

MEDIA FRAMING OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF BIAFRA'S (IPOB)
AGITATION FOR THE RESTORATION OF BIAFRA: A STUDY OF TWO
NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS (2017-2022)

By

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1. Introduction

Between 1967 and 1970, Nigeria fought a brutal civil war against the Biafrans of the Igbo ethnic group of Southeast, who wanted a separate country from Nigeria due to perceived injustice and marginalization of their people. The war claimed over three million lives and ended with the agreement that there was "No victor" and "No vanquish" (Onumah, 2017; Ugwueze, 2021). Nevertheless, the Biafra war still takes center stage in Nigerian political and public discussion, as if it had just ended, because of intimidation and non-compliance with the letters of the agreement reached by the Nigeria-state (Ibeanu et al. 2016; Onumah 2017; Ugwueze, 2021). This situation has been a key factor that has led to the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra. Other factors include a lack of unity among the various parts of the country, Nigeria's multi-ethnic and multi-cultural nature, economic strangulation of the Biafran people, bad leadership, and the inability of the political class to maintain a healthy balance between economic growth and social cohesion (Nwabueze & Ezebuonyi, 2019; Ezemenaka & Prouza, 2016).

This study explores the media framing of the Indigenous People of Biafra's (IPOB) agitation for the restoration of the Biafran nation led by Mazi Nnamdi Kalu. The research will draw upon Entman's (1993) and McCombs and Shaw's agenda-setting theories to analyze how *The Daily Sun* and *Punch* newspapers framed the agitation for the restoration of Biafra. Furthermore, the study will analyze the type of agenda set by the two newspapers in framing the agitation and the implications of framing and agenda setting for how the audience understands the agitation for the restoration of Biafra by IPOB. This research will also draw upon existing literature on the agitation to look at

Nigeria's colonial history, Britain's role in entrenching ethnic divisions in Nigeria during the colonial era, and the historical perspectives of the agitation for the state of Biafra.

2. Colonial History of Nigeria

Before the arrival of British colonists, Nigeria comprised numerous cities, villages, ethnic groups, and chiefdoms (Nelarine et al., 2019). The people's government, economic, religious, and social organization reflected their culture and traditions (Nelarine et al., 2019). Everyone lived mostly amicably with others and preserved their independence, adhering to their customs and traditions within their various geographical locations. In addition, they established good intergroup relations through trade, marriage, and cultural ties, particularly during festivals (Nelarine et al., 2019). Occasionally, they were embroiled in disagreement over specific issues, leading to conflict and conflict resolution. Through conquest and control, the colonial authorities gradually disrupted this equilibrium and the people's ways of life (Aderinto, 2015). In particular, the British government sought an effective method to end the slave trade and introduce official commerce in Africa. John BeeCroft's attack on Lagos in 1851 was the first noticeable sign of British interest in Nigeria. In 1849, BeeCroft was appointed British Consul in command of the Bights of Benin and Biafra by the British naval authority marking the beginning of British authority in Nigeria (Onwubiko, 1980; & Gailey, 2013).

With the defeat and occupation of Lagos, the British occupiers made systematic incursions into the Yoruba homeland and subsequently to the oil-rich Rivers of

Biafraland (Onwubiko, 1980). It is important to note that the British expansion into the Biafran territory was met with resistance from the indigenous peoples. In each case, their resistance was overcome by brute force and superior weapons of the colonialists (Mitchelle, 2011; Anderinto, 2015). After defeating Yorubaland, the British successfully replicated the same strategy in Biafraland. They subdued and conquered Biafraland within a limited time with the help of enslaved Africans and Missionaries (Sabri & Olagoke, 2021). Subsequently, the British continued their incursions into other regions of the country and finally ventured into the Northern region, facing little resistance.

Before 1900, the Royal Niger Company (RNC) ruled all of northern Nigeria on behalf of the British government. In 1887, the British government asserted ownership of all areas governed by the RNC but delegated control of the company to George Tobman Goldie (Saad, 1980; Anderinto, 2015). With the successful takeover of the Northern protectorate, the British government completed its conquest through the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates into what is today called Nigeria without the people's consent on January 1, 1914. The various self-governing entities lost their political and cultural privileges on that day. They fell under the control of the Governor General, Lord Frederic Lugard, an appointee of the British government in London (Tamuno, 1980; Aderinto, 2015; & Aremo, 2014). Several researchers contend that the establishment of the territories worked to liberate enslaved people, but others contend that enslaved people should be viewed as "agents of their resistance and freedom." (El-Enany, 2020; Gopal, 2019). Consequently, after several decades of agitations for self-rule, Nigeria gained independence on October 1, 1960.

Moreover the policy of Indirect Rule (divide-and-rule) in Britain "reinforced ethnic division" in the country to the detriment of national unity (Ochonu, 2008; Omobowale; 2018; Asuquo, 2020, pp-11-12). Also, Omobowale (2020) stated that "the structure of British colonial administration" and the establishment of arbitrary borders separating "ethnic territories restricted the development of a national consciousness within the broad expanse of Nigeria's borders" (p.13). Besides, scholars (Bourne,2015; Omobowale, 2020) argued that Fredrick Lugard, administrator of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, pushed the British government to consolidate the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria for administrative and economic reasons. The Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Colony of Lagos were ruled together.

However, the colonial authorities treated the Northern Protectorate differently, shielding it from the contemporary influences mostly promoted in the South (Bourne,2015; Omobowale, 2020). Christian missionaries were forbidden in the primarily Muslim North, and access to modern education was constrained (Bourne, 2015; Kew, 2016; Agozino, 2016). It was never intended for the North and the South to merge their cultures and ethnicities to form one country. This established the foundation for the ongoing ethnic, cultural and political division threatening "a united" Nigeria (Bourne,2015; Omobowale, 2020; Kew, 2016). Thus, I would argue that Nigeria's colonial and contemporary histories are complicated based on the legacies left behind by the British when they exited the country. In other words, because of their selfish economic interest, the British administration in Nigeria sowed the seed of discord and joined together diverse ethnic nationals that had nothing in common. It is clear from all indications that Britain planted what is happening today in Nigeria over a century ago.

Above all, the story of British misrule in Nigeria cannot be told without the strains of ethnicism, nepotism, patronage, corruption, and consequences.

3. Britain and Ethnic Division in Nigeria

In Nigeria, ethnicity is seen as a community's race, allegiance, and even origin (Agbu, 2004; Ikelegbe, 2010). Thus, I would argue that ethnicity is the bedrock of a community's political affiliation, identity, prosperity, capacity and a quest for self-rule. In Nigeria's post-colonial national politics, ethnic diversity has produced a diversified and dynamic nation (Ikelegbe, 2010). Britain created Nigeria's post-colonial state and current problems by amalgamating diverse ethnic nationalities into one nation (Bamidele, 2020). Problems created by Britain before it left the country in 1960 included a lack of trust among various ethnic groups, an institution of a quota system to accommodate the Northern part of the country, which was behind in education and commerce to the detriment of their Southern counterparts. In addition, Britain located in the North all of Nigeria's military installations of Nigeria, which the North is now using against people of the Southern, and falsified and bogus census data which presents the North as being more populated than the South (Agbu, 2004; Bamidele, 2020).

These actions by Britain enabled ethnic and tribal politics to creep into governance, where actors manipulated ethnicity because it was a quality rather than a predetermined position (Bamidele, 2020). Today, ethnic and tribal tensions are everywhere in structures, such as voting, political groups, and government institutions (Agbu, 2004; Ikelegbe, 2010). Ethnicity influences cooperation, alliances, and conflict or hostile relationships (Bamidele, 2020). Orji (2022) asserts that "the history of the

country and "free political occasions" were entrenched even in the colonial system (p.5). The amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates did not account for diversities in native "history, culture, tongue, or religion", and these remain problems that the nation of Nigeria continues to face today.

The form of Nigeria's federal system during and after independence shows that Britain also left an uneven legacy in this area (Lawal, 2010). When Britain left Nigeria, the country went against one of the fundamental tenets of a federal system of government which states that no constituent entity should be so strong as to dominate others (Lawal, 2010). However, the British gave Northern Nigeria a majority in the Federal House of Representatives. This number was twice the seats allocated to the Eastern and Western parts of the country, an indictment of British reasoning (Lawal, 2010; Orji, 2022). The 1960 independence experience of Nigeria reveals that the North essentially has veto power over any decision made by the federal government (Lawal, 2010; Orji, 2022).

Throughout the process of handing over power to Nigerians before independence in 1960 (Lawal, 2010; Orji, 2022), the British never addressed the mutual mistrust among Nigerian leaders (Lawal, 2010). As a result, one could argue that Britain handed power to political leaders in Nigeria who did not trust each other because of ethnic and cultural differences. Indeed, a British official, Lord Floyd Macmillan, stated, "Britain could still play a political role by exercising the flexibility of our system in transforming the old Empire into a new commonwealth" (p.10). Similarly, another British official, Ian Macleod, stated, "Britain did not go abroad to govern but to trade."

These statements show that Britain does not care about the feelings of the indigenous people (Lawal, 2010). As such, one could argue that Britain focused primarily on their economic interests and did not devote the time or care to ensuring that the new system of government in Nigeria would work for and support a peaceful, productive society.

4. **Historical Perspectives of the Agitation for Biafra**

The identity of any secessionist organisation is associated with ethnicity, tribe and religion, which gives individuals within the group a feeling that they are ancestrally connected. According to Okaisabor (2023, p.4), an ethnic community is "a group of people, primarily of common descent, who consider themselves to have a separate identity based on race or shared cultural traits, typically language and religion." Further, one can argue that frequent interactions between indigenous peoples have emphasized these shared values, which are present in most separatist movements, such as the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). As a result, Igbo's identity, culture and religion are embedded in Biafra rather than in Nigeria.

Nigeria is the most populous Black nation, with over 210 million people. The country also has three major ethnic groups: Igbo in the East, Yorubas in the West, the Hausa-Fulani people in the North, and more than 250 other ethnic minorities scattered throughout the country (Ezeani 2013, Okoye et al., 2019; Nelarine et al., 2019). The icy relationship between the various ethnic groups in Nigeria can be traced back to the Hausa-Fulani of North's dominance over other ethnic groups (Eggebulem, 2012; Ezeani, 2013). This fear of dominance by other ethnic groups has been at the core of the conflict, disagreements, and instability bedeviling Nigeria as a sovereign state. Also,

this situation has resulted in long-standing ethnic grievances and rivalry among the various communities, which accompanied the violence in Nigeria before the country's independence (Offodile, 2016; Okeneme, 2014). As a result, the opening of borders and the fragmentation of the territories of the indigenous cultures by the British in Nigeria is the cause of the issues the country faces today (Okeke, 2016; Uduma, 2015). As discussed above, another cause of Nigeria's problems today from the British colonial administration is the grouping of diverse ethnic groups in a strange political system. This has resulted only in the struggle for power among the major ethnic groups to the detriment of the minority groups (Okeke, 2016).

Some scholars (Ebegbulem, 2012; Uduma, 2015) contend that the colonialist threshold partition of Nigeria precluded a Nigerian patriotic movement by influencing natural borders to encourage division, acrimony, and rivalry between ethnic groups and changing ethnicity into identity. Other researchers (Ekwe-Ekwe, 1999; Metumara, 2009; Hobsbawn, 1999) came to a different conclusion and argued that the cultural foundation of political parties helped secure the establishment of a post-colonial Nigeria divided into regional groups. This is because the political parties during that period had a regional base. As a result, they became increasingly protectionist and exclusive. Thus, it is imperative to state that the Richard Constitution of 1956, introduced by the British and anchored on regionalism by establishing a regionalist political system, created the avenue for regional politics in Nigeria.

Similarly, other scholars (Oloyede, 2002; Ezeani, 2013) argue that major parties, in particular the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroun (NCNC), Northern Peoples'

Congress (NPC), and the Action Group (A.G.), were regional semi-autonomous political parties. As a result, these parties always disagreed, and finding common ground to move the country forward was difficult. In summary, the political parties became more regionalist in their outlook. Their quest for nationalist ideals became less intense over time, but their aspiration for sovereignty did not go away.

Some scholars (Ezeani, 2013; Hobsbawn, 1999; Okeke, 2016) argue that nationalism comes before the country because ethnic groups need to be politically organized before becoming a nation. An ethnic group that views itself as being on the periphery of a heterogeneous society might be politically mobilized when it perceives that it has recognized collective goals to pursue, suggesting that the politics of exclusion bolster nationalism. One can argue that although nationalism is essential for developing political consciousness, its use can be dangerous if deployed to dominate a specific group. It could also backfire if it is designed to exclude a group from a complex and diverse society such as Nigeria, with over 250 ethnic nationalities.

Since Nigeria attained political independence in 1960, there has been a fight between the numerous ethnic nations over controlling its natural riches and political authority (Ebegbulem, 2012). Many of these disputes are inherited from the British colonial administration. For instance, the segregation of the Nigerian colony was also reinforced by the colonial laws that created a separate settlement for non-indigenous citizens in the North. The law limited the purchase of land outside of one's region and the mobility of Christians from the Southern region to the Northern region, which was predominantly Muslim (Ekwe-Ekwe, 1999; Ezani, 2013). These colonial policies

enhanced and bred intolerance, prejudice became widespread, and ethnic groups became increasingly wary of each other in all their interactions.

