INFLUENCE OF BIAFRA-RELATED SOCIAL MEDIA CONTENTS ON THE ACCEPTANCE OF IPOB AGENDA IN SOUTH-EAST NIGERIA

BY

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Abstract
Improvement in internet capacity had led to the creation of various social media platforms. The various social media platforms influenced how individuals, groups and communities interacted with each other and events in their environment. Therefore, this study examined the influence of social media contents of agitators and secescionists on consumers of such contents and how the contents influenced their perception of the struggle with focus on Biafra related contents through qualitative study. The study adopted focus group discussion to gather data using a combination of Constant Comparison Analysis (CCA) and Micro-Interlocutor Analysis to analyse the data. Participants in the study were selected using purposive sampling to assemble four cohorts with each cohort having homogeneous features except age. The study found out that consumers of Biafra social media contents, apart from interacting with the contents, also interrogate the contents. The study also found out that consumers of social media contents who were supporters of the secessionist group rely on perceived beliefs to argue in support of the veracity of the consumed contents even if there had been facts to argue against the authenticity of such contents. The study concluded that social media reinforce perceived beliefs through consumed contents.
Keywords: Social-Media, Content, Stimuli, Beliefs, Fake, Genuine

Introduction

The improvement of the internet capacity from Web 1.0 to 2.0 promotes the creation of different interactive applications known as Social Media (SM) applications. Heinonen and Halonen (2007) view SM as tools, spaces and operating modes for the people who interact with each other to create, share, change and comment on the contents of social networks. SM allows people to interact, share information and opinions with ease (Apuke and Ezeah, 2018).

Various SM applications are changing the way people relate with each other, their environment, situations and happenings around them. SM contribute to the intractable uprising, revolutions and toppling of governments, such as, the 'Arab Springs' of Syria, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Tunisia, and Egypt and which led to wars in Syria, Libya and Yemen (Flamini, 2011; Hakimian, 2011; Allagui and Kuebler, 2011). SM also contribute to the election outcome as seen in the election of Donald Trump, the 45th America president in 2016 (Hwang, 2016; Noam, 2017; Allcott and Gentzkow, 2017).

Distinguishing between fake and authentic content online remains a major challenge. For instance, contents targeting individuals, corporation, agencies and governments for financial gains have a medium through SM (Ashley O'Brien, 2017). Content on SM is also being used by governments to

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gain political controls not only of their citizens but other foreign governments (Sanovich, 2017). SM is also a potent tool in the hands of radicals such as ISIS which has created SM application that can radicalise potential followers (Awan, 2017; Greene, 2015). The 'weaponisation' of social media as easy tools for individual, group, organisation and state to generate and distribute contents meant to influence, dissuade consumers is pervasive. Hence, agitators and revolutionary groups, employ social media as a major tool for contents dissemination.

The reason for the above is not far-fetched; there is a connection between social media as a tool of protest and the ability to attract attention to a cause. In addition, evidence abound that the employment of social media in revolutionary struggle favours the insurgent movement (Duncan, 2013). Hence, Udende, P., Iorkase, S., Chiakaan, J., & Yusuf, T. (2019) opined that social media served as tool through which governments could be influenced. From the foregoing, social media supports mass communication.

Social media is being used to propagate beliefs, positions and agenda by individuals, groups, organisations and states because the tool allows for generation of contents free of any regulation or rules and reaches mass audiences. The freedom to use social media as a tool for communication and information sharing, and without ethical considerations, exposes the platforms to abuse. Hence, through social media, fake and genuine contents struggle for space. Individuals, groups and associations such as Indigenous People of Biafra IPOB employ the platforms to spread various messages. The IPOB contents are consumed (whether genuine or fake) by both its followers and non-followers.

