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List of Acronyms

ESN	Eastern Security Network
IPOB	Indigenous People of Biafra
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra
SSA	South Saharan Africa
WAT	West Africa Time

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Abstract

One of the advantages of radio as a medium of information dissemination is the idea that the sender can reach many receivers at the same, however the impersonal mode which limits contact poses a challenge for ambiguity and heightened misunderstanding. The media embodies the mouthpiece of the people and as the fourth estate in the realm amplifies its position to hold power to account and represent the marginalized. Realization of self-consciousness and 'self-existent' inform part of the underlying reasons for the IPOB (Indigenous People of Biafra) agitation. These are necessary elements to engender the development of the South East region and the Nigeria society at large. This research takes representation theory as a point of departure, to analyse the reporting of a conflict by radio, using framing and categorisation tools of analysis. Within a framework of the theory of a politics of media representation, this study more specifically analyses specific broadcasts transmitted on Solid 100.9FM. These programs reported on the IPOB-Federal Government conflict in Nigeria, and their content is used to find frames and categories used. The underlying purpose is to better understand factors influencing how the conflict between the federal Government and IPOB is reported in the media.

Relevance to Development Studies

Nigeria has over 200 Radio Stations and the South Eastern part plays host to more than 47 Stations¹. Development is hindered when conflict persist, and conflict lingers when self-consciousness and self-existent are not actualized. Within the context of IPOB, the media as the forerunner of this agenda is repressed. Hence, the conflict persists. This study is relevant in adding to the body of development studies literature which seeks to understand the nexus between the media, conflict and development.

Keywords

Radio, Conflict reporting, IPOB, Nigeria, News Programmes, Framing, Categorization

¹ Full List of Radio Stations in Nigeria & Frequencies (2021) (nigerianinfopedia.com.ng)

Chapter 1 Introduction: Media & Conflict Reporting in Africa

1.1 Stating the Problem

Media is a veritable tool for de-escalating or abetting conflict in the society. These multifaceted roles of the media have been a subject of discourse among media scholars. Some academics (Suchenwirth and Keeble 2011; Shinar 2003, 2007; Ross, 2006; Shaw et al. 2012; Lynch 2015a, 2015b; Lynch and McGoldrick 2005, 2012; Mogeckwu 2011) argue that in times of conflict, media—particularly radio, with its wide reach even in remote areas—can help reduce tensions and improve the chances of a resolution. Moreso, other media scholars have claimed that while the media is impacted by strong institutions like government agencies, it also has the ability to shape public opinion and is crucial in defining the agenda (Herman and Chomsky, 2010; Bennett and Paletz, 1994). This underscores the important role media plays in the society on one hand, while being influenced by the state on the other hand. Its responsibility stretches to ensuring that the citizens contribute to shaping a conflict-free society by setting agenda for the Government while holding them accountable.

However, there is a current debate on the whether the media lives up to their core mandate in view of state influence. Meanwhile, ownership of the media in developing countries especially in Africa has been pointed out as one of the factors that influence media reporting of conflict. Ahere (2019) argues that in Kenya and South Africa, the media is complicit in escalating conflict due to factors such as regulation, ownership and editorial structure. Similarly, Adeyanju (2018: 73) asserts that other violent conflicts, such as the wars in the Balkans and armed violence in Rwanda and Nigeria, have called into question the media's immoral duties, authority, and ethical obligations. Following from the views of Ahere and Adeyanju, the African media, precisely radio have to an extent, played a role in instigating or perpetuating conflict. Explaining how they play these roles in conflict situations, Adeyanju (2018: 79) points to the use of framing by media practitioners, which he says is responsible for forming opinion, attitudes, emotion and beliefs that result most times to violent conflicts in South-Saharan Africa. By South-Saharan Africa, I mean about forty-eight African countries, which include Nigeria.²

In Nigeria, various media organisations have equally been criticised for the frames they employ in reporting the conflict between the Nigerian Government and the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). Scholars such as (Umetiti and Ezeifeke, 2021; Chime-Nganya et al., 2017; Eze, 2019, Asekhamhe et al., 2022; Heavens, 2021) employed the framing theory to critically analyse the reporting of select Newspapers in Nigeria. Therefore, this research would take a point of departure to adopt representation theory and analyse the reporting of the conflict by radio using the framing and categorisation tools.

Within a guiding framework from the theory on the politics of media representation, this study seeks to first analyse the role of Solid 100.9FM in reporting the IPOB-Federal Government

² <https://data.worldbank.org/country/ZG>

conflict in Nigeria. Thus, my argument is that radio contributes to the conflict dynamics in a given society.

1.2 Tracing Radio: Pre-Colonial Oral Traditions

I contend that journalism existed in Africa prior to the arrival of colonization. The function of the contemporary journalist was then played by community storytellers (griots), singers, poets, and dancers employing oral discourse and communication standards influenced by oral tradition and folk culture. Supporting this line of argument, Ugboajah (1985: 23) posits that social communication existed prior to the colonial history and influence especially considering the inter-ethnic warfare that fueled slave trade. That is to say that Africans had mediums of communication which were unique to them including the oral tradition. By oral, I mean that African history imbibed mediums such as folklores, folktales, chants among others to transmit information and perpetuate knowledge. Explaining the way it works, Ong (1982 cited in Bourgault, 1995: 9) points out the repetitive style of emphasizing information being told and how the listening crowd engages actively in the telling of the story by adding phrases or historical elements the narrator might have missed out. This depicts the present day talk programmes on radio especially in Africa, where there is audience engagement via phone lines or in-house guests that analyse the topics of discussion.

Based on this, it is difficult not to agree that the oral tradition embedded in pre-colonial Africa's history remains existent in present times. Blé (2011: 90) points to the fact that oral tradition is the predominant medium of communication Ivorians used to preserve and permeate their culture till date. Similarly, Keita (1986) in his one-page article on radio Trottoir in Mali, emphasized the importance of understanding the power of mobilization and privacy given to the people of Mali to express their disapproval with Government policies and initiatives. For example, in my experience as a Broadcast Journalist for over eight years in the South-Eastern Nigeria, I had anchored a programme on Dream 92.5FM Enugu that intervened in a conflict between Persons living with Disabilities (PWDs) and the Enugu State Government at the peak of lockdowns necessitated by the Covid-19 in 2020. Covid-19 had imposed hunger and poverty due to the lockdown and the PWDs had complained about negligence from the Government in reaching out to a good number of them in the palliative distribution scheme. Eventually, the Government responded to their demands after listening to the radio programme. Still tracing recent radio programming to the oral tradition existent in pre-colonial Africa, Bourgault (1995: 49) identifies how elders, particularly male elders, were revered in traditional African societies and expected to disperse pearls of knowledge liberally sprinkled with formulaic proverbs or sayings. Hence, oral tradition is helpful in the preservation of collective memories, which Blé (2011: 90) concurs with.

However, there are concerns about the capability of oral tradition in preserving identities and unity of groups of people. According to Ong (1988: 11), it is not easy to apprehend meaningfully and precisely due to the invisible nature in comparison to words written in texts. Stating a similar view, Bourgault (1995: 193) refers to the conservative mindset it produces, which he said is responsible for encouraging a way of thinking that is unable to tolerate extraordinarily intricate cases. Nevertheless, my argument against Ong and Bourgault's views is hinged on the fact that the use of internet and social media by Radio Stations to stream programmes have made it easy to grasp and record conversations. Bosch (2013) posits that the usage of social media by community radio journalists has increased access and involvement for those listeners who are already online.

His conclusion was based on the use of Facebook and Twitter by three community radio stations in South Africa. In relation to this, the programmes under study in this research on Solid 100.9FM has thousands of followership on Facebook. For instance, one of the programmes of study, which was aired on 21st April, 2022 had about 183,000 views on Facebook, also 1,900 comments and 2,400 likes (Ejiofor, 2021).

1.3 From Oral Tradition to Texts

The modern media in Africa derives its origin and agenda from the influence of colonialism. Explaining the intricacies of modern media, (Ong, 1988: 79) asserts that “writing and print and the computers are all ways of technologizing the world.” Hence, the western world first experienced the world of printing press before the advent of colonization. According to Cagé and Rueda (2017: 100), the printing press represented a significant technological advancement and media revolutions since it significantly reduced the costs of disseminating and reproducing information. Consequently, it aided the revolutions that swept across Africa in resistance to their dependence on colonial powers. Musa (2009: 39) posits that an early number of Africans were motivated to enter public communication and journalism as a result of their experiences with colonialism and their desire to fight European rule more generally.

During the struggle for independence in Africa, the rise of the modern media through the establishment of newspapers by many of the nationalist leaders contributed in the propagation of messages for independent Africa (Ansah 1988: 14). For example, Nationalists from Ghana and Nigeria; Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe exercised influence with the media through newspaper ownership before they became leaders of their parties and then their countries (Musa, 2009: 39). Considering their struggles through the media, colonialism was fought off most African countries. This led to the independence movement that swept through Africa in the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, the roles played by the media post-independence seemed to have nosedived, considering its earlier stance of fighting for self-determination. According to Musa (2009: 38), the post-independence period in Africa witnessed a denial of Africans their right to self-determination and a plummeting of their earlier struggle against domination.

In addition, more scholarly work has been done post-independence in some African countries to underscore the role of media in conflict situations. For example, in South Africa, Chimutengwende (1978 as cited in Mutsvairo, 2018) observes the role of the media in strengthening liberation movements. On the contrary, some scholars have critically analyzed the impact of neo-colonialism especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Assessing the power of the African media, Domatob (1988) argues that the Sub-Saharan Africa media has played a double-edged role of both fighting and aiding neo-colonialism, instrumentalising news and programme contents. In line with this, I deduce that the neocolonial stance of the media in post-colonial Africa — marked by elite ownership and control — has posed questions around its earlier disposition on power struggles and creating social change. This is further reflected in the claim made by Musa (2009: 48) that the colonizers sustained their hegemonic blueprint by instituting the Nationalists, who turned around to control the media. Similarly, Abdullahi (1991) posits that the hegemonic influence of colonialism is traceable in the African media, which has the power to shape the opinions held by the general society.

1.4 Significance of Radio

In Africa — precisely Nigeria — Radio has been instrumental in sparking up conversations on developmental issues. For instance, during the upsurge of covid 19 cases and lockdown in 2020, Radio was used extensively in Nigeria to educate children, especially those at the rural areas that found it challenging accessing internet. My radio station; Dream 92.5FM amongst other radio stations partnered with the State Government to teach various subjects such as English, Igbo, Social Studies etc. This gesture was mostly geared towards bridging the gap between the city dwellers that could afford private schools and lessons via the internet and the rural dwellers, who find it challenging. Moreso, Dauda and Pate (2015: 217) posits that "the Nigerian mass media has remained a credible means of public communication across the nation." Irrespective of the global trend of the social media, the traditional media such as the Newspaper, Radio, Television has received strong attention and recognition (Udo Akpan et al., 2013: 2279). In particular reference to Radio, it has permeated more as a means of communication than other forms of traditional media because of the affordability and adaptability (Dos Santos, 2020: 180). Hence, it is a veritable tool of communication in Nigeria, especially in the South East.

While traditional media genres like newspapers, radio, and television have received significant recognition and attention, social media like twitter, Facebook, blogging, and other internet-based media are quickly gaining popularity as a means of disseminating information, particularly in times of conflict across the nation (Udo Akpan et al., 2013: 2279). For the purpose of this study, radio, which still plays a greater role in communication among Nigerians, will be analyzed. This is mainly because radio transmission continues to dominate all other types of mass media in Africa (UN News, 2022). In assessing the responsibilities and roles of the media, Nashombe, (2015 cited in Sokoh, 2022: 20) outlined them to include protecting fundamental human rights such as right to life, freedom of expression, right to a fair hearing and freedom of association. Historically, mass media has been considered as a way of disseminating information to larger audiences (Team Leverage Edu, 2019). This can take place through radio, newspapers, and television as well as through websites and social media. The internet is also an inseparable component of the media, as Henten and Tadayoni (2008) remind us of its power to instantly reach billions of people and its usefulness in public communication and entertainment.

Hence, the choice of Radio — which is the focus of study — as it plays a major role in reporting on conflict issues in Nigeria together with its internet presence on social media platforms like Facebook. This informs the choice of Solid 100.9FM's programmes, which have internet presence, in analysing the reporting of the conflict between the Nigerian Government and Indigenous People of Biafra. Solid 100.9FM combines both mainstream and new media to amplify local voices and provide information as well as entertainment.

1.5 Conflict Reporting in Africa

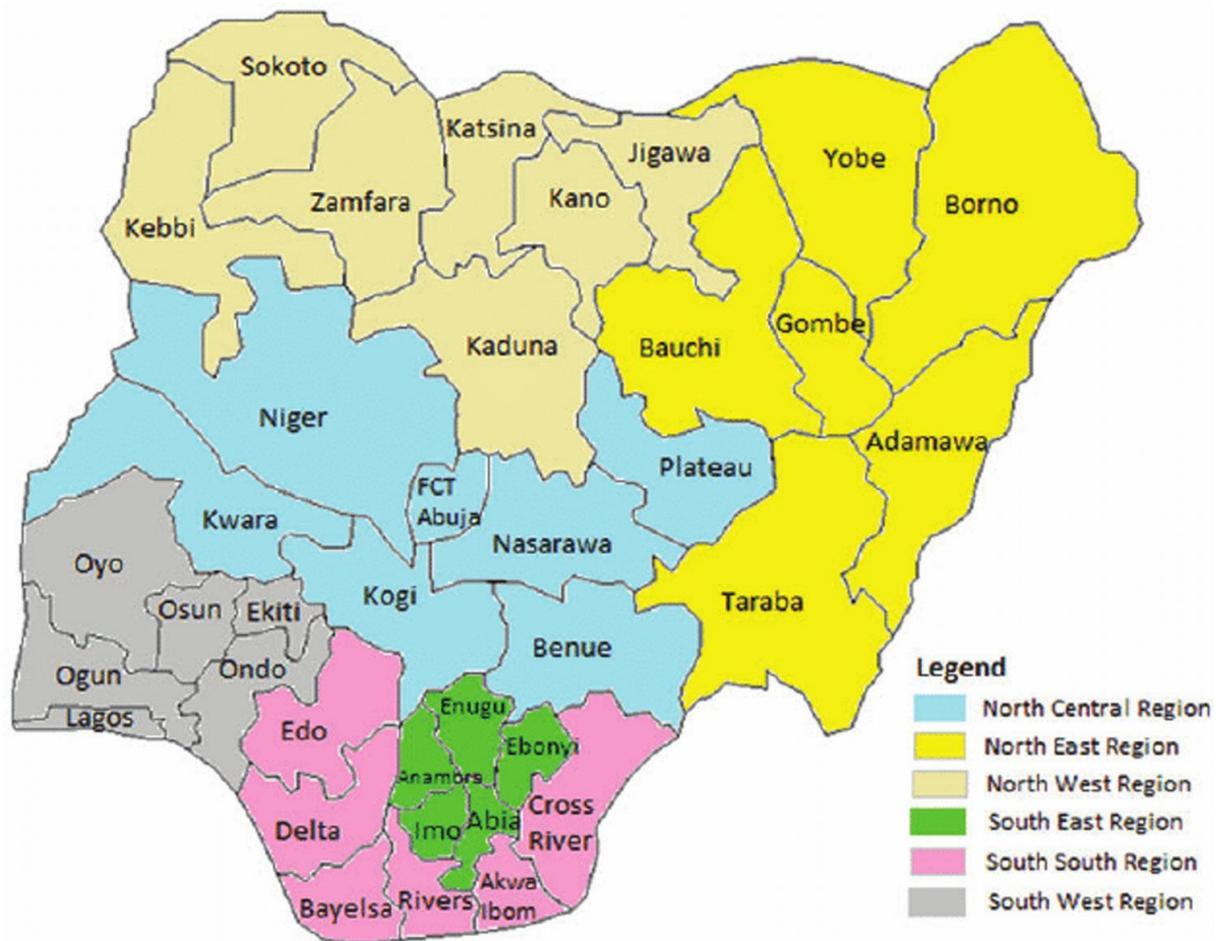
Beyond entertainment, the African media just like in other climes, plays a role in conflict situations. Moyo (2021) explains how and why the media has been manipulated and weaponized to engender hate and violent conflict by various power centers. On the other hand, Adeyanju (2018: 74) argues that “the role of mass media in disseminating information as a matter of knowledge in human awareness can actually be both constructive for peace as well as deconstructive.” Examining the

role of the African mass media in reporting conflict, factors such as structural and political determinants are predominant and need to be considered (Giffard, 1990). The role of mass media during conflict situations can be seen as double-sided. For instance, in the transition of South Africa from Apartheid, the Truth and Reconciliation Committee in South Africa would not have recorded much success without the broadcast media's support (Krabill, 2001: 567). On the other hand, the Rwandan example shows the power of radio in escalating violence during war and genocide. This implies that radio, and other forms of mass media, are capable of engineering conflict and violence but also potentially of quelling violence between parties or groups.

According to Thompson (2007: 2), the Rwandan private radio station; RTLM was owned by extremists, loyalists of the Hutu Power political factions, and this made radio instrumental in fuelling an already existing conflict between Hutus and Tutsis. Thus, ownership factors appear to be one possible influence to consider in whether a conflict is reported and represented fairly or not. Flowing from this, it can be noted that ownership can influence the way media frames conflict and peace in general.

Ownership of media houses among other factors such as the predominant political systems and political culture, economic muscle and independence of the press, as well as training of Journalists, are factors that influence the way media reports conflict (Edeani, 1994: 28). In today's Nigeria mass media, news sources are argued to be dominated by the ruling class (Iruonagbe et al., 2013), as most national leaders either from the business circle or government individuals owned and control media institution. The grip of the media by ruling elites appears to undermine its roles and functions within the Nigeria context. Nigeria's media seems to stifle reconciliation of conflicting parties by its reportage (Udo Akpan et al., 2013: 2286), which can be attributed to the use of the medium by totalitarian States in propagating their ideology (Ortiz Dos Santos, 2020: 179), and in the process silencing the voices of the people This claim could be better understood from the popular saying that 'He who pays the piper dictates the tune.' On the other hand, the independence of the media, otherwise referred to as press freedom is legally guaranteed in Nigeria. Nevertheless, there are debates which suggest that it connotes unrestrained power of the media (Sambe and Ikoni, 2004: 11) while some others hold the view that it has less freedom in Nigeria (Nwanne, 2014)

Image 1: The map of Nigeria



Source: Vanguardngr.com [To keep Nigeria one: A task we all believe in?- Vanguard News \(vanguardngr.com\)](https://www.vanguardngr.com)

1.6 Nigerian Media and Conflict Reporting

Nigeria is plagued with many conflicts that feature in public discourse. There are debates that suggest that the media only reflect what exists in society and is mirroring society rather than forming new conflicts. Li (2004) argues that radio rather reflected the social relations of power already existent in Rwanda and rather implicated the listeners than manipulating them. However, Happer and Philo (2016) opines that the media possibly plays a role in shaping the behaviour of its listeners, although under some recurring conditions. Following this argument, it therefore leads me to conclude that media bears some responsibility for how its content is framed, hence my focus on framing as one of the analytical tools.