Biafra as a nation-state is one way of articulating an Igbo identity. According to Orlick (1999), and Ezeani (2013), the definition of Igbo group membership is intrinsically linked to Biafra. Continuing, Orlick and Ezeani said that it is not just as members of groups but that we concurrently Igbos showcase their Biafra identity in their various cultural groups and do not see themselves as part of Nigeria. As a result, Oloyede (2002) argued that the objective of the Biafran movement was to separate the Southeastern part of Nigeria from the rest of the country. This separation was motivated by politics based on ethnic differences and was rooted in a revitalized political movement. It is necessary to point out that secession was the political ideology of an ethnic group that wanted to successfully establish an independent state of its own in the area in which it lived. A separate point worth mentioning is that, according to Diamond (2007), the question of whether or not the Nigerian and Biafran wars of 1967-1970 can be neatly packaged as such is contentious. This is because some observers have noted that the Igbo were a catalyst in forming a nation among culturally related peoples in the eastern part of Nigeria. Despite this, it is unclear whether or not the war can be neatly packaged as such. The perspectives presented by (Orlick, 1999; Oloyede, 2002; Diamond, 2007) diverge significantly from the thinking underpinning the Biafran war in 1967. Smith (2005) contends that the story of the conflict, as told by Igbos in their recollections, is believed to demonstrate that the concept of a pan-Igbo ethnicity was only established after the Biafran war. For Adewunmi (2011), the root of the Biafran

War was the structural imbalance of the Nigerian federation and, more critically, the uneven distribution of power among the country's many different ethnic groups.

Scholars (Ezeani, 2013; Okeke, 2016; Oloyede, 2002; Adewunmi, 2011) argue that the Biafran aspiration for independence began in May 1966, after a series of attacks against people of the Eastern region who lived in the North of the country by the military. Their research argues that the treatment of Ndigbo in the North by the Nigerian military as though they were foreigners, and the lack of condemnation by Northern leaders, contributed significantly to Ndigbo's collective quest to exit from Nigeria. Ndigbo in the North are people of Igbo origin residing and doing business in Northern Nigeria. However, Ndigbo in Biafraland are the Igbos who reside in their Biafran homeland. The enormity of the bloodshed, slaughter, and destruction in Igboland during the war, which lasted from July 6, 1967, until January 12, 1970, was unprecedented in Africa. The moral justification for waging war against a people who had been the target of horrific attacks in other places outside of their homeland is questionable at best (Okeke, 2016; Eze, 2015).

The continued marginalization of the people of the Eastern region five decades after the Nigerian-Biafran war has led to the recent clamour for the restoration of Biafra. Based on their past and recent experiences with the government of Nigeria, the Biafrans, mainly Igbo-speaking people of Southeast Nigeria, feel they do not have a good future in the Nigerian project, despite being one of the country's three major tribes. The current agitation has continued to resonate among Biafrans within and outside the country (Chiluwa, 2018; Abada, Omeh, & Okoye, 2019). As a result, since 2015, Mazi Nnamdi

Kanu, leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), has led the recent agitation for a separate country for Biafrans from Nigeria. Kanu is a British-Nigerian citizen and the first son of a wealthy king from Eziamaka Afaraukwu Autonomous Community in Umuahia South Local Government Area of Abia State, Southeast Nigeria (Uwaegbute et al., 2022).

5. Literature Review

Academics, politicians, historians, and a host of others have put forward a number of explanations for what is driving the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra. This literature review will concentrate on significant issues that appear regularly throughout this body of literature, focusing on how they relate to media coverage of the current agitation for Biafran restoration. The factors identified in the literature are as follows: marginalization, historical concepts, economic strangulation, the militarization of the Biafran region, corruption, lack of true federalism, and absence of infrastructural development in the region (Ezemenaka & Prouza, 2016; Mohammed & Shittu, 2019).

It is known that the mass media sets the news agenda by making some issues more prominent than others. Ekeanyanwu et al. (2022) state that there is a significant link between how the media constructs and presents issues such as injustice, nepotism, inequality, and marginalization when perpetrated by a government against one or more ethnic groups in a multi-ethnic society and how these constructions shape the views of the members of the society in favour or against the government in question. By framing and presenting the news, the media tells the public why an issue is important and who

might be responsible (Amenaghawon, 2018). Examining newspaper framing of the agitation for the restoration of Biafran will help the public understand why the agitation is gaining the support of the people of the Eastern region of Nigeria. Further, it is vital to ascertain the public's views on the agitation to see if anything could be done to salvage the situation before it snowballs into another civil war.

Several significant studies (Eze, 2019; Nganya, Ezeji, Ezegwu, 2017; Nwabueze, 2016; Ezeani, 2013) have examined newspaper coverage and reporting of the renewed agitation of Biafra. Focusing on the period from 2016 to 2017, they used quantitative and qualitative content analysis methods and framing theory. Specifically, according to Nwabueze (2016) p.14) "conflict, politics, economics, and human rights were dominant issues in the newspapers under review." One crucial characteristic of these studies (Eze, 2019; Nganya, Ezeji, Ezegwu, 2017; Nwabueze, 2016; Ezeani, 2013) is an attempt to show that the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra is rooted in injustice, nepotism, and harsh government policies against the region's people. The rapid growth in studies on the agitation for the restoration of Biafra are not surprising, given that the Biafran agitation has inspired a national debate about the country's political stability. It has also brought the country into the negative limelight before the international community by exposing the central government's marginalization, lack of infrastructural development, and neglect of the Biafran region. (Eze, 2019; Nganya, Ezeji, Ezegwu, 2017; Nwabueze, 2016; Ezeani, 2013). However, I would argue that the current agitation for the restoration led by IPOB has succeeded in throwing the spotlight on issues such as age-longed injustices and unfavourable economic rules and regulations against the Ndigbo of eastern Nigeria.

Other studies (Ezemenaka & Prouza, 2016; Ojo & Osadola, 2019; Ezeanya & Owoeye, 2022) used historical methods to look at the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra. Ezemenaka & Prouza (2016, p7) "traced the current agitation for the sovereign state of Biafra to the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) to the Nigeria-Biafra war of 1967-1970, and from 1999 till date." They used "Halliday's Systemic and Functional Linguistics theories, relative deprivation and frustration-aggression theories to explore the Biafran agitation.

Ojo & Osadola (2019, p.14) exposed the inability of the government of Nigeria to sincerely implement the agreement reached after the 1967-1970 war ended, which is the three "Rs," meaning "Rehabilitation, Reconstruction, and Reconciliation" fifty years after the war, as one of the primary reasons for the ongoing struggle for the restoration of Biafra. One of the essential features of their study is the conclusion that the government of Nigeria should open a dialogue with the IPOB as the first step in bringing peace to the region and the nation. These studies also depicted Eastern Nigeria as a region deliberately sidelined and intentionally prevented from holding positions of authority at the federal levels of governance (Ezemenaka & Prouza, 2016; Ojo & Osadola, 2019; Ezeanya & Owoeye, 2022). However, these scholars concluded that despite all odds, the Igbos are the economic engine of the Nigerian state and have contributed immensely towards the country's development. They must be given a fair playing field like other ethnic nationalities or allowed to exit Nigeria peacefully.

Some researchers (Okaisabor, 2023; Nche, 2023) have looked at the role in the agitation played by cultural and religious differences, using quantitative, qualitative and content analysis research methods. Okaisabor and Nche contend that the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra was necessitated by the fact that Biafrans are facing an existential threat from the central government. To avert the impending danger to Biafrans, IPOB sought a Biafran nation to protect its ethnic and religious identity (Okaisabor, 2023; Nche, 2023). For Okaisabor (2023), the "identity of a separatist movement as an active political movement within an independent state that aspires to some form of territorial separatism, ranging from autonomy to independence" (p.18). Similarly, Nche (2023) believes that the separatist movement's goal "is to claim an independent state by constructing an identity that condenses the episode of collective interaction and mobilization" (p.12).

Nche (2023) asserts that "religion has always played a crucial role in social movements both in history and contemporary time" (p.4). The study reveals that the identity of the people of Southeast Nigeria as Biafra has caused marginalization, inadequate infrastructural development in the region, lopsided appointments, and other ethnic groups trying to dominate them (Okaisabor, 2023; & Nche, 2023). For these researchers, the identity of IPOB is coupled with ethnicity, language, race, religion, and geographical location, giving Biafra the impression that they are from the same ancestors (Okaisabor, 2023; Nche, 2023). Therefore, Nche (2023) argues that many IPOB members believe that God (known as Chukwuokike abiamma-God the creator of life, Chineke-God, and Elohim), "who is all-powerful, can miraculously grant them Biafra as a result of feeling marginalized for many years and witnessing the futility of

previous liberation efforts by many elites and movements of Igbo origin" (p.10). The study further argued that Nnamdi Kanu believes that, given the fact that Britain colonized Nigeria and is responsible for the country's current structure. Britain is still aiding the orchestrated Northern political dominance, the Fulani Caliphate, due to their economic and political interests in the country (Okaisabor, 2023; Nche, 2023). However, Nche (2023) quotes Nnamdi Kanu, leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), as follows:

If Britain does not let Biafra go, Britain will be decimated by the hand of the Almighty. What is happening to Britain today is because they are holding up to Biafra. This very battle for the restoration of Biafra has been handed over to the Most High. Anybody in the way will fall ... Britain must let Biafra go; they must, or Elohim will pour his wrath on Britain. (Kanu, November 3, 2018).

These studies conclude by urging the government, for the sake of peace, to construct an inclusive political framework to incorporate the Southeast, create one more additional state for the region to bring them to parity with other regions and stop the use of force against people (Okaisabor, 2023; Nche, 2023).

Looking at the current agitation for Biafran restoration, several scholars (Osaretin, 2019; Olaniyan et al., 2017; Ojuchukwu et al., 2017; Ezemenaka & Prouza, 2016) focus on the political alienation of the people of the Southeast region at the federal level of governance in the context of the agitation by IPOB. The authors use a

combination of qualitative and content analysis research methods and group and elite theories as their theoretical framework for the study. They argue that the outright alienation of the people of Southeast Nigeria from the political equation of the country is one of the root causes of the current agitation (Osaretin, 2019; Olaniyan et al., 2017; Ojuchukwu et al., 2017; Ezemenaka & Prouza, 2016). Ezemenaka & Prouza (2016) particularly questioned the rationale for the "imbalance in the political structures of the nation that is threatening the peaceful co-existence of the component units of the country" (p.15). The authors blamed the British colonial policies and the Nigerian political elites for the country's current problems. For some scholars (Osaretin, 2019; Olaniyan et al., 2017; Ojuchukwu et al., 2017; Ezemenaka & Prouza, 2016), a nation's characteristic is rooted in its geographical location, population, natural resources, social, political, economic, and cultural beliefs and ideology. Nigeria is described and regarded as a nation because of the abovementioned characteristics. Fundamentally, Ojuchukwu et al. (2017) contend that a nation exists because of its people, values, cultures, and socio-political and economic structure"(p.4). However, I would argue that the nation of Nigeria and its leaders have for too long refused to acknowledge that the country cannot work or make progress as long as they maintain a political system that fosters injustice, nepotism, and corruption.

My study brings several novel perspectives to the study of current agitation for the restoration of Biafra. Firstly, this study examines the agitation of Biafra for a longer period of time than is covered in previous studies from 2017-2022 (five years). Second, I situate my research within media and communication studies, using framing and agenda-setting theories. The way the media frame a news story strengthens the

audience's interest and how they react to it. Situating this study within media and communication studies is significant, given the role of media as a source of information, education, and social cohesion among various groups in Nigeria. As Ekeanyanwu et al. (2022) and Amenaghawon (2018) state, the mass media sets the news agenda by making some issues more prominent than others. Thirdly, my study compares two newspapers from different regions of the country, *The Daily Sun* and *The Punch*.

Given that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic society understanding newspapers' coverage of the current Biafran agitation from two opposing regions is a significant contribution. My study is original because it identifies key actors in the struggle for Biafran restoration and its audience support, the media agenda embedded in the coverage, and how the media under review frame the Biafran actors. Another important benefit of examining the Biafran restoration from a communication and media studies perspective is that it will help readers understand the implications of how the Biafran actors and the people of the Eastern region (Igbos) are framed.

Ultimately, my research helps explain the massive support being enjoyed by IPOB and Biafran agitators in Nigeria and the diaspora as a product of media salience, emphasis and repetitiveness which helps to inscribe the struggle in the minds and psyche of the audience. This is because, without media coverage and the enormous support from the public, the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra would have been a mirage.