Study Focus

The Nigerian society consists of over 500 tribes and over 371 major ethnic groups with each tribe/ethnic group continuously positioning itself for a larger share of the national treasures. Therefore, in a polarised Nigerian environment, civil strife, mistrusts and marginalisation are major problems. Successive governments have made efforts to ensure national cohesion and to assuage feelings of marginalisation, politically and economically. The successes or failures of successive governments in ensuring national cohesion is not within the focus of this study. It is therefore opined that the prevailing condition in the Nigerian society gave birth to the group known as 'Indigenous People of Biafra' (IPOB). IPOB is an Igbo ethnic secessionist group made up of young people seeking a separate state from Nigeria because they have been socio-economically, culturally and politically disadvantaged (British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), 2015; Thompson, Ojukwu, & Nwaorgu, 2016; IRB - Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2016). The strident publications by IPOB continue to polarise the Nigerian Society, with those against and for canvassing their positions using newspaper, television, SM etc. The presence of IPOB is felt in the following SM apps: Twitter:@ipobworldnews@radiobiafralive, Facebook: www.facebook.com/freedomforipob/, You Tube. The above justifies the choice of select IPOB social media contents as study materials for this study. Also, the choice is also as a result of the heightened and widespread interests, reactions of IPOB members and non-IPOB members to the various activities and events of the organisation with their social media contents.

Study Objectives

The objectives of the study therefore are to: investigate the influence of IPOB social media contents on their consumers; Investigate how IPOB contents affect the perspectives of the consumers of such contents about the association's agenda; and bring to the fore, a substantive theory that explains the influence of IPOB social media contents in the secessionist agenda using Constant Comparative Method (CCM) (Fram, 2013) combined with Onwuegbuzife, (2009) and Onwuegbuzie, Dickinson, Leech, and Zoran's, (2009) Micro-interlocutor Analysis (M-IA).

A major assumption of this study therefore, is that IPOB, a political movement, weaponises its SM contents in order to influence and consequently earn favourable supports from its audience. The qualitative study provides an avenue for an in-depth understanding of how IPOB members and non-members interact with IPOB SM contents. Through the qualitative approach, the study is able to generate a substantive theory which entail an in-depth dissection and maintenance of both the emic (participant's view as insider) and etic (outsider/ distant concepts) perspectives of the selected IPOB social media contents (Fram, 2013; Oh, Ahmad, bin Bullare, and Voo, 2016).

The rigidity of maintaining the emic and etic perspectives allows for conceptual abstraction as against conceptual description of IPOB Social Media Content. The conceptual abstraction nullifies inductive approach for the study, except in the stratification of participants and categorization of data collected. The application of Micro-Interlocutor Analysis (M-IA) allows for consistency in conceptual abstraction from the coding stage up to the theoretical framework formulation stage through the identification of various degrees of consensus in the aggregated themes identified in the cohorts' discussions.

Literature Review

Exposure to media contents instigates emotional reactions "when images, videos and life action, real-life tempo and nonlinear juxtaposition of video images interacts with human senses" (McLuhan, (1964). Television whose contents are regulated and 'often not free from ethical or moral consideration in most cases (a parallel reference to Kaplan, Andreas M., and Michael Haenlein,2010) could turn news events into occasions for collective experiences of emotions using three types of emotional cues. SM employs all the three emotional cues: visual grammar (close-ups, zooms, cuts, video graphics, and so on), episodic composite and emotionally loaded words identified by Dayan and Katz (1992) "as contents generated from television". From the position cited above, pertaining to the stimulant effects resulting from exposure to emotional cues; Cho , Michael, Keum , Shevy , McLeod ,Shah and Pan, (2010) further affirm that emotional response to television content as a psychological experience developed later, after the link between initial primary emotion, message characteristics, and situations has been identified and appraised. Generating effective SM contents requires the use of the three emotional cues. Social media derives part of its potency from the deployment of video and images to portray, dramatise, heighten events or happenings. The difference between television generated videos and images and SM is that while the former is regulated with delineated organisational ethical considerations with the content generator, visible; the latter creates its own rules, free from regulation(s) (in a free society) lack organisational controls and the content generators are not known.

Researches based on Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) and Normative Theory (NT) approaches have demonstrated that human behaviours can be predicted by their attitude towards the behaviour and normative perceptions regarding a stimuli (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Perkins, 2003). The TRA and NT provide platforms for explaining the emotional reactions to SM contents by its consumers. The stimuli offered through SM requires no authentication of its genuineness or otherwise by any party. Hence, perceived beliefs are subjective and operate at personal level norms. It has been posited however, that there is still need for researches to understand the roles of norms in behavioural changes (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Perkins, 2003; Park, 2007; Kim, Lee, & Yoon, 2015).

