwu & Chukwuma (2013:235) when they note that: Since independence era, the Nigerian state has been undergoing several forms of crisis and conflict situations-both political and socio-economic. Others equally abound which are ethno-religious dimensions. At different points under postcolonial arrangement and under various regimes (and / or administrations), these situations have severally tempted the total paralysis of Nigeria federal structure and the weakening of its democratic spirits. In particular, contemporary Nigeria is replete with division of her people along various ethnic and religious constituencies.

4. Methodology

Ex-post-facto research design was adopted. To generate the relevant data to test and validate our hypotheses, we relied on qualitative method based on logical deduction and analysis of documents. Qualitative method is considered appropriate for this study because the method is well-suited for contextual analysis particularly when the task is to glean, illuminate, interpret and extract valuable information to draw inference from the available evidence so as to reach a conclusion. The reliance on qualitative data generated from secondary sources makes the adoption of this method of data collection imperative. Hence, the main sources of data is through secondary method that depends of textbooks, journals, magazine, etc. The mass qualitative data generated in the course of this study was analyzed using qualitative descriptive analysis. This is to enable the researcher ascertain how Ohaneze Ndigbo has helped in curbing insecurity in Nigeria. This method relied on analyzing an already existing data on the concepts of insecurity.

5. Discussion of the Result

Based on the result of the tested hypothesis, the finding was generated:

The major challenges facing Ohaneze Ndi Igbo as an Organisation in enhancing South Eastern security are not funding and power of sanction. This is in line with the assertion of Amos (2020) that most people want everything to be located in their immediate communities. The question was raised why Ndigbo have no problem locating their businesses outside Igbo land but would not be that open-minded in their own home. This is in spite of the fact that they have suffered tremendous loss of assets outside Igbo land. Ndigbo must be educated to desist from self-denigration and hatred. Instead, a campaign for an Igbo renaissance must be launched in Igbo land and across the globe. The Igbo must

penetrate all Igbo organizations at home and abroad to sensitize all about the need for the restoration of justice and dignity. Many have blamed the Igbo problem on disunity and extreme individualism, but every nation in Nigeria has its problems and handicaps. The Igbo problems are not unique as some people may want to postulate. No doubt the problems of the Igbo are complex due to size and republican predisposition. But the Igbo are also traditionally known as consensus builders, and it is in this they should find the solutions to their problems.

5.1. Summary of Finding

Based on the hypothesis tested and the research finding is that:

The major challenges facing Ohaneze Ndi Igbo as an Organisation in enhancing South Eastern security are funding and power of sanction.

6. Conclusion

It is also clear that this is part of the pernicious marginalization of the area by the national government, which requires a remedy. Therefore, the intended consequences of this comprehensive development in Igbo land would include the development of a modern rail-network system for the total economic integration of Igbo land. Ndigbo should emulate the Yoruba and establish an Ohaneze Enterprise in the tradition of Odu'a Enterprise. It is encouraging that the five Igbo governors have set a 2010 target to revitalize their joint investments.

However, they must not fall victim to a disease which has its main symptoms in the prescription and application of token solutions to very large and fundamental problems with a pious and cynical expectation of miraculous and curative achievements." The governors must imbibe the principles of micro capitalism and agrarian revolution without tears. They can invite this speaker and others who would master this plan as consultants for the anticipated agro industrial revolution of Igbo land. It is heartwarming even theoretically that the governors now realize that the past must be incorporated in the revitalization and replication of the phenomenal economic growth experienced in the defunct Eastern Nigeria.

Recommendation

Based on the summary of finding, this recommendation was given:

• There should be contributions of the Igbo stakeholders periodically to finance the affairs of the organization.

Compliance with ethical standards

Acknowledgement

We, the authors wish to acknowledge those authors whose works were cited in the course of writing this paper and the Professors in the Department of Public Administration, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University, Anambra State, Nigeria who have always inspired and propelled us academically especially with regard to research and data analysis. May God bless you sir.

Disclosure of conflict of interest

No conflict of interest to be disclosed.

