

Essay Researching Africa in the 21st Century
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The journalist and the researcher:

An inner debate on methods, methodology and interdisciplinarity

Reporters go out into the street and academics lock themselves up in an ivory tower. In the past such platitudes were not uncommon to describe the contrast between journalistic practice and scientific theory. The following contemplation shows they are not such different creatures after all.

The street protests started in Lagos on 8 October this year. By the 10th the activist messages from Nigerians on my Twitter timeline and in my WhatsApp inbox became impossible to ignore. Nigeria, my usual country of residence, was experiencing a widespread public uprising against police brutality in general and against one especially savage police squad in particular. Even though temporarily in the Netherlands studying for a master's degree in African Studies, the journalist in me simply had to act upon this development in the place I have called home for eight years now.

So I proposed a news article to one of my usual outlets,

Dutch newspaper *NRC Handelsblad*, and proceeded to gather information and start writing. The story that came out of this was published online on the 12th and in print on the 13th of October.¹

During the writing process and even after publication, I noticed a new intellectual debate going on inside my head: my inner journalist was being questioned by my inner academic researcher in the making. During the course *Research in Africa in the 21st Century*, my reporter's brain had already been drawing parallels between journalistic practice and scientific theory, but this



¹ Femke van Zeijl, 'Mishandeld worden door de politie – jonge Nigerianen pikken het niet langer', *nrc.nl*, 12 October 2020, accessed 18 October 2020, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2020/10/12/mishandeld-worden-door-de-politie-jonge-nigerianen-pikken-het-niet-langer-a4015676>.

Femke van Zeijl, 'Nigeriaanse jongeren zijn intimidatie beu', *NRC Handelsblad*, 13 October 2020, 13.

The print article and a translation of the article into English by the author are to be found in the annex of this essay.

publication for NRC seemed to epitomise many of the issues that cropped up this first semester of my master's education.

That is why I decided to use my NRC article as a case study, to find an answer to the questions that have been occupying me. How much of journalism follows academic rules, and which ones? If journalism follows different rules, why is that so? And what does that imply for me as I develop my research and publish it in an interdisciplinary and multi-media environment? I will focus on the issue of interdisciplinarity rather than on the multimedia aspect. As a cross-media journalist who writes, makes radio and TV, takes photographs and builds websites, I feel confident about the latter. The concept of interdisciplinarity on the other hand, seems much more of a challenge to me.

Of course an essay is much too brief a form to find all-compassing answers to issues of such magnitude, but I hope to draw an outline using the course's literature and lectures, my journalistic experience and other relevant literature.

Before I embark on that journey, I should briefly describe the news article I will be using for this case study. It contains four direct quote interviews with respondents from different Nigerian cities, all involved in the street protests. Those short interviews are preceded by an introduction of the topical issue at hand – the demonstrations against police brutality in Nigeria – and an explanation why the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) is the protesters' bone of contention. It also mentions a recent Amnesty International Report that speaks of a 'pattern of abuse by SARS officers' and criticises the Nigerian authorities for its 'consistent failure to bring perpetrators to justice.'²

Let us first analyse the article and the process of gathering the information that led up to it from a methodological perspective. That is of the essence because I agree with Sarah Pink and the other contributors to *Advances in Methodology* that 'methodology is something that should be critically reflected on as a crucial component in the processes through which we produce knowledge'.³

Before zooming out to methodologies and the choices behind them, it is necessary to identify the methods used. Or as filmmaker and ethnographer Phillip Vannini puts it: what procedures have been used for the collection of empirical material?⁴ Might I, as a journalist, have been borrowing from academic researchers' toolkits?

The main content of the article consists of four interviews with protesters in different Nigerian cities. Those short quotes are but fragments of the entire interview I had with each of them via WhatsApp calls. The opening question for those interviews that lasted about an hour each, was '*why did you join the #EndSARS protests?*', and the subsequent question was, '*have you had any personal*

² Amnesty International, *Nigeria: Time to End Impunity: Torture and Other Violations by Special Anti-robbery Squad (SARS)* (June 2020).

³ Sarah Pink, 'Introduction', Sarah Pink (ed.), *Advances in Visual Methodology* (London, 2012), 4.