6. *The Daily Sun Newspaper*

The Daily Sun was founded as a weekly newspaper on March 29, 2001, and has been a daily periodical since June 16, 2003. Orji Uzor Kalu, a former governor of Abia State in Nigeria, owns the newspaper (TheSunNewspaper, 2011). Mike Awoyinfa served as the newspaper's first managing director and editor-in-chief. Tony Onyima succeeded Awoyinfa in a personnel change in 2010. Dimgba Igwe, the original deputy editor, was succeeded by Femi Adesina. Mike Awoyinfa and Dimgba Igwe remained on the company's board of directors (TheSunNewspaper, 2011). Its target demographic consists of adults aged 18 to 45 and older. It provides high-quality information in a format similar to the renowned British Sun newspaper. (TheSunNewspaper, 2011).

The Daily Sun has a daily circulation of approximately one hundred thirty copies (130,000), and the newspaper's mission statement is that freedoms of speech and the press are fundamental to democracy. The newspaper believes that, as a social institution, the media serves a crucial function by disseminating information, debates, and critical commentary on society. Additionally, the paper believes that the press safeguards free expression and the free flow of accurate information (TheSunNewspaper, 2011).

7. *The Punch Newspaper*

Two acquaintances, James Aboderin and Sam Amuka, are the proprietors of the private newspaper *The Punch*. It was formed in 1971 as a limited liability company under the Nigerian Companies Act of 1968. Their objective was to publish newspapers, magazines, and other publications of public concern. As a corporation, the company

exists to make a profit, enhance the lives of its owners and employees, and contribute to the country's economic development (ThePunchNewspaper, 2013).

In 1971, the company debuted by publishing the family-oriented premium magazine *Happy Home*. In 1973, it published its first *Sunday Weekly*. The newspaper was intended to provide Nigeria with a distinctive Sunday publication that combined the finest serious and extensive journalism with timely news and entertainment. (ThePunchNewspaper, 2013). As of November 1, 1976, the paper was a daily tabloid. In the 1980s, however, the two publications, *Happy Home* and *The Sunday Punch*, were reformatted to meet their readers' changing political and socioeconomic demands (ThePunchNewspaper, 2013). *The Punch*, a daily independent periodical, focuses its news on local and international political events. It is one of Nigeria's most widely distributed newspapers.

Successive military administrations repeatedly outlawed the publication *Punch* and intimidated and detained many of its staff members. For example, the corporation ceased operations for a month on April 29, 1990, a week after a coup attempt against the federal military government. Chris Momoh, its deputy editor, was detained for 54 days. In July 1993, the federal military government banned the publication and closed its headquarters (ThePunchNewspaper, 2013). On July 24, 1994, the federal military government struck again and banned all titles, including the weekly magazine *Toplife*. Bola Bolawale, the editor of *The Punch*, was detained for three days in his office. *The Punch* resumed operations on October 1, 1995. (ThePunchNewspaper, 2013).

8. Theoretical Framework

The primary theories guiding this study are the framing and agenda-setting theories. The two theories were chosen because they are appropriately situated in media framing and agenda-setting analysis and would help answer the research questions proposed for this study. Entman's (1993) framing theory and McCombs and Shaw's (2013) agenda-setting theory offer frameworks for analyzing how the media framed the current agitation for restoring Biafra.

8.1 Framing theory

Entman (1993) stated that framing is the process of selecting a few elements of perceived reality and constructing a narrative that emphasizes their interconnections to promote a specific interpretation. Framing activates schemas that enable target audiences to think, react, and determine in a particular manner. In addition, framing influences and alters audiences' perceptions and goals by elevating the salience or apparent value of specific ideas and addressing the four functions of frames: problem definition, causal analysis, moral judgment, and solutions advancement (Entman, 1993). This indicates that if a news report is constructed in a particular way, the effect on the public will probably be distinct than if it were structured differently.

In other words, Entman argued that the audience or members of the public take into account the information they receive from the media before deciding or taking a position on a particular news story. Therefore, Entman's (1993) framing theory will provide the researcher with a foundation for analyzing how *The Daily Sun* and *The Punch* newspapers framed the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra.

There is some overlap in Entman and Gitlin's definitions of 'frame.' Both emphasize selecting from much contending information and structuring that selection to emphasize the message. Gitlin (2003) argues that frames are "principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation consisting of small implicit theories about what exists, occurs, and is significant" (p.7). Additionally, Goffman (1974) argues that framing provides the audience with an understanding of how and why the media use language to frame and communicate societal issues. These scholars and their theories will be used during the study process to guide the analysis and situate how *The Daily Sun* and *The Punch* newspapers frame the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra within communication studies.

8.2 Agenda-setting theory

McCombs and Shaw (2013) stated that agenda-setting is about issues salience reinforces the strong relationship between second-level agenda-setting and framing. This is significant because constant media exposure and continued repetition of the same news story persuade the public to think and act according to the direction of the media. As a result, the media directly or indirectly tells the public what issues to consider (McCombs & Shaw, 2013). It has been argued that agenda-setting applies to all issues competing for the public's interest. To set the agenda, the media limits the public's focus on a particular issue, such as the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra led by IPOB, by emphasizing it at the expense of other topics. Mustapha (2014) agrees that the public discovers contending problems via the media; "they are primed to assign varying significance to those issues in reaction to media intensity and salience"

(p.10). Mustapha (2014) believed agenda-setting entails "creating what the public considers crucial" (p.12). It happens whenever the media presents particular issues repeatedly and prominently in order to convince major sections of the public that they are more significant than others. It can also be stated that "the greater media attention a topic is given, the more individuals who value it" (McCombs & Shaw, 2013, p.4).

Entman's (1993) and McCombs & Shaw's (2013) theories will help readers describe how *The Daily Sun* and the *Punch* newspapers frame the renewed agitation for the restoration of Biafra and the agenda set by the two newspapers in relation to the current agitation. The theories will also help explain the implications of news framing and agenda-setting for the audiences. Specifically, McCombs & Shaw's (2013) agenda-setting theory was used to explore the agenda set by *The Daily Sun* and *The Punch* newspapers in framing the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra. The study focused on the text alone in the two selected newspapers for this study within the period under review.

9. Research Questions

This research responds to the following questions:

- Q1. How did the *Daily Sun* and the *Punch* newspapers frame the renewed agitation for the restoration of Biafra from 2017-2022?
- Q2. What agenda was set by the *Daily Sun* and the *Punch* newspapers in relation to the agitation for the restoration of Biafra?
- Q3. What are the implications of the news framing and agenda-setting for audiences?

10. Methodology

Quantitative content analysis is used to analyze the data in this study. Content analysis is defined as a tool for designing and building measurable and valid references from data to their content, easier to quantify data, dictate patterns, useful for interpreting a text, and comparing the stories contained within one or two different newspapers (Clayton et al. 2012; Mohajan, 2018). It is an effective research tool that helps researchers understand the words, phrases, and texts used to frame and describe social issues, such as the agitation to restore Biafra by IPOB. As such, some scholars (Clayton et al., 2012; Mohajan, 2018) suggest that content analysis attempts to replicate and measure all the variables as they naturally occur, and no altering of the independent variables is attempted. However, content analysis has limitations, just like every other research method. One limitation is that quantitative content analysis research may be biased, distorted, or influenced due to sampling errors or the researcher's agenda. Another drawback is the time required for quantitative content analysis, encompassing detailed data preparation, sampling, and designing a suitable coding framework (Kansteiner et al., 2020).

The unit of analysis for this study was the headlines and the text in the newspaper stories. These newspaper headlines and text include news stories about Biafra, Nnamdi Kanu, IPOB, and Biafran agitators. This study is focused on the media framing of the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra by IPOB from January 1, 2017, to December 31, 2022, in *The Daily Sun* and *The Punch*. These newspapers were selected because they have wider circulation and coverage throughout Nigeria, are readily available, and cover local and international news (Abdulkahreem, Adisa, La'aro,

2012; Onwubiko, 2005). The *Daily Sun* and the *Punch* newspapers were also chosen for this study because they are ethnic-based papers (Layefa, Adesoji, & Adebisi, 2016). *The Daily Sun* is based in the Eastern (Biafra region) part of Nigeria, whereas the *Punch* is based in the Western part of Nigeria, which opposes the separation of Biafra from Nigeria. This allowed the researcher to compare and contrast how the *Daily Sun* and the *Punch* newspapers have covered the current agitation. No newspaper was chosen from the Northern region because of the research's limited scope and time.

The researcher accessed the archives of *The Daily Sun* and *The Punch* newspapers to make photocopies of the news stories from January 1, 2017, to December 31, 2022. Due to the large amount of data expected and the time frame for this study, a random sampling method was chosen to select a representative of news stories spanning the entire research period. Random sampling is a technique in which the researcher systematically and randomly selects a sample from a larger population (Etikan & Bala, 2017). In this study, random sampling ensured that news stories were evenly selected within the period. As a result, one news story was selected every second Wednesday of each month of the year for each of the two newspapers. The reason for choosing every second Wednesday of the month is that the two selected newspapers usually have more political news stories during this period. In summary, twelve news stories were chosen from each newspaper per year, and a total of 60 news stories from each newspaper for the five-year period of this study. In all, 120 news stories about Biafra and IPOB were analyzed to find how the two newspapers frame the current agitation for the restoration and the implications of such framing and agenda-setting to the audience. In addition,

my study adopted the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), women's participation in news coding book.

11. Findings

Several frames were used to represent IPOB and Biafran agitators by *The Daily Sun* and *The Punch* newspapers. Some frames were used to promote and justify the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) led by Mazi Nnamdi Kanu. Other frames were used to discredit the struggle to restore Biafra. The study also identified numerous agenda-setting techniques employed by the selected newspapers to cover the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra. These framing and agenda-setting techniques have contributed to the ongoing debate about the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra in both domestic and international media. Hence, the type (s) of frames and agenda-setting techniques used by the media in the coverage of news events, such as the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra by IPOB, can help draw sympathy, alliances and opposition that can be used to promote or derail the agitation.

11.1 Story Placement in *The Daily Sun* and *Punch* Newspapers.

Nechustai & Lewis (2019) argued that the placement of a news story on the page of a newspaper or in the broadcast indicates how newsworthy; readers and viewers understand the importance it creates. In other words, news story placement is important because of its shaping influence on public opinion about a particular news event, such as the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra by IPOB and Mazi Nnamdi Kanu.

News story placement is not done randomly but is a result of careful selection by news media gatekeepers such as journalists and editors.

The pie chart in Figures 1 and 2 below shows the news story placement in the two selected newspapers for this study. For the sixty (60) news articles reviewed from *The Daily Sun*, 86.7% were headline or front-page stories about IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu and other Biafra agitators. 8.3% of the news stories in *The Daily Sun* were inside-page stories, 3.3% were back-page stories, and 1.7% were bottom-page stories of the newspaper about IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu, and other Biafran agitators.

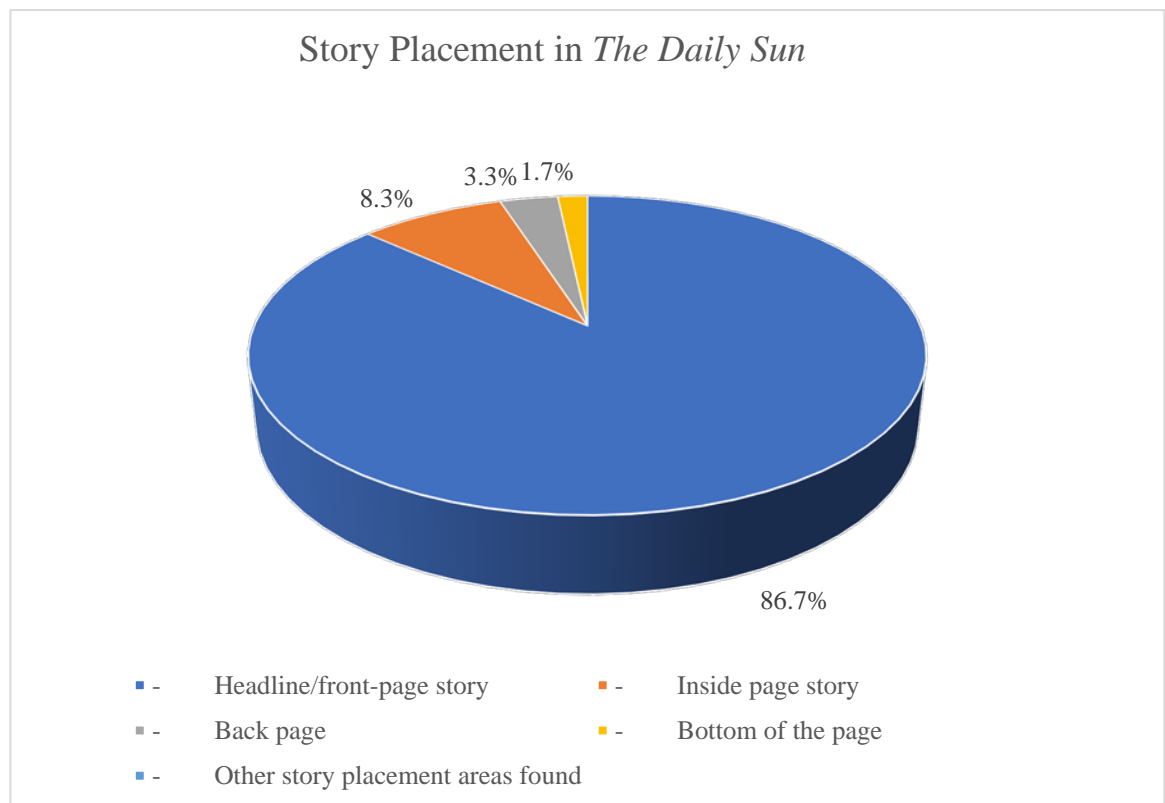


Figure 1. Pie Chart of the News Story Placement in *The Daily Sun* Newspaper.