The inability of TRA and NT to predict a pathway to the understanding of motivational influences led the study to strengthen the theoretical framework by reviewing Stimulus-Response (S-R) theory. The S-R theory predicts that some reactions are emitted more easily than others in specific stimuli captured by the notion of S-R Compatibility (S-RC). S-RC proposes that a response is elicited

quickly, when a relevant or irrelevant stimulus feature is somehow related or similar to the correct response than when both elements differ (Eder, Rothermund, & De Houwer, 2013).

Social media are Information Communication digital technology mediated applications, which allow sharing and exchange of user generated 'unrestricted and unregulated' information, such as texts, images, videos etc., in a virtual space through online communities and networks. These internet-based applications are mostly and freely available to any individual with a desktop or smart phone with access to the internet.

Kaplan, Andreas and Michael Haenlein, (2010) opine that Social Media need to fulfill three basic requirements in order to be considered as such: first, it needs "to be published either on a publicly accessible website or on a social networking site accessible to a selected group of people." Secondly, "it needs to show a certain amount of creative effort; and finally, it needs to have been created outside of professional routines and practices". Kaplan, and Haenlein (2010) went further to include another fourth consideration, which was labelled "free from ethical qualitative data or moral consideration in some cases".

The four parameters identified by Kaplan, and Haenlein, (2010) provide an understanding of social media operational environment. SM operates an information jungle where survival and superiority of information sharing and exchanges depend on the potency of SM content deployed. SM provides real time platform through which user generated contents can be shared whether genuine or fake. In the social media, information is everywhere; the users are not mere consumers, but also producers of content. Though SM contributes to online information jungle, the extent to which such information can lead to credible attainment of knowledge remains in doubt because of the absence of filters of fake news from genuine news. From the literature reviewed, the theoretical framework for the study is delineated by working with the proposition that SM does not have the capacity to influence behavioural change, rather, exposure to cogent stimuli (positive or negative) only enhances the reinforcement of perceived belief(s)

Methodology

The study employed multiple groups discussion to determine the extent to which IPOB SM contents reinforced dissatisfaction with the Nigerian State by IPOB members and non-IPOB members when exposed to the same stimuli. A combination of Constant Comparison Analysis (CCA) (Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 2008; Glaser, 2016) with Micro-interlocutor Analysis (M-IA) (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009) were used to analyse the data gathered from the group discussions. Though the M-IA had two levels of analysis, the Consensus and the non-verbal levels; only the consensus level was applied while the non-verbal such as Proxemic, Chronemic, paralinguistics and Kinesic were not considered because the combination of CCA with the identification of various degrees of consensus yielded information allowing us to discuss cogent themes revealed through the discussions. Also, CCA was used to cross-link the themes across the Cohorts. The Micro-interlocutor Analysis was used to delineate nature and order of responses which were major elements to an in-depth study of participants' reactions to weapon of war image, violent video clips and messages of the IPOB leader which served as the stimuli for discussion.

The study focus groups participants were selected using purposive sampling method. Four cohorts were assembled with each cohort having homogeneous features except age. The first cohort was made up of 6 self- acclaimed IPOB members who never witnessed the Nigerian civil war, the second cohort consisted of 8 IPOB members who witnessed the civil war, the third cohort consisted of 6 non IPOB members but who shared the same ethnic background with IPOB while the fourth cohort consisted of 6 non IPOB members and were not from the same ethnic grouping with IPOB members. Four researchers and three research assistants participated in the field activities.

Each cohort discussion was moderated by a lead researcher and assisted by other two. Each session lasted between 1 to 1.30 hours with a minimum of 6 participants but not more than 8 for each cohort. The above choices were influenced by the need to ensure that there were enough participants to yield varied information (Langford, Schoenfeld, & Izzo, 2002; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009; Creswell, 2014) with each cohort discussion moderated by one of the researchers serving as lead moderator and another member of the research team serving as assistant. All the cohorts were presented with the same questions and stimuli materials in the form of 1 facebook image and 2 YouTube video clips. Part of the questions asked were to stimulate discussions of the stimuli materials. The use of 4 cohorts apart from enabling saturation of data, also provided avenue for the promotion of triangulation thereby enhancing fidelity and validity of the data gathered in the course of the groups discussions (Kolb, 2012; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). The discussions were recoded using audio tapes managed by the assistant researchers in addition to overseeing refreshment, orderliness and conducive environment.