⁴ Philip Vannini (ed.), *Non-representational Methodologies: Re-envisioning Research* (New York and London, 2015).

experiences with SARS?'

How did I find and select these four respondents? First of all, they were not the only protesters I spoke with. Before that I had been in touch with Nigerian friends and acquaintances involved in the protests all over the country. Combining their input with several trustworthy media reports about the protests, I had formed an idea of the general composition of the group, ranging from university students to young urban professionals in their thirties.

I reached out using my network to find protesters willing to be interviewed – both via personal contacts and through my Twitter account @femkevanzeijl. After I had gathered and checked out about twenty profiles, I picked eight that best represented the geographical and demographical spread I derived from my online exploration. Finally, out of those eight, I chose the four interviews that had the least overlaps and reflected the variety of protesters I had witnessed on footage of the protests and had heard of in conversations with protesters.

What academic tools did I apply here? Could my open-question and lengthy interviews be construed as the in-depth, open-ended interviews described by Jean Schensul and Margaret LeCompte as a form of ethnographic interviewing they consider to be the most challenging but also the most innovative and exciting?⁵ And could my inquiry into past experiences with SARS be construed as a retrospective study as described by Ranjit Kumar?⁶ Surely proper ethnographic interviews may last days and certainly the scale of my research was not large enough to be representative for a retrospective study to have valid results, but in rudimentary form you could argue the same tools were used.

During the Researching Africa course I started looking up complementary literature on ethnography, because more and more I realised that journalists and ethnographers have a lot in common. Thick description for example, describing not only behaviour but also context, is a journalist's second nature, even if we don't call it by that name. After decades of reporting the shelves in my study are bending under the weight of countless notebooks filled with thick description, and upon reading Dipesh Kharel I realised that even the quick pictures I take as notes count as visual thick description. And how better to summarise the steps of any reporting process as first to describe, then to interpret, and subsequently to give meaning?⁷

My specific approach to journalism also bears similarities with that of the anthropologist. I have been aware of that since I decided against practicing 'parachute journalism'. This is the term for the kind of journalism where a correspondent is 'parachuted' into a situation for a short term assignment. As Musa and Yusha'u argue, analysing CNN's and Al Jazeera's reports on Boko Haram

5 Jean J. Schensul and Margaret D. LeCompte, *Essential Ethnographic Methods: A Mixed Methods Approach*, 2nd edition (Plymouth, 2013) 134.

6 Ranjit Kumar, *Research Methodology: A Step-by-Step Guide for Beginners*, 3rd edition (London, 2011) 112.

7 Dipesh Kharel, 'Visual Ethnography, Thick Description and Cultural Representation', *Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 9:147 (December 2015), 155.

in North-East Nigeria, a parachute journalist's lack of in-depth knowledge often leads to misreporting and sometimes to exacerbating local tensions.⁸

I prefer to practice 'slow journalism', in which one of the most important tools is time. In that sense settling on the Lagos mainland in a popular area might be the ultimate consequence of that approach. My eight years already spent there make me confident to tell a balanced story about a Nigerian topical issue like the #EndSARS protests even as I am currently not in the country – although under normal circumstances I would have preferred to tell it from up close.

My kind of participating observation obviously is not guided by the classic anthropologist's concern with 'tribal peoples who [...] inhabited refuge areas' as described by Bennet.⁹ I do however feel drawn to the description 'applied anthropologist', as characterised by Mannik and McGarry: a not necessarily academic researcher that applies ethnographic methods as a form of pragmatic engagement.¹⁰ In my case, I would define that engagement as trying to tell stories that usually do not reach a Western audience, thus hoping to counterbalance the skewed image usually projected of 'Africa'.

This is why for the article at hand I decided to publish direct quote interviews (interviews in which only the respondent's voice is present) with a selection of Nigerians involved in the protests. Choosing this approach was a methodological decision. The foreign editor in fact suggested another method, which was writing an analysis on why young Nigerians were taking to the street. But I considered it was not my place to explain what the protesters could best explain themselves. In a way, the resulting publication follows Gay y Blasco and De la Cruz Hernandez' reasoning when they state 'Ethnographic knowledge is made by ethnographers and informants, and should be owned by both'.¹¹ In this form at least the article shows it wasn't just the journalist involved in its creation.