The media has been actively played a role in reporting diverse conflicts in Nigeria. Analysing conflicts to watch out for in 2022, Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project reported significant ones in Nigeria to include the lingering Islamist insurgency and banditry attacks in the Northern Nigeria while the Biafra separatist clamor continues in the South East (ACLED, 2022). This is in addition to Electoral violent conflict that has persisted throughout Nigeria's Political history before and after 1999's Democratic transition. Examining its role in reporting the initiative of the Federal Government to stem a climate induced conflict between herders and farmers,

International Crisis Group reports that the media exacerbated the conflict through its forms of reporting and representation (Yari, 2021).

In May 2019, President Muhammadu Buhari proposed the Rural Grazing Area (RUGA) settlements plan in a bid to resolve the conflict between nomadic herders and farmers³. However, the plan was met by criticisms from Nigerians. Another initiative taken by the President in September 2019 was the flag off of a ten-year National Livestock Transformation Plan (NLTP) aimed at minimizing cattle movement and mitigating the herder-farmer conflict⁴. These initiatives had diverse interpretations in the media and was viewed as an ethnic domination agenda (Yari, 2021: 53). Another conflict that has had extensive media reporting is the Boko Haram insurgency. It has involved widespread attacks in Nigeria since 2011 on civilians and the Nigerian armed forces (Council on Foreign Relations, 2022). For example, in April 2014, there was a viral story of the missing 276 girls kidnapped from Chibok town in Government Girls Secondary School, Borno state. They were reportedly abducted by the Boko Haram insurgents. Evaluating the media coverage of Boko Haram activities, Samuel (2016) and Obaje (2017) find that straight news predominated and that the articles' contents were very provocative in terms of the assaults, targets, and effects. Hamson (2020) defines straight news as information that is reported by reporters or journalists as soon as possible; a happening that cannot be put off due to its momentum.⁵ Thus, Samuel and Obaje's views suggest that the stories were reported without proper censorship due to the urgency of the reportage.

In another vein, the Nigerian media has impacted on electoral violence by its reportage. For example, the violence that erupted in Warri and its surroundings after a local radio station, "Radio Jeremi" (JFM), falsely declared Chief Great Ovedje Ogboru as the winner of the 2003 governor election of Delta State in South-Southern Nigeria instead of Chief James Onanefe Ibori, the candidate of the PDP, is just one example of how Nigerian media played a role that worsened the post-electoral violent conflict (Jarikre, 2017). However, as mentioned earlier, media and radio are not only able to exacerbate conflicts and violence. According to Rasheed, the Nigerian media was also instrumental in promoting free and fair dialogue as part of open and democratic election campaigns in 2015, especially through relatively balanced and conflict sensitive reporting (Rasheed, 2016). Meanwhile, in 2019, some media houses were fined to the tune of five hundred thousand naira by the regulatory agency; Nigerian Broadcasters Commission⁶. This was because they were alleged to have breached the ethics of the profession by reporting in a way that was not balanced and conflict-prone. Ahead of the 2023 General Election in Nigeria, the Government of Zamfara State has also ordered the shutdown of about five media houses with enforcement from the security forces.⁷ These moves have been criticised by civil society organisations and media

³<https://www.pulse.ng/news/local/ruga-7-things-to-know-about-buharis-controversial-settlements/tcjm7m>

⁴<https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/302-ending-nigerias-herder-farmer-crisis-livestock-reform-plan>

⁵https://www.researchgate.net/publication/347156420_Straight_News

⁶<https://saharareporters.com/2019/03/02/full-list-broadcast-stations-and-why-they-were-sanctioned-nbc>

⁷<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/559873-2023-real-reason-zamfara-governor-shut-down-tv-radio-stations.html>

stakeholders in Nigeria citing it as unconstitutional and capable of undermining the independent role of the media. Another consequence of such power exercised by the state is that the media plays the game of selective silence on contradictions capable of fueling conflict. For example, the Enugu State Government in 2018, called the managers of the private radio stations for a meeting and warned them to tone down on discussing sensitive topics such as IPOB conflict with the Federal Government. The warning came with a threat to shut down stations that flout the directive from the Enugu State Government. Interestingly, Solid 100.9FM was one of such stations and is presently discussing topics that pertain to the IPOB and Federal Government conflict. However, Dream 92.5FM, which I worked for, stayed silent on discussing such conflict except on few occasions to commemorate the end of the Biafran war in January 2021.

The conflict between the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and the Federal Government of Nigeria has had substantial media reportage, especially in the South East. There are debates on the roles played by the reporting of the conflict and its influence on it. Umetiti and Ezeifeke (2021) argues that the media does not play the expected independently neutral role it should in reporting News, hence she claims that the media takes an ideological stand for or against this particular conflict. On the other hand, Chime-Nganya et al. (2017) and Eze (2019) contend that the frames used by the media practitioners are contributory to the ideologies and perceived realities held by the audience.

Various studies have demonstrated how the media could incite people towards violence, and how media coverage affects the way the public forms opinions on issues. Most academic studies have focused on media reporting of Boko Haram, electoral and political conflicts in Nigeria. There is a relative lack of studies on the IPOB conflict with government. How radio reports the IPOB conflict has not been much analyzed, though there have been a few studies that have analyzed how newspapers have reported on this particular conflict.

In this study on the conflict framings of media, I draw from experience in the broadcast media industry in Nigeria, where I worked as an anchor for over eight years. During this time, I noticed how ownership factors and the political systems and cultures influenced different radio station's silence on the IPOB conflict in the South East. Although our own station had a political program that was (and is) popular and widely listened to in and beyond South Eastern Nigeria, the production crew stayed clear of such controversial topics. One reason for this may be that the radio station is monitored by the Department of State Security, a Federal Government agency. While the Federal Government led by the President is from the ruling All Progressives Congress Party, the politician that owns this particular radio station is from the opposition People's Democratic Party. This makes the radio station a target for the ruling party's efforts to control or curb resistance.

An example of this was in 2019, when a member of the state All Progressives Congress (APC) criticized one of his party stalwarts at the Federal level and called him derogatory names because he was given a position which he claimed should have been occupied by more qualified party faithful. Afterwards, this guest on my radio program was invited for questioning at the Department for State Security office in Enugu State. I was exonerated as the presenter, because I gave a disclaimer on air in accordance with the prevailing broadcasting ethics. I responded saying the views expressed by the guest is personal and not the view of the station, when the Guest referred to the APC Chieftain as a lizard and wall gecko that crawled from abroad to Nigeria to occupy

their positions. Thus, there is a possibility that ownership factor can influence the framing of conflict with reference to radio. However, in the case of study, ownership factor seems to inform the discussion of the IPOB and Federal Government conflict in Nigeria. This is because the owner of the station; Late Dora Akunyili was bold and daring in her service to Nigeria under the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC). She also served as a minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, however her demeanour from NAFDAC permeated her role in Governance too. Meanwhile, her husband was murdered by unknown gunmen and Vanguard newspaper reports how the Nigerian Government has failed Dora Akunyili⁸. These dynamics suggests the possibility of the station having the boldness to discuss the conflict between IPOB and the Nigerian Government.

1.7 Historical conflict tracing:

Historically, the present conflict between the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in the South East of Nigeria and the Federal Government of Nigeria can be traced to the 1966 Coup. The reason for the coup as recounted by Achebe (2012: 110) in his personal history of the Biafran war, had to do with a retaliation by the Northern Military on the Igbos. After the Independence attained in 1960, the Igbos were assumed to be thriving above other ethnic groups coupled with the fact that an Igbo Military officer initiated the first coup against corrupt civilian elites (Achebe, 2012: 104). Numerous civilians, including men, women, and children, were killed by the thousands, while their houses and other belongings were plundered and set on fire. This preempted the civil war between the South-Eastern Biafrans and the Nigerian Government, which lasted from 1967 to 1970.

The war was imminent, because of the lack of deliberate efforts to tackle the violence that erupted throughout Nigeria against the South-Easterners, mainly the Igbos, who were seeking their own independence from Nigeria (Achebe, 2012: 113). The aftermath of the war lasted beyond the reconciliatory moves of the then Head of State. General Yakubu Gowon, who was the Head of State at that time, laid emphasis on the mammoth task of rebuilding the country, especially the South-East. In a live broadcast to the nation following the surrender of Biafra at Dodan Barracks in Lagos on January 15, 1970, Gowon introduced the Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation programmes, known as 3Rs, and established the National Rehabilitation Commission by Decree No. 40 of 1968 headed by Timothy OmoBare (Ojiakor, 2014: 6). However, the implementation has been criticized and flawed by some scholars. Nwaokocha (2020) and contends that even as the rehabilitation program was being implemented, it was difficult for the Nigerian government and society to completely forget the bitterness of the war, leaving the program struggling to balance two fundamentally opposed tenets and leaving it only scratching the surface after making lofty promises. Similarly, Ukase notes that:

“From the pronouncement of General Gowon during and immediately after the war, it would appear that his administration was genuinely committed to the promotion of peace and unity, justice, equity and fairness, reintegration and reconciliation with the Nigerian federation. Unfortunately, subsequent events

⁸<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/10/murder-in-anambra-how-nigeria-failed-dora-akunyili-failed-her-husband-too/>

during the life of the administration and other successive governments tend to expose the yawning gap between these pronouncements and the practicality of their implementation. On paper, the government was actually on course; on the part of national reconciliation and reintegration, while in practical terms, the implementation of the so-called post-war reconciliation programme christened the 3rs was a mere smokescreen, a myth and an illusion” (Ukase, 2008: 279).

The both authors emphasized the gap between the promises made and reality of integration post-civil war. Consequently, Enemchukwu and Chukwudebele (2021) draws on the failures of the programmes to claim that the roots of Gowon's 3Rs program are substantially to blame for the recent rebirth of agitation organizations throughout Nigeria, particularly in the south-eastern region.

The alleged marginalization of Igbo people in the South East of Nigeria has been the bane of some conflicts that led to loss of lives (Ikegbunam and Agudosy, 2020: 23). For example, [CNN](#) reported the number of deaths resulting from the war to be between one and three million⁹. There are many different records of the number of deaths that occurred during the Nigeria-Biafra war of 1967-1970. However, Dalley (2013) in his evaluation of Abani’s 2007 *Song for Night* — which longs for a multifaceted approach to reconcile former antagonisms amidst obstacles — argues that the devastated victim-perpetrator protagonist's shattered subjectivity stands out as a symbol of the conflict's reluctance to be consigned to the past. According to Achebe (2012: 281), “the post Nigeria-Biafra civil war era saw a “unified” Nigeria saddled with a greater and more insidious reality.” Thus, the conflict between Biafra and the Nigerian Government kept memories alive by the reason of trauma sustained. According to Cabrera (2005: 1), trauma and suffering affect not only individuals but also entire communities and even the nation as a whole when they become widespread and chronic. The trauma that resulted from the Nigerian civil war, according to Cabrera (2005, p. 2) requires acknowledging, expressing and reflecting on. The media can play many roles, one of which is a representative role that gives people a platform to express themselves on matters of public importance (Zainawa and Maitama, 2022: 7). By allowing expressions, the media gets insight into the actual needs of the people and mediates in a way that proposes solution.

The reemergence of the IPOB conflict appears to be amplified by repressed media reportage of alleged marginalization of the Igbo people, albeit through evasive and subtle means. Spyer (2005: 153) asserts that underreporting is a representational practice and uses the bare-bones coverage of violence by Indonesian journalists in Maluku as an example. In my experience of presenting a political programme on Dream 92.5FM in Enugu state, Nigeria, we barely talked about the conflict as it was termed a controversial topic. This brings to bear the position of the media in reparation of justice or sustenance of conflict in post conflict situation. Albeit, my argument is that the few radio stations that report on this conflict has traceable influences on its dynamics.

⁹ [Biafra war: Survivors relive account 50 years after Nigerian civil war ends | CNN](#)

1.8 Identifying the Indigenous People of Biafra

The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) are mostly of the *Igbo* tribe presently traceable to the South Eastern part of Nigeria. According to Nwagbara (2007: 101), the *Igbo* inhabit a region of roughly 15,800 square miles and are situated in the modern southeast geopolitical zone between latitude 5 and 7 degrees north and longitude 6 and 8 degrees east. They are bordered by the Ibibio and Yakurr to the east, the Ijaw and Ogoni to the south, the Bini and Warri to the west, and the Igala and the Tiv to the north (Nwagbara, 2007: 102). Anthropologist and Professor of *Igbo* origin; Uchendu (cited in Nwagbara, 2007: 102) pointed out that the term *Igbo* can be used in three ways. Firstly, Igbo can refer to the territory — comprised of five states namely: Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, and Imo. On the other hand, *Igbo* can refer to the domestic speakers of the language, as well as the language spoken by them (Nwagbara, 2007: 102).

Image 2: Map of secessionist state of the Republic of Biafra (1967-1970) as in May 1967.



Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Biafra_independent_state_map-en.svg

In reaction to what they perceive to be manipulation of the *Igbo* people in the southeast, some South Eastern Nigerians started a campaign dubbed Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), which aims to secede from Nigeria and create an independent nation (Okeke et al. 2019 cited in

Asekhamhe et al. 2022: 178). IPOB, which is led by Nnamdi Kanu, is a faction group from Movement for the Actualisation on Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) (Dixon, 2016 cited in Eze, 2019: 12). The Biafra movement has resurfaced due to Government leadership failure and years of social neglect, economic isolation, and political exclusion for Nigerians. The perception is that the situation is especially grave for those in the south-east of the country (Asekhamhe et al., 2022: 177). This viewpoint finds expression from the historical narratives that was earlier highlighted about the Igbo and their ordeals before the civil war from 1967-1970. However, the Government has opposed IPOB and MASSOB demands and has instrumentalised the law to detain the leader of IPOB; Nnamdi Kanu.

Nnamdi Kanu established the "Indigenous People of Biafra" (IPOB) organization in 2014 via social media and an internet radio he called "Radio Biafra," after the defunct Biafran radio station (Umetiti & Ezeifeke, 2021: 135). The IPOB leader was detained in prison in October 2015 as a result of his separatist declarations until Justice Binta Nyako of the Federal High Court, Abuja granted him bail on April 25, 2017 (Chime-Nganya et al. 2017: 3). He had been free on bond up until September 14, 2017.

Image 3: Nnamdi Kanu arrested by the Nigerian Government



Source: bbc.com (<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/tori-57655670>)

On 14 September 2017, Nigerian soldiers had conducted Operation Python Dance II and allegedly broke into the residence of Nnamdi Kanu in Afaraukwu, Ibeku Umuhia in Abia State; Eastern Nigeria. That military operation had sparked a confrontation that led the soldiers to label IPOB as “militant members” (Chime-Nganya et al. 2017: 3). A number of deaths were recorded from the violent outburst of the Nigerian Army on the protesting IPOB members. Vanguard Newspaper reported 177 recorded deaths on the side of IPOB members, as claimed by Amnesty

International.¹⁰ The report was refuted by the Nigerian Army, and the following day, Friday 15 September, 2017, IPOB was declared a terrorist organisation by the Nigerian military (Chime-Nganya et al. 2017: 4). After the Nigerian security forces surrounded his hometown to put an end to the group's other operations, which looked to be attracting the attention of the world, Nnamdi Kanu vanished (Eze, 2019: 13). He was reportedly out of Nigeria and then re-arrested in 2021. According to (Felix and Olanihun, 2021: 298), Nnamdi Kanu was once more detained by the Nigerian authorities in Kenya on June 27, 2021, and extradited to Nigeria to stand trial for a justifiable crime and other charges, although the Kenyan authorities denied this story. Meanwhile, on 13 October, 2022, the Nigerian government's repatriation of Nnamdi Kanu from Kenya to Nigeria in June of last year to face terrorist charges was criticized by a three-member panel of the Court of Appeal. However, on 28 October, 2022, the appellate court suspended the implementation of its decision, which cleared Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) leader Nnamdi Kanu of terrorism-related charges.¹¹

The re-arrest of Nnamdi Kanu in 2021 as earlier stated, sparked a controversial sit-at-home protest on Mondays, which started on 9 August 2021 and is still in place till date in south-east Nigeria.¹² Analysing the newspaper coverage of the sit-at-home order, a study by Oladele et al. (2022) reveals that one of the newspapers; Daily Sun reported more on the topic than others. Moreso, the scholars observed the need for the media to use framings that unite the whole Nigerians and to deemphasize tribalism by referring to Nigerians as Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa/Fulani or Ijaw. Following this present protest in the South-East of Nigeria, topics such as insecurity and ban on open grazing also became prominent on the front burner. The topics on sit at home, insecurity and ban on open grazing are controversial especially in relation to media discourse and media framings. Some media houses gloss over the topic, while others take the bull by the horn and delve into the conflict. For example, Solid 100.9 FM uses their platform to talk about the conflict between IPOB and the Federal Government, hence it is a main focus of analysis in this Research.

1.9 Research questions and objectives

This study seeks to analyze the role of radio as a broadcast medium in reporting conflict. The localized and personalized experience of the radio offers a justification to the representation of the IPOB conflict

Research Objective:

The main objective of Research is to analyse the role of radio in reporting the IPOB-Federal Government conflict in Nigeria. Also, to understand the factors that influence the reporting of the conflict between the federal Government and the Indigenous People of Biafra.

¹⁰<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/02/army-amnesty-trade-words-alleged-killings-torture-ipob-members-others/>

¹¹<https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/562181-ipob-appeal-court-stops-execution-of-judgement-freeing-nnamdi-kanu.html>

¹² <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/08/ipob-sit-at-home-across-south-east-in-photos/>

Research Question:

How does Solid 100.9FM represent the conflict between IPOB and the Nigerian Government in their reporting?

Sub questions:

- How is categorization and framing employed by the presenters of Ijele and Inaegewa programmes?
- What does the deployment of categorization and framing reveal about the politics of representation and knowledge production of the conflict?

1.10 Relatedness to the conflict, and limitations

I acknowledge my biases as an Igbo woman, who has lived in the South Eastern part of Nigeria for more than three decades. Being an Igbo woman from one of the five South Eastern States in Nigeria— a constituency of the clamour for Biafra — I live with memories of how the civil war affected my parents and how it subconsciously stirs up suspicion of other ethnic groups in my family and many more. Moreso, I acknowledge that my identity as a professional radio Broadcaster could influence my analysis. I have worked in the radio industry of Nigeria—precisely the South-East geopolitical zone—for eight years. In those years, it was nearly impossible to freely discuss the IPOB related conflict, hence the opportunity to analyse a Radio discussion of it is novel.

In spite of these perceived biases, I recognise my training as a Researcher, which would come to bare in ensuring factual presentation of data. The ethics of professionalism expected in Research has been learnt added with the critical supervision of the application. Although I worked in a Radio station, the station under study is not my direct employer, hence that offers me an opportunity to be objective. Moreso, I understand and acknowledge the insider and outsider roles that I would interchange which would somewhat foster approachability or credibility (Adu-Ampong and Adams, 2020).