Cohort 1 (6): Participants who never witnessed the Nigerian civil war but are IPOB members:
Age Range: 23-27, 45-46; Sex: Male; Married 2, Single 4; Education background: Minimum of Secondary school certificate; Profession: Retailers; Source of IPOB contents: Social media, TV, Radio, Newspapers.

Cohort 2 (8): Participants who witnessed the Nigerian civil war and are IPOB members:
Age Range: 54-60; Sex: Male; Married 8; Education background: Minimum of Secondary school certificate; Profession: Retailers; Source of IPOB contents: Social media, TV, Radio, Newspapers

Cohort 3 (6): Participants who were non-IPOB members but shared the same ethnic affiliation with IPOB but never witnessed the civil war.
Age Range: 26-46; Sex: Male; Married 2 Single 4; Education background: Minimum of Secondary school certificate; Profession: Retailers; Source of IPOB contents: Social media, TV, Radio, Newspapers

Cohort 4 (6): Participants who did not share the same ethnic affiliation with IPOB and were not IPOB members
Age Range: 26-46; Sex: Male; Married 2 Single 4; Education background: Minimum of Secondary school certificate; Profession: Retailers; Source of IPOB contents: Social media, TV, Radio, Newspapers
The study analysed the selected SM contents of IPOB as found in YouTube and facebook accounts of IPOB between 2016 and 2017 in order to determine the perception of the IPOB SM contents.
To stimulate discussions, the following questions were presented to the cohorts for discussion:
    Q1   What are the goals of IPOB?
    Q2   Where do you get information about IPOB activities?
    Q3   Does IPOB SM content influence your opinion(s) about its activities?
    Q4   Does IPOB contents assist you in believing in the association's agenda?

Analysis and Discussion
Analysis of Cohorts' Discussions Using Micro-Interlocutor to determine levels of consensus in the cohorts' discussions.
Image   1:   Chuks   Ogbu   (2017)   https://scontent.flos5-1.fna.fbcdn.net/v/t1.0-9/20840977_1980499542186088_2426897123283355839_n.jpg?_nc_cat=0&oh=d973611f90197a4cd5c185f927238dfb&oe=5B967620

Video 1: news & entertainment world (2017)   https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=wxO4gEFySCU
Video 2: SaharaTV, 2015   https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=-tCZDPV0O7s

Table 1: COHORT 1 Participants (P) who never witnessed the Nigerian civil war but are IPOB members:

Focus Group Question	P 1	P 2	P 3	P 4	P 5	P 6	P. 7	P. 8
Do you agree with Image 1?	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Do you believe that it was the Nigerian army that actually maltreated IPOB members in the video clip?	A	SE	A	SE	SE	SE	SE	SE
Do you support IPOB leader in the video Clip 2?	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
What are the goals of IPOB?								
Which source(s) of information on IPOB activities do you believe?								
Do IPOB SM contents influence your opinion(s) about its activities?								
Do IPOB contents influence you to believe in the organisation's agenda?								

Keys:
"A = Indicated agreement (i.e., verbal or nonverbal)
 D = Indicated dissent (i.e., verbal or nonverbal)
 SE = provided significant statement or example suggesting agreement
 SD = provided significant statement or example suggesting dissent
 NR = Did not indicate agreement or dissent (i.e. nonresponse)"(Onwuegbuzie, 2009).

Table 2: COHORT 2 Participants (P) who witnessed the Nigerian civil war and are IPOB members

Focus Group Question	P 1	P 2	P 3	P 4	P 5	P 6
Do you agree with Image 1?	A	SD	A	SD	A	SD
Did the Nigerian army maltreat IPOB members in the video	A	A	A	A	A	A
Do you support IPOB leader in the video 2?	A	A	A	A	A	A
What are the goals of IPOB?						
Which source(s) of information on IPOB activities do you believe?						
Do IPOB SM contents influence your opinion(s) about its activities?						
Do IPOB contents influence you to believe in the organisation's agenda?						