The decision to give the floor to the respondents themselves goes beyond enabling the lions to recount history, to paraphrase Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe's famous quote.¹² It also stems from an argument of reflexivity. Reflexivity in its most elementary form, according to Dutch sociologist Pels, 'presupposes that, while saying something about the 'real' world, one is simultaneously disclosing something about oneself'.¹³

This concept however seems to put journalism in a quandary, a trade that for ages flaunted

8 Aliyu Odamah Musa, Muhammad Jameel Yusha'u, 'Conflict reporting and parachute journalism in Africa: A study of CNN and Al Jazeera's coverage of the Boko Haram insurgency', *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 6: 2-3 (1 September 2013) 251-267.

9 John. W. Bennet, 'Classical Anthropology', *American Anthropologist*, 100-4 (December 1998) 951-956.

10 Lynda Mannik and Karen McGarry (ed.), *Practicing ethnography : a student guide to method and methodology* (Toronto 2017) 143.

11 Paloma Gay y Blasco, Liria de la Cruz Hernandez, 'Friendship, Anthropology', *Anthropology and Humanism*, 37:1 (2012) 1-14.

12 Jerome Brooks, 'Chinua Achebe, The Art of Fiction', *Paris Review*, 139 (Winter 1994), accessed 19 October 2020, <https://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/1720/the-art-of-fiction-no-139-chinua-achebe>.

13 Dick Pels, *Unhastening Science: Autonomy and Reflexivity in the Social Theory of Knowledge* (Liverpool 2003), 158.

'objectivity' as its most important professional value, therefore keeping reporters and their identity out of sight. But by now journalists like Truman Capote and Joan Didion in the US in the 1960s and 1970s as well as Günter Wallraff in the 80s in Germany and Judith Koelemeier in the 2000s in the Netherlands have convincingly showed that a maker can play a role in the story without weakening – and, arguably, even strengthening – the journalistic work. Also, media critics like Noam Chomsky have pointed out that extreme bias can shield behind a facade of objectivity.¹⁴ As a result the paradigm of objectivity in news media has been put into question not just in the academic environment, but also in journalistic practice of all but the most old fashioned of the mass media – apart from *The Economist*, the weekly magazine that still pretends it does not matter who the writer of an article is.

I do however see an issue with applying reflexivity too vigorously: at some point it tends to bite itself in the tail. If you keep relativising the meaning of your findings because of who and what you are, at some point all outcome becomes irrelevant. That was clearly shown in the documentary *Stop Filming Us* in which film maker Joris Postema goes to Goma in Eastern Congo to ask the Congolese – and implicitly the audience – the question if he as a Western film maker should make a film about their world or not.¹⁵

The entire documentary is an exercise in reflexivity, but not a very satisfying one. The maker's flirtation with reflexivity hides the fact that he is journalistically ill-equipped to make the film. It's not his white male gaze, Western gaze or even journalistic gaze making him unsuited for the job, it is the fact that he is a journalist parachuting himself into a situation he knows nothing about and has hardly any experience with but of which he nevertheless intends to draw overarching conclusions.

This is exactly the kind of narcissistic reflexivity anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu crusaded against, according to Dutch sociologist Pels, the kind where the focus turns on the maker alone, excluding everything else.¹⁶ While journalists should conscientiously question their identity and its influence on the story they are observing and telling, they should stay away from such vanity projects in disguise.

Which is why in the NRC article, even though the respondents seem to be taking the floor, my presence as a journalist is unapologetically decisive for the end result: my choices, my selection, my research are what shaped it. That is implied, but nowhere explained. In fact, the only reason I am able to analyse the making of the article, is because I am its maker. The piece itself hardly discusses any of those decisions.

Herein lies the big difference between journalistic methodology and academic research: transparency. Journalists serve the dish, but don't offer the recipe or invite you to take a look in the

14 Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies* (Toronto 2003, first published 1989), 105.

15 Joris Postema, *Stop Filming Us* (Doxy 2020).

16 Pels (2003) 171.

kitchen. They expect the guests to trust the cook. Scientists do the opposite and invite everyone in.