Of 60 news articles reviewed in the *Punch* newspaper, 36.8% of stories about IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu, and other Biafra agitators were placed as headline or front-page

stories. Meanwhile, 52.6% were inside-page stories, 8.8% were back-page stories, and 1.8% were bottom-page stories.

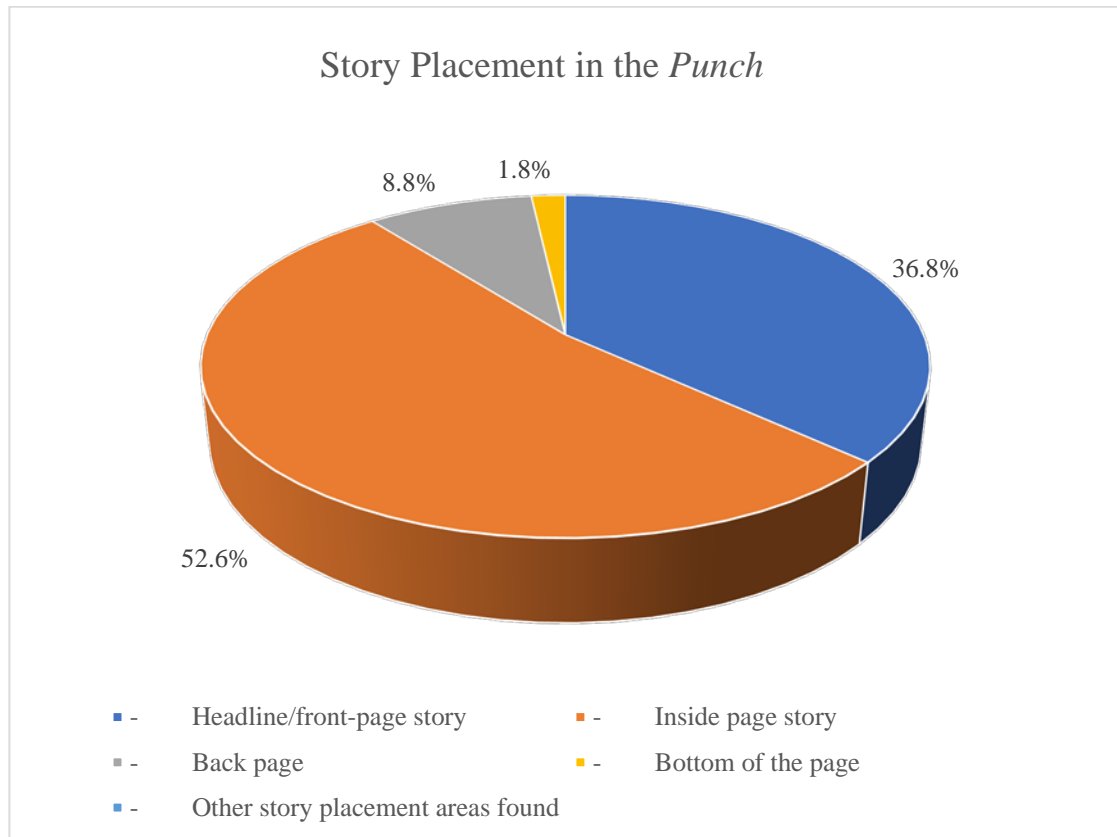


Figure 2. Pie Chart of the News Story Placement in *The Punch* Newspaper.

The consequences of *The Daily Sun* placing the majority (86.7%) of its news stories as headline or front-page stories about IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu, and other Biafran agitators suggests that this is an important story that deserves the attention of the newspaper's readers. In contrast, the placement of the 36.8% as a front-page news story in the *Punch* newspaper suggests that stories about IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu and other Biafran agitators are not a priority to the newspaper. This is further shown by the fact that 52.6% of *Punch* news stories about the agitation were inside-page stories compared to the 8.6% inside-page stories in *The Daily Sun* newspaper.

11.2 Representations of Journalists in *The Daily Sun* and *Punch* Newspaper.

Bylines are crucial in the media because name recognition directly impacts a professional's survival ability in a fragile labour market (Nieminen, 2010). Other scholars (Braden, 2015; Schudson, 2010) contend that the news media use bylines to develop direct relationships with readers, which often resonates across all sections of the audience (s). In light of the above discussions, Boczek et al. (2023) argued that whoever authors a news story has potential implications for the news content. Thus, bylines in a news story have the potential to give credibility to a news story since they affect audience perceptions and attitudes towards the story (Klass & Boukes, 2020).

Of the 60 articles reviewed from *The Daily Sun* and 60 articles reviewed from *Punch*, 50% of the journalists in each newspaper covering IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu, and other Biafran agitators contained bylines, as shown in Table 1 below. Additionally, Table 1. indicated that 45.8% of the names of journalists working in *The Daily Sun* could be identified as people from the Igbo ethnic stock, southeast or Biafran region, compared to 44.2% in *The Punch* newspaper identified as Yoruba ethnic tribe or people from the southwest region. Further, 4.2% of journalists in *The Daily Sun* are people from the minority ethnic group like Ijaws, Igalas, or Nupes, compared to 5.8% of journalists in the *Punch* are from minority ethnic like the Idomas and Ibibios. Table 1 also shows that neither newspapers engaged the services of staff or agency reporters to cover the current agitation. This is significant because it shows that all the news stories

about IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu, and other Biafran actors were written by people known to

REPRESENTATION OF JOURNALISTS		DAILY SUN		PUNCH	
		Journalists	Percent	Journalists	Percent
Representation of Journalists					
-	Byline-Name (s) of Journalists who covered displayed	60	50.0	60	50.0
-	Byline-Represented as Staff Reporter	0	0.0	0	0.0
-	Byline- Represented as Agency Reporter	0	0.0	0	0.0
-	Byline- Name (s) shows the ethnicity or region of the journalists	55	45.8	53	44.2
in Nigeria					
-	Other kinds of journalists found	5	4.2	7	5.8
both news organizations.					

Table 1. Journalists

Significantly, the display of the names of journalists who covered IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu, and other Biafran agitators, which worked to identify their tribe, ethnicity, and region, might have contributed to how the agitators were framed and the agenda-setting position of the two selected newspapers for this study. Thus, as ethnicity, tribe, and even religion are part and parcel of every decision-making process in Nigeria, both at the local, state, and federal levels of governance in the country, one cannot overlook their role (s) in the coverage of IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu, and other Biafran agitators in *The Daily Sun* and the *Punch* newspapers. This is because there is a history of bitter rivalry between the Biafrans (Igbo) and the Yorubas caused by the perceived betrayal of the Biafrans by the Yoruba people during the Nigeria-Biafra civil war (Okaisabor, 2023).

According to Okaisabor (2023), before the Nigeria-Biafra civil war, the leader of Yoruba, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, was serving a prison sentence on a treasonable felony in a federal prison in Eastern Nigeria. As the war was about to break out between Nigeria and the people of Biafra, Awolowo approached the leader of Biafra, Lieutenant Colonel Ojukwu, to indicate if Ojukwu released the Yoruba leader, the Yoruba would support the Biafran exit from Nigeria by declaring their own Oduduwa republic for the Yoruba. Colonel Ojukwu agreed and released him from prison (Onumah, 2017). Unfortunately, Chief Obafemi Awolowo betrayed Ojukwu and, by extension, Biafrans by joining forces with the North and other parts of Nigeria to fight Biafrans during the war instead of declaring Oduwuwa as a nation, as had been promised.

11.3 Representations of Biafran Actors in *The Daily Sun* Newspaper.

The two newspapers differed in how they represented Biafran actors. *The Daily Sun* newspaper contained overwhelming positive words, like "right to self-determination," "freedom fighters," "fighting for their future," "patriotic Biafrans," and "lovers of liberty" (*The Daily Sun* Newspaper, 2019). Of the 60 articles reviewed in the *Daily Sun*, 95.8% of the words used to represent Biafran actors were positive, as shown in Figure 3 below.

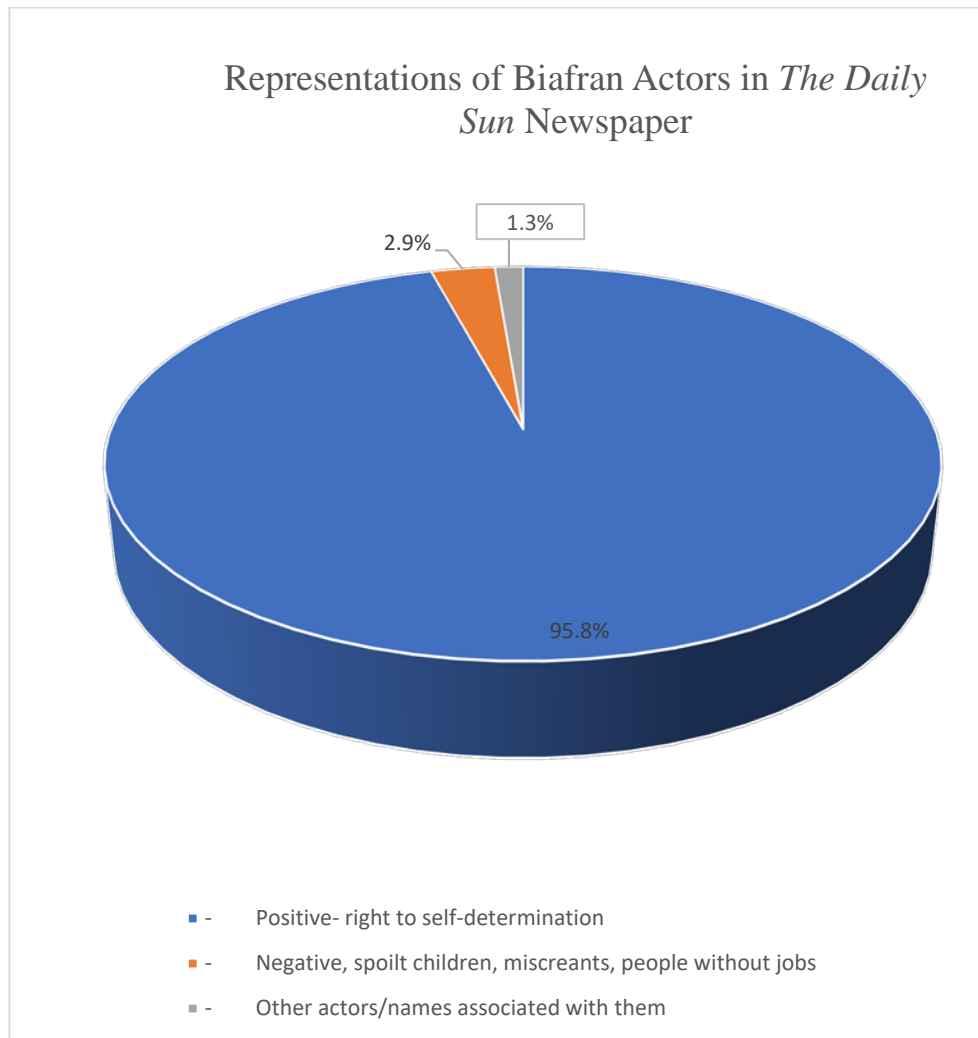


Figure 3. Pie Chart Representations Biafran Actors in *The Daily Sun* Newspaper.

In contrast, only 2.9% of the 60 articles reviewed in the *Daily Sun* used negative words and phrases like "spoilt children," "miscreants," and "people without jobs" to frame the actors (*The Daily Sun* Newspaper, 2018). An additional 1.3% used words like "enemies of the country" and "losers" (*The Daily Sun* Newspaper, 2018).

The likely implications of the positive frames for audiences within and outside of Biafran land are that they rekindle hope in the possibility of actualizing a sovereign

state of Biafra. The positive frames also contribute to keeping the debate and struggle for the restoration of Biafra on the front burner of political discussion within and outside of Nigeria, especially among Biafrans. Brown & Mourao (2022) argued that the narratives produced in news coverage of events, such as political protests or movements, help us understand public support for the movement. Hence, positive news framing about IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu and other Biafran actors in the *Daily Sun* newspaper legitimizes the agitation for the restoration of Biafra.