I was primarily limited by costs of travel, and hence decided to collect data via the internet while situated in The Hague. The recordings of aired programmes were obtained from the website of the selected radio station, which was easier to obtain than waiting for the off air dubs that are retrieved from the servers. The Presenter of the programmes aided me by sending links to the programmes that specifically resonated with the research. Additionally, translation of the programmes, which are aired mostly in local dialect, became a source of concern to me. However, Since I speak and understand the language, this helped to an extent, although there were a few idiomatic expressions that needed further interpreting and checking. In addressing that challenge, I maximised the friendship I have with the Presenter, who helped to mobilise the transcription and translation of the three programmes under one week. That was done without an official price, however I had to send them money to appreciate their efforts bearing in mind the difficulties in the country and their sacrifice of time.

1.11 The structures of the research

This study is divided into five main chapters. Chapter one has introduced the background of Media and Conflict reporting in Africa with the focus on Nigeria, and given a historical insight into the conflict between the Indigenous People of Biafra and the Nigerian Government. The theoretical framework and methodologies will be discussed in chapter two, as I will also describe the selected radio station and three selected programmes selected for analysis. Chapter three will focus on the framing of the selected reporting, while Chapter four will also focus on the representation of the conflict using categorisation methodological strategy. Finally, chapter five will draw conclusions from the analysis of the data and measure the extent to which the research questions were answered.

Chapter 2 Theorising Conflict and Media Reporting

2.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the meaning of conflict and its various definitions. It also highlights the debates on the theories of representation with emphasis on the constructionist approach. The constructionist approach of representation forms the framework for analysing the topic together with framing and categorisation tools. Furthermore, the selected radio station; Solid 100.9FM is discussed in details with the programmes of study, as well as the rationale behind the choice.

2.1 Conflict and the debates

Conflict has been defined in different ways by scholars in the field. Chris Mitchell introduced a generic model of conflict in 1981, and it has since evolved into a standard in the field of conflict studies. According to Mitchell (1981: 17), “a conflict is any situation in which two or more "parties" (however defined or structured) perceive that they possess mutually incompatible goals.” His definition of conflict identifies the involvement of more than one party and the differences in their expectations that results to acrimony. This is similar to the definition of conflict given by Johan Galtung — one of the principal founding fathers in the field of conflict and peace studies. In defining conflict based on the triangular ABC model, Galtung posits that the behavioural (B) component of each circumstance must be connected to two invisible (A) components: attitudes and assumptions, and contradiction (C) (Demmers, 2017: 60). Following his argument, contradictions portray differences between conflicting parties in connection to expectations and fulfilment of needs. Galtung (1979: 6) classified the basic human needs to include security needs, welfare needs, identity needs, and freedom needs.

In one study, four possible types of conflicts were identified, namely: economic/resource; interstate; revolutionary/ideology and secessionist or identity conflicts (Ramsbotham et al., 2016). In light of this classification, the on-going conflict between the Nigerian Government and the Indigenous People of Biafra can perhaps best be interpreted as secessionist or identity-based conflict. Identity and solidarity in modern cultures are rooted in the "making" and "remaking" of representations of difference (Onuoha, 2018: 381), and the conflict around Biafra is over who or what has the right to form the political identities associated with statehood. As one of the institutions of society that engages with on-going representations and framings of identities, the media is the focus of this study. The main focus is on radio and how radio programmes report the recent conflict between the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and the Nigerian Government.

Alongside identity issues, conflict in society is often also fuelled by a widespread inability among members of the society to meet their basic human needs. When these needs are not fulfilled, a breakdown in relationship can be imminent (Galtung, 1979: 7). In more classical approaches to conflict, more emphasis is laid on the actors and their roles within given structures and contexts. The Biafra case raises the prospect of deeper, structural change as a point of contention. This is evident in the several attempts made by the Nigerian Government to restructure the Country since the inception of Democracy in 1999. For instance, the National

Conference convoked by the former President of Nigeria; Goodluck Jonathan in 2014 had delegates from the six geopolitical zones of the Federation debate on pressing issues including Political restructuring and resource control, which are the bane of recurring agitations in Nigeria¹³. Hence, Economic and identity dimensions of conflict can be understood as inter-twined (Hintjens and Zarkov, 2015: 10).

2.2 Representation Theory: the process of making meaning

The politics of representation has an important role in this identity conflict. One very likely notion, according to Abbott (2002) is that the portrayal of conflict in story provides a method for society to talk to itself about, and maybe resolve, tensions that threaten to divide it or at least make life difficult.

This research takes a constructivist and post-structuralist stance. This goes to say that it seeks to employ the qualitative methodology. Qualitative research is capable of giving vivid descriptions of the human world while providing grounded knowledge of people's conversational life (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009: 47). In essence, “we are conversational beings for whom language is a reality” (Gadamer, 1975 as cited in Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009: 51). Language, on the other hand, is instrumental in the production of meaning when it comes to representation (Hall, 1997: 16). Thus, a radio program reflects the possibility of people making meanings through constructed conversations on issues that affect them. Among the many scholars, who influenced this field in Media Studies, Stuart Hall defines representation as follows:

“Representation is the production of meaning through language. In representation, constructionists argue, we use signs, organized into languages of different kinds, to communicate meaningfully with others. Language can use signs to symbolize, stand for or reference objects, people and events in the so-called ‘real’ world. But they can also reference imaginary things and fantasy worlds or abstract ideas which are not in any obvious sense part of our material world. [...] Meaning is produced within language, in and through various representational systems which, for convenience, we call ‘languages.’ Meaning is produced by the practice, the ‘work’ of representation” (Hall 1997: 28).

This suggests that making meaning is a process that generally utilizes language to make sense of the world to people. It is noteworthy to highlight that the theory of representation is further categorized into three namely: Reflective, Intentional and Constructivist (Hall, 1997: 15). The reflective approach to representation posits that language only reflects the true meaning already in existence in objects, persons, ideas or events (Hall, 1997: 10). On the other hand, the intentional aspect of representation argues that meanings are bestowed on things or circumstances by the speakers or authors (Hall, 1997: 10). However, the constructionist approach has been more significantly used by Cultural Studies scholars. The constructionist approach to representation acknowledges the social sphere in which language exists and argues that social actors rely on systems of representation to meaningfully communicate and engage the world (Hall, 1997: 11). Some scholars, who lean towards the semiotic variant of the constructionist approach, restricted

¹³<https://media.premiumtimesng.com/national-conference/wp-content/uploads/National-Conference-2014-Report-August-2014-Table-of-Contents-Chapters-1-7.pdf>

meaning of representation to language. Swiss linguist; Saussure, argues that “language — which includes signs such as sounds, images and written words [...] — is instrumental in the production of meaning” (Culler, 1976 cited in Hall, 1997: 16).

Language, which is an aspect of culture, is a tool in the media industry for communicating meaningfully to its listening audience. It is usually assumed that a media personnel communicate in such a way that the target audience could understand based on shared realities and concepts. This helps to understand the way meaning is constructed in the selected programmes, which will be discussed in further details in the subsequent subsections. The two programmes — *Ijele* (king of masquerades in Igbo land) and *Inaegakwa* (Are you listening) — selected for analysis in Solid 100.9FM Enugu are presented in *Igbo* language. Beyond the language, the target audience, who are mainly from the South-East of Nigeria, share the same context and reality with the Presenter. Thus, the programmes are represented in a manner that the shared realities in the socio-cultural system embed the language that makes meaning possible to the audience, who are mostly the *Igbo*-speaking Nigerians in the South-East and diaspora. However, the role of language alone in making meanings has been criticized. Foucault — a constructionist — contends that knowledge and meaning are produced through discourse, not language (Hall, 1997: 44). This suggests that there is a system of representation beyond language that should be considered in making meaning. Part of the systems include the socio-cultural context of a given event or thing. Language appeared to be the only representational process that semiotics dealt with, and it was viewed as a closed, relatively static system, however later advances focused more on representation as a source for the creation of social knowledge linked to social practices and power issues (Hall, 1997: 42).

In this study, I engage mainly with Foucault’s discourse approach to representation theory. This is because his constructionist approach of representation seems to give more context behind the use of language in producing knowledge, which the radio presenter is actively involved in. Both selected programmes; *Ijele* and *Inaegakwa* offer the platform to narrate stories of IPOB and their ordeals in the Nigerian system thus that could be referred to as a source of influence.

2.3 Methodology & Strategies

This paper seeks to engage different strategies of representation and media theories namely; categorization and framing to analyze the representation of the conflict reported by the radio station of choice; Solid 100.9FM, Enugu state, Nigeria. As earlier indicated, this paper uses Framing and Categorization analytical tools to examine the selected programmes from Solid 100.9FM.

2.3.1 Framing and Categorisation

Framing, as a form of representation has been defined in many ways by scholars from different fields of study. The focus of framing theory is on any entity's capacity to define a context, event or set of relationship in a way that favours one over another considered to be less popular (Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira, 2008: 54). This definition pinpoints the place of power based on capacity to choose what to represent in certain events especially in the media. For example, Presenters of local content on Nigerian radio and television have creative control of its productions

on air, although there are expectations to imbibe professional ethics that promote unity¹⁴. Consequently, the presenters of the programmes of study in Solid 100.9FM exercise creative control of the production process. Moreover, considering the standpoint of social anthropology, Goffman (1974) defines framing as a classification method that enables users to find, observe, recognize, and name commonplace events. His stance about Framing takes a position of identifying similarities in events that determine how they identify with each other in a way that makes meaning to the observer. In politics and mass communication, frames shape how people see, remember, assess, and respond to a situation (Reese 2001 cited by Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira, 2008: 54). This can be better understood by the argument made by Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira (2008: 54) that frame is located in four places namely: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. Thus, the communicator is portrayed as an agent with perceptions of a given reality based on a cultural context and uses text or language to convey meaning to the listening audience. Perhaps a more general definition, generally adopted by Communication Studies scholars, is that provided by Entman, according to whom:

“To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993: 52).

By looking for particular framings of the IPOB-Nigerian government conflict situation, as represented on Solid 100.9 FM Radio, this study has sought to provide insights into salient issues behind the conflict. Framing analysis has also been selected since it also serves as a useful strategy for identifying responsible agents, and makes possible some moral judgments around the conflict situation. Finally, framing analysis can also suggest policy responses to the events of the conflict concerned.

On the other hand, categorization is another strategy of representation which provides distinguishing characteristics between two or more parties. Categorization otherwise known as membership categorization analysis is the study of the variety of practices used by members of a particular speech community together with related and complementary ethnomethods to carry out regular social interactions (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2015: 2). In essence, we employ categories created through differentiation to classify people into groups. Consequently, it creates identities that allow us to situate ourselves in relation to some people while keeping others at a distance based on notable differences. The process of categorization occurs often and in a number of circumstances. For instance, Nigeria is a multi-ethnic nation consisting of three major ethnic groups namely: *Igbo*, *Hausa* and *Yoruba* and about three hundred and seventy-one tribes¹⁵. The differences that exist in these group formations reflect their identities and how they organise based on shared concepts and values. It also portends that anyone that acts contrary to the values and expectations of a group is considered a threat to its existence. This is the story of how the *Igbo* feels about its existence in Nigeria as earlier outlined in the historical overview of the conflict between the IPOB and the Nigerian Government. Categories are fundamental to social life and

¹⁴ <https://www.nta.ng/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/1494416213-NBC-Code-6TH-EDITION.pdf>

¹⁵ <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/05/full-list-of-all-371-tribes-in-nigeria-states-where-they-originate/>

experience, hence insights into a wide range of social behaviors and issues may be gained through an empirical study of how categories are really used in real-time at the contextual and granular level (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2015: 2). They further argue that the study of "identity" categories and social types is crucial to a broad conceptualization of social science and sociology since it has served as a crucial theoretical, methodological, and empirical anvil, on which many of today's research concepts and methods have been developed (Fitzgerald and Housley, 2015: 3).

Using Membership Categorization Analysis to determine how the major players in the 9/11 attack portrayed these incidents and the people who took part in them, Leudar, Marsland and Nekvapil (2004: 263) contend that categorisation directly relates to action, serves to explain previous events, and lays the foundation for future action. It is upon this premise that the Researcher would argue that Radio appears to be instrumental in producing stereotypes that explain social relationships and contextual influences. According to McMulty (1999: 268), the media is complicit in the power politics that underpin most conflicts.

2.3.2 Sampling Method

In this research, I applied a purposive sampling method, because this approach can make it possible to draw deeper insights regarding the reporting of IPOB and Federal Government conflict by the radio station. According to Shaheen et al. (2019: 28), the justification and efficacy of purposive sampling depend on the selection of information-rich instances for in-depth investigation. Similarly, Patton (1990 cited in Shaheen, Pradhan and Ranajee, 2019) further argues that qualitative research focuses in-depth on small samples. Thus, the radio station; Solid 100.9FM Enugu is the single sample unit chose for this study. This focus on a single case study can help answer the research questions posed. Furthermore, I applied expert sampling, which is an example of purposive sampling using a non-probability method. This is reflective of the choice of programmess on Solid 100.9FM, which have great followership on air and online due to the background knowledge of the radio sector in south-east Nigeria, and the professional experience and expertise of the presenters of the selected programmes.

2.3.3 Data

The main source of data is primary data derived from audio recording of radio broadcast content on the topic of IPOB and the Nigerian Government. Also, secondary sources would be drawn from Journals, Newspapers, Reports and other relevant documents that speak to the topic of media reporting of conflict online. The main sources of data will be primary data derived from audio recording of radio broadcast content on the topic of IPOB and the Nigerian Government. Also, secondary sources will be drawn from journals, newspapers, reports and other relevant documents that speak to the topic of media reporting of conflict on radio and in general.

Ijele/Inegekwa Programmes on Solid 100.9FM Enugu

Solid FM is a privately owned commercial radio station that broadcast for 18 hours daily, on the frequency modulation broadcast band of 100.9MHz. Their transmitters are situated at the top of *Agnabor* Hills, at 9th Mile, *Ngwo*, to avoid the naturally occurring difficulty of the geography of the city of Enugu and assure a broad enough reach. Solid FM is in the league of the top ten most

listened radio stations in south-east Nigeria¹⁶. The station enjoys huge listenership with a line-up of award-winning on-air personalities with popular programmes.¹⁷ The presenter of the programmes of study popularly known as *Ijele* has been recognised for her dexterity on radio.¹⁸

The Programmes entitled; *Ijele* translated as (king of masquerades in *Igbo* land) and *Inaegekwa* translated as (Are you listening) are the sources of data that the researcher would rely on and analyse to answer the research questions. This is because the platforms discuss the conflict between Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and the Federal Government of Nigeria; a conflict most radio stations (including in south-east Nigeria) are silent about, mainly due to regulatory concerns.

Ijele is a socio-cultural/political programme designed to treat socio-political and socio-cultural issues in *Igbo* land such as seniority in clan, town and so on, *Igbo* cultural politics dated back to the ninth (9th) Century AD, for example. *Ijele* was started in a bid to re-establish and authenticate the true identity and bring out the true facts on the issue of *Igbo* history and so on. The *Igbos* are an immensely proud, dynamic and ambitious people with a rich cultural heritage which dates back to prehistoric times. *Ijele* is transmitted on Solid 100.9FM Enugu every Monday at 12:30 to 3pm (WAT). It is a live phone-in program, which is presented in the *Igbo* language. With a target audience of 25-90 years and an audience participation on air and Facebook totaling over five thousand, the program has more audience in America, Europe and Asia than in south-eastern Nigeria (Ejiofor, 2021).

Similarly, *Inegekwa* is a political program, presented every Monday and Tuesday from 4-6 pm (WAT) on the same radio station. It focuses on political happenings around Nigeria with a unique style of first reading political news and events in English and then translating and analyzing the background to the news in in *Igbo* language for a better understanding of grass root politics. It is interactive in nature and sometimes features guests and entertains live calls from the audience. *Inegekwa* also has a target audience of 25-90 years with an audience participation on air and Facebook totaling over five thousand. The program has participants from the South Eastern Nigeria and beyond. Both programs are very popular in Solid 100.9FM Enugu, Enugu State, Nigeria. Below are the Programme names, the dates and topic treated as recorded by the presenter on the Facebook page:

- ***Inaegekwa*** on 13 April, 2021: *Uwazuruike*, IPOB, ESN, *Ebubeagu* and security challenge in Nigeria
- ***Ijele*** on 26 April, 2021: IPOB, *Ikonso's* death, Nigerian army, Nigerian police, South East Governors, ESN which way? What's up?
- ***Ijele*** on 31 January, 2022: What are we gaining and losing from the Monday sit at home IPOB exercise in Nigeria?

2.4 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has opened up some debates around the politics of representation, associated with a constructionist approach to social knowledge. The framework for analysing the role of radio in

¹⁶ <https://www.anaedoonline.ng/2021/04/09/radio-stations-south-east/>

¹⁷ <https://solidFMradio.com/category/oaps/>

¹⁸ 5 Influential OAPs In Southeast Nigeria - AnaedoOnline

the situation of conflict in Southeast Nigeria, was introduced, along with framing and categorisation as tools for analysis of radio content. Finally, the specific radio station; Solid 100.9FM, and some specific broadcasts, were presented, to ensure that the selection could be justified, prior to going on to analyse content in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 Framing the IPOB and Nigerian Government conflict on Solid FM's Discussion Programmes

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses three episodes of the programmes; *Inaegekwa* and *Ijele* on Solid 100.9 FM, Enugu held on 13th April 2021, 26th April, 2021 and 31st January, 2022. The editions held on 26th April, 2021 and 31st January, 2022 were hosted by two Presenters; *Ijele* and *Ogbuoja*, whilst the edition on 13th April, 2021 was hosted solely by *Ijele*. I employ the framing tool to analyse and establish which perspective the radio hosts portray in the conflict between IPOB and the Nigerian Government.

3.2 Episode 1 (April 13, 2021): Frames of Insecurity and Secession

The Presenter started the programme; *Inaegekwa* off with songs in Igbo language for about nine minutes. The programme started at 4pm (WAT) with songs that had a welcoming ambience, as one of them beckoned on listeners saying “if you love me, then come and answer my call.” This is typical of presenters, as they play songs that excite the audience to join a programme and be part of the discussion. One of the four songs played also said “a doer of good remember God and a doer of evil remember God because there is a reward.” It is important to note the starting point, because the presenter said in her opening speech thus: “if left alone, I would have used songs to discuss the topic today but I am being watched so let me have mercy.” This brings to bare the importance of songs in framing a topic on radio discussion programmes. Emphasizing the importance of the music, the Presenter further said “sometimes you use songs to pursue the devil and all his handiwork.” The programme was recorded for One hour and 21 minutes, although a two-hour production. There were seven callers, who contributed to the talk among thousands of contributors on the Facebook page, who were barely acknowledged due to the time limitation. This episode did not feature guests or represent their first-hand reactions to the topic, but followed a narrative style by the Presenter, who gave contextual information and allowed the listening audience time to call in and shape the conversation.