The reason for that journalistic approach, partly, is space. A newspaper is not a book. The other one is readability: the newspaper goes with a cup of coffee, not long sittings at one's desk. But the main argument is constitutional: quoting freedom of the press and of speech (article 7 of the Dutch Constitution¹⁷) and freedom of information (article 11 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union¹⁸) journalists reserve the right to hold themselves accountable through a set of professional values and ethics, without interference of public authority.

Journalists do realise they are asking a lot of trust of the audience. That is why the ground rule is to be accountable in the end result. Journalistic transparency lies in attribution: always indicate exactly whom you spoke with and what source you quoted from. Therefore as much as possible journalists name their sources, contrary to anthropologists.

However, as my NRC article shows, there are cases when journalists decide not to, if publication of full names might endanger the respondents. It is good journalistic practice then to explain the decision to anonymise, as I did in NRC, and follow up with the assertion that full names have been disclosed to the editor.

Now what does all this mean for me as I develop my research for my master's thesis? To be honest, the concept of interdisciplinarity used to intimidate me. By now however, I realise that journalists have always been interdisciplinarians *avant la lettre*. Nothing is just numbers, no solution can be found solely in books and no current affair can be explained merely by quoting official sources. The chaos and complexity of real life is best reflected, as Tiyaambe Zeleza argues, by interdisciplinarity.¹⁹

So sometimes a journalist acts as a historian, sometimes as an ethnographer, at times as an economist or political scientist. They dabble in any relevant field imaginable, and all these roles can be mixed up in one single publication. Or to refer to the article in NRC: I did a bit of ethnography, a tiny retrospective study, I interpreted images of protests to get an idea of the demographic and I read an Amnesty report. Mixed methods are the rule in journalism, not the exception.

What I need to learn in my research though, is transparency: accounting publicly for every step along the way. Because what journalists hide behind a wall of professional ethics, academics throw out in the open. Come to think of it, maybe journalists should do that more often as well.

17 'Grondwet', [overheid.nl](https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0001840/2018-12-21#Hoofdstuk1), accessed 20 October 2020, <https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0001840/2018-12-21#Hoofdstuk1>

18 'Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union', *Official Journal of the European Communities*, 2000/C 364/01 (8 December 2000) 364/11.

19 Tiyaambe Zeleza, 'The Disciplining of Africa', *The Study of Africa: Volume 1: Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Encounters* (Dakar 2006) 4.

POLITIEGEWELD

Nigeriaanse jongeren zijn intimidatie beu

Afgelopen dagen protesteerden steeds meer Nigerianen tegen politie geweld, vooral tegen de „levensbedreigende“ eenheid SARS.

Door onze medewerker
Femke van Zeijl

Being a fine boy is not a crime - er goed uitzien, is geen misdad. Dat was een van de slogans op de borden van de Nigeriaanse demonstranten. De afgelopen vier dagen gingen ze in diverse steden de straat op om te protesteren tegen de Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS), een politie-eenheid die al jaren berucht is om haar straffeloze martelingen en onwettige praktijken. Vooral modieus geklede jongemannen - *fine boys* - worden door de eenheid eruit gepikt en zonder enige bewijs beschuldigd van frauduleuze praktijken. Hoe komen ze anders aan die mooie kleren?

Een Amnesty-rapport sprak van een „patroon van misbruik door SARS-officieren“ en bekritiseerde de autoriteiten omdat het ze „steeds niet lukt om de daden te berechten“. De hele politiemacht staat bekend om haar corruptie en mensenrechtenschendingen. SARS spant de kroon.

Zondag kondigde het hoofd van de politie aan de gehate eenheid te ontbinden. Daarmee lijkt de belangrijkste eis ingewilligd van de demonstranten die elkaar vonden onder de hashtag #EndSARS. Maar door het hele West-Afrikaanse land bleven desondanks de demonstraties doorgaan, zelfs al vielen her en der doden door politie geweld. Demonstranten vertellen graag waarom, liever onherkenbaar. Hun volledige naam is bij de redactie bekend. Ze vreezen alen repercussies van de politie.

ABDULMUJEEB (28) content developer

„Zondag ging ik met wat vrienden naar de demo bij de technische hogeschool van Ibadan. Studenten hebben er enorme last van SARS. Die komt soms de wijk in en pakt willekeurige jonge mannen op en mishandelt ze. En dan moeten ze geld betalen opdat SARS ze laat gaan.