Table 3: COHORT 3 Participants (P) who are non-IPOB members but shared the same ethnic affiliation with IPOB

Focus Group Question	P 1	P 2	P 3	P 4	P 5	P 6	P. 7	P. 8
Do you agree with Image 1?	SD	A	A	A	A	A	A	SD
Did the Nigerian army maltreat IPOB members in the video clip	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Do you support IPOB leader in the Video 2?	SD	A	A	SD	A	A		SD
What are the goals of IPOB?								
Which source(s) of information on IPOB activities do you believe?								
Does IPOB SM content influence your opinion(s) about its activities?								
Do IPOB contents influence you to believe in the organisation's agenda?								

Table 4: COHORT 4 Participants (P) who do not share the same ethnic affiliation with IPOB and are not IPOB members

Focus Group Question	P 1	P 2	P 3	P 4	P 5	P 6
Do you agree with Image 1?	SD	SD	A	SD	SD	SD
Did the Nigerian army maltreat IPOB Members in the video?	A*	A*	A	A*	A*	A*
Do you support IPOB leader in the video 2?	SD	SD	SD	SD	SD	SD
What are the goals of IPOB?						
Which source(s) of information on IPOB activities do you believe?						
Does IPOB SM content influence your opinion(s) about its activities?						
Do IPOB contents influence you to believe in the organisation's agenda?						

A* means that the participants all agreed that the video was fake and that the Nigerian army did not maltreat IPOB Members

Analysis of Cohorts' Discussions Using Constant Comparison Analysis (CCA)

The transcripts of discussions were first coded using common themes (i.e., categorized under different themes) by at least one coder and then recoded by the first author, who made the final coding decision. To assess reliability, a second coder coded a randomly selected 10% sample of the manually coded samples. Through the coding process, an aggregate of themes were arrived at which provided basis for conceptualization of the study

	Image 1	Video Clip 1	Video Clip 2	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Co. 1	Ready for War Secession	State brutality against IPOB	Other tribes as opposition	-To achieve secession -Freedom from slavery -Avenge wrongs	-IPOB meetings -Radio Biafra -Discussion with friends -Social Media -All other sources are not truthful	Yes, in all cases	No
Co. 2	Ready for War Secession	State brutality against IPOB	Other tribes as opposition	-To achieve secession -Freedom from slavery - Avenge wrongs	IPOB meetings -Radio Biafra -Discussion with friends - Social Media --All other sources are not truthful	Yes, in all cases	No
Cohort 3	Redress a wrong Secession	Source may be in doubt	Against the interest of Biafra	To achieve secession -Freedom from slavery -Secession - Avenge wrongs	-Newspapers -Radio and television stations -Social media	Yes, but not in all cases	No
Cohort 4	Avenger	Fake news	Hate	Secession	Newspapers -Radio and television stations -Social media	No	No

Constant Comparison Analysis

The open coding of each cohort's discussion was carried out by isolating all thematic fragments and comparing such themes within other cohorts' discussions. The comparison of thematic choices of each cohort yielded an aggregate of similar thematic positions (positive or negative) which guided the researchers in determining conceptual consistency of the discussions, thereby enhancing the reliability of the data gathered. For instance, Cohorts (Cs) 1 and 2 share affinity with the concept of secession from a state regarded as antagonistic to anything Biafra. Hence, any content coming from the traditional news media (even when read online) is viewed with suspicion (unless it professes support) while genuine news can only be sourced through online sources that are sympathetic to IPOB cause. The position of C. 3 is a midpoint between Cs 1 and 2 and C.4. C3 considers the concept of secession as not the only solution from a state regarded as antagonistic to anything Biafra. Hence, any content from traditional news media should be accessed for balanced information. However, C4 disagrees with secession as a solution to the Biafra issues. Hence, C4 regards any information from IPOB online as not only fake but over exaggerated.

The aggregation of the thematic choices of Cs 1, 2 3 and 4 when discussing Image 1 assists the researchers in framing reinforcement in the study. Cs 1, 2, 3 interrogates Image 1 as a 'done deal'. The image represents weapons of war which the Igbos are capable of engineering because it has been done in the past. A proud reference by Cs 1, 2 and 3 to the weapons of war manufactured by the Igbos during the Nigerian Civil war during the late 60s. The suggestion by the researcher that international agencies regulating production and storage of nuclear materials and weapons would have raised queries was not considered. C4, while rejecting the weapon as a creation of IPOB argued against it not because of the practicality of manufacturing of such weapon but that they cannot use it in Nigeria. There is a consistent pattern which runs through the M-IA as shown in Tables 1-4. Any content that is positively related to IPOB is actively embraced while negative content is rejected, even if the negative report is the truth.