Introducing the topic; *Uwazuruike*, IPOB, ESN, *Ebubeagu* and security challenge in Nigeria, the Presenter first read out the background stories that justified the framing of the topic of discussion. She read the News about the Governors’ forum in the South East that had their first Security Summit on 11 April, 2021 and set up a security outfit codenamed; *Ebubeagu*. The Governors had declared solidarity with the Federal Government in fighting against all forms of insecurity in the zone. The presenter queried the importance of the meeting, while highlighting the excerpts of the meeting, which she said made no mention of the Eastern Security Network (ESN). ESN was established in 2020 by the Leader of IPOB; Nnamdi Kanu, who cited the non-performance of south-east Governors in protecting its citizens from the alleged incursion by Fulani Herdsmen¹⁹. The President of Nigeria; Muhammadu Buhari is of the Fulani extraction,

¹⁹ <https://guardian.ng/news/why-ipob-formed-eastern-security-network-by-kanu/>

hence the conflict assumes an ethnic coloration. She further observed that from one to fifteen of the communique items as agreed in the meeting.²⁰ There was no mention of ESN, which she claimed is on its own and not recognized by Governors of the zone, although they helped to calm a situation in Ebonyi state. This claim was however countered by the seventh caller from Ebonyi state, who said they did not intervene adding that the conflict wasn't between Igbos and Fulanis but between a community in Ebonyi and its neighbour. The caller further said "we only hear of them and see on Social Media." He made reference to ESN, which concurred with the position of the leader of Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB); Chief Ralph Uwazuruike who was one of the protagonists of the framed topic.

The Presenter emphasized the secessionist agenda of the South-East by highlighting the protagonists of the topic; the Leader of IPOB; Nnamdi Kanu and the Leader of MASSOB; Chief Ralph Uwazuruike. The attribute the both share in common is that they clamour for secession of South-Easterners from Nigeria. While Kanu is the face of the present clamour, of which the Federal Government has proscribed the Group's activities, Uwazuruike led the MASSOB movement at the inception of Nigeria's democratic journey in 1999. Moreso, the Presenter questioned the comment attributed to Uwazuruike, who declared support for the State Governors move to set up a regional security architecture codenamed; *Ebubeagu* (glory of a lion), but claimed that ESN and IPOB only exist on social media. It was upon this premise that the Presenter threw questions to the listening audience about the reason behind Uwazuruike's stance as well as how the *Ebubeagu* proposed by the State Government would be formed, considering the already existing security structure of IPOB. She emphasized these questions at the beginning, twice at the middle of the programme and after one hour. Furthermore, the presenter added other perspectives to aid the contemplation of the audience. She hinted that there is an assumption that Ralph Uwazuruike collected money from Nigerian Government also noted that some say that Nnamdi Kanu, who is the leader of IPOB incites the youths to fight in the streets and die while he lives abroad in fancy houses and hotels. These were guides provided by the Presenter for the audience to respond and participate in the programme.

It is noteworthy that the Presenter employed the insecurity and secession frames to discuss the topic earlier proposed thus: Uwazuruike, IPOB, ESN, *Ebubeagu* and security challenge in Nigeria. ESN was spoken of favorably by the Presenter, who observed the said *Ebubeagu* proposed by the Governors of the South-East region needs to incorporate already existing structure. The possibility of this was not part of the discussion, considering that ESN is a brainchild of IPOB, which had been proscribed as a terrorist organization by the Nigerian Government on 20th September, 2017 and called on the international community to do same²¹. Also, the absence of the clash between Nigerian forces and ESN, which resulted in destruction of property and deaths²². The Presenter had on a couple occasion asked about the constituent and capacity of the proposed *Ebubeagu*, while equally asking if it is better to put an existing structure; ESN so that they can help to solidify the architecture. She questioned the weaponry of *Ebubeagu*, while also noting that ESN

²⁰<https://www.channelstv.com/2021/04/11/ebube-agu-south-east-governors-establish-new-outfit-to-tackle-rising-unrest/>

²¹ <https://FMic.gov.ng/minister-urges-international-partners-proscribe-ipob/>

²²<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2021/08/nigeria-at-least-115-people-killed-by-security-forces-in-four-months-in-countrys-southeast/>

said they have the resources and power to guard the forests in Igbo land with a further question on why they are not working with Government. The framing of the topic establishes a relationship between insecurity and the secessionist clamour by the South-East Nigerians.

3.3 Episode 2 (April 26, 2021): Frames of security threat and secession

The Presenter started the Programme; *Ijele* with songs in Igbo language for about six minutes. The programme was recorded for One hour and forty-six minutes, although a more than two-hour production. There were five callers, who contributed to the talk among thousands of contributors on the Facebook page, who were barely acknowledged due to the time limitation. This episode featured a co-presenter, but had no external Guest. The Presenter; *Ijele* gave a background of the topic of discussion entitled: IPOB, *Ikonso's* death, Nigerian army, Nigerian police, South East Governors, ESN which way? What's up? She was later joined by the co-Presenter named; *Ogbuoja* and they both talked about the topic for more than forty minutes before the phone lines were opened for audience participation.

The predominant frames used by the Presenters revolved around Security threat of the Igbo land and the push for the consideration of IPOB's security apparatus; ESN. The Presenter; *Ijele* started with the statement "our land is turning into something else. Igbo land is turning into something else." She reminded the listeners that Biafra is a cause being pursued by the Igbos, while talking about the killing of *Ikonso*, who was a leader of ESN in Imo state—south-east of Nigeria. She further queried the shoot-out between the deceased and the security operatives such as Army, DSS, Police in Imo State adding that He was invited to be the leader of the *Ebubeagu* security outfit proposed by the South East Governors in their meeting earlier in the month. The presenter made a case for IPOB, claiming that they only operate with their word of mouth in protest and their flags, however wondered why they were being policed by the security agencies. She further questioned the developments in the South-East where Police stations were set ablaze, Imo State Prison bombed which led to a prison break, and the house of the Imo State Governor burnt down.

The second presenter; *Ogbuoja* concurred with *Ijele* when he said "the worst is that there is no security in Igbo land." He criticized the efforts of the South East Governors as minimal and next to nothing in terms of addressing the issues at stake. According to him, the spate of insecurity and its attendant threats justifies IPOB's connection with guns and its pursuit for secession from Nigeria led by Nnamdi Kanu. According to him "60-70 percent of what Nnamdi Kanu saying is the truth, 60-70 percent of what he's saying is the truth" although he is accused by Igbo leaders of being insulting to their sensibilities. Emphasizing this point, the female Presenter; *Ijele* called on the Governors to ignore the insults of Nnamdi Kanu and consider his agitations. She asked "are we ready for this forthcoming war about to sprout? Because I see a South East that will seriously be warring in no time." Hence, avoiding the war would be possible if the State Governors co-opt the interest of IPOB and its leader. The both Presenters faulted the proposed *Ebubeagu* security outfit proposed by the State Governors of the South-East, claiming that it would be divisive for the Igbo land.

On the other hand, the callers faulted the state governments' efforts so far in curbing insecurity in the south-east of Nigeria. The fourth caller claimed "what is happening in Imo state

is that there is underground arrangement to disorganise the South East. They are using our Leaders against us.” He made reference to the Federal Government pitting the South-East Governors against the people they lead. The highlight of the call-in session was when the fifth caller said “but it’s better for the country to spoil so that we all start afresh” and the both Presenters laughed satirically. However, the female presenter ended the programme on this note; “everyone should take things easy, ESN should take things easy, our governors should take things easy, Nigeria should take things easy, IPOB should take things easy, our people, I greet you all.”

3.4 Episode 3 (January 31, 2022): Frames of Marginalisation of Igbos, Security challenge, Protest

The Presenters; *Ijele* and *Ogbuoja* started the Programme; *Ijele* with a song for about eight minutes before the introduction of the topic. Their topic of discussion was captioned thus: what are we gaining and losing from the Monday sit at Home IPOB exercise in Nigeria? The Presenters talked about the topic for 39 minutes, before going on a break. The programme was recorded for forty-six minutes, and the Researcher will base the analysis on this part. The programme had a good number of followers on Facebook: 6,2000 views, 192 comments and 111 Likes. The frames that were predominantly featured in this programme were marginalization of *Igbos*, security challenge and protest.

The first frame; marginalization was emphasized from the introduction of the programme. One of the Presenters; *Ogbuoja* used renowned songs in Igbo language to do his opening speech while passing across his messages on the condition of Igbo people. Statements such as “Is that how the world is, I am fearful, because you don’t know who to avoid,” also, “We don’t know the people to avoid. In today’s Nigeria, Igbos are among the marginalized and now getting to marginalizing themselves; it is terrible,” and “God help everyone to build and own their distinctive houses.” These assertions made by the Presenter of *Ijele* programme on air were drawn from the lyrics of various artistes, who were renowned Highlife musicians of Igbo extraction. The Presenter further expressed disappointment that the *Igbo* people seems to have added a twist to their marginalized self by not being united in one front. The Presenter said thus:

I used to hear an *Igbo* saying that the rejected does not reject him/herself. However, it’s like the rejected has rejected themselves. Other zones are clamoring for Presidency, but we are asking for self-determination although some of *Igbos* are asking for *Igbo* presidency. The two aspirations are far from our reach. Some far sighted people are asking for equity say we need a President from *Igbo* extraction and not an *Igbo* president, because there is no Igbo country. But the *Igbos* don’t look like they are ready for it.

Ogbuoja continued to highlight the past glory of Igbo people before the civil war of 1967-1970, when Igbos were at the helm of affairs in the Politics and Economy of Nigeria and the Northerners also cried about marginalization. The Presenter went on to give a personal analysis of the marginalized state of the Igbo people in Education, Civil service, Security Architecture, etc. He said:

In Nigeria, the entire workforce of the Federation, the Northerners and the Southerners have taken them. If it is 100, then the North took about 70%, Yoruba has 20% and the South-South has 6 or 7% while the Igbos are crippled at 3%. In

Education, Banking; more of the Northerners are employed at the Central Bank of Nigeria. Every Ministry and Parastatal in Government have mostly Hausas and Yorubas. At most, they make an Igbo a secretary. They make an Hausa with 3rd class Director and an Igbo with 1st class a Secretary. There is no how the person below can edge out the person on top.

X-raying the second frame of protest, the both presenters made it clear that the sit-at-home is a way of protest for Igbo people, although there seems to be a misunderstanding in the rules of engagement by the south-easterners. The sit-at-home order has been in force since August 2021 in protest of the detention of IPOB's leader; Nnamdi Kanu²³. The Presenters deduced that there seems to be a divide in the sit-at-home order coming from spokespersons of IPOB. They asked, "is it Emma Powerful or is it *Ekepa* that is the spokesperson of IPOB? *Ijele*, we don't know." This development has led to confusion and fear in the south-east as there had been an uncertainty on the continuation of the protest or not. Furthermore, it was observed that the ongoing protest in Igboland comprised of the five South-Eastern States is beyond the Monday sit-at-home, but includes days when the leader of IPOB; Nnamdi Kanu goes to court. Meanwhile, the consequences of this development was highlighted by the Presenters. *Ogbuoja* analyzed the situation thus:

I am then asking, today that we the Igbos are canvassing for Biafra with the Monday sit-at-home with the warning that everyone not come outside or else face the consequences. This favors Igbos but Education wise, what we are losing with this sitting at home...our children don't go to school as often and the school calendar is affected too. Sometime we lose 3 days in a week.

The insecurity frame that is associated with the sit-at-home order was also emphasized by the presenters. They pointed out that the non-compliance of people to stay at home during these protesting days affected some people's property while some lost their lives. The presenters noted that Monday became an excuse for mischief makers to enrich themselves by snatching cars or vandalizing property. However, they traced the developments to the leader of IPOB; Nnamdi Kanu's ordeals in the hand of the Federal Government of Nigeria. One of the Presenters; *Ijele* said:

The main point for the sit-at-home is because of the silence of our leaders regarding the Nnamdi Kanu matter. That he went to Kenya and was picked like a nobody and brought back to Nigeria to face trial. That the land is not secure and the leaders are relaxing like it's not their business. That there is no water, electricity, no good school, healthcare facilities, no good road, and the social amenities that the Leaders should provide is a hoax and we pay tax upon tax. That is what the sit-at-home is about. It is that restructuring is far-fetched and State or community police as well, even the Ebubeagu security outfit is far-fetched coupled with ESN. That is what the sit-at-home is about. Insecurity is now overrated, so there is need to first find the cause before treating the effects or symptoms of a problem. Do you see this sit-at-home, any day our South East Governors sit on a round table to make Nnamdi Kanu's case a priority, and take it to Abuja, the sit-at-home will end and things will be better.

The sit-at-home, which falls under the protest frame seems to be a fall out of the frames of insecurity and marginalization in the south-east. However, this protest further serves as a security

²³<https://saharareporters.com/2021/07/30/breaking-ipob-orders-sit-home-south-east-nigeria-every-monday-till-nnamdi-kanu-regains>

risk for citizens left to their own fate as hoodlums hijack the situation to perpetuate crimes of arson, car snatching and brutal altercations with law enforcement agency. Consequently, the south-east continues to be a discussion topic about national security due to the surge of gunmen killing people and the widespread climate of uncertainty that results from this (Abaribe, 2021).²⁴ Thus, the nature and character of the Nigerian state can be linked to security issues in the south-east, which has been a significant setback for the nation's stability and togetherness (Ekwe, 2021: 106).

Furthermore, this national instability has been blamed on Government's prolonged silence on the demands made by Nnamdi Kanu. One of the presenters; *Ijele* made reference to the trend of deaths that occurred before the Governors eventually had a security summit in the south-east. She expressed it thus:

It has killed Dora Akunyili's husband, killed a Doctor and a couple of others and now it has been recognized as a security challenge. Do you want it to be branded an emergency before taken seriously? That's where we have a problem. The problem is we've got a problem and we don't want to acknowledge that we do. Your little boy, as you call him: Nnamdi Kanu, is in DSS custody since. What did he do? He insulted President Buhari, he said we should be treated well, he said we should have a restructuring, that Igbos should have their right to self-determination, that all regions should go apart and fix themselves, that there should be a cargo port for Igbo traders. I have not heard when he said or did evil for everyone. When he was gently making these demands, we greeted him with silence.

The presenter's comment on the reason behind Nnamdi Kanu's incarceration is not a full representation of the charges against him. As earlier stated in chapter one, there are terrorism related charges against him. Nnamdi Kanu had fifteen count charges bordering on terrorism, although eight of them were struck out by the Federal Government in May, 2022.²⁵ In essence, the Nigerian government's narrative is geared towards defending national unity while the narrative of the presenter portrays the defense for *Igbo* identity and need for self-actualization. The both narratives capture the interest of conflicting parties that need acknowledging and representation. Representing one worldview in a conflict is inimical to the ethics of journalism as well as to resolving conflict. According to Lynch and Galtung (2010: 54), balance in conflict reporting requires consideration of the objectives of all parties.

3.5 Conclusion

Framing is paramount in the media sector of the society. According to Lynch and Galtung (2010: 188) "some process of framing is inevitable in journalism." The broadcast journalists in Solid 100.9FM engaged some of the framing processes to tell the conflict story of IPOB and the Nigerian Government. The frames that were systematically used were insecurity, secession, marginalization and protest.

²⁴https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IDjxQkN1Pkw&list=PLl6IvhhbEqwxt06-VI7eRi8rl5oM_8pwn&index=94&t=155s

²⁵ <https://punchng.com/breaking-fg-amends-charges-against-nnamdi-kanu-indicts-lawyers/>

Insecurity and secession were predominant frames used in episodes one and two by the presenters of the programmes. I refer again to Entman's definition of framing, which means to pick out certain elements of a seen reality and emphasize them in a communication language in order to support a specific problem description, causal interpretation, moral assessment, and/or therapy recommendation for the thing being described. (1993: 52). The frames of insecurity were doubly emphasized as causative factors that instigate the option of secession of the *Igbo* from Nigeria. The efforts of the Nigerian Government was faulted especially with the earlier stated comment made by one of the presenters thus "the worst is that there is no security in Igbo land." This comment is antithetical with the constitutional duty of Government to cater to the welfare and security of its citizens. However, the first episode records that the state Government had a security summit and proposed a local security outfit to additionally tackle insecurity. This brings to bare the silences that are imminent in framing topical issues and the politics of representation. Ghosh (2016: 1) defines it as the conflict in society over the meaning of pictures and depictions; how one type of representation or portrayal comes to dominate another. The predominance of a failed state narrative and criticism of the proposed security architecture; *Ebubeagu* made the preferred alternative of secessionist agenda and its security outfit; ESN a viable option. Hence, the struggle between national unity as proposed by the Nigerian Government and identity as promoted by IPOB. Responding to these divergent needs, a caller on the programme spoke thus: "but it's better for the country to spoil so that we all start afresh" and the both presenters laughed satirically.

Finally, the frames of marginalisation and protest that were evident in episode three are interwoven in the cause and effect mantra. The presenter made it clear in episode three that once the marginalisation expressed in the incarceration of Nnamdi Kanu is addressed, then the ongoing sit-at-home protest would end. However, they were silent on the reasons given by the Federal Government for arresting and detaining him. The procedures for detaining Nnamdi Kanu may have been faulted, but the goal and paramount interest of the Nigerian Government is national unity expressed in their fight against alleged terrorism.

Chapter 4 Categorisation in conflict reporting on Solid FM

4.0 Introduction

Categorization is produced and enforced in people's daily interactions. These could be influenced or reinforced by the media, especially because they have power to shape and change opinions. Some authors have studied the role played by radio in producing or reinforcing categories in the society. Dunu (2015) argues that the programming of radio stations in the south-east Nigeria are male-oriented having sampled opinions from community campus radio stations such as Caritas FM Enugu, University of Nigeria Lion FM Nsukka, Unizik FM Awka and Madonna University community campus radio Okija. In her study, which employed content analysis, Dunu (2015) observed that there were proportionately more men than women working at these stations, which she attributes to the prevalent socio-cultural practices that continue to reflect within governmental ideological machinery. I agree with Dunu's point of view referencing my experience working in Dream 92.5FM. The political programme; Political Voices, which I presented had more male guests and callers than females. The reasons behind it ranges from timing of the programme, interest on chosen topics among others. This highlights the imbalance and inequality that persist between males and females, as most of the topics discussed favoured the male gender. Topics that relate to women, however were factored in once in a while. Following from the above, this chapter seeks to identify the categorisation codes that exist in the selected programmes; *Ijele* and *Inaegekwa* on Solid 100.9FM, Enugu, Nigeria.

4.1 Episode 1 (April 13, 2021): Us versus Them Narrative

The programme; *Inaegekwa*, which was recorded for one hour and twenty-one minutes, discussed the topic; *Uwazuruike*, IPOB, ESN, *Ebubeagu* and security challenge in Nigeria. The presenter named Ijele started the programme with songs for about nine minutes before giving a background to the topic of discussion. As earlier stated in the chapter three, the songs portrayed the tone of the discussion and appears to have added to the framing of the topic. In view of the categorisation expressions in the programme, the presenter started her introductory speech at the 11th minute thus:

All we ask is that they make things go well, we don't wish them dead. Once things are done well, people will relax at their homes and be happy. But anytime it is that the situation is unpleasant and the people are crying for help, then there is a big problem. She says "the worst is that we don't know the side they are coming from, they come in one way and devastate us in seven ways, they just come in one way and we are devastated in hundred ways." We don't know which way to go again. That is our topic of discussion today.