11.4 Representations of Biafran Actors in *The Punch* Newspaper.

Figure 4 below shows that the *Punch* newspaper used fewer positive words like "the right to self-determination," "freedom is a human right," and "allow Biafrans to go" (*The Punch* Newspaper, 2020) to represent Biafran actors. Of the 60 articles reviewed from the *Punch*, 21.9% of positive words were used. In contrast, 73.9% of the articles reviewed used negative words, such as "confused people," "Biafraud people," "Noisemakers," and "Social media country," to represent the Biafran actors (*The Punch* Newspaper, 2021). In addition, 4.2% of the 60 articles reviewed in the *Punch* used words like "bad losers," and "landlocked Biafra," (*The Punch* Newspaper, 2019).

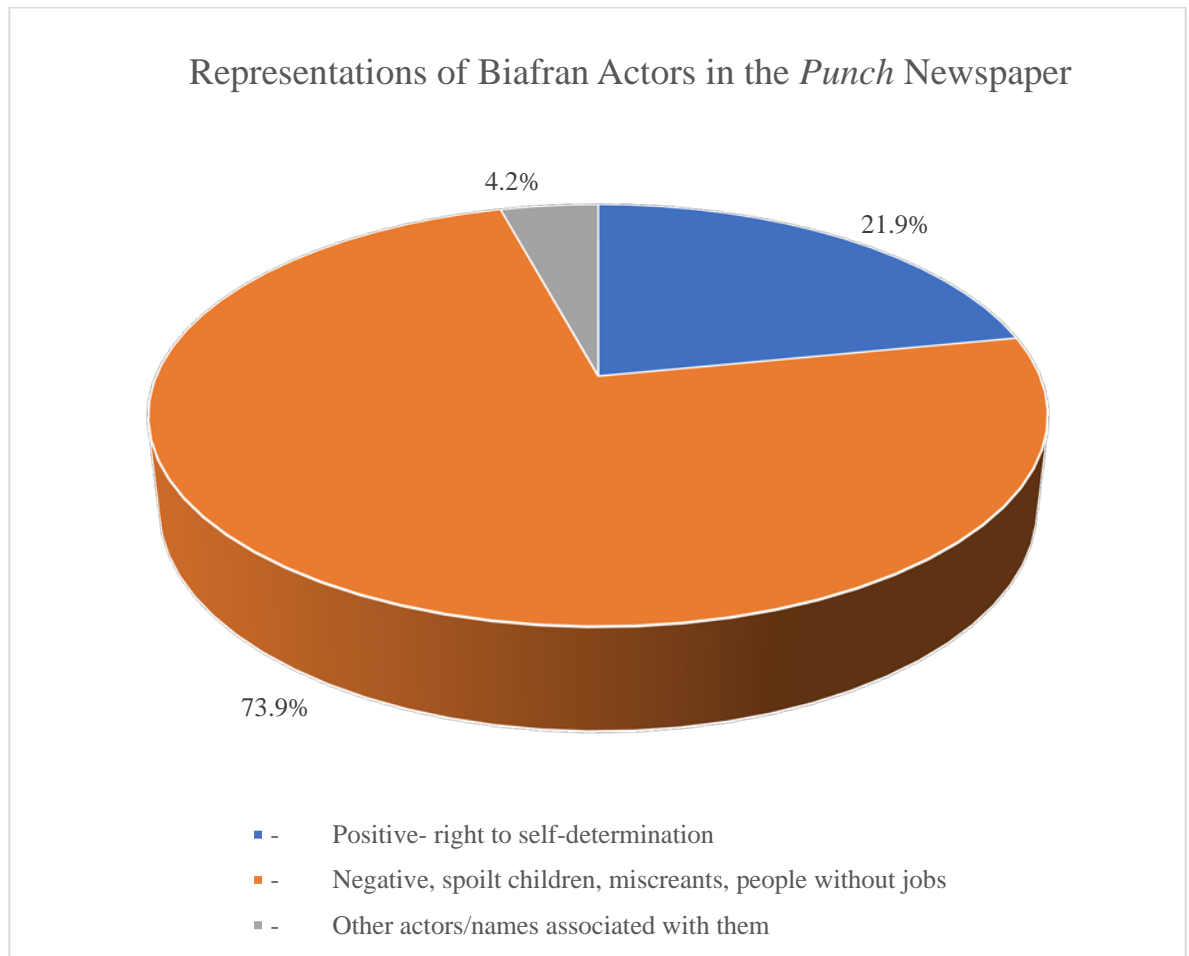


Figure 4. Pie Chart Representations of Biafran Actors in the *Punch* Newspaper.

The implications of the negative words used to frame IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu and Biafran actors in the *Punch* newspapers is to delegitimize Biafran actors and make them look bad while hiding the sufferings of Biafrans in Nigeria. Banks (2018) argued that rhetorical media strategies delegitimize the real problems of racial profiling and racial killings associated with political movement protests. In the attempt to discredit the Biafran actors, *Punch* newspaper ignored the obvious reasons behind the agitation and the need for the government of Nigeria to address them.

Generally, the percentage (95.8%) of positive words used by the *Daily Sun* journalists in representing the Biafran actors is higher than those used by the *Punch* (21.9%) journalists. Similarly, the percentage (73.9%) of negative words used in the *Punch* newspaper is higher than those (2.9%) used in the *Daily Sun*, as shown in Figures 3 and 4 above. The significant support enjoyed by Biafra actors such as Nnamdi Kanu, IPOB members, and people of the eastern region can be attributed to the positive representation of the agitation in the *Daily Sun* newspaper.

Amenaghawon (2017) argued that these differences in news framing and reporting show the biases among news organizations, which might result from the influence of media ownership and editorial policies, which determine how issues are covered and presented to the audience. The differences highlight the ethnic and tribal differences and rivalries that exist even among journalists, as seen in the news reports of *The Daily Sun*, owned by a South easterner (Igbo), and *The Punch*, owned by someone from the western (Yoruba) part of Nigeria. Irrespective of the huge disparity between the positive and negative framing and representations of the Biafran actors, the agitation for restoring Biafra has continued to gain momentum nationally and internationally among Biafrans and non-Biafra alike (Ezemenaka & Prouza, 2016).

11.5 Representations of Mazi Nnamdi Kanu (Leader of IPOB).

There is a marked difference between the representations of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) leader, Nnamdi Kanu, in *The Daily Sun* and the *Punch* newspapers, as shown in Figure 5 below. Of the sixty news articles reviewed in *The Daily Sun*, 89.6% depicted Nnamdi Kanu as another saviour, 85.5% as a truth-teller,

92% as a fearless man, and 83.4% as a lover of his people. Further, 86.8% of the 60 articles reviewed framed Mazi Nnamdi Kanu as an incorruptible, 91.7% as an intelligent man, 91.7% as a man of the people, 90.0% as a real Igbo man, and 95.0% as a true leader.

In contrast, 10.4% of the 60 articles reviewed in the *Punch* newspaper framed Kanu as an opportunist, 14.5% as trusted by his people, 8.0% as a respecter of nobody, 16.6% as a destabilizer of Nigeria, and 13.2% as brainwashing young Biafrans. Other words used to frame Kanu in the *Punch* are 8.3% as a smart young man, 10.0% as another Ojukwu (people's strength), 8.3% as a man of the people, and 5.0% as a true leader. It is likely that the passion in the *Punch* newspaper to represent Nnamdi Kanu positively, despite its being a Yoruba newspaper, can be attributed to factors such as the consistency of Nnamdi Kanu in his speeches and the massive support the agitation has gained in the international community, and the Biafrans in the diaspora (Eze, 2019). Other motivating factors may be Nnamdi Kanu's ability to speak truth to power, verifiable evidence (s) about the economic and political marginalization of the Southeast, and his not being involved in any financial or bribery scandal since he started his movement.

The significant gap between how *The Daily Sun*, owned by an Igbo man who believes in Biafra and *The Punch*, owned by a Yoruba man who does not believe in Biafra but rather in "one Nigeria" represented Nnamdi Kanu, shows the high level of ethnic division in the country. This divide contributes to why Biafrans want to secede from Nigeria, recalling the arguments by scholars (Okaisabor, 2023; Nche, 2023) that

it was difficult for the various ethnic nationalities in Nigeria to live side-by-side peacefully after the forced amalgamation of 1914 by the British colonial authorities.

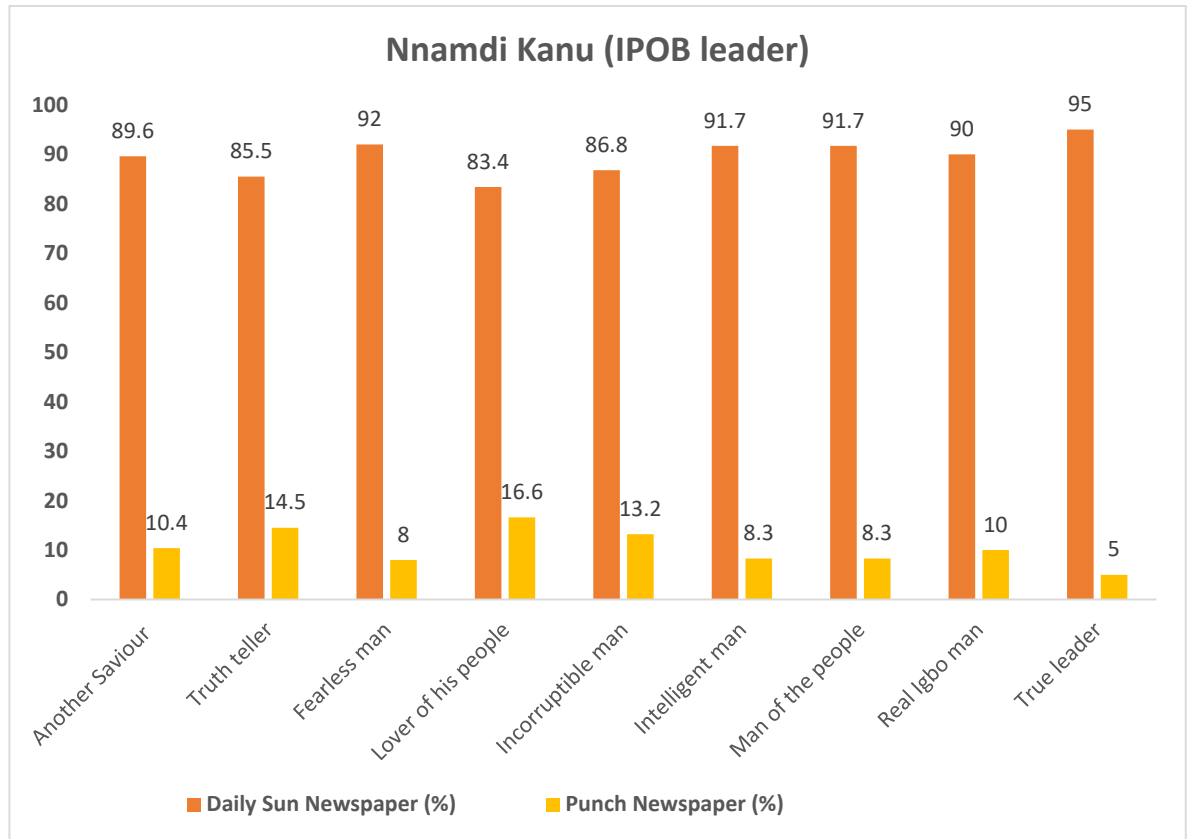


Figure 5. Bar Chart Representations of Nnamdi Kanu in *The Daily Sun* and *The Punch* Newspapers.

11.6 Framing Biafran Actors.

Biafra actors are those young, old, educated and non-educated men and women of Southeast (Biafrans) extraction living in Nigeria and the diaspora who are agitating for restoring an independent state of Biafra. When examining how the Biafran actors were framed in *The Daily Sun* and the *Punch* newspapers, the two newspapers differed

in how they framed the current agitation. This is unsurprising considering the ethnic and tribal differences between the Igbo (South-easterners) rooting for Biafra and the Yoruba (South-westerners) opposing Biafran's exit from Nigeria. Figure 6 below shows that of the 60 articles reviewed in *The Daily Sun* newspaper, 84.5% framed Biafran actors as freedom fighters compared to 15.6% in the *Punch*. Also, 62.1% of the articles framed Biafran actors as oppressed people in *The Daily Sun* news reports compared to 37.9% in *The Punch* newspaper. However, 92.2% of the articles in the *Punch* framed Biafran actors as terrorists and enemies of Nigeria compared to 7.8% in *The Daily Sun*.

Similarly, of 60 news articles examined in *The Punch*, 96.2% framed Biafran actors as unscrupulous elements compared to 3.8% in *The Daily Sun*. 93.3% of the articles reviewed in the *Punch* depicted Biafran actors as losers compared to 6.7% in *The Daily Sun*. In the same vein, 97.9% of the articles reviewed in the *Punch* framed Biafran actors as purveyors of hate speech compared to 2.1% in *The Daily Sun*. In contrast, 95.7% of the articles in the *Punch* depicted Biafran actors as people tarnishing the country's image compared to 4.3% in *The Daily Sun*. 87.7% of articles reviewed in the *Punch* used other words, such as agitators threatening national security, to frame Biafran actors compared to 12.3% in *The Daily Sun*.