„Ik was veertien toen ik voor het eerst in aanraking kwam met de politie. In de speelautomatenhal waar ik was, werd eerst een jongen opgepakt die een mobielje had gestolen. Later kwam de politie terug en arresteerde iedereen in de hal, ook de eigenaar. Zonder aanklacht of opgaaf van reden. We kwamen pas vrij toen de hal-eigenaar geld ophoofte. Bijna iedere Nigerian kan je dit soort verhalen vertellen. We zijn de intimidatie zat. „Of ik nu ophoud met demonstreren? Zeker niet! SARS is niet het enige probleem, we moeten de hele politie hervormen. Morgen is weer een demonstratie gepland in Ibadan, vanaf Iwo Road. Dan sta ik er ook weer.“

LARABA (30) econoom

„Dit weekend ging ik voor de tweede keer in mijn leven demonstreren. De laatste keer, vorig jaar, werden tien-



Jongerenprotesten in de steden Ibadan (boven), Abuja (midden) en Lagos tegen de beruchte politie-eenheid SARS.

tallen vrouwen in het nachtleven opgepakt en beschuldigd van prostitutie, alleen om hun kleding. In de bak werden ze verkracht en mishandeld door agenten. We hebben actie gevoerd om de vrouwen vrij te krijgen.

„M'n zus is ooit aangehouden toen ze 's avonds in haar auto naar huis reed. Vrij intimiderend. Ze is advoca- te, ze denkt dat dit haar heeft weten. In dit land zijn niet alleen mannen slachtoffer van politie geweld.

„Daarom ging ik zondag de straat op. Toen ze kwamen met waterkan- nen en traangas, was ik bang. Ik werd door drie agenten neergeknup- peld. Mijn hele rechterkant is bont en blauw en de wond op mijn hoofd moest worden gehecht. Zodra mijn wond is genezen, sta ik er weer.

„Ik heb me nog nooit zo één ge- voeld met andere Nigerianen als nu. Deze generatie ervaart voor het eerst dat ze iets kan veranderen.“

HAZEL (23) rechtenstudent

„Mijn ouders waren bezorgd toen ik ging demonstreren. Er kan je van al- les overkomen: mensen worden mis- handeld, gedood. Mijn ouders weten dat ze een uitgesproken dochter heb- ben opgevoed, ze staan achter me.

„Nu verzamelen we met honderden demonstranten voor de Nationale Bi- bliothek in Jos. De eerste dagen wa- ren we met veertig mensen, de twee- de met 150, het aantal blijft groeien.

„Eerst trekken we langs redacties van kranten, radio en tv. De publi- citeit over #EndSARS loopt via sociale media, de traditionele media publi- ceren nauwelijks over de protesten. Dus we gaan erheen om te eisen dat onze stem wordt gehoord.

„Natuurlijk houden we niet op na de belofte SARS op te heffen. De rege- ring beloofde dat al zo vaak. Onze eis is aangepast naar #EndSARSnow!“

EMMANUEL (39) sportcomplexmanager

„Ik demonstreer sinds donderdag, want ik wacht niet tot ik zelf een keer geconfronteerd wordt met SARS ge- weld. Je kunt wel denken, als ik thuisblijf en me rustig houd, gebeurt me niets, maar dat is niet waar. Deze politie-eenheid is voor Nigeriaanse burgers een levensbedreiging.

„Ik zou hebben gewild dat de gene- ratie van mijn ouders had gedemon- streerd. Dan zou ik nu niet de straat op hoeven om basale mensenrechten te bevechten voor mijn kinderen: een dochter van zes en zoon van twee.

„Vanochtend om zes uur stond ik alweer klaar om te protesteren, ook al beloofde de politie SARS te ontbin- den. We hebben de Lekki-tolbrug ge- blokkeerd: nog altijd kan er niemand over die brug en half Lagos ligt plat.

