# Newspaper Coverage Of The Niger Delta Crisis: A Comparative Analysis Of Government And Privately Owned Newspapers In Nigeria

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Abstract: The study "Newspaper Coverage of the Niger Delta Crisis: A Comparative Analysis of Government and Privately Owned Newspapers in Nigeria" was motivated by the need to check crises in the country as well as proffer solution to resolving the crisis in the Niger Delta region especially as the crisis had taken a rather horrendous dimension in recent years. The media have been said to be at the fore front of the crisis, either escalating or helping to resolve the crisis. The purpose of the study was to find out whether government and privately owned newspapers in Nigeria represented by The Pointer, The Nigerian Observer, The Punch and The Guardian newspapers had given significant coverage to the Niger Delta crisis between January 2006 and December 2009; with reference to frequency of reports, prominence, depth, and slant. Four research questions were raised and answered. The study employed content analysis as its research method. Systematic sample method was adopted to get the sample size. In all, 836 issues were examined during the study period. The analysis of data showed that the privately owned newspapers, The Punch and The Guardian gave the Niger delta crisis much attention than their counterparts. The study recommended that government should divest its media ownership to private bodies to ensure better reporting. It further recommended that Newspapers in Nigeria, whether government or privately owned, should effectively carry out their social responsibility and agenda setting function by reporting only information that are geared towards resolving rather than escalating crisis amongst others.

Keywords: Newspaper coverage, Niger Delta Crisis, Frequency, Prominence, Depth, and Slant.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The Niger Delta crisis has raised a lot of dust not only in Nigeria but also in the international communities. This is because of the contributions of the region to the socioeconomic development of the nation as well as the world. According to *The Niger Delta Region Fund Initiative* (NDFI); the region is characterized by deep poverty in-spite of its abundant natural resources, particularly oil which account for over 80 percent of the country's total annual earning; thus, as it seems, angered by the destruction and neglect of their homelands, some of the people have acted out of desperation and disrupted oil production by vandalizing pipelines and taking oil workers hostage. *Wikipedia* (2009), reports that the ethnic unrest and conflicts of the late 1990s led increasingly to

the militarization of the Delta. According to the report, by this time, local and state officials have become involved by offering financial support to those paramilitary groups they believed would attempt to enforce their own political agenda. Such groups include: Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV), Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), Pan-Niger Delta Resistance and so on. All these are reflected daily on pages of newspapers locally and globally.

Meanwhile, in trying to highlight the relationship between media coverage and conflict, Gerald (1963); Rivers and Schramm (1969) in Tichenor *et al.* (1994, p.97) explains that the role of newspaper and the mass media in community conflict is often recognized and frequently, the media are

charged with creating conflicts. They opined that the media may be accused of "sensationalizing" and "blowing things out of proportion" or of "covering up" and "not paying attention to all sides" of a controversy. Expatiating further, they noted that a fundamental hypothesis is that newspapers tend to serve ancillary rather than initiating roles in the development of community conflict. They concluded that contrary to widespread beliefs, media do not initiate and shape conflict.

On their part, Sripada et al. (1984) point out that coverage of conflict is determined by the structure of governmental organization, the communication participation and styles of governmental actors playing different roles in the policy arena, the resources, quality and expertise available for media, the laws and regulations that promote and maintain certain journalistic traditions and freedom of information; and the culture of restraint and self-policy rules in the media profession. They proposed the following questions as guidelines for coverage: How is the press trying to present the situation where the national actor, the international observers, the media personnel, and the public are trying to define the situation as it is developing? The foregoing suggests that, whether positively or negatively, the media has a role to play in conflict. Awoshakin (2002, p.4) observed that there is yet to be a substantial body of scholar that investigate what role the media could play in presenting or ameliorating international or intra state conflict. He notes that there is little practical information available to help guide diplomats, mediators, parties to conflict or journalists and media managers on how to minimize the often contributory role of media in conflict, and how to bring the power of the media to bear on the tasks particularly of Niger Delta crisis.