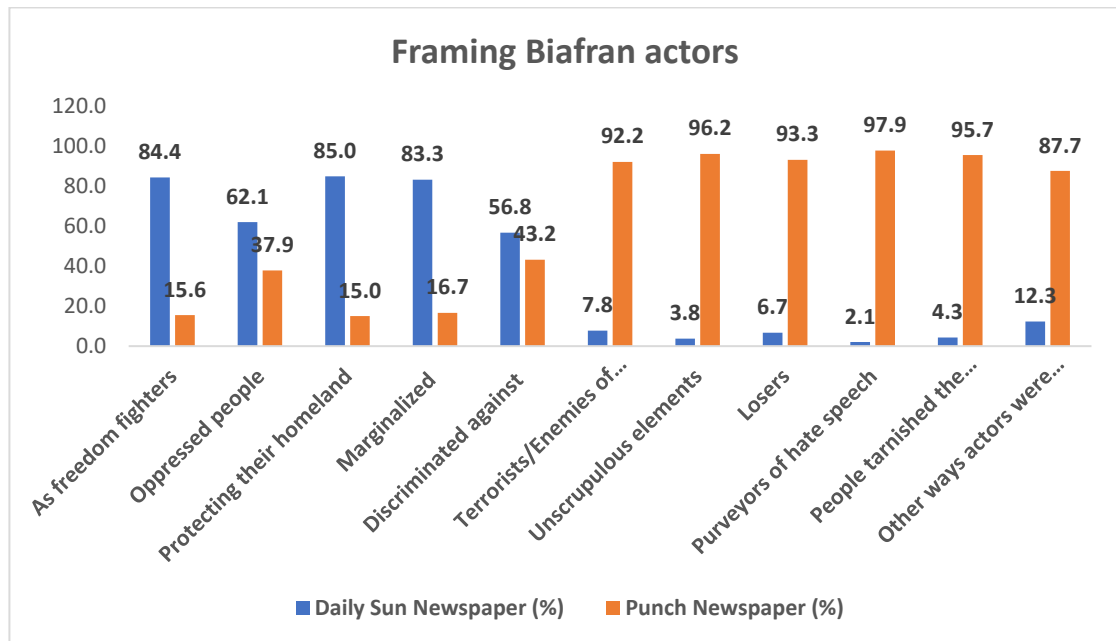


Figure 6. Bar Chart of the Framing of Biafran Actors in *The Daily Sun* and *The Punch* Newspapers.

Overall, the framing of IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu, and other Biafran agitators by *The Daily Sun* and *The Punch* newspapers shows in clear terms why the people of Southeast Nigeria want to have their independent nation because it is almost impossible for them to live together under a united Nigeria. As a result, the framing of the Biafra actors in the *Punch* delegitimizes them and makes them vulnerable to arbitrary arrest and detention by the state. Another implication is that it is a ploy to make Nnamdi Kanu, IPOB, and other Biafran actors lose credibility and popularity among the people both nationally and internationally.

The framing of Biafran actors in the two newspapers will encourage readers to consider whether to support the agitation or criticize those agitating for it. This scenario largely depends on whether the reader is from the Igbo or Yoruba ethnic group or other

parts of the country that are not in favour or against the agitation. When audiences are constantly exposed to news about the agitation, it helps them make informed decisions (s) concerning the agitation. It also makes it harder for the current agitation for the restoration of Biafra to fade away easily as initially thought by political and media pundits.

One implication of the framing of the Biafran actors, especially the negative ones, works to delegitimize them and the struggle for an independent state of Biafra. This coincides with the Nigerian government's unsuccessfully efforts to convince the Western world to label the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) as a terrorist organization. The case of IPOB, in which the United Kingdom renounced unilaterally classifying IPOB as a terrorist organization on its territory, illustrates the multifaceted nature of the global problem of terrorism's definition (Erezi, 2022). Another example is the U.S. position that before IPOB can be designated as a terrorist organization, it must meet the criteria outlined in "Section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act." One relevant criterion is whether a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) "endangers the security of U.S. nationals or the national security (national defence, foreign relations, or economic interests) of the United States." In light of such a standard, IPOB does not fit within the officially established parameters (Campbel et al., 2021). Thus, it is essential to understand that not all agitators or self-determination groups use terrorism to achieve their objectives.

However, Nigeria is a country where those who demand equal opportunity and liberty to end the tide of injustice and marginalization are hastily labelled terrorists,

while actual terrorists who attack communities and murder hundreds of innocent citizens receive lavish treatment and protection from the government (Guardian Newspaper, 2021).

11.7 Representations of Women Supporters and Advocates of Biafra

One main objective of political agitations and protests is to reach out and win the "hearts and minds" of those who are not even willing to identify with the cause (Kutcala et al., 2020). As a result, the political activism and advocacy of those seeking social change and those who reject it often results in the use of abusive language to vent their anger and opposition.

Using abusive and derogatory words against African women politicians in the media and Africa is not new (Krook & Sanin, 2020). In some cases, women in African politics are seen as people who can be raped and sexually abused easily, prone to death threats, and exposed to an indecent lifestyle (Kishi, 2022). In this study, the same pattern abounds. Figure 7 below indicates that of the 60 articles reviewed in the two newspapers, 5.2% of the articles reviewed framed Biafran women advocates and supporters as Ashawo-meaning harlots in *The Daily Sun*, compared to 94.8% in the *Punch* newspaper. Also, 18.9% of the articles examined in *The Daily Sun* framed the Biafran women advocates and supporters as baby factory mothers compared to 81.1% reported in the *Punch*. Besides, 18.8% of the articles reviewed in *The Daily Sun* framed the Biafran women advocates and supporters as women who give birth to terrorists compared to 81.2% in the *Punch* newspaper. Similarly, of the 60 articles reviewed in *The Daily Sun*, 3.3% of the articles reviewed showed other names, such as trouble

markers, and women without proper training were framed as Biafran women advocates and supporters compared to the 96.7% of the articles reviewed in the *Punch* newspapers.

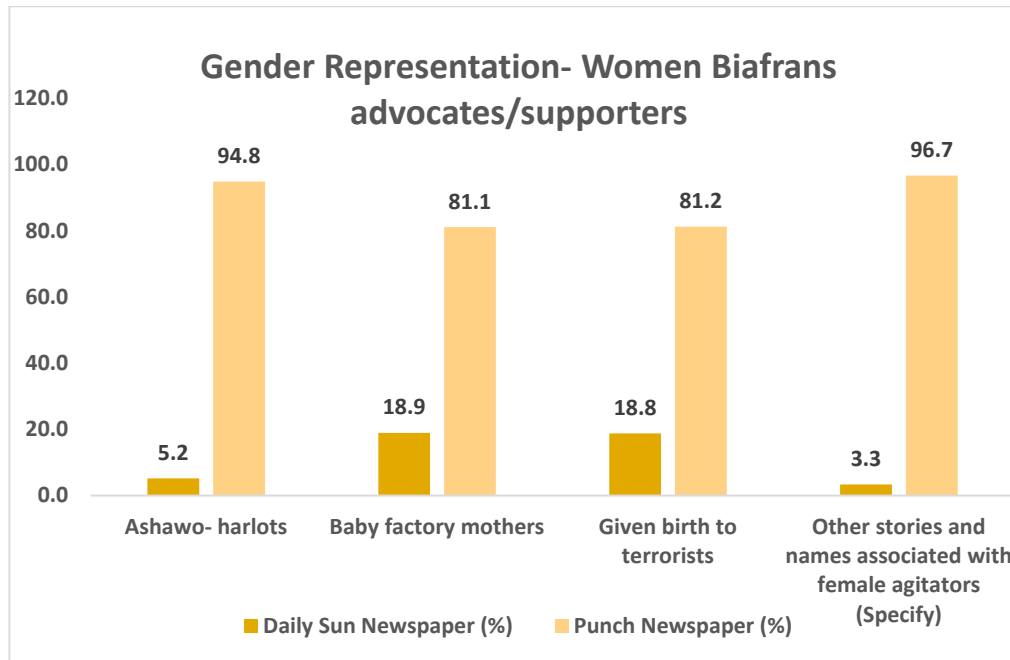


Figure 7. Bar Chart of the Framing of Biafran Women Advocates and Supporters in the *Daily Sun* Newspaper.

The rate of name-calling and labelling of Biafran women advocates and supporters with derogatory and abusive words have huge consequences for how these women are treated in Nigeria. One consequence is that women Biafra agitators are dehumanized because of their advocacy for Biafra. Such dehumanization could result in mental health issues like depression, sleeping disorders, anxiety, and aggression, which are more noticeable in women than men (Bradley-Geist et al., 2015). Some scholars (Ni et al., 2020) have observed that other mental health consequences for women involved in political protests include post-traumatic stress disorder, major

depression, community spillover, exposure to violence, lower economic status, thoughts of suicide and interpersonal conflicts.

It is imperative to note that the audience sees Biafran women advocates and supporters as both "heroines" and "complainers" depending on which group one belongs (Kutlaca et al., 2020). One may argue that Biafran women supporters are visionary women who are committed to their quest for the emancipation of Biafrans despite the severe consequences.

Another implication for how women Biafran agitators are framed in *The Daily Sun* and the *Punch* newspapers is that calling the Biafran women advocates and supporters terrorists may lead to more chaos in the country (Osisanwo & Iyoha, 2020). One can argue that there is no justifiable reason (s) for the Nigerian government to label Biafran women advocates and supporters as terrorists or prostitutes. Promoting this kind of hate speech and racial prejudice by the Nigerian government will only escalate the already volatile situation in the country.

12. Conclusion

This study examined the media framing of the Indigenous People of Biafra's (IPOB) agitation for the restoration of Biafra in two Nigerian newspapers from January 1st, 2017, to December 31st, 2022. The analysis of the results aimed to unearth how *The Daily Sun* and *Punch* newspapers framed the renewed agitation, the agenda set by the two newspapers, and the implications of the framing and agenda for how the audience views the agitation. The study found that the placement of most of the news stories

about IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu and other Biafran agitators on the front page of the newspapers, especially *The Daily Sun*, was part of the media framing and agenda for the restoration of Biafra.

The themes of self-determination, spoilt children, miscreants, terrorists, enemies of the country, losers, and people without jobs dominated how the two newspapers framed Biafran actors. Similarly, the results showed that Nnamdi Kanu, the leader of IPOB, was framed as another saviour, truth teller, fearless, lover of his people, incorruptible, intelligent man, man of the people and a true leader positively in *The Daily Sun* newspaper compared to the *Punch* that leaned more to the negative side in framing Nnamdi Kanu. The positive framing Nnamdi Kanu and other Biafran actors received, especially in *The Daily Sun*, might have been the reason for the support the agitation is getting from the Biafrans at home and in the diaspora. On the other hand, the negative framing in the *Punch* seems to be a ploy to delegitimize and ridicule the struggle before society. In addition, Biafran women advocates and supporters were found to have been framed as Ashawo-harlots, baby factory mothers, and women who had given birth to terrorists, especially in the *Punch*.

There were various implications of the framing and agenda-setting found by the study. Such implications include the notion that framing Nnamdi Kanu as a terrorist is aimed at delegitimizing the struggle and justifying the harassment and detention of Biafran agitators. While the *Punch* newspaper may seem extreme in framing the current agitation for restoring Biafra, it should not be considered a deviation from an otherwise tribally divided country like Nigeria. Rather, it is a tribal rivalry between the Igbos and

Yorubas that makes it difficult for the Biafran agitation to gain the popularity and support it deserves in the mainstream media locally and internationally.

In conclusion, this study reaffirms most of the studies on the struggle for political freedom, self-determination, and the role of the media as the fourth estate of the realm (Leake, 2022). Thus, considering how Biafrans are being treated in Nigeria, it is apparent that the best option for the Nigerian government and the international community will be to allow Biafrans to have their own separate country from Nigeria, as advocated by Nnamdi Kanu and IPOB. In the alternative, the Nigerian government should, as a matter of urgency, implement the terms of the agreement reached between Biafra and Nigeria at the end of the civil war in 1970. This has become necessary to reassure the Biafrans that they are part of Nigeria.

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APPENDIX A.

CODEBOOK

NEWSPAPER CODING SHEET FOR BIAFRA AGITATION FROM 2017-2022

Story					Journals/ Reporters	Source	People										Analysis				Basic information	
1 Page number	2 Tonic	3 Scope	4 Space	5 Ref to Gender of Biafra agitators/IPOB members?	6 Sex	7 Person /Secondary Source	8 Sex	9 Age - <i>only if stated</i>	10 Occupation/position	11 Function in story	12 Representations of Biafran agitators?	13 Identified as victim or survivor?	14 Victim of...	15 Survivor of	16 Directly quoted?	17 Story about women agitators?	19 Story about women agitators?	20 Highlights name-calling for the Buhari/government officials?	21 Representations of Nnamdi Kanu?	22 Warrants further analysis?	Monitor code Country code: +234 Newspaper: The Daily Sun and The Punch Prepared by: Chika Ebere Odoemelam	Comments & Explanations <i>Continue on back of sheet if necessary</i>

NEWSPAPER CODING BOOK FOR BIAFRAN AGITATION MAY 2023

1. All stories are about Biafran/IPBO agitators. Positive? 1= Yes. 2.=No

Note: This codebook is for stories published about Biafran agitation by Mazi Nnamdi Kanu led Indigenous People of Biafra (**IPOB**) from **2017-2022** in the *Daily Sun* and *Punch* newspapers in Nigeria.