The above assertion suggests that there are two divides; us versus them in the topical issue. Speaking of the two divides, the presenter did not mention who she referred to, however the topic of discussion already suggested who is attributed with which category. I deduce that the referred category is between the *Igbo* and *Hausa/Fulani* ethnic groups in Nigeria. This is because the bane

of the discussion centred on security challenges in the south-east which is believed to have been worsened by the cattle herders that move from the north to south due to climate change. Enforcing ban on open grazing was one of the highlights of a meeting the Governors of the five south-east states had to address the security challenge. Meanwhile, the President; Muhammadu Buhari has been accused of ethnic bias towards dealing with the security situation in the South-East with reference to the herdsman involved in open grazing²⁶. Commenting on the ban on open grazing, the presenter said:

the grazers should buy land in the south-east and graze their cattle, as the south-easterners do not grab lands from the Northerners when they go there, but pay their dues.

Furthermore, the presenter questioned the identity of the security operatives that should carry out the enforcement of the ban as mandated by the south-east Governors. She further noted that “before anything is done in the country, there is need to change the constitution.” According to her reason “almost all the senior ranking men in the security forces such as police are from other tribes.” The presenter questioned how a security official from outside the south-east region can guard people they have no idea of their language or terrain. She doubly emphasized that there is need to revisit the military structure and posting in Nigeria. This highlights the power relations imminent in the categorisation strategy employed by the presenters in representing the conflict. Fair representation of all zones in the systems of governance is the objective of the federal character principle embedded in Nigeria’s constitution.²⁷ Hence, the presenter; *Ijele* alluded that there is an imbalanced representation of *Igbo* in the security architecture of Nigeria as also highlighted by IPOB.²⁸ Furthermore, she expressed concern on other tribes deployed to guard the *Igbo* in south-east. However, this also brings to the fore the question of freedom of movement, which implies that people can freely move and live anywhere in Nigeria.²⁹ Nevertheless, Nigeria’s zoning structure in governance has been a source of criticism for seemingly favouring more of the north than the south. It was therefore explored by the presenter in representing the conflict between the two parties.

4.2 Episode 2 (April 26, 2021): East versus North category

The programme; *Ijele* was aired, streamed on Facebook and recorded for one hour and forty-six minutes. The both presenters; *Ijele* and *Ogbuoja* discussed the topic; IPOB, *Ikonso's* death, Nigerian army, Nigerian police, South East Governors, ESN which way? What's up? The programme was introduced by *Ijele* after playing songs for about six minutes. She said:

²⁶<https://dailypost.ng/2021/07/20/buharis-handling-of-fulani-herdsmen-banditry-shows-his-ethnic-bias-huriwa/>

²⁷ <https://guardian.ng/opinion/merit-yes-and-federal-character-too/>

²⁸ <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/09/ipob-faults-fg-on-non-appointment-of-igbo-as-service-chiefs/>

²⁹ <https://nigerian-constitution.com/fundamental-human-rights-of-a-nigerian-and-universal-human-rights/>

Our land is slowly turning into something else. Igbo land is turning into something else. This afternoon, listen attentively so that you don't misrepresent me. If you people will listen carefully because today's topic is like a woman that's married but still caters for her family members. When there's a problem, her husband will say that she prefers her family to him, and if she happens to be attached to her husband's family, then her own family will say she prefers her husband's family to her own siblings. That is exactly what's happening right now. My people we don't love anybody specially or hate anybody either but we've seen ourselves in Nigeria and have put our hand under our jaws and just watching to see what tomorrow brings and for the rest of the days, when we think we've heard it all, we end up hearing another one.

The introductory comment made by the presenter portrayed a troubled people of the *Igbo* extraction in the Nigerian sphere. Thus, the categories highlighted are the *Igbo* and Nigerian Government led by a *Hausa/Fulani*, who allegedly sympathizes with his own as earlier stated in the first episode. Giving more insight to this, the presenter pointed out that an *Igbo* man, who was manning ESN; a local security outfit set up by the IPOB in South-East, was killed in a shootout. The presenter stated that the man named *Ikonso*, who was the commander of ESN, was involved in a gun fight with the Nigerian armed forces comprised of the Army, Police, Department of State Services. However, the narrative of IPOB is that *Ikonso* was murdered in his sleep³⁰. Recall that in chapter three, the origin of ESN was established, although it is not constitutionally recognized. The presenter; *Ijele* continued her background analysis:

My people that was why I decided that we would discuss this. Remember when they proscribed us, we called out our governors asking them why they agreed to proscription, we came together and asked and realized that there is nothing at all our governors are doing for us, why is that people are in a house but it seems like it's full of spirits without human action. We also talked about the fact that cattle rearers have been terrorizing our people and chasing farmers from their farmlands. Nobody goes to farm anymore and all bushes have been abandoned. People in the north will suddenly stop work and tell us that they are going on strike, so bringing foodstuffs into *Igbo* land is now an issue, even if the food gets here it is really expensive. So going to the market with just one thousand naira, you'll end up buying nothing because the money will not be enough.

The above comments suggest that there is a conflict between “they” and “us.” “They” being the Nigerian Government or the Northerners and “us” representing the *Igbo*. The presenter highlighted how there is economic downturn due to the challenged relationship between the duo. Following from the definitions of conflict earlier stated in chapter two, there is a relationship between the Economic and identity dimensions of conflict (Hintjens and Zarkov, 2015: 10). One of the presenters; *Ijele* continued her background analysis thus:

Another important question is that the main aim of creating IPOB is for the resuscitation of Biafra and also for the good of Igbo land, for our self-determination, our referendum (*Ogbuoja*: which they decided to silence). What the IPOB were known is the Biafran flag and mere words, but they are now considered security threats to

³⁰<https://saharareporters.com/2021/04/27/how-esn-commander-ikonso-was-killed-which-nigerian-government-lied-about%E2%80%94ipob>

people including my humble self. I'm then asking have they left their vision for Biafra? Are they now shooting people with guns? Has it now come to them tagging us bandits? I need to understand. Is it that when a child struggles for his/her place, then it's a bad child? Someone won't approach you to kill you and you stand still for that to happen.

The both presenters still emphasized the “us” versus “them” category in the above comments. They iterated that the Nigerian government is frustrating the clamour of the *Igbo* for self-determination. One of the presenters; *Ijele* also suggested in the last sentence above that the *Igbo* should not stand by and watch themselves killed without doing anything. This could reinforce the attitudes of suspicion and the south-east clinging to a worldview that justifies its action or tendency towards violence. Borrowing Galtung's concept of cultural violence, which justifies direct and structural violence (Galtung and Fischer, 2013: 42), the *Igbos* seems justified in engaging violence in a struggle to satisfy their identity need through secession. However, secession, which is a clamour by a subgroup; IPOB in a large group of *Igbo* people in the south-east Nigeria, is not peculiar to all the *Igbos*. Volkan (2004: 11) posits that large groups do not communicate with one voice; they are divided into smaller groups, and each smaller group is made up of people who have different ways of thinking and feeling. Thus, some *Igbos* are not interested in the secession movement by IPOB as said by the presenters in episode three, but more concerned with restructuring Nigeria and getting the slot of presidency in 2023.

Furthermore, one of the presenters; *Ogbuoja* made the following comments:

Lastly, insecurity is too much in Igbo land. We were a bit secure in comparison with the whole of Nigeria, but at a stage we are no longer secure (*Ijele*: we are no longer) if you check the rumour going on, the fingers are pointing at the herdsmen, and I am not sure that there are Igbos who rear cattle. So this continued until Nnamdi Kanu started talking about the South East having its own security so that we can protect ourselves. Do you remember *Ijele* that there a time Miyetti Allah proposed to form security for us in Igbo land? (*Ijele*: yes). So the Northerners proposed to come and safeguard us, that means that we need security in our place and they know our ordeals. our governors kept quiet, Nnamdi Kanu told them that our security is a joke, since the Northerners are proposing to come and guard the South East. That is the same people we're avoiding.

The above statements made by the presenters suggest that *Igbo* used to be secure, but not anymore and the blame was adduced to the Northerners. The comment that referred to the Northerners as “the same people we are avoiding” suggest not just difference in group formations but indifference in relationship. This is capable of affecting the attitude of the listeners, which when built up over time could result to the behavioural component of conflict. One of the presenters; *Ijele* equally observed thus: “are we ready for this forthcoming war about to sprout? Because I see a South-East that will seriously be warring in no time.” Similarly, one of the five callers that participated in the programme; *Uchenna* contributed thus:

The one that happened in Enugu is my concern. We talk about security, security but it's better for the country to spoil so that we all start afresh (presenters: laugh). I tell you the truth. The road the Governor takes to the airport has been blocked by the Hausas at New artisan. The Hausa shoot with the police. If you go to Park Lane you'll

see what the Hausas used knives to do to Igbos. Is there any Igbo that can do this in the North where Hausas reside?

The caller aligns with the narrative of the presenters to explain the predicaments of the *Igbo* in their own region. The *Igbos* of the south-east are portrayed as the victims of the circumstances surrounding the governance structure controlled by the Northern president and cronies in the state government. Recall that the northerners were referred to as “the same people we're avoiding” by one of the presenters while he criticized the northerners’ involvement in the security of the south-east. As earlier stated, the representation of such categories seem to explore the deep culture of violence as posited by Galtung with an interwoven past and present realities capable of inciting future violence in the conflict dynamics.

4.3 Episode 3 (January 31, 2022): *Igbo* versus *Hausa* category

The last selected programme; *Ijele* was aired, streamed on Facebook and recorded for forty-six minutes. The both presenters; *Ijele* and *Ogbuoja* discussed the topic; what are we gaining and losing from the Monday sit at home IPOB exercise in Nigeria? The programme started with a song that aired for about eight minutes before the topic background was given by the presenters. Although the topic was focused on the ongoing sit-at-home order by the IPOB in the south-east Nigeria, the presenters still highlighted some background issues. *Ogbuoja* made the following comments:

There was a time when Igbos were at the helm of affairs and had fair representation before the circumstances that led to the civil war and the Igbos asked to leave Nigeria. After the war, the Hausas decided to outsmart the smart ones. In JAMB, the South East has above 100 cut off marks, but in the North, they have the cut of mark of 17. In Nigeria, the entire workforce of the Federation, the Northerners and the Southerners have taken them. If it is 100, then the North took about 70%, Yoruba has 20% and the South-South has 6 or 7% while the Igbos are crippled at 3%. In Education, Banking; more of the Northerners are employed at the Central Bank of Nigeria. Every Ministry and Parastatal in Government have mostly Hausas and Yorubas. At most, they make an Igbo a secretary. They make a Hausa with 3rd class Director and an Igbo with 1st class a Secretary. There is no how the person below can edge out the person on top.

The Presenter explored what Volkan (2004: 53) identifies as chosen glories and chosen traumas component of large group identity to outline cases of marginalization of the *Igbo* people in different spheres of the Nigerian state. By reminding *Igbos* of the glory days before the civil war that ushered in more traumatic experiences, Volkan (2004: 55) suggests that past glories are utilized to engineer future glories beyond the present traumas. Thus, the sit-at-home protest appears to be the present way of organizing to reclaim the lost glory. Giving further details on the strategy behind the sit-at-home, one of the presenters; *Ijele* said:

They don't know the capacity of the radio and your capability of commanding the five South-East states to be in disarray with a common statement. That is what happened to us as a people. When Nnamdi Kanu was speaking gently, no one listened to him, but when he became more vocal and insulting, they gave him attention and upon his arrest gave him even more attention. He has generated fans ten times of what he had before and the country does not know that IPOB is on the rampage. You could live in

the same residence with a member of IPOB and not know it. That is where our problem is. They are everywhere and assumed to be foolish, but are organizing strongly. That is where we are now. The challenge has become enormous and we have to swim through this overflowing river. If you want the sit-at-home to end tomorrow, they should release Nnamdi Kanu.

In the above, the presenter stated that the government referred to as “they” should release Nnamdi Kanu from detention. Essentially, releasing him from detention appears to be the way to quell the conflict.

4.4 Conclusion:

Categorization can be produced and reinforced by the media from generation to generation. The findings in this chapter has outlined the categories that exist thus: us versus them narrative, east versus north categories and the *Igbo* versus *Hausa* categories. These categories—traceable to the historical undertone of Nigeria’s colonial and post-colonial experience—poses a threat to nationalism and coexistence. Hence, it is important to recognize the role that historical class legacies played in creating the current toxic strain as Jayasundara-Smits (2022: 57) posits in the case of Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism. Conflict can therefore be resolved by the incorporating the parties involved in a creatively empathetic way that forges a path of transformation while mitigating minor conflicts from evolving (Galtung and Fischer, 2013: 63).

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This research started with the aim of understanding the role of radio as a broadcast medium in reporting conflict. The conflict between the Nigerian Government and IPOB was the focal point and the study analysed how Solid 100.9FM in Enugu state of Nigeria reported on the said conflict in select programmes. Solid 100.9FM was selected based on purposive sampling method, because of their active reporting of the conflict. Most radio stations in the south-east barely report the conflict, hence it was important to analyse the selected radio station. Radio is an accessible and influential medium of communication, which makes it an easy tool for framing and categorizing in representing conflict situations. Earlier debates stated suggested that it is capable of reducing conflict or escalating it. Therefore the study aimed at filling the gap in various studies that analysed the framing of newspapers and how they contributed to conflict dynamics. My quest to bridge the research gap was drawn from my experience in the radio industry for over eight years and understanding of how influential the radio medium is. Hence, my argument that radio plays a significant role in the conflict dynamics by ways of framing and categorizing.

I embarked on the study of the conflict between IPOB and the Nigerian Government and sought to understand how Solid 100.9FM reported it. Thus, I posed a question to understand how Solid 100.9FM represented the conflict between IPOB and the Nigerian Government in their reporting. In answering the question, the first sub question sought to explain how framing and categorization were employed by the presenters of *Ijele* and *Inaegekwa* programmes. The frames that were found in the three programmes of study included insecurity, secession, marginalization and protest. Frames are capable of propelling the existing conflict between parties. Thus, Ahere (2019: 1) agrees that the way information is gathered and disseminated can foster distrust amongst the participants in conflict. The presenters laid emphasis on the failure of Government in a manner that justifies the quest for the *Igbos* to protest and secede from Nigeria. This kind of reporting appears to keep the conflict reporting in the category of the victim and victor, hence a continuous struggle. Transforming beyond these binaries, Lynch and Galtung (2010: 82) suggests the need to go beyond the problems and focus on the benefits of the unifying the parties in conflict. Therefore, the media should be consciously involved in conflict transformation by choosing frames that impact the audience with the attitudes that seek for unification. Solid 100.9FM could go beyond telling the stories from the lens of two parties and one issue. Lynch and Galtung (2010: 87) propose telling the story from all sides considering the complex nature of conflict with many players and issues. Thus, this is the soul of a balanced reporting which is a supposed ethical practice in the journalism sector.

Furthermore, the second sub question sought to explain what the deployment of framing and categorization reveal about the politics of representation and knowledge production of the conflict. Ghosh (2016: 1) explains it to be the conflict over the meaning of verbal and visual images, which he says exposes the power dynamics and societal hierarchies. Following Ghosh's insight, I deduced the interplay between framing and categorisation in how the presenters produced knowledge. Given their core mandate of educating the public, it was a pedestal to utilize their influence in the topics discussed on the said conflict. The conflict was emphatically portrayed in the light of

victimization of the *Igbos* by the Nigerian Government, hence a continuous struggle towards liberation. Hence, I suggest that Solid 100.9FM, just like other media organizations, should consider the choice of language used in representing conflict especially a protracted one. According to Hall (1997: 7), language is a system of representation which aids knowledge construction, especially in the media.

As a form of media, radio plays an important role in conflict dynamics, whether exacerbating or transforming it through programming. The presenters of the programmes; *Ijele* and *Inaegekwa* understand the power they can exercise through radio hence the statement made in episode three: “they don’t know the capacity of the radio and your capability of commanding the five south-east states to be in disarray with a common statement.” This study has shown how the methodological strategies of framing and categorisation were used by Solid 100.9FM to influence the conflict between the Nigerian Government and IPOB.

Asides radio, there is need to further investigate the influences and contributions of audiences, whose contribution to programmes equally help to shape attitudes of listeners in conflict situations. This is a gap that can be explored in further research, as this study mostly focused on the construction of knowledge by the presenters of the selected programmes in Solid 100.9FM, Enugu, Nigeria. The inability to explore this aspect in my research conjures a limitation due to time limit in fulfilling the requirements of concluding Masters study. Also, the methodology employed here could not unearth the dynamics of political economy reflected in the ownership factor and its influence on the conflict. This can be further explored in future research by the triangulation of interview and participant observation in live programmes.

Appendices

Appendix I: Episode 1 (13 April, 2021)

Programme:	<i>Inaegekwa</i>
Topic:	Uwazuruike, ipob, ESN, Ebubeagu and security challenge in Nigeria.
Duration:	46 Minutes
Presenters:	<i>Ijele</i>
Facebook:	183,000 views, 1,900 comments and 2,400 likes.

Introduction

Presenter started off with songs in Igbo language for about 9 minutes. The songs had a welcoming ambience as one of them beckons on listeners saying “if you love me, then come and answer my call.” This is typical of Presenters, as they play songs that excite the audience to join a programme and be part of the discussion. One of the four songs played also says “a doer of good remember God and a doer of evil remember God because there is a reward.” It is important to note the starting point, because the presenter said in her opening speech “if left alone, I would have used songs to discuss the topic today but I am being watched so let me have mercy.” Emphasizing the importance of the music, the Presenter further said “sometimes you use songs to pursue the devil and all his handiwork.”

9th-10th Minute: My people, she says let’s talk because “whoever is beat must definitely cry, no jokes.” Then more music continued after a minute’s intro by the presenter. This time, the musician advises “make the Governance of our land and Nigeria go well, both the governed and the governor.”

11th Minute: Presenter continues... All we ask is that they make things go well, we don’t wish them dead. Once things are done well, people will relax at their homes and be happy. But anytime it is that the situation is unpleasant and the people are crying for help, then there is a big problem. She says “the worst is that we don’t know the side they are coming from, they come in one way and devastate us in seven ways, they just come in one way and we are devastated in hundred ways.” We don’t know which way to go again. That is our topic of discussion today.

She read the News about the Governors’forum in the South East that had their first Security Summit on 11 April, 2021 and set up a security outfit codenamed; Ebubeagu. The Governors declared solidarity with the Federal Government in fighting against all forms of insecurity in the zone. She asked if the meeting is going on side by side plans to invade the South-East. She further observed that “from one to nine of the communique items, there was no mention of ESN” She further claimed that ESN is on its own and not recognized by Governors of the zone, although they helped to calm a situation in Ebonyi State. She emphasized on the item number 11 on the communique which says “ South East Governors requested the Acting IGP to stop the influx of IGP monitory units but to allow cps and state and Zonal commands to handle their cases.”