„Zelfs als SARS daadwerkelijk wordt opgedoekt, hoop ik dat we verdergaan met hervorming van het onderwijs of bestrijding van corrup- tie. Het is genoeg geweest. #EndSARS is nog maar het begin.“

Nigerians fed up with police harassment

By Femke van Zeijl

This article was published in Dutch in
NRC Handelsblad on 12 October 2020

Being a fine boy is not a crime. That was one of the slogans on the protesters' signs. For the past week, Nigerians have taken to the streets in various cities to protest against the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS). For years this police force has been notorious for torturing suspects and killing extrajudicially. Fashionably dressed young men - fine boys - are singled out by the unit and accused of fraudulent practices without any evidence. How else did they get those beautiful clothes?

A recent [Amnesty report](#) spoke of a 'pattern of abuse by SARS officers' and criticised the Nigerian authorities for its 'consistent failure to bring perpetrators to justice.' The entire Nigerian police force is known for its corruption and human rights violations, but SARS takes the cake.

Last Sunday, the head of the Nigerian police announced that he was dissolving the loathed unit. In doing so, it might seem that the main demand was met of the protesters who found each other under the hashtag #EndSARS. But all over the country demonstrations continued, even as several people have gotten killed by the police during the protests.

Four protesters from all over Nigeria explain why they are still on the street. They prefer to do so only with their first names, fearing police repercussions. Their full names are known to the editors.

Abdulmujeeb, content developer in Ibadan (28):
"We are tired of being harassed!"

"On Sunday I went to the protests close to Ibadan Polytechnic with some friends. Those students are pestered by SARS a lot. The squad sometimes just goes into the area to pick up young men randomly and abuse them. And then SARS asks for money to let them go.

I was fourteen when I first came in contact with the police. It happened in the game hall where I was hanging out. First a boy who'd stolen a mobile phone was arrested there. Later, the police returned and arrested everyone in the hall, including the owner. Without charge or statement of reasons. We were only released when the hall owner coughed up money. Any Nigerian can tell you stories like this. We're tired of being harassed!

If I will stop protesting? No o! SARS is not the only problem, we need to reform the entire police force. Another protest is planned for tomorrow in Ibadan, from Iwo Road. Then I'll be there again."

Laraba, economist in Abuja (30):

"As soon as my wound has healed, I'll be back"

"This weekend I went on a protest for the second time in my life. The first time was last year. Then dozens of women had been arrested at night in Abuja and charged with prostitution. In jail they were raped and assaulted by officers. We campaigned to get the women released and protested their inhuman treatment.

My sister was once stopped by SARS while driving home in the evening in her car. Very intimidating. She's a lawyer, she thinks that saved her. In this country, not just men are victims of police violence.

That's why I took to the streets on Sunday. When they came with water cannons and tear gas, I was scared. I was battered by three officers. My whole right side is black and blue and the wound on my head had to be stitched. But as soon as my wound has healed, I will be back.

I have never felt more united with other Nigerians than I do now. For the first time this generation is experiencing that it can change something."

Hazel, law student in Jos (23):

"Our number continues to grow"

"My parents were concerned when I started to go out to protest. Anything can happen to you: people are abused, even killed. But my parents know they raised a vocal daughter, and they stand by me.

At the moment we are gathering in front of the National Library in Jos with hundreds of protesters. The first days we were with 40 people, the second with 150, and our number continues to grow.

Today we are going to visit the media houses. Most publicity about #EndSARS goes through social media, the traditional media hardly publish anything about the protests. So we're going to demand that our voices be heard.

Of course we will not stop after the IG's promise to lift SARS. The government has promised that so many times. Our demand has been changed to #EndSARSnow!"

Emmanuel, sports facility manager from Lagos (39):
"#EndSARS is only the beginning"

"I don't have any experiences with SARS, unlike many of my friends. Still, I have been protesting since last Thursday. Why am I at the forefront like this? Because I'm not going to sit down and wait until I am confronted with that violence myself. You may think, if I stay at home and keep calm, nothing will happen to me, but that's not true. This police unit is a life threat to Nigerian citizens.

I wish my parents' generation had protested. Then I wouldn't have to take to the streets to fight for basic human rights for my children: my six-year-old daughter and two-year-old son.

This morning at six o'clock I was ready to go out again, even though the police has promised to ban SARS. Even if SARS is actually banned, I hope we continue to reform education or address the crazy costs of government. Enough is enough. #EndSARS is only the beginning."