2. Focus of Story: 1= Biafran agitation, 2= Nnamdi Kanu, 3= The government, 4= Others

3. Topic: All the stories for coding are about **Biafran agitation, Nnamdi Kanu, or IPOB** (as indicated by answer choice one (1) above. For example, suppose the story is about the actors in the Biafran agitation due to the government name calling; code under topic 1 “positive” or 2 “negative.” Similarly, suppose the story is about placement in the two selected newspapers. In that case, it should be coded under topic 7, “Headline story.”

<p>Representation of Biafran actors (IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu, Easterners).</p> <p>1. Positive- right to self-determination,</p> <p>2. Negative, spoilt children, miscreants, people without jobs,</p> <p>3. Other actors/names associated with them (Specify the names).</p> <p>Representation of Nnamdi Kanu (IPOB leader).</p> <p>4. Another Saviour</p> <p>5. Truth teller</p> <p>6. Fearless man</p> <p>7. Lover of his people</p> <p>8. Incorruptible man</p> <p>9. Intelligent man</p> <p>10. Man of the people</p> <p>11. Real Igbo man</p> <p>12. True leader</p>	<p>Framing Biafran actors</p> <p>13. As freedom fighters</p> <p>14. oppressed people</p> <p>15. protecting their homeland.</p> <p>16. Marginalized</p> <p>17. Discriminated against.</p> <p>18. Terrorists/Enemies of Nigeria,</p> <p>19. Unscrupulous elements</p> <p>20. Losers</p> <p>21. People tarnished the image of the country.</p> <p>22. Other ways actors were framed (Specify actors).</p>
<p>Story Placement</p> <p>23. Headline/front-page story.</p> <p>24. Inside page story.</p> <p>25. Back page story,</p> <p>26. Bottom of the page</p>	<p>Representation of Journalists</p> <p>28. Byline-Name (s) of Journalists who covered displayed.</p> <p>29. Byline- represented as Staff Reporter</p> <p>30. Byline- Represented as Agency Reporter.</p>

MA MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT- CHIKA EBERE ODOEMELAM

<p>27. Other story placement areas found (Specify the location).</p>	<p>31. Byline- Name (s) shows the ethnicity or region of the journalists in Nigeria.</p> <p>32. Other kinds of journalists found (specify the name).</p>
<p>How Buhari Administration is Seen</p> <p>33. As terrorist/Jihadists supporters,</p> <p>34. Tribalists</p> <p>35. Sadists</p> <p>36. Worst ruler since Nigeria's independence,</p> <p>37. Illiterate</p> <p>38. Unity beggars</p> <p>39. Other stories and names associated with the Buhari administration (specify name).</p>	<p>Gender representation- Female Biafran advocates/supporters</p> <p>40. Ashawo- harlots</p> <p>41. Baby factory mothers</p> <p>42. Given birth to terrorists.</p> <p>43. Other stories and names associated with female agitators (Specify).</p>
<p>Victims of war (1967-1970 Nigeria/Biafra war.</p> <p>44. Victims of civil 1967 civil</p> <p>45. Igbophobia</p> <p>46. Violence,</p> <p>47. National gang-up</p> <p>48. Discrimination</p> <p>49. Others (specify--).</p>	<p>50. Challenges government policies</p> <p>51. Stories that challenged govt treatment of Biafrans/ agitators,</p> <p>52. Stories that challenged the lack of development in the East,</p> <p>53. Infrastructural deficit</p> <p>54. Stories that challenged injustice</p> <p>55. Nepotism</p> <p>56. Favouritism,</p>

APPENDIX B

THE DAILY SUN NEWSPAPER FRAMING OF BIAFRAN AGITATORS FROM
JANUARY 01, 2017, TO 31, DECEMBER 2022.

S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
1	Nnamdi Kanu asks the court to drop treasonable charges against him	Emma Okafor	January 4th, 2017
2	Kanu not in Ghana, IPOB says Army spreading “Fake News”	Jeff Amechi Agbodo	February 9th, 2017
3.	Scores of IPOB members were killed in Umuahia and Aba Express axis by the Nigerian military.	Magnus Eze	March 8 th , 2017
4.	Nnamdi Kanu was released from Kuje prison.	Jeff Amechi Agbodo	April 12th, 2017
5	I’m fighting for the liberation of my people from Fulani murders: IPOB leader Nnamdi Kanu.	Stanley Uzoaru	May 10 th , 2017
6	International Observers to monitor Kanu’s court trial	Jude Chinedu	June 14 th , 2017
7	We are freedom fighters and not terrorists- IPOB publicity secretary	Okey Sampson	July 12th ¹ , 2017
8	Nnamdi Kanu visits Enugu	Jude Chinedu	August 9 th , 2017
9	Killings in Nnamdi Kanu’s home by the Nigerian military amount to genocide/war crime- IPOB.	Stanley Uzoaru	September 13th, 2017
10	Okorochoa lied against Kanu- IPOB	Tony Okafor	October 11th, 2017
11	One feared dead in Anambra as IPOB, police, army clash	Stanley Uzoaru	November 8 th , 2017

MA MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT- CHIKA EBERE ODOEMELAM

12	Caution Kanu, northern govs urge S'East counterparts	Stanley Uzoaru	December 13 th , 2017
13	Nnamdi Kanu's whereabouts unknown-IPOB	Jeff Amaechi Agbodo	January 10 th , 2018
14	Kanu not in Ghana, IPOB says Army spreading "Fake News"	Stanley Uzoaru	February 14 th , 2018
15	Re-arrest threat: 'Nnamdi Kanu is fighting for Biafra'	Jeff Amaechi Agbodo	March 14 th , 2018
16	Biafra is our only hope- Abia women protesters	Okey Sampson	April 11 th , 2018

S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
17	Pan-Igbo group elect Nnamdi Kanu as the new leader	Ihuoma Chiedozie	May 9 th , 2018
18	IPOB will not allow any RUGA/Fulani settlement in Biafraland	Kenneth Ude	June 13 th , 2018
19	Nnamdi Kanu: Southeast govs have summoned courage at last-IPOB	Ihuoma Chiedozie	July 11 th , 2018
20	ECOWAS court dismisses FG's objection	Ayodele Oluwagbemi	August 8 th , 2018
21	Nnamdi Kanu is in Israel- IPOB	Friday Olorok	September 12 st , 2018
22	With Biafra Igbo' ll remain in Nigeria, say, Nnamdi Kanu	Ihuoma Chiedozie	October 10 th , 2018
23	Those sabotaging Biafran struggle will be dealt with - IPOB	Chinonso Alozie	November 14 th , 2018
24	Nnamdi Kanu, a great Igbo man-Nwabueze	Ihuoma Chiedozie	December 12 th , 2018
25	IPOB begins exhibition of Biafran genocide in London	Jeff Amaechi Agbodo	January 9 th , 2019

MA MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT- CHIKA EBERE ODOEMELAM

26	Ohaneze Ndigbo condemn alleged attack on Ekweremadu	Chinonso Alozie	February 13 th , 2019
27	RUGA: IPOB accuses S'East govts of selling out killer-herdsmen	Kenneth Ude	March 13 th , 2019
28	Southeast govts afraid of Biafra says Kanu	Kenneth Ude	April 10 th , 2019

S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
29	IPOB lauds members over sit-at-home	Stanley Uzoaru	May 8 th , 2019
30	IPOB to S/East govns: We don't need your apology' you'll know how upset we are when we meet you abroad	Jeff Amaechi Agbodo	June 12 th , 2019
31	Biafrans must be free from the zoo-IPOB	Stanley Uzoaru	July 10 th , 2019
32	Why IPOB, Ndigbo are angry with Nigeria-Nwodo	Stanley Uzoaru	August 14 th , 2019
33	Atiku, like Buhari, can't cause positive change in Nigeria- IPOB	Chinonso Alozie	September 11 th , 2019
34	Kanu: Army still has a case to answer, says IPOB lawyer	Stanley Uzoaru	October 9 th , 2019
35	Biafra: Court rules on motion to void proscription of IPOB Thursday	Jude Chinedu	November 13 th , 2019
36	IPOB says no to MACBAN setting up vigilante group in Southeast	Stanley Uzoaru	December 11 th , 2019
37	I am not promoting IPOB	Kenneth Ude	January 8 th , 2020
38	Re-arrest threat: 'Nnamdi Kanu is fighting for Biafra	Stanley Uzoaru	February 12 th , 2020

MA MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT- CHIKA EBERE ODOEMELAM

39	I won't give up on Biafran agitation, say Nnamdi Kanu	Stanley Uzoaru	March 11 th , 2020
40	Biafra is ordained in heaven- Kanu	Stanley Uzoaru	April 8 th , 2020
41	We are making huge progress on Biafra restoration	Jude Chinedu	May 13 th , 2020
42	I will never disappoint Biafran-Kanu	Jeff Amaechi Agbodo	June 10 th , 2020
43	Kanu is ignorant of Nigeria's unity-Lai Mohammed	Stanley Uzoaru	July 8 th , 2020
44	Southeast govs have enslaved themselves- IPOB	Stanley Uzoaru	August 12 th , 2020
45	Biafra: Nigeria pushing Igbo to secede again	Stanley Uzoaru	September 9 th , 2020

S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
46	Cracks in IPOB as Nnamdi Kanu sacks deputy, Mefor	Stanley Uzoaru	October 14 th , 2020
47	My aim is civil disobedience until we get a referendum- Kanu	Stanley Uzoaru	November 11 th , 2020
48	Ebubeagu commander, not dead-IPOB	Stanley Uzoaru	December 9 th , 2020
49	Biafra: We are doing our best to sensitize the whole world- Nnamdi Kanu, IPOB	Stanley Uzoaru	January 13 th , 2021
50	We must protect our homeland from Fulani terrorist- Kanu	Stanley Uzoaru	February 10 th , 2021
51	We are not terrorists, but freedom fighters-IPOB	Stanley Uzoaru	March 10 th , 2021
52	Nnamdi remains the leader, Radio Biafra director- IPOB	Stanley Uzoaru	April 14 th , 2021
53	Why IPOB sit-at-home is succeeding in South- East- Umahi	Jude Chinedu	May 12 th , 2021

MA MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT- CHIKA EBERE ODOEMELAM

54	Nnamdi Kanu's brother opens: IPOB now in charge of South-East	Stanley Uzoaru	June 9 th , 2021
55	IPOB goes after abductors of Reverend sisters	Onyedika Agbedo	July 14 th , 2021
56	Nnamdi Kanu: family accuses FG of secret trial	Chidi Nnadi	August 11 th , 2021
57	Allow Biafrans to go: Northern women begs FG	Jeff Amaechi Agbodo	September 8 th , 2021
58	Nnamdi Kanu: family accuses FG of secret trial	Okey Sampson	October 13 th , 2021
59	IPOB's self-determination campaign legal-Ozekhome	Aloysius Attah, Ogbonnaya Ndukwe,	November 10 th , 2021

S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
60	Nnamdi Kanu feeding controversy: DSS lied, Kanu is poorly fed	Stanley Uzoaru	December 8 th , 2021
61	Why can't FG reveal how Nnamdi was extradited-IPOB	Stanley Uzoaru	January 12 th , 2022
62	IPOB proscription: Malami's memo to Buhari was signed by Abba Kyari-IPOB tells the appeal court.	Stanley Uzoaru	February 9 th , 2022
63	Terrorism: Court strikes out charges against Nnamdi Kanu and IPOB	Chidi Nnadi	March 9 th , 2022
64	6 killed as IPOB sit-at-home at grounds Southeast	Stanley Uzoaru	April 13 th , 2022
65	Police suspected IPOB leader in Delta gun battle		May 11 th , 2022
66	Kanu: UN report justifies our struggle: IPOB Australia	Jude Chinedu	June 8 th , 2022
67	IPOB accuses Arewa of "Igbophobia" for linking Obi to separatists	Stanley Uzoaru	July 13 th , 2022

MA MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT- CHIKA EBERE ODOEMELAM

68	Police arrest newspaper vendors in Imo over IPOB reports	Stanley Uzoaru	August 10 th , 2022
69	Nnamdi Kanu: Man sets own car ablaze to celebrate IPOB leader's discharge	Jeff Amaechi Agbodo	September 14 th , 2022
70	IPOB dare Buhari on Imo visit, declares Tuesday sit-at-home	Stanley Uzoaru	October 12 th , 2022
71	Jubilation in IPOB camp as court frees Kanu	Stanley Uzoaru	November 9 th , 2022
72	Kanu is a prisoner of conscience-IPOB		December 14 th , 2022

APPENDIX C

THE *PUNCH* NEWSPAPER FRAMING OF BIAFRAN AGITATORS FROM JANUARY 01, 2017, TO 31, DECEMBER 2022.