Obijiofor (2008, p.1) report on "Niger Delta, Media Coverage and conflicting signals" explores the ongoing debate by both academic, non-academic, diplomatic groups about the ability of the news media to influence government policy aimed at resolving conflicts. He emphasizes that implicit in this view is the notion that media coverage influence the development of Government policy relating to conflict but with a corresponding question that asks: does lack of media coverage also imply lack of Government policy about certain conflict zones? He maintained that in the case of the festering Niger Delta crisis, there are a number of questions that easily pop up. One: how much attention do Nigerian news media give to the Niger Delta conflict? Two: has media coverage of the Niger Delta conflict resulted in the development of an effective federal government policy towards a resolution of conflict? Three: has sufficient media coverage of the conflict resulted in the absence of Government policy on Niger Delta crisis? Four: does the federal government have any clear Policy on how to resolve conflict?

From the foregoing, it clearly shows that, there are different views on the relationship between media coverage and the Niger Delta crisis; thus, it is against this backdrop that this work seeks to explore the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis by government and privately owned newspapers in Nigeria.

#### II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NIGER DELTA CRISIS

Over the last decade, the Niger Delta crisis has continued to make news, both locally and internationally. Ojakorotu (2008, p.93) observes that the Niger Delta crisis assumed horrendous dimensions in the early 1990s with the emergence of social movements and militant youth groups that began to challenge the policies of the Federal Government as well as the activities of the multinational oil companies in the region. According to him, the reality of the Niger Delta is that rather than achieve development, oil production activities in the region has bedeviled it with environmental degradation, mass poverty, oppression and various other forms of human rights violation by government security agents. Holding a similar view, Ogundiya (2009, p.31) pointed out that in the last three decades, the Niger Delta region, the centre of Nigeria oil wealth has been the scene of protest, sometimes violence, against the repressive tendencies of the Nigerian state on one hand and against the recklessness, exploitative and environmentally unfriendly activities of oil multinationals on the other hand. According to him such violent agitation has claimed thousands of lives, other thousands displayed and inestimable properties destroyed.

Hanson (2007) in her book titled "MEND: the Niger Delta Umbrella Militant Group" writes that the militants like the Niger Delta population object to the environmental degradation and under development of the region and the lack of benefits the community has received from its extensive oil resources. In a similar report, The Niger Delta Region Fund Initiative (NDFI) reports that the region is characterized by deep poverty, in spite of its abundant natural resources, particularly oil which accounts for over 80 percent of the country's total annual earning; thus as it seems, angered by the destruction and neglect of their homelands, some of the people acted out of desperation and disrupted oil production by vandalizing pipelines and taking foreign oil workers hostage.

Awoshakin (2002, p.3) in his work revealed that violence in the Niger Delta escalated in the 1990s and got international media coverage. Awoshakin goes on to say that most of the focus was on the protests of the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) which led to the withdrawal of British Dutch Oil Company, SHELL, from some parts of the oil rich Niger Delta in 1993. He says the killing of MOSOP leaders including environmental activist, Ken Saro-Wiwa by the military government in 1995, also got some media attention. Wikipedia (2009) reports that the 1970s and 1980s saw the government's empty promises of benefits for the Niger Delta peoples fall through, with the Ogonis growing increasingly dissatisfied and their environmental, social and economic apparatus rapidly deteriorating. Formed in 1992 and headed by Ogoni playwright and author Ken Saro-Wiwa, MOSOP became the major campaigning organization representing the Ogoni people in their struggle for ethnic and environmental rights.

Hanson (2007, p.1) writes that subsequent groups, such as *The Ijaw Youth Council* (IYC) and *The Niger Delta Vigilantes* were organized at the village or clan level with their attacks designed to extort short-term funds or municipal development projects from multinational oil companies. She reports that in 2004, *The Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Force* (NDPVF), an

Ijaw militant group led by Alhaji Mujahid DokunboAsari threatened "all-out war against the Nigerian government". The then president, Olusegun Obasanjo offered Asari and other militant leaders' amnesty and payment in exchange for the group's weapons. Dokunbo was arrested a year after and was charged with treason. She further noted that the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) emerged in 2006, with three articulated major demands; the release of Asari from prison, the receipt of the 50 percent of revenue from oil pumped out of the Delta and the withdrawal of government troops from the Delta. In a similar report, Pham Peters, a World Defense Review columnist reported that on June 19, militants from the MEND launched their most audacious attack traveling some 60 nautical miles in speedboats to hit a grant Floating Production, Storage and Offloading (FPSO) vessel operated by Royal Dutch shell's joint venture, the Shell Petroleum development company of Nigeria. The assault caused the company to shut down for more than a week. Hours after the attack at Sea, Youths aligned with militants blew up a crude pipeline near Abileye-Olero on the mainland that connected from Chevron's Escravos field in Delta.