20th Minute: Presenter continues... Also she doubly emphasized the item number 14 which says “Meeting agreed that open grazing has been banned and security agency should implement the ban.” She questioned “Who are the security agencies?” She further noted that “before anything is done in the Country, there is need to change the constitution.” According to her reason “almost all the senior ranking men in the Security Forces such as Police are from other tribes” Again, she acknowledges her stand for integration, however wonders how a Security official from outside the region can guard people they have no idea of their language or terrain. She doubly emphasized that “there is need to revisit the military structure and posting.” She then asked the audience how to make the Ebubeagu security outfit worthwhile, considering the outcomes of the meeting by the South-East Governors forum. About the open grazing, the Presenter observed that the Grazers should buy land in the south East and graze their cattle, as the South-Easterners do not grab lands from the Northerners when they go there, but pay their dues.” She said it is a good development and then asked “who are those that would enforce the no open grazing order?” She recalls that Enugu State has Forest Guards, who are not smiling but everywhere and doing well as well as Anambra State.

20th Minute: Presenter continues...She says, “my people, let me get to the main point for discussion. Chief Raphael Uwazuruike says that the only security outfit recognized in the South East region is Ebubeagu and that the South East ESN established by the IPOB & its leader Nnamdi Kanu only exists on Social Media.” She says again that it is her main topic considering that Governors have met and came out with a communique that gives direction. Chief Ralph She says “the little I know about him is that Uwazuruike is a freedom fighter and spokesperson of MASSOB, which gained momentum at the inception of Nigeria’s democratic journey in 1999. The group is canvassing for the secession of South East from Nigeria. Having schooled in India, He adopts the principle of non-violence as propounded by Mahatma Ghandi and Martin Luther Kings Jnr. as the guiding Philosophy behind his struggle. My people, I hope it is going well. This is Solid 100.9 FM and I need you to listen attentively to the background story I am giving you. He had been detained severally (**doubly emphasized**) and charged with treason in Nigerian Courts. Following Ojukwu’s death in 2011, Uwazuruike was named his successor and crowned Eze Igbo and has since embarked on several regional projects in honor of Ojukwu including erection of a library in honour of Ojukwu and building Residential Houses for displaced Biafran war veterans. Uwazuruike, last month accused the leader of IPOB Nnamdi Kanu for inciting ethnic cleansing in the land. He also accused the group of insulting and denigrating eminent Igbo leaders, South East Governors in his bid to continue leading Igbo youths to their untimely deaths. Okay, here is a big one...leading Igbo youth to their untimely deaths. She says further...If Uwazuruike was here, then I would have asked him little questions. But sinec he is not here, I will keep reeling the background so that we can get to our destination topic.”

27th Minute: Presenter continues... She says, “today, I am looking at Ebubeagu, the plans, the way forward in tackling the security challenges in Igbo land. ESN and Ebubeagu, based on Uwazuruike’s claim and his acceptance of Ebubeagu more than ESN and IPOB. She further asked “I want to know, do you think anything happened that informed his opinion, is there a reason, is he having a misunderstanding with Nnamdi Kanu?” She also noted that Igbos have a thing about attacking other’s success. “What do you think is the problem between them? Before now, it appears to me like they were friendly, but for him to now realize that the only security outfit in south East is the Ebubeagu, and that IPOB’s ESN is functional only on Social media, then something is up. What is it?”

31st Minute: Presenter continues...Phone in session: This program is a delicate program, so when you call, gently address the issue. If you insult or refuse to follow the rules, then I'll cut the call as a point of order. I am the one in charge. I want us to discuss openly.

38th Minute: ...Phone in session: Maazi Ogodo (first caller) What Uwazurike is saying is not acceptable to Igbos. The so called Ebubeagu has not been operationalized. Maazi Maduka from afikpo (second caller) It is about superiority complex. The two have what it takes to make Igbos thrive. There should be a joint effort to establish Ebubeagu, as the security challenge is not a joke. Biafra this Biafra that, let us unite and make Ebubeagu work.

45th Minute....Presenter: I see a debate on my social media platform @IjeleSolid @solid1009 Some say that Nnamdi Kanu, who is the leader of IPOB incites the youths to fight in the streets and die while he lives abroad in fancy houses and hotels. I don't know if that is the reason behind the perceived rancor between Uwazurike and Nnamdi Kanu. Please call in and tell us what you know that is happening...

Caller: Nnadozie Godwin from Abia State (third caller) No freedom fighter stays in the community He or she is fighting from, so Uwazurike is causing confusion. We all know that Nnamdi Kanu's fight is for Igbos to be free wherever they may be. Ralph has tried but should leave Nnamdi Kanu who we have chosen to follow; he is the moving train. What he started has failed, so We think He has been silenced with money, because there is no way one can stay in a country and be asking for self-determination and it will be successful. That is what I perceive to be the problem here, because Nnamdi Kanu insisted and stayed outside the Country.

Presenter: There is an assumption that Ralph Uwazurike collected money from Nigerian Government but I don't know how specific that story or how true it is. Is there any one that can confirm the story to us and reveal how much He collected and when it was collected? The only confirmation and question we should ask ourselves is why did MASSOB grow cold and the leader stays in the country and follows the Nigerian Government.

Caller: Maazi Chukwu Igwe (Fourth caller) There is a level you get to and you allow another person to take over. So for now, Ralph should give way to Nnamdi to push the agitation forward and supervise or advise as an elder.

Presenter: Let me ask, in Ralph's mind, Nnamdi Kanu is insulting and does not listen to advise. Because that is the meaning of what he is saying that ESN and IPOB is only existing on social media due to their leader's way of insulting people. Do you think He doesn't have a mind of his own to say as he feels as well? He has the right to say what he wants but there are people you meet and you need to follow them in a certain way to get what you want. I believe so much that Nnamdi Kanu is not insulting and if he is, then it is to correct somebody. And mentality of our Igbo people and Nigeria are not the same. If you talk to them in a reasonable way, you'll be treated as if you know nothing. In all areas, I expect Uwazurike as an elder to give room for the younger one to contribute. I a case where that does not happen then there is a problem.

Presenter: What if Nnamdi Kanu is not listening? That's what I mean. Definitely he would listen if there is a genuine and right approach to it. Nnamdi Kanu brought out himself to be committed to this struggle than he is, it is not easy.

53rd Minute... Chikodili (Fifth caller) Nnamdi Kanu and Uwazurike should reconcile their differences to avoid trouble. Matthew from Enugu (Sixth caller) Uwazurike went back to join Nigerian Government, so he should leave Nnamdi Kanu to do what He's purposed to do and save us from the hand of Fulani. It Is from Nnamdi Kanu that I hear a lot of happenings in Nigeria (**Presenter says: confirm, laughs**) so please there shouldn't be a fight between a Father and son; Uwazurike should go and sit down and leave Nnamdi Kanu to be used by God to save Igbos.

58th Minute...Presenter: Introduced the Station, her name and topic... What I am discussing this evening is on security in the whole Igbo land and from the look of things, it is no longer a joke or light issue. ESN decided to help the situation to ensure that the criminal elements invading Igbo land are dealt with. They helped when a fight broke out in Ebonyi State's crises that resulted to deaths. South East Governors then had a meeting and came up with a security outfit codenamed Ebubeagu. So I ask, who are the people that will make up the team? Is it better to put an existing structure; ESN so that they can help to solidify the architecture? What is the weapon strength of Ebubeagu that would make people leave their children to join in since Government said they won't give us guns that they prohibited? ESN said they have the resources and power to guard the forests in Igbo land but why are they not working with Government? As we see the destruction of public property with the allegations that it is ESN or IPOB that is responsible, they have also said they are not responsible for the one that happened last week. After that, Ebonyi crises and killings happened and more in Ebele, so I say it is more than can be handled. Then the Leader of MASSOB made the comment. Is there something fishy that made him recognize the security structure that was just recognized two days ago more than the ESN? These two people are freedom fighters, activists and have population and can control the Igbo youths to do their bidding. As a matter of fact, I don't want to overexaggerate, it is like their structures are bigger than some of the Government structures, but I wouldn't say it for a fact cos there is no data to prove that yet. But why did Uwazurike say it is only on social media that they exist while the both of them are fighting for the same course? That is my concern. Are they keeping malice? Why do people think that Ralph Uwazurike has taken a bribe from the Nigerian Government? Do you have a fact to that effect? Because I am fully aware that why Nnamdi Kanu is still raving on is because he takes no advise, and money from them. He has a mind of his own and just moves according to the spirit's leading. He then has massive followers, serious sponsors, and influence just as he said to Igbos to sit at home and they do till date. I have not seen anyone that did this before save from Uwazurike and Nnamdi Kanu. Why are they not agreeing again? Why did the Leader of MASSOB say that Ebubeagu is the one he knows and ESN which did not identify with the Government is unknown to him because they are only existing on the Social Media. I did not go to Ebonyi or see how ESN helped to stop the Ebonyi killings last week, but we heard that they helped. They are both fighting to ensure that Igbos get Biafra, it's like there is a falling apart along the way. Why? Let's know what it is.

1:06th Minute...Phonelines

Uche (Seventh caller) Anyone that says that Eastern Security helped Ebonyi State is lying. We only hear of them and see on Social Media. Nnamdi Kanu doesn't listen to advise; he is not only having issues with Uwazurike but with Uche Mefor.

Presenter: You see the beauty of the programme, it tells it as it is. Somebody now has confirmed that ESN did not come to Ebonyi to help them. That was a first hand confirmation. Then again, let us stop calling Fulani herdsmen bad names for nothing. The caller said it was boundary dispute between Ebonyi and Benue States. Which means, we may be looking outside for the cause of our problems whereas it lies within. We have also heard a confirmation of the last caller who perhaps is a senior stakeholder in IPOB that Nnamdi Kanu does not listen to anyone. This gives credence what Uwazurike said about Nnamdi having a mind of his own and insulting people. Maybe he insulted Uwazurike or not, but we have a confirmation at hand. Is it really just supremacy? Let's know. The reason I ask is that before you know it, it gets difficult. The foot soldiers here are the ones known to the security operatives, so I tell you the truth, anybody who is pushing you into war, you've not really experienced war real. Secondly, these two guys are pursuing the same thing so why the fracas? Can we do better? I think we can.

1:11th Minute... Commercial Break

Appendix II: Episode 2 (26 April, 2021)

Programme: Ijele

Topic: Ipob, Ikonso's death, Nigerian army, Nigerian police, South East Governors, ESN which way? What's up?

Duration: 46 Minutes

Presenters: *Ijele* and *Ogbuoja*

Facebook: 97,000 views, 1,300 comments and 1,400 likes.

Introduction

Our people I greet you all , how are you people, hope you're all doing fine, I'm saying well done. As you people can see this dance is not one to dance with tobacco in your hand , we'll do what were supposed to do despite it being diplomatic, just take the way it is ,take it as it comes . I said I'll will ask everyone to be mindful of what we say because what they are looking for is what they'll say Ijele- said or that the igbos said ,so please anyone who wants to contribute to our topic should be mindful of words, there will be time for people to contribute that means we'll just talk for a while and you people will take over, that's why I started with the warning earlier.

The number I wrote out is what you can use to reach us on WhatsApp, let me write it down again. I'm going to be diplomatic in other words no matter what happens don't throw insults , don't be spiteful. You'll all get time to speak what's on your mind but let's be civil, ok let's start.

Break song: (6 Minutes)

6th Minute...Presenter: Hope you are thinking, that is what the song "Ajofia" is asking this afternoon. our people I greet you all, hope you all are fine, things are just disarranged in this country, because of that I'm asking you to bring your chairs closer and let's discuss.

Ogbuoja Is not around , It is Ozioma Ejiofor that is speaking, a daughter that makes the people of Nofija proud, the daughter that when you see her smile, you'll give her all your money. This afternoon on Ijele we'll be talking about what concerns tradition, people life and what's happens around us, remember to be mindful of your words.

Our land is slowly turning into something else ,Igbo land is turning into something else. This afternoon, listen attentively so that you don't misrepresent me. if you people will listen carefully because today's topic is like a woman that's married but still caters for her family members. When there's a problem, her husband will say that she prefers her family to him, and if she happens to be attached to her husband's family, then her own family will say she prefers her husband's family to her own siblings. That is exactly what's happening right now. My people we don't love anybody specially or hate anybody either but we've seen ourselves in Nigeria and have put our hand under our Jaws and just watching to see what tomorrow brings and for the rest of the days , when we think we've heard it all ,we end up hearing another one.

Our people on the other hand, we are pursuing our goal of freedom for Biafra, people living abroad are also chasing this same goal zealously, sometimes it looks like it's close then the next minute it's off, and it looks like we're the cause of our problem.

Day before Yesterday we heard rumours that Iko Nso was shot ,who's ikonso?

Iko Nso is the young man who's in charge of Eastern Security Network (ESN) in Imo State region who was involved in a gun fight with, Nigerian Army, Police, DSS all of them (why was there a shoot-out?). Is it just one person that these operatives went to shoot or is there any other pursuit they have? It is like there is something happening in Imo state that we don't know about, it's really confusing, is it only in Imo state that things are happening, even in Ebonyi State what about the killings there, who are the people responsible?

We keep asking about all the policeman that are being shot almost every week, who are the people shooting them? It was said that the prison in IMO state was recently bombed and all the prisoners escaped. Last week, Imo State Governor Hope Uzodinma's house was set on fire and a lot of things were destroyed. As you're reflecting on that and watching, but there is nothing in sight to see. My people, that was why I decided that we would discuss this. Remember when they proscribed us ,we called out our governors asking them why they agreed to proscription, we came together and asked and realized that there is nothing at all our governors are doing for us, why is that people are in a house but it seems like it's full of spirits without human action? We also talked about the fact that cattle rearers have been terrorizing our people and chasing farmers from their farmlands. Nobody goes to farm anymore and all bushes have be abandoned, people in the north will suddenly stop work and tell us that they are going on strike, so bringing foodstuffs into Igbo land is now an issue, even if the food gets here it is really expensive, going to the market with just one thousand naira you'll end up buying nothing because the money will not be enough.

Our people ,this afternoon a couple of the army and police operatives sustained injuries, so we're asking what are they chasing?, what are they after? They have proposed Ebubeagu for us right? The people in charge of ESN are divided amongst those who agree and those who don't agree. The same Ikonso that we heard was alleged and rumored to have been called by the governor of Imo state to be the leader of Ebubeagu.

Our people, when we kill the mighty man in our home then we would be stranded in the day of external battle. If I am to ask a question this afternoon, just like I said before, we all know IPOB right from the start till now have always advocated for freedom, and that is what I know. The self-determination that IPOB is agitating for is sought for with instrumentality of mouth and our Biafran flag. But recently, I don't know what is happening that made it turn violent for the Army to be against IPOB and ESN. Now we are going to be contradicting matters, because we don't understand the people causing trouble now. Whether it's the Fulani herdsmen or IPOB that usually fight with mere words and Biafra flag, although they were proscribed as a terrorist organization because of the flag and mere use of words to kill people. They have not seen any of them with guns ,we don't know if they're the ones terrorizing people, bombing cells, razing down the Governor's house. We don't know if they are now our problem.

We also don't know if it's ESN that said their aim is to see that the igbos are safeguarded by ensuring that the forests are safe and Chase out the people terrorizing us. We don't Know if they're the ones that inconvenience our people. That's the disparity this afternoon. I want to know, cos we also don't know if the army has left the cattle rearers terrorizing our people and decided to face ESN and IPOB and others with the instrument of their mouths, or has it metamorphosed into something else for the army to see ESN as serious threat in South-Eastern security? We don't know. All these questions I am asking this afternoon are demanding answers. Our people, the main aim of setting up IPOB is for the independence of the sovereign state of Biafra land, that was the main aim of setting up IPOB. The referendum that we're looking for from the Nigerian Government is so that if things are shared, we'll know who's the favorite and who's the least favorite. That is another aim I am aware that IPOB has and pursues vehemently. The original intent for the creation of ESN and IPOB, are we still following that? Or has it metamorphosed into something more dreadful? If the original intent has changed, then it is good for us to know. If it has not changed and therefore just a witch hunt of their purpose by the army and police, then I would like to ask a certain question, who are those bombing the prisons? Who burnt Governor Hope Uzodinma's house? Who are those that set ablaze police stations? Who are those killing police men? Is it still the Herdsmen? Because I told you all that the worst thing that would happen to us in this pursuit is to be self-inflicting.

19th Minute: Presenter... Before I go forward my boss just came in Obi please greet our people.

Ogbuoja- good people of Igbo land o greet you all, people who believe in Igbo will live, people who also believe in Nigeria will also live, nonetheless the person who claims to do good to me but does otherwise should leave me. well done.

Ijele- Obi well-done I'm asking a very important question and what we're discussing this afternoon is about what happened during the weekend, we heard that the Lion ikonso was shot and we're asking why? Was he caught stealing? Was he caught lying? Did he kill someone and he was caught? Because these three sins are against our culture and tradition and unforgiveable, why were they after him? That's my question to the point that he was killed. Was he tried in the court and found guilty of these three sins? There was no accusation, no counter-argument or fight, and then we just heard that he was killed. That is what I am asking Obi, our brother.

Another important question is that the main aim of creating IPOB is for the resuscitation of Biafra and also for the good of Igbo land, for our self-determination, our referendum (**Ogbuoja:** which they decided to silence). What the IPOB were known is the Biafran flag and mere words, but they are now considered security threats to people including my humble self. I'm then asking have they left their vision for Biafra? Are they now shooting people with guns? Has it now come to them tagging us bandits? I need to understand. Is it that when a child struggles for his/her place, then it's a bad child? Someone won't approach you to kill you and you stand still for that to happen. A couple of gun owners known to us are members of ESN, because of what they do in the forests to keep the people safe from the Herdsmen. Now, they also added Ebubeagu and are yet to select the people that would work in that constituency. Why did they kill the leader of ESN? Is he really a security threat?. If you say yes, then let us know how he became a security threat and if you say no you'll also tell me why. They're professing and alleging that ESN and

IPOB is responsible for the bombing of prison in Owerri and setting the governor's house on fire, but some of them have come out to deny the both allegations. Please our people, remember that there was a time when we were told that they wanted the same Ikonso that was killed to be the leader of ebubeagu, but he refused. I don't know why he refused.

Ogbuoja- that shows that he was not a threat, as everybody knew him.

Ijele- Everybody knew him; he was not a hidden figure. He attended their meetings before and told them no, even if he didn't go there physically then a phone call would have done that. What is now the issue between us and our military, police and Governors? what do you think they are struggling for in this Igbo land that made all and sundry to be in disarray? That is what I am asking this afternoon.

Ogbuoja- Ijele, my own is that the musician; Ajofia said that we the Igbos make a caricature of ourselves. The worst is that there is no security in Igbo land. Why I said so is that I was on my way here and the roads were blocked by the Army at Awka causing hold up. When it is night, would they stay there to cause hold up? Normally people go back to their house when it's late, right?

Ijele- exactly.