References

- [1] Ake, C (1994). Democratization and disempowerment. Lagos: CASS & Malthouse Press.
- [2] Ake, C. 1996. Democracy and development in Africa. Ibadan, Nigeria: Spectrum Books.
- [3] Ake, C. (1985) 'The state in contemporary Africa' in C. Ake, (ed.), A Political economy of Africa. Lagos: Longman
- [4] Chukwuma I., (2011), Government –civil society partnership in Nigeria: Problems and prospects, Paper presented at special retreat on government- civil society partnership in Nigeria, Kaduna, September 12-15.

- [5] CIVICUS Civil Society Index. (2007). Civil society in Nigeria: Contributing to positive social change. Joint project of action aid Nigeria, Development information network (DevNet), CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).
- [6] Diamond, L. (1999). Developing democracy. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
- [7] Diamond, L., (1999), Developing democracy: Towards administration, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- [8] Diamond L. (1999): Rethinking civil society towards democratic administration cross words. vol 1 No 3, (February), Lagos. United States Information service.
- [9] Diamond, L, Linz, J.J & Lipset, S. M. (1995). Politics in developing countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy. Boulder & London: Lynne Reinner.
- [10] Diamond, L. (1999). Developing democracy: Toward administration. Baltimore: The Johns University Press.
- [11] Drah, F. K. & Oquaye, M. (1996). Civil society in Ghana. Accra: Friedrich Ebert Foundation
- [12] Edwards, M. (2004). Civil society. Cambridge Polity: Press.
- [13] Eherenberg, J. (1999). Civil society: The critical history of an idea. New York & London: New York University Press.
- [14] Ekeh, P.P. (1972) 'The constitution of civil society in African history and politics' in B. Caron, Ekekwe, E. (1986).Class and state in Nigeria. Lagos: Macmillan Publishers.
- [15] Gold. (1990): Civil society and its role in a democratic State. Journal of democracy, vol 1 no 3.
- [16] Helin (1996): In Friday and Nathaniel (2011)-The roles of trade unions and civil society in good governance: The Case of Nigeria from 1999 Till Date. Abstract. www.ilo.org/public/english/iira/documents/congresses/.../role.pdf.
- [17] Igbuzor. O (2011): Constitutions, electoral process and the future of democratic governance in Africa.'A paper presented at the African Conference on Elections, Democracy and Governance organized by the Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa (IEC), the African Union (AU) and the African Association of Electoral Administrators (AAEA) in Pretoria, South Africa,7–10 April 2003.
- [18] Mimiko, N.O. 2010. "How do we build and sustain democracy in Nigeria? Keynote Address at the Launch of a Book The state and governance crisis in Nigeria, University of Ibadan, December 4.
- [19] Mutfang, P. (2003): The state civil society and governance in Nigeria. A post 1960 synopsis in Civil Society and the Administration of Democracy in Nigeria.
- [20] Ojo. J. (2011) Civil society and democratic administration in Nigeria jideojong.blogspot. com/.../civil-society-and-democratic.html. (PANA): www.panapress.com/Civil-society-group-slams-Nigerian-govt.
- [21] Strauss (1972): In Friday and Nathaniel (2011)-The roles of trade unions and civil society in good governance: The Case of Nigeria from 1999 Till Date. Abstract. www.ilo.org/public/english/iira/documents/congresses/.../role.pdf
- [22] Uchendu V. (2000), Civil society and democracy, theoretical foundation. In Okon E.U.(ed) Urofsky, M. (2003), The root principles of democracy Journal of Democracy, vol xvi, No 2.Calabar. Cats Publishers.
- [23] Uwen Essia and Afzal Yearoo.,(2009), Strengthening Civil Society Organizations / Government Partnership in Nigeria, International NGO Journal, 4(9).
- [24] Valenzuela, J. S. (1990). Democratic administration in post-transitional settings: Notion, process and facilitating conditions. In issues and prospects of democratic administration: The New South American democracies in comparative perspective, Working Paper No 150, edited by Scott Mainwaring et al. Kellogg Institute Series with University of Notre Dame Press.