IPOB members take active role in seeking information relating to IPOB in social media and participants are eager to share or spread information within and outside their circle to show that they have not been wrong in their perception. Since they are not relying on conventional news sources, their sources remain mostly online contents sympathetic to IPOB cause (Vosoughi, Roy, & Aral, 2018) and hence use the same online platforms to share their findings. None of the IPOB members rely on any other source to verify the information gathered online. IPOB is an illegal organization in Nigeria, hence, it has no officially registered news outlet and therefore rely on social media as its medium of information dissemination.

The reluctance of IPOB members to interrogate online contents of IPOB, in view of glaring facts presented before them can be attributed to the fact that they do not have direct knowledge of the information being peddle by IPOB that would enable them critically interrogate such information. Hence, they rely more on IPOB friendly social media contents as their source of information. This position agrees with the study of Happer and Philo, (2013) who proposition that in the absence of direct knowledge of event, audience become particularly reliant on the media to inform them. However, in the case with IPOB members, they rely only on media favourable to IPOB which continually reinforced their beliefs. The trend discovered through this study, agrees with the study of Henson, Eckstein, Waszak, Frings, and Horner, (2014) who discovered that "people can rapidly form arbitrary associations between stimuli and the responses they make in the presence of those stimuli". Such stimulus–response (S–R) bindings, when retrieved, affect the way that people respond to the same, or related, stimuli." This study therefore argues that the binding with the media contents of IPOB is a reinforcement of perceived beliefs and not a newly formed perception. This position is strengthened by the finding of O'Brien, Freund and Westman, (2014) which "indicates that surveillance and social utility motivations dominated participants' news selections, and that when seeking information to share with others, personal interest and curiosity play an important role in selection, but that a wide range of socio-situational factors and goals also come into play". The theory being generated through the above analysis is that people consciously expose themselves to media fare that agree with their perceptions of social reality. The result therefore, is that such exposure end up reinforcing their already held beliefs. People are also influenced in their media content consumption patterns, not just by the need for information, but by the need for information favourable to their positions.

Conclusion

Consumers of SM media contents identify with stereotypes agreeing with their perceived beliefs and avoid contents that will not support their beliefs. The creation of comforts zones beliefs using SM contents that agree with their perception enables them to shut out any contrary views, even if such contrary views are the correct realities. The reinforcement and acceptance of SM contents whether fake or genuine news arose not because of the primary emotion but as a result of the combination of

both 'primary (perceived beliefs) and secondary (independent of the perceived beliefs) emotions influence(s)'.

This theoretical thread for this study is being supported with the proposition that IPOB members rely on perceived beliefs to argue in support of the veracity of IPOB contents. It shows clearly, even when there has been a rebuttal to the content posted on line that IPOB members will still relate to the contents as being true in the face of confirmed contrary facts. The study's theory finds relevance in the application of TRA that the behavioural intention and perceived behavioural control are predictors of behaviour which precludes the capacity to initiate or promote fresh attitude or behaviour, rather, the existing behaviour(s) are reinforced and sustained through the stimuli introduced through the SM contents.

Recommendations

The qualitative study attempts a combination of CCA and MI-A to elicit a substantive theory. There is therefore the need for further study to interrogate the position of SM content as being capable of influencing behaviour(s) without underlying beliefs. Also, there is need to further research into other factors that could reinforce beliefs of SM content consumers.

The researchers faced the challenge of securing the trust and cooperation of self-acclaimed IPOB members to participate in the study for fear of being set-up or arrested by the Nigerian security apparatus. However, with the assistance of one of the research assistants who was deliberately recruited for the purpose because of similar ethnic affinities, their cooperation and willingness were secured. Also, none of the participants was referred to by name. The study identifies the need to interrogate the ability of SM content to influence behaviour(s) without underlying beliefs.

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