Ogbuoja- Our governors walk around as Chief Security of the States, yet state army operatives guard them (**Ijele:** yes), some are alleged to now live at the army Barack because of protection. It's like that today, why? Igbos are making caricature of themselves. The first one is that ESN, I had never been in favour or against it. Reason, I understand that Nnamdi Kanu is the head of IPOB, so all he was saying when he started ESN were all true .

They were raping our women and our mothers, going to the farm to harvest produce was a problem, you can't go and collect your proceeds from your farmland because people were being killed, our governors didn't want to talk because of their political ambitions, for second tenure or senatorial position. Were they made governors to become politicians? They are there to lead us and speak for us and also to help us .

Members of the house of representative, senators none of them want to talk or even make enough effort to help us secure our land. Federal Government on its own is doing virtually nothing. There was a time they made an announcement that all individuals in possession of guns in Igbo land should submit them, I know it was done in Igbo land but I don't know if it happened in other places. People who had guns submitted them and the police took them all, but the cattle rearers with Ak47 in the bush, how many was collected from them, how many did the police collect from Igbo land, what is the cause?

Lastly, insecurity is too much in Igbo land. We are a bit secure in comparison with the whole of Nigeria, but at a stage we are no longer secure (**Ijele:** we are no longer) if you check the rumour going on, the fingers are pointing at the Herdsmen, and I am not sure that there are Igbos who rear cattle. So this continued unto Nnamdi Kanu started taking about the South East having its own security so that we can protect ourselves. Do you remember Ijele that there a time Miyetti Allah proposed to form security for us in Igbo land? (**Ijele:** yes). So the Northerners proposed to

come and safeguard us, that means that we need security in our place and they know our ordeals. Our governors kept quiet, Nnamdi Kalu told them that our security is a joke, since the Northerners are proposing to come and guard the South East. That is the same people we're avoiding, our governors' still didn't react then Nnamdi Kanu created ESN that their job is to eradicate the foreigners in our bushes. You know that an Igbo person in the North rent their shop and pay rent for houses to live in, we don't live in their forests. (**Ijele:** we don't grab their land by force) If you get to the North, they have houses and don't live in the forest. Why would they come to our place and live in the forest? (**Ijele:** they don't pay rent) The offence they have committed is excess.

People who live in houses pay for them and also their shops, pay for electricity, pay for water, and many other amenities but they don't pay for anything. Nigeria's GDP keeps going down because of them, they don't pay for anything, do human beings live in bushes? All the social amenities that are supposed to be built no way, I wonder how they charge their phones.

Now, if you check in this 21st century that someone lives like this, and we talk about one Nigeria. Someone that lives that way carries gun, does it show that the person was well trained? They will even chase you that is staying at home (**Both presenters**), we keep quiet and our governors are quiet. Nnamdi Kanu then observed the trend and decided to do the needful. That is why IPOB might be connected with guns.

Wait. Ijele before we start talking about ESN, this parole that IPOB is carrying out do you know how many people the police has killed? Do you know how many people the Nigerian Government has killed amongst our Igbo brethren in IPOB without guns and cutlasses? With all these killings, no Governor has come out to condemn it as not fair. Has any senator come out to say anything?, No, (**Ijele:** they were there and we were proscribed)

Ijele- I don't understand why five states were proscribed, and that is the sole reason behind the agitation now.

Ogbuoja-nobody is on the road anymore because of fear that people might kill them these are people who go to their farms.

Ijele- They don't understand why they proscribed us, and these are people that were supposed to be one Nigeria will carry guns. The other day, Oforbuike was kidnapped here in Enugu in the middle of the road at Nachi in Enugu. We paid ten million naira to release him.

Ogbuoja- You people were lucky to have them released. You should go for thanksgiving.

Ijele- It was Fulanis, four guys, four.

Ogbuoja- Now ESN is out, what are our governors' problem? What's disturbing the Nigerian security? What are they scared of? When the normal has been there and someone wants to fight the normal then you are against him. There's are things that. Are not good but have been there for a while, someone wants to fix it and they're saying no.

Ijele-why didn't they trouble Amotekun? Amotekun is soaring.

Ogbuoja- Amoteko is on its own, OPC was trending before Amotekun in the West.

Ijele- there's a man in Yoruba land named Sunday Igboho who single handedly chased out all the hausa's around his area that he doesn't want to see any of them and the Yoruba's stood firmly behind him but our governors have proven that it won't happen in Igbo land.

Ogbuoja- Why, it's because our governors are concerned about being president (**Ijele:** they will not get it, but you know that they won't get it) and coming back for a second tenure, nothing else matters to them aside this and none is thinking of us. Now they have proscribed us, these Governors were there, Ohaneze Ndigbo was there. Group Group the day I start insulting them, it will seem like I am a bad person. They were there and supported it. Is it only Hausa that is Nigeria? Senators were aware and nobody said let's reverse it.

ESN carries gun and are being harassed, Amotekun also carries gun and no one disturbed them. The westerners jointly agreed for it to be so. Nnamdi Kanu brought out ESN and our governors brought out Ebubeagu, does ebubeagu have a foundation? No it doesn't.

Ijele- since Ebubeagu came into existence, you know it was proposed few days ago.

Ogbuoja- ijele wait let me tell them something, Ebubeagu is seemingly where brothers chase brothers,, nothing else, ebubeagu is a name that gives credence to brothers to kill themselves, we forget that's we're igbos and we're destroying ourselves. We have to ask ourselves, this ESN in truth is it what they profess that they do? If that is what they are doing then it is right. You'll not tell me that someone will be with Ak47 saying he's a cattle rearer and the police will not collect it or pursue after the person. If they don't rape they kill, me that went there I took to my heels.

ESN came out and they now said they should not operate. The kidnappings are done in the forests of igbo land. IJELE recall that the governor of enugu state brought his own security guards, how are they doing, have they been able to bring out those people with guns from the bushes?

Ijele- Do you know that where oforbuike was taken to had take away plates littered everywhere, meaning that it's their den that he was taken to, before they were operating around nsukka road.

Ogbuoja-they make use of areas that people pass through, I thought we have forest guards? All they do is drive around town in their car, is that where their job is? Some even use motorcycles to do show.

Ogbuoja-we haven't told ourselves the truth, however what I'm telling the igbos is that we all have flaws, yes nnamdi kanu has some as a human being that he is but 60-70 percent of what he's saying is the truth, 60-70 percent of what he's saying is the truth.

Ijele- the only issue our governors have against Nnamdi kanu is that he doesn't have respect, they said he doesn't have respect or listens to anybody.

Ogbuoja- Those Governors talking, do they have respect for us that they are leading?

Ijele- you'll talk about the governors, I thought they're supposed to ask the people that they're governing how they are doing and they will in turn tell them what's happening around them, so

that they know how to tackle the issues. It looks like the people abroad have more information than us in Nigeria.

Ogbuoja- Ijele let me tell you the truth, you and I are in enugu and something happens in trans ekulu someone in Madagascar or Venezuela it Austria will send us a video of it to. Watch.

Ijele- I'm not joking, honestly the people abroad get informations more than us.

Ogbuoja-there are times. I ask myself if I'm truly working in a radio station, but its like we are caged and can barely do what is right. how is it that we have local stations in Igbo land, but If anything happens in igbo land,I don't think the radio disseminates news to communities. We're supposed to be focused on things happening around us instead of always focusing on abroad news that is not our business.

There was a time, they were talking about having state police, now they're no longer talking about it. When the five state governors of south east and Ikuku the president of ohaneze had a meeting concerning the Security of Igboland they ended up inviting the inspector general of police who's a Fulani man to attend the meeting where they are discussing things relating to the igbos , when the Yoruba's discussed amotekun was he invited? It's like this people are not taking what concerns us serious, they don't care about our troubles.

Ijele-there was a problem at artisan the other day ,the hausa's refused to leave Nnaji's family land , someone's land, they said they won't leave, burnt down a bulldozer and everything that were around the area, chased everyone out. Did. You heard about it, it looked like a movie that day.

Ogbuoja- the other day on my way to Eastern Blue Bills hotel ,I was going to get fuel and I saw that the road was blocked and they were spoiling people's car ,I decided to drive one way because of that and I was hoping to get stopped by a policeman so I can hit him. Because they saw the commotion and how many people did they arrest? If it was IPOB members that did it do you know that no one would go free (**Ijele:** no one, But they said there was an arrest) they said, have you seen it in official news? (**Ijele:** it's in our news) did you see on tv, don't you know that if it's Igbo people now they'll be paraded on tv; channels. Cnn (**Ijele:** affirms) I don't have a problem with the Nigerian security, It's our governors that I have a problem with, politicians that are our leaders, the people they're leading are even better than them.

If you're a leader then you need to have a feedback mechanism but you're just there without a clue like money missed road and they came in through personal connections. It is time, our people are supposed or our governors should at interval check the messages of what Nnamdi kanu has been saying and know the ones that have happened, the ones that they have seen with their eyes, then know if the ones that have happened are greater than the ones that are yet to happen,, If it's much then you respect yourselves and have a meeting with him to know what is happening to us.

Ijele- they said they had tried to have a meeting with him but he was arrogant and rude.

Ogbuoja- Ijele is it today that you know the igbos? Governors that feel like they are age mates with God, which meeting are they talking about? The person that is even looking for their

attention. If I was listening to these people talk about 70- 90% of what they're saying are lies. Some of them do things to favour the leaders in Abuja, how can you talk about south East security and you'll involve the inspector general, Ijele I'm on air I don't want to get angry.

Ijele- please don't be angry.

Ogbuoja-in our land the governors, house of assembly members, I am not sure we have it in Igbo land. The Senate is in Abuja, so their own sin is on their head, same goes for the house of representative but inside state where people are been killed and kidnapped (**Ijele:** you sit down to eat and enjoy) they're all quiet, by May 29th they'll all come out to wave at us, some of them will enter motorcycle, while some will buy corn and pear, 2023 is around the corner. Come out, next tomorrow Anambra state will come out to vote. Anambra's election is on November 6th and they are waiting for sycophants to hail their political ambition.

My people is it not time to tell ourselves the truth. I don't blame Nnamdi kanu that said we should boycott election so that we can set things straight, so that we know what we are facing. It is not about forming Ebubeagu by force in a meeting that never took place and then tell us that there's Ebubeagu.

Ijele- what is it protecting? What's Ebubeagu supposed to be protecting?

Ogbuoja- it's not here to protect, it's here to destroy siblings.

Ijele-but the why have they not accepted the existing ESN, why are they not accepting it?

Ogbuoja- yes why couldn't the governors hijack it and use it to achieve their aim? Even all Yorubas did not approve Amotekun when it came about.

Ijele- But they did not have an option (**Ogbuoja:** they did not have an option. they looked and saw that it was a lesser evil) is it a bad thing for our people to ask questions, and the way Ikonso died. The problem I have is that I feel like I know the young man physically, I think I know the guy. I don't know if he is from Enugu, I don't know but really the face looks familiar.

Ogbuoja-is he slim?

Ijele- No, the young man looks very familiar, and if he's from enugu then I know him.

Ogbuoja- ijele let's leave ikonso's matter for now

Ijele- I will talk about ikonso, I will because it's been long since we started talking about ESN and IPOB it's never ending. I want to know why they killed the young man. Did they find out that he had a hand in what happened in imo state or is it because he refused to be the leader of ebubeagu

Ogbuoja- ijele what's happening is that the police men killed, members of the IPOB have said it is not ESN. I remember when DSS said a bank will be robbed the bank was eventually robbed, our problem is that we don't have leaders, we have politicians, all of them want to collect everything and stuff their pockets, nobody is telling each other the truth. How can Nigerian government have police and there is no State police but our governors are doing little or nothing

to have a state police. And you know that if State police exist, it is people from state that would be enrolled there to be able to detect their peculiar problems.

Ijele- exactly, it's not to put an hausa man in charge and he doesn't know anything.

Ogbuoja - yes, If I am chosen to work with Nanka security, it would be difficult to have intruders hide in the gully near us and I won't know. It would only take me like two days to identify the intruder. If you see a foreign body in your town, you'll know and alert. But even if you see the foreign body, it could be a cattle herder with gun and if you call police, are they indomitable? They may just end up locking the person up and then bail follows. Now when the police is involved, without proper investigation, some say it is ESN, but initially they were branded Unknown Gunmen. It is until the people caught declare their identity to be ESN, that's when you can be sure. They said Ikonso is a member of ESN, did He kill them? Did they catch him killing? The first time I went to Orlu, I heard that some people operate in the forest. Anyone in the forest that does not come out to the street, there is nothing that concerns me with such a person. Even the Sambisa forest that the Boko haram members are occupying, have they cleared it? This one is because it is in Igbo land where they can easily conquer with the help of our Rulers. If we're telling ourselves the Truth, then I don't know why we have the operation python dance by the military, the second one is the gun shots that are been heard in Igbo land was any hausa man killed were they not Igbos? Some people are saying that when Igbos were in leadership, they did nothing about the Boko Haram in the North, but Ijele you know we've not had a chance in Nigeria's leadership since our democratic journey. Do you know this kind of thing will not happen in Niger Delta.

Ijele- honestly, the way things are going now ,if you were not in support of IPOB you'll begin to think again and deduce truth from what they have been saying. It like where they do geographical forecast and you see it play out exactly the way it was forecast.

Ogbuoja- I just remembered something that made me laugh now. If we say certain things, the NBC would come for us, but they have not gone to get Radio Biafra's frequency to block it.

Ijele-do you know how many times it has been blocked but satellite is satellite it's not like our own radio.

Ogbuoja-their listenership is high and if you check most of what he says to them, most of them happen. Some happen after he speaks of them.

Ijele-if not for one thing, you know there are born prophets by default and learned prophets, Remove Nnamdi Kalu's rudeness and madness and listen to what he's saying

Ogbuoja-Don't throw the water used in bathing a child with the child in it.

Ijele- what is he really saying? (**Ogbuoja:** is it true or false) The little I have learnt in my small life of Nnamdi Kanu's stand is about freedom for Oduduwa, freedom for Biafra, freedom for the hausa , everybody should have their freedom. If they say it is impossible, then to restructure the Constitution to give referendum for everyone that what he's saying.

Ogbuoja-move forward no ,make way no.

Ijele- It is because of the redundancy we have in Igboland so it looks like some Governors are close to the President, so they mortgage themselves (**Ogbuoja:** all of us).

they end up selling themselves, Nnamdi Kalu was talking and they felt it is a social media stunt, they feel he's saying nonsense, they're seeing him as someone who instigates the youth to kill themselves while he's not living in Nigeria.

The highest thing the Nigerian Government did was to give credence to Nnamdi Kanu by locking him up in a cell and made him a big man. People who didn't know him now know him, children and those unborn also know him. He is more popular than the Governors (**Ogbuoja:** Uwazuruike then went to sleep). Our people don't understand some certain things, some people outgrow their structure for example Yul of Wazobia. The station was there before he came in, but he changed things around there now one advert is from four hundred thousand to one million. If you also come to Solid FM, there are some people you'll remove and the place will die down, it's not like they don't understand their value but because they love their job and they humble themselves.

That's exactly what's happening between us, our governors and Nnamdi Kanu because if they realise that this young man has sprouted to the point that if you count 100 Igbos, IPOB and MASSOB has about 90% of Igbos and just 10 or 20% still believe in the Nigerian Government keep saying one Nigeria and if you check some of them have property in the North. They wouldn't want to leave it and return.

Ogbuoja- not minding how things are currently.

Ijele- if the governors will ignore Nnamdi Kalu's stubbornness and insults because he insults a lot, accept him as their own, after all insults don't kill. What do the Igbos want? , Honestly what do they really want? We have what others are looking for. We have a cause that some people are seeking for and because some few people are holding down power, they don't understand what is at stake. Even though they understand it, they are playing to the gallery. So that's the anger of this whole agitation. Now it has resulted to us killing ourselves. Are we ready for this forthcoming war about to sprout? Because I see a South East that will seriously be warring in no time.

Ogbuoja- it's the killer of brethren's, where siblings will kill themselves, imagine if my brother is in ESN and I'm in Ebubeagu, then we'll end up killing ourselves.

Ijele- South East might fight because if this, when you come to a family one is a member of Ebubeagu and another a member of ESN.

Ogbuoja- but why is now that our governors remember, why didn't they create it since?

Ijele- whenever time a person wakes up becomes their morning, since this is what we have seeking a long time ago. Nimbo people were killed they were silent, people of Uzo-Uwani were killed and we kept mum, even when people were killed in Ebonyi, they kept quiet.

Ogbuoja- and we keep chanting one Nigeria in peace

Ijele- Now that they burnt Governor Hope Uzodinma's house, it's not good.

Ogbuoja- Or perhaps they did it intentionally to skyrocket the issue at hand.

Ijele- I am still asking IPOB is their initial agenda still stands. Because it will not be good to eventually end up in the trap of guilt set for them.

Ogbuoja- I heard that it's ESN that carry weapons and not IPOB. They are also supposed to tell us the difference between ESN and IPOB.

Ijele: are they different? Why am I asking is because I think I know Ikonso. His face is familiar.

Ogbuoja: ESN shouldn't have anything to do with the agitation for independence. Their concern should be about the security of igbo land. In fact Nigerian security from the Eastern side just like Amotekun is Nigerian security from the Western side. But if it is merged with IPOB then there is a foundational problem there.

Ijele: There is already a foundational problem as the Nigerian Government sees IPOB as proscribed. Merging ESN to tally with IPOB would warrant ESN being called Bandits or Terrorists.

Ogbuoja: When they were proscribed it was as a terrorist group but the Herdsmen with guns have never been proscribed.

Ijele: They are called and given money and asked what they want.

Ogbuoja: A sitting Governor supports the guns carried by Herdsmen that they should carry it for their protection. So their own lives are more valuable than mine.

Ijele- what you just said caused a problem between Bauchi state Governor and Benue State governor some time ago.

Ogbuoja- they'll leave the cattle rearers and come after innocent people.

Ijele- the Fulani's did not carry guns before now to rear cattle. they just reside in the bushes.

Ogbuoja- the problem was that they carry their cattles to people's farmland and our people were not happy ,they can't even finish all the grass in igboland if they start eating them. You'll plant yam by the time you go to check it the cattle have destroyed everything.

Ijele- someone said the igbos don't know how to play the game that the Nigerian Government is playing, ugonnaya from Facebook said ESN is our problem because Nnamdi kanu showed us ESN, I don't understand what he's saying

Ogbuoja- Ijele the truth is that Nnamdi kanu is seen as the leader of ESN nothing else , what was proscribed was IPOB and not Nnamdi Kanu.

Ijele- did they proscribe IPOB?

Ogbuoja- the government talked about IPOB, Nnamdi kanu is an Igbo man that's why IPOB is on one side and ESN in the other, so he has the right to suggest what would benefit the whole

Igbo land. ESN is not about secession or agitation for independence but security for the Igbos. our governors are supposed to ask questions, instead every state would have it's own head of security, about 10 people from each local government with one person as the leader of each group and they will work with Nnamdi Kanu's men.

Ijele- someone said ESN and IPOB are the same.