S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
1	Treasonable felony: FG wants Kanu's application dismissed	Ade Adesomoju	January 11 th , 2017
2	Soludo, Igbo leaders demand the release of Nnamdi Kanu	Ade Adesomoju	February 8 th , 2017
3	Court dismisses terrorism, 5 other charges against Kanu	Ade Adesomoju	March 8 th , 2017
4	IPOB warns FG against the continued detention of Kanu	Ihuoma Chiedozie	April 12 th , 2017
5	Nnamdi Kanu visits Enugu	Ihuoma Chiedozie	May 10 th , 2017
6	Nnamdi Kanu, a free man at last	Sodiq Oyeleke	June 14 th , 2017
7	Southern Kaduna will join Biafra if Nigeria breaks up-Danfulani	Adelani Adepegba	July 12 th , 2017
8	We don't care if FG revokes Kanu's bail-IPOB	Ihuoma Chiedozie	August 9 th , 2017
9	Nnamdi Kanu meets Ekwueme, seeks former VP's blessings	Ihuoma Chiedozie	September 13 th , 2017
10	Arewa youths call for Kanu's arrest	Adelani Adepegba	October 11 th , 2017
11	Army investigates alleged torture of IPOB members in Aba	Ihuoma Chiedozie	November 8 th , 2017
12	Soldiers/IPOB clash: Fani Kayode hails Kanu		December 13 th , 2017

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S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
13	Court affirms IPOB's proscription, designated as a terrorist organization	Ade Adesomoju	January 10 th , 2018
14	Nnamdi Kanu ran away because the army invaded his country's home-IPOB	John Alechenu	February 14 th , 2018
15	Kanu will continue the agitation from overseas	John Chinedu	March 14 th , 2018
16	Danjuma's call is belated, says IPOB	Kayode Oyero	April 11 th , 2018
17	Kanu slams Ohaneze, Southeast govts, calls for boycott of 2019 elections	Kayode Oyero	May 9 th , 2018
18	IPOB plans referendum, print ballot papers	Ihuoma Chiedozie	June 13 th , 2018
19	Nnamdi Kanu is on the run again	Sodiq Oyeleke	July 11 th , 2018
20	IPOB calls for investigation for killing of 38 pro-Biafran agitators	Sodiq Oyeleke	August 15 th , 2018
21	Nnamdi Kanu is our son, and nothing must happen to him- Biafra women's group.	Niran Adedokun	September 12 st , 2018
22	Nnamdi Kanu: How I was smuggled out of Nigeria	Niran Adedokun	October 10 th , 2018
23	Britain briefs Nigeria on Nnamdi Kanu's movement	Kayode Oyero	November 14 th , 2018
24	Nnamdi Kanu, Nigeria separatist leader, resurfaces in Israel	Kayode Oyero	December 12 th , 2018

S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
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25	IPOB gives reasons for election boycott in Biafran territory	Ogbonna Casmir	January 9 th , 2019
26	IPOB accuses Punch newspaper of attacking Buhari because a Yoruba is affected by govt clampdown	James Eze	February 13 th , 2019
27	Court orders arrest of IPOB leader Mazi Nnamdi Kanu	Sunday Nwakanma	March 13 th , 2019
28	Nnamdi Kanu will expose more on Atiku, Buhari-IPOB	Tony Okafor	April 10 th , 2019
29	Police arrest 140 pro-Biafra groups in Nsukka	Abiodun Sanusi	May 8 th , 2019
30	IPOB and Nnamdi Kanu are troublemakers- NCF	Abiodun Sanusi	June 12 th , 2019
31	We don't buy arms, and we produce locally, IPOB tells DSS	Kayode Oyero	July 10 th , 2019
32	Japan visit: Stories on IPOB harassing Buhari 'concocted' says presidency	Kayode Oyero	August 14 th , 2019
33	2019: Nwabueze, Nwodo, IPOB says Igbos not interested in the presidency	Tony Okafor	September 11 th , 2019
34	Pro-Biafra group attack Igbo leaders in Enugu, about 20 arrested	Ihuoma Chiedozie	October 9 th , 2019
35	Biafra: I will make Nnamdi Kanu, IPOB, abandon the struggle in 6 months- Olusegun Bamgbose	Ihuoma Chiedozie	November 13 th , 2019

MA MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT- CHIKA EBERE ODOEMELAM

36	We don't know if Nnamdi Kanu will attend his father's burial-Brother	Sunday Nwakanma	December 11 th , 2019
37	Nothing can stop the independence of Biafra; Nnamdi Kanu cries out	Friday Olorokor, Adelani Adepegba	January 15 th , 2020
38	Nnamdi accuses police, army, and DSS of arresting IPOB members heading for his parents' burial.	Kayode Israel	February 12 th , 2020
39	DSS/IPOB clash: Group condemns Kanu's call for attack on security forces	Abiodun Sanusi	March 11 th , 2020
40	Agitation for Biafra shows the level of madness-Ukpai	Patrick Odey	April 15 th , 2020

S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
41	Police foil 'Biafra Day' parade	Ihuoma Chiedozie	May 13 th , 2020
42	Kanu fumes as South-East govs reject IPOB 'police'	Tony Okafor	June 10 th , 2020
43	Independence: IPOB declares sit-at-home on Oct1	Tony Okafor	July 15 th , 2020
44	Violence: Wike places 50m bounty on IPOB leader Mgbere	Dennis Naku	August 12 th , 2020
45	Nine feared dead as soldiers, IPOB members clash in Rivers	Dennis Naku	September 10 th , 2020

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46	Capture Ikpeazu to face trial-Nnamdi Kanu tells IPOB members	Tony Okafor	October 14 th , 2020
47	All Igbo behind Biafran agitation, backing southeast serial violence-CNG	Friday Olorokor	November 11 th , 2020
48	IPOB security outfit, a result of gov's failure-Nnamdi Kanu	Tony Okafor	December 9 th , 2020
49	IPOB is not Nigeria's problem	Godfrey George	January 13 th , 2021
50	52 Northern groups ask UN to back Biafra agitation	Friday Olorokor	February 10 th , 2021
51	Sit-at-home: We will ensure that Nnamdi Kanu's rights are not abused; the Abia govt assures IPOB members	Sodiq Oyeleke	March 10 th , 2021

S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
52	IPOB/MASOB members seek asylum: FG may summon British envoy, Ohaneze, Afenifere back UK	Friday Olorokor, Adelani Adepegba	April 14 th , 2021
53	IPOB-Spreading false narratives won't work, Kanu's lawyers tackle Malami	Sodiq Oyeleke	May 12 th , 2021
54	Nnamdi Kanu excited over 'UN urgent' appeal to Nigeria, Kenya	Sodiq Oyeleke	June 9 th , 2021
55	Southeast govs condemn IPOB's sit-at-home, silent on Kanu	Raphael Ede	July 14 th , 2021

MA MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT- CHIKA EBERE ODOEMELAM

56	Abuja court to hear IPOB, Kanu's case	Kayode Oyero	August 11 th , 2021
57	FG is trying to kill lawyers, Nnamdi Kanu, others-IPOB	Tony Okafor	September 8 th , 2021
58	IPOB to lock down S'East if Nnamdi Kanu is not released	Edward Nnachi	October 13 th , 2021
59	IPOB: DSS lied, Nnamdi Kanu was poorly fed, tortured daily	Sodiq Oyeleke	November 10 th , 2021
60	IPOB: Detention preparing Nnamdi Kanu for the task ahead	Friday Olorokor	December 8 th , 2021
61	DSS releases IPOB supporter, Mama Biafra	Ogbonna Casmir	January 12 th , 2022

S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
62	Why FG cannot reveal how Nnamdi Kanu was extradited, Lawyer	Sodiq Oyeleke	February 9 th , 2022
63	Court orders immediate release of IPOB member	Friday Olorokor	March 9 th , 2022
64	We don't know Peter Obi, and he doesn't know us, IPOB replies to Gumi	John Chinedu	April 13 th , 2022
65	Stop bloodshed in S'East; release 'Mama Biafra'	Tony Okafor	May 11 th , 2022
66	Why Soludo met Nnamdi Kanu in DSS custody-Gov's aide	Sunday Nwakanma	June 8 th , 2022
67	Kanu: Malami ignorant of law-IPOB	Ikenna Obianeri	July 13 th , 2022

MA MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT- CHIKA EBERE ODOEMELAM

S/NO	TITLE OF STORY	BYLINE	DATE OF PUBLICATION
68	Obey UN, release Nnamdi Kanu lawyers tell FG	Ikenna Obianeri	August 10 th , 2022
69	Terrorism charges: Kanu receives legal team in custody	Friday Olorokor	September 14 th , 2022
70	S'East Reps, clerics, monarchs, IPOB demands Kanu's release	Lekan Baiyewu, Edward Nnachi	October 12 th , 2022
71	Kanu sues NIA DG, demands N20bn compensation	Sharon Osaji	November 9 th , 2022
72	3,071 IPOB, Boko Haram members, 985 security agents killed in 12 months-Reports	Kayode Oyero	December 14 th , 2022

APPENDIX C.

TABLE OF FINDINGS.

NEWSPAPER REPRESENTATION OF AGITATION FOR THE RESTORATION OF BIAFRAN	<i>DAILY SUN</i>		<i>PUNCH</i>	
	Representation	Per cent	Representation	Percent
Representation of Biafran Actors (IPOB, Nnamdi Kanu, Easterners)				
- Positive- right to self-determination	431	95.8	95	21.9
- Negative, spoilt children, miscreants, people without jobs	13	2.9	320	73.9
- Other actors/names associated with them	6	1.3	18	4.2
Representation of Nnamdi Kanu (IPOB leader)				
- Another Saviour	302	9.1	35	8.6
- Truth teller	361	10.8	61	15.1
- Fearless man	252	7.6	22	5.4
- Lover of his people	401	12.0	80	19.8
- Incorruptible man	472	14.2	72	17.8
- Intelligent man	330	9.9	30	7.4
- Man of the people	451	13.6	41	10.1
- Real Igbo man	416	12.5	46	11.4
- True leader	342	10.3	18	4.4
Representation of Framing Biafran actors				
- As freedom fighters	760	30.5	140	5.2
- Oppressed people	205	8.2	125	4.6
- Protecting their homeland	480	19.3	85	3.1
- Marginalized	575	23.1	115	4.2
- Discriminated against	357	14.3	272	10.0
- Terrorists/Enemies of Nigeria	38	1.5	450	16.6
- Unscrupulous elements	15	0.6	381	14.1
- Losers	22	1.0	305	11.2
- Purveyors of hate speech	10	0.4	467	17.2
- People tarnished the image of the country	12	0.5	265	9.8
- Other ways actors were framed.	15	0.6	107	4.0
Gender representation of Biafrans advocates/supporters				
- Ashawo (harlots)	11	16.2	201	40.5
- Baby factory mothers	21	30.9	90	18.2

MA MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT- CHIKA EBERE ODOEMELAM

-	Given birth to terrorists	34	50.0	147	29.6
-	Other stories and names associated with female agitators	2	2.9	58	11.7

NEWSPAPER REPRESENTATION OF AGITATION FOR THE RESTORATION OF BIAFRAN		DAILY SUN		PUNCH	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Representation of story placement					
-	Headline/front-page story	52	86.7	21	36.8
-	Inside page story	5	8.3	30	52.6
-	Back page	2	3.3	5	8.8
-	Bottom of the page	1	1.7	4	1.8
-	Other story placement areas found	0	0.0	0	0.0
Representation of Journalists					
-	Byline-Name (s) of Journalists who covered displayed	60	50.0	60	50.0
-	Byline-Represented as Staff Reporter	0	0.0	0	0.0
-	Byline- Represented as Agency Reporter	0	0.0	0	0.0
-	Byline- Name (s) shows the ethnicity or region of the journalists in Nigeria	55	45.8	53	44.2
-	Other kinds of journalists found	5	4.2	7	5.8
Representation of Buhari Administration					
-	As terrorist/jihadists supporters	151	8.4	122	10.1
-	Tribalists	390	21.7	205	16.9
-	Sadist	292	16.3	101	8.3
-	Worst ruler since Nigeria's independence	394	21.9	405	33.4
-	Illiterate	303	16.9	303	25.0
-	Unity beggars	153	8.5	41	3.4
-	Other representation of the Buhari administration	114	6.3	35	2.9
Representation of challenges government policies					
-	Stories that challenged govt treatment of Biafrans/agitators	232	11.4	132	8.3
-	Stories that challenged the lack of development in the East	268	13.2	164	10.3
-	Infrastructural deficit	337	16.5	407	25.6
-	Stories that challenged injustice	371	18.2	171	10.8
-	Nepotism	390	19.1	304	19.2
-	Favouritism	440	21.6	410	25.8
Representation of Victims of war (1967-1970 Nigeria/Biafra war)					
-	Victims of 1967 civil	263	12.3	63	8.0

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-	Igbo phobia	435	20.0	135	17.2
-	Violence	394	18.4	220	28.0
-	National gang-up =808	404	18.9	120	15.3
-	Discrimination	445	20.8	225	28.6
-	Others	201	9.4	23	2.9