Ogbuoja- I don't know but if ESN is known as Biafra security agents, we don't have Biafra yet, it's called Eastern Security Network not Biafra security network, if it's ESN then I'm still in Igbo land, it's not later they'll go back on what they have said and create ebubeagu it's not true that that ESN carries guns to chase the hausa's like they chased us.

Ijele-someone else just said that ESN and IPOB are not the same

Ogbuoja-if a member of ebubeagu carries guns and enter the forest and sees his brother chasing an hausa man with gun is he supposed to shoot his brother, that's to say if you're with gun and you see your brother kill him no matter the situation. the police are not even chasing these people.

Ijele- Obi let me ask ,our people yours hearing our voices from solid 100.9 fm in 10b Savage crescent inside GRA enugu,my name is Ozy Ejiofor,the daughter that makes the people of Nofija proud,once you see my smile your money will start dropping, I'm not alone I'm with ogbuoja of the igboland,let's go on a little break we'll be back soon ,we greet you all.

(Break)

Ogbuoja-very well, we're back.

Ijele- our people ,my name is Ozy Ejiofor and the person you just heard his voice is Ogbuoja of the Igbo land. The question that needs an answer which we are asking this afternoon , is there anything happening in Imo state between the IPOB, ESN and the security agents?

What do you think is happening in Imo state, things are getting out of hand if you enter Enugu, you'll notice that some of the roads are blocked including that of government house and Okpara square, you can't enter those places, you'll have to go round it.

Ogbuoja- my own is in Anambra ,the front of the government house Amawbia is blocked with barricades, even the police station at CPS the same thing, you can enter the government house. But just like you asked while waiting for people to call , there has never been a time that there wasn't a problem between IPOB or ESN or even the government.

Ijele- the numbers to call if you're abroad is +2347050791009 you can also call us on WhatsApp ,you can equally reach is on 090023111009 or 0907711009

Hello

Caller 1- well done ogbuoja of the Igbo land my name is Augustine.

Ogbuoja-I can hear you

Caller 1 - I want to contribute on your topic

Ijele-go ahead.

Caller 1- where all these became a problem is that our governors are aware of these killings in adazi , ebonyi and abakiliki ,our governors are after their presidential ambition and their children are abroad. I'm pained that the governor of Ebonyi State is not doing anything. If you come to enugu, uguwanyi can't get around freely. They ended up creating ESN to chase the people in our farmlands out. Our Governors have been around and did nothing. They created Ebubeagu. Where is then the glory? (Presenters laugh in affirmation) Let me stop now before I am accused of hate speech.

Ogbuoja- it's well Augustine thank you.

Ijele-from people abroad that wish to call us you can reach us with 0705791009 , we'll be delighted if you join our conversation.

Ogbuoja-it's alright someone is calling.

Hello who's on the line, what's your name and where are you calling from?

Caller 2_ what I want to say is that the problem is from the governors.

Ijele- how' is it their fault.

Caller 2_When IPOB was parading with flags, when they are killed the Governors don't say anything. If the Governors are wise, they should work together with Nnamdi Kanu. They say He is rude; he is not rude.

Ijele_ I hope we heard him well.

Ogbuoja- ijele you remember you asked if there is a problem between IPOB, ESN, State Government and Nigerian Security agents. The answer is known to all because When those without guns are killed and boasted about, the day those people carry guns then there will trouble. I did not say it's IPOB, I am using proverbs.

Caller 3_ Ejikeme from South Africa. First, 2015 is when I started watching Nnamdi Kanu, although I am not a member. The truth is that before he formed the Eastern Security Network, he wrote to the Governors of the South-East.

Caller 4_ Ugo from Northern Nigeria. What is happening in Imo State is that there is underground arrangement to disorganise the South East. They are using our Leaders against us.

Caller 5_ Uchenna from Enugu. The one that happened in Enugu is my concern. We talk about security, security but it's better for the country to spoil so that we all start afresh (Presenters laugh). I tell you the truth. The road the Governor takes to the airport has been blocked by the Hausas at New artisan. The hausa shoot with the police. If you go to Park lane you'll see what the Hausas used knives to do to Igbos. Is there any Igbo that can do this in the North where hausas reside?

Ogbuoja: It was during Chimaroke's time that they were taken to New artisan. It's someone's land. Our leaders are behaving like what's happening is not their business. Was the owner of the land paid compensation? I heard they have been given another place to stay. Why? They should rent like others and pay for it.

Ijele-why, they should go and pay for houses, shops, we pay for all these things but the hausa's don't. We rent homes in the North, we don't live in their forests.

Ogbuoja-the government have given orders for all security member to remove all they used to block the roads, everybody should bring out money whether Igbo, hausa or Yoruba and pay do shops and houses they shouldn't be given a place no land is free.

Ijele- even in the hausa land, people pay for houses, they are planning to give them a land they shouldn't do it, they pay for things in their land.

Ogbuoja- the government are also helping to spoil things they are been given certificate, by looking for a land to give them, lands in igboland are for sale and they want to give it to them for free, Gburugburi your Excellency governors Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi, please be mindful of this water before it drowns people, anyone who's against it would be held responsible for deaths.

Ijele-there are markets everywhere. Let the Traditional rulers stop giving lands to the Herdsmen.

Imagine the Hausas making news in Igbo land. What nonsense. They should go and rent a place.

Otakaagu_ What are talking about is tomorrow, those sleeping in Igbo land should wake up. It is time, so let every Igbo person wake up.

Ogbuoja- Governor should not give anyone land or shop. The one of artisan should be addressed, else we stop eating cows and they should go home with their cows.

Ijele: why are the Governors hostile to selected people, why? Nobody has monopoly of madness, they should go back to their territory. The Rivers State Governor gave them a run. You can't come to someone's place and kill them.

Ogbuoja_ Enugu State House of Assembly should not agree for Governor to give them lands. The Governors of the South East have made the mistake. Tell yourselves the truth our Leaders. The State lawmakers are not working, if so they shouldn't approve any land. They should rent.

Ogbuoja_ Your Excellency we love you ,all we're saying is for the good of everyone, if it's seems difficult just give me governorship for one day and see change.

Ijele- our people you're listening to is from 10b Savage crescent in GRA Enugu, the world messenger, my name is Ozy Ejiofor and I'm with ogbuoja of the igboland giving you our input, the daughter that the people of Nofija is proud of , just my smile can make your money drop, I greet you all.

Join us on this meeting where we promote Igbo language in this program called IJELE , IJELE comes to you every Monday from 12pm to 3pm, on Tuesday we have ENAEGKWA with

ogbuoja and with chizzy Ani every Wednesday through Thursday where we bring you KAOBANYA NA KA OPO from 5pm to 6pm, then on Friday we have OGE UDO.

Everyone should take things easy, ESN should take things easy, our governors should take things easy,, Nigeria should take things easy,, IPOB should take things easy,, our people, I greet you all.

Appendix III: Episode 3 (31 January, 2022)

Programme: *Ijele*

Topic: What are we gaining and losing from the Monday sit-at-home IPOB exercise in Nigeria

Duration: 46 Minutes

Presenters: *Ijele* and *Ogbuoja*

Facebook: 6,200 views, 192 comments and 111 Likes.

Introduction

Started with songs for about 8 minutes. The first song's chorus is translated "Some are pleased and others are displeased."

Ogbuoja: Igbo people we greet you. Our stance is for the life of the fish and water *** This is Ijele programme on the airwaves of Solid 100.9 Fm. I am not here alone. Ijele greet the people.

Ijele: Our people I greet you. Good morning, afternoon or evening. Today's topic will be very amazing. I hope it is going well with you our people. Let us tell you about the main topic of discussion.

Ogbuoja: Moving forward, A musician said none should obstruct another. Another one says if you toil in the sun, you enjoy in the shelter. Again, Oliver de Coque sang "If Nigeria agrees, all will be well." Another musician sang "Is that how the world is, I am fearful, because you don't know who to avoid." Ijele, I am still singing for our people. Erico says "man is the problem" fact. Oliver also sang "God help everyone to build and own their distinctive houses." Osadebe also sang "some are happy and pleased, some are not happy and are displeased." Another artist sang "It is Igbo that kills Igbo." Our Igbo people, these songs were sung for us to learn. Mudibe also said "some agree and others don't." Our people, in Igbo land today. We don't know the people to avoid. In today's Nigeria, Igbos are among the marginalized and now getting to marginalizing themselves. It is terrible. While growing up, I used to hear an Igbo saying that the rejected does not reject him/herself. However, it's like the rejected has rejected themselves. Other zones are clamoring for Presidency, but we are asking for self-determination although some of Igbos are asking for Igbo presidency. The two aspirations are far from our reach. Some far sighted people are asking for equity say we need a President from Igbo extraction and not an Igbo president, because there is no Igbo country. But the Igbos don't look like they are ready for it.

Ijele: Why is that?

Ogbuoja: I know you like Igbo land. However, Igbos don't seem ready for Election, because of the divided voices asking for different things. There are those clamoring for Igbo President, while some say Igbos should secede, I am among those calling for restructuring. There was a

time when the Northerners were saying what we say now. There was a time when igbos were at the helm of affairs and had fair representation before the circumstances that led to the civil war and the igbos asked to leave Nigeria. After the war, the hausas decided to outsmart the smart ones. In JAMB, the South East has above 100 cut off marks, but in the North, they have the cut off mark of 17. Ijele, I don't know if you are listening.

Ijele: Yes.

Ogbuoja: Our people are not thinking of how these affect igbo, perhaps as a gameplan. We are just there comfortable and saying that we are brainy. If they are brainy, how many of them gained admission into the Federal University? Is it not Polytechnics that most get admission into, where they sell handouts. Our Children are now more of Student-Billionaires and Millionaires without having a handiwork. Our Igbo Children look like they won't last into the future, like a firewood that burns up fast. I remember when people used to sell firewood after fetching it so as to train themselves in school. It's not just to do business in the school and make money. There is no money shared in school. It is stealing that our people do in the school. They go to make contacts and learn how to steal. Some die in it, because they may dabble into the hands a fetish Chinese and then the repercussions affect even the household. They don't care, it is not funny. In Nigeria, the entire workforce of the Federation, the Northerners and the Southerners have taken them. If it is 100, then the North took about 70%, Yoruba has 20% and the South-South has 6 or 7% while the Igbos are crippled at 3%. In Education, Banking; more of the Northerners are employed at the Central Bank of Nigeria. Every Ministry and Parastatal in Government have mostly Hausas and Yorubas. At most, they make an Igbo a secretary. They make an Hausa with 3rd class Director and an Igbo with 1st class a Secretary. There is no how the person below can edge out the person on top. This morning on AIT, PDP was interviewed on Kakaki and they spoke of how they went for negotiation talk in Igbo land and thought that IPOB would cause a scare and scamper. They said they were afraid of passing through the Igbo land, but they passed peacefully. But that conception that Igbo land is a no go area thrives here with the Monday's sit at home, we don't know who to listen to anymore. Is it Emma Powerful or is it Ekpa that is the spokesperson of IPOB? Ijele, we don't know. Let me conclude, because I know you don't like what I'm saying. I am then asking, today that we the Igbos are canvassing for Biafra with the Monday sit-at-home with the warning that everyone not come outside or else face the consequences. This favors Igbos but Education wise, what we are losing with this sitting at home...our children don't go to school as often and the school calendar is affected too. Sometime we lose 3 days in a week. You are part of those that said it is for a just cause, so tell me Ijele are there still advantages or disadvantages?

Ijele: Anyone that stays at home on Monday is on their own, because the IPOB has come out to say that they have canceled the sit-at-home order.

Ogbuoja: but someone said they have not canceled; they said it is on autopilot, so people are scared to go out on Monday so that they are not killed.

Ijele: you know that a joint venture suffers for lack of ownership. The truth is that here in Solid fm, the only channel people listen to and affirm their credibility, people will obey once you say they should move or not. They will believe you without the possibility of verifying. If another

person says otherwise, then it would be hard to counter the already existing belief. That is the case here with sit-at-home on Monday. People sit back out of fear although IPOB has called it off. In all honesty, the worst part is that I don't know who is who, but there is also the WhatsApp Broadcast message. I heard with my two ears that the Monday sit-at-home order has been canceled.

Ogbuoja: I heard it.

Ijele: Oh you did?

Ogbuoja: I also heard the directive as well that and that the spokesperson abroad insulted the one here in Nigeria for saying it has been called off. Emma Powerful in Nigeria said it has been called off, but the one Abroad; Ekpa said it's on autopilot, hence sit-at-home continues.

Ijele: ****laughs**** Please the one that lives in Nigeria, does He live in this Igbo land?

Ogbuoja: He goes to TV stations and walks around freely, he has access to see Nnamdi Kanu in detention, but the one abroad never set foot here.

Ijele: Is that so? All I know is that I heard with my two ears that there is no more sit-at-home. It's viral and I did not hear of it today, so Ogbuoja if you are talking about it then we are just doing a follow up story, as far as I am concerned. The first story has been well absorbed,

Ogbuoja: Those who braved it to go out on Mondays, some had their cars vandalized and others were killed.

Ijele: Exactly, they vandalized cars along Ozalla the other day. You understand? But what I perceive is that there are mischief makers using this sit-at-home to enrich themselves. That is what I perceive.

Ogbuoja: They also use it as a guise to snatch cars. They do it mostly on Mondays.

Ijele: But Ogbuoja, as we discuss the effects it is good to equally discuss the agency of it. It is like Nnamdi Kanu is the one spinning the sit-at-home effect. It is on his account. I say it with all boldness.

Ogbuoja: The one I know Nnamdi Kanu said was on May 30th.

Ijele: The one Nnamdi Kanu actually said is that any day he goes to court, the people of South East should stay back at home. May 30th is when we remember the fallen heroes that fought for Biafra. The same way the West remember Abiola with a date, is the same way Igbos are clamoring for 30th to be set aside as a memorial in the constitution.

Ogbuoja: Our people are fighting against it.

Ijele: Yes, our people are fighting against it. But the sit-at-home that I am well aware of is that they said any day Nnamdi Kanu would go to court, the people should sit at home.

Ogbuoja: Two weeks ago he went to court people sat at home for three day; Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday. There was no movement.

Ijele: That one is confounding. And I call on IPOB to put their house in order because of the confounding confusion. The main point for the sit-at-home is because of the silence of our leaders regarding the Nnamdi Kanu matter. That he went to Kenya and was picked like a nobody and brought back to Nigeria to face trial. That the land is not secure and the leaders are relaxing like it's not their business. That there is no water, electricity, no good school, healthcare facilities, no good road, and the social amenities that the Leaders should provide is a hoax and we pay tax upon tax.

Ogbuoja: Ijele do you know that I had to fetch water today with my own cans.

Ijele: It is good you are saying it with your mouth. That is what the sit-at-home is about. It is that restructuring is far-fetched and State or community police as well, even the Ebubeagu security outfit is far-fetched coupled with ESN. That is what the sit-at-home is about. Insecurity is now overrated, so there is need to first find the cause before treating the effects or symptoms of a problem. Do you see this sit-at-home, any day our South East Governors sit on a round table to make Nnamdi Kanu's case a priority, and take it to Abuja, the sit-at-home will end and things will be better. It is not about Ohaneze Ndiigbo, which has become divisive instead of living up to their mandate as an Igbo socio-political organization. If the Governors do the needful, people will start coming home to invest in Igbo land, the security challenge will be dealt with. It is not wrong to have a federal police, but it is better to start guarding from home, so what is happening in the North is what we want to start happening here, but we are saying it won't happen. Enugu State Governor; Ifeanyi Ugwuanyi has passed a bill saying no more free roaming of herders, Imo, Abia, Ebonyi and Anambra did same. Don't you see that it favours the cows, so any staying one found will be dealt with. That's how to go, that how to go. So, we are discussing what caused the sit-at-home and this is more important than talking about the action itself. We need to first talk about what caused it before looking at its many side effects. There is no one enjoying the sit-at-home my dear, I have a child that I'm training, I am at work here and the road was lonely on my way to work. If one is caught, before you scream life is snuffed out of you. But I hate it when we have a solution to a problem and we are behaving as if there is no problem. Before this thing happened, I told you Ogbuoja that it was still at a solvable stage and that if not handled, then it would get to the point of drowning. It has killed Dora Akunyili's husband, killed a Doctor and a couple of others and now it has been recognized as a security challenge. Do you want it to be branded an emergency before taken seriously? That's where we have a problem. The problem is we've got a problem and we don't want to acknowledge that we do. Your little boy, as you call him: Nnamdi Kanu, is in DSS custody since. What did he do? He insulted President Buhari, he said we should be treated well, he said we should have a restructuring, that Igbos should have their right to self-determination, that all regions should go apart and fix themselves, that there should be a cargo port for Igbo traders. I have not heard when he said evil or did for everyone. When he was gently making these demands, we greeted him with silence. Yes, I didn't like his strategy, you know I say it, I am not a fan of Nnamdi Kanu. I didn't like his strategy at first. But here is the problem, when you speak and those addressed see you as a noisemaker, when they don't even understand your capacity, they think you are joking because you are on radio talking. They don't know the capacity of the radio and your capability of commanding the five South East States to be in disarray with a common statement. That is what happened to us as a people. When Nnamdi Kanu was speaking gently,

no one listened to him, but when he became more vocal and insulting, they gave him attention and upon his arrest gave him even more attention. He has generated fans times 10 of what he had before and the Country does not know that IPOB is on the rampage. You could live in the same residence with a member of IPOB and not know it. That is where our problem is. There are everywhere and assumed to be foolish, but are organizing strongly. That is where we are now. The challenge has become enormous and we have to swim through this overflowing river. IF you want the sit-at-home to end tomorrow, they should release Nnamdi Kanu. If you want it to end tomorrow, bring out a memo and see to it that the whole Governors put their contributions concerning Nnamdi Kanu's matter and you'll see the sit-at-home end, our economy will be revived and things will start going well in Igbo land. Why do we have a problem and we are so at ease on Zion like we do not have one. Look Ogbuoja, I support you. Sit-at-home does not help anyone, the education curriculum in South-East states are backward. We are now relegated to the background in terms of Education. It has crumbled the economy of the South-East and the Civil servants are being owed salaries. It has caused some people to be out of jobs and kept us coming to work afraid on Mondays, banks in South East lose incentives every Monday. So, it does not help anyone. There is no one enjoying sit-at-home, but because we did not take heed early, we enjoy the forceful process. The young men now are not smiling. It is not like our time, even though I am still young, when the young people listen to orders to stop or sit. At 18 years, the young boys are beheading people for money rituals. The only benefit of sit-at-home for me is that I rest after work and go home early. It also favors school children, because they take Saturdays to do home chores, go to church on Sunday and do their home works on Mondays, but even now they have started Saturday schooling. We are poised as if there is peace, but in our heads we know that there is no peace. People who comply with the sit-at-home now do so because of fear. If you think IPOB is piloting this order, their house is already divided. The truth is that there is no one the sit-at-home favours on Monday, because it is when people set the pace for their weekly goals. On the other hand, it is a call to wake up; everyone should wake up and know that the sound of the music has gone south otherwise, we'll sit here till Nnamdi Kanu is released.

*****Advert Break*** 39th – 46th Minute.**

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