A Master Web (2006) and Business Day (2007) reports, revealed that hostage taking by the militants has become a frequently occurring activity between January and December 2006, a total of 118 workers of different oil companies operating in the region were taken as hostages in a total of 24 attacks, four deaths were recorded in these attacks. Similarly, a total of 129 workers were taken hostage in 33 attacks between January and July 2007. Again nine deaths were recorded. According to Obi (2008:10), by 2008, such attacks against oil installations had forced the shutting in of estimated 25 to 40 percent of Nigerian oil production and exports leading to the substantial loss of revenues and profits to the state - oil transnational alliance. He said that in December 1998, The Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) was formed and it issued the Kaiama Declaration (KD), requesting for more local control of oil revenues and better environmental policies and to show that it meant business, the IYC declared "operation climate change" in which it demanded that all oil companies should leave the Niger Delta before the end of December 1998.

Ojakorotu (2008, p.101) reports that following the arrest in Angola of one of its leaders, Henry Okah in September 2007, MEND resumed attack on oil installations and hostage taking. According to him, by May 2009, government launched an offensive against MEND militants operating in the region. This was in response to the kidnapping of Nigerian soldiers and foreign sailors in the region.

# III. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- ✓ To ascertain the frequency of coverage of the Niger Delta crisis by government and privately owned newspapers in Nigeria.
- ✓ To determine the level of prominence given to the Niger Delta crisis by both government and privately owned newspapers in Nigeria.

- ✓ To examine the comparative depth of coverage of the Niger Delta crisis by both government and privately owned newspapers in Nigeria.
- ✓ To examine the slant of both the government and privately owned newspapers in the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis.

# IV. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions were raised and answered.

- ✓ What is the frequency of coverage of the Niger Delta crisis by government and privately owned newspapers in Nigeria?
- ✓ What is the level of prominence given by government and privately owned newspapers in Nigeria in the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis?
- ✓ What is the comparative depth of coverage of the Niger Delta crisis by government and privately owned newspapers in Nigeria?
- ✓ What is the slant of government and privately owned newspaper in Nigeria in the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis?

# V. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The design of the study was Content analysis. This method afforded the researcher the opportunity of reading, adding and analyzing the content of *The Guardian, The Punch, The Pointer and The Nigerian Observer* newspapers on the Niger Delta crisis.

The research adopted the systematic sampling method to get the sample size. The researcher systematically selected all issues published on Mondays for the period of the year under study. In 2006, there were 52 Mondays, thus, 52 issues, 53 in 2007, 52 in 2008 and 52 in 2009. These summed up to 209 issues. Therefore, 418 issues were drawn from the two government owned newspapers and another 418 from the two privately owned newspapers. A summation of these amounted to 836 issues out of which there were 589 reports on the Niger Delta crisis. The sample size for the four newspapers: *The Guardian, The Punch, The Nigerian Observer and The Pointer* published between January, 2006 and December, 2009 was 836 issues.

The research instrument used for the study is a coding sheet showing the frequency of reports, prominence, and format of presentation, depth of treatment and slant of coverage as shown in appendix 1. The units of analysis for the content analysis in this study are reports on Niger Delta crisis reported as features, news stories, editorials and opinions in *The Guardian, The Punch, The Nigerian Observer and The Pointer* newspapers. Each newspaper was coded in relation to the frequency of coverage using Alphabet a. In the level of prominence, front page stories were coded with b, back page stories c, center spreads d, big headline type size f1, small headline type size f2. Under the format of presentation, feature stories were coded with alphabet g, new stories h, editorials i and opinion stories j. In the depth of treatment, quarter page

stories were coded with alphabet k, half page stories l, full page stories m, paragraph l. Under the slant of coverage, favourable reports were coded with alphabet l, unfavourable reports l, neutral report l, no report l, and newspaper no seen l as shown in Appendix I. Data gathered from reports on Niger Delta crisis published in l and l and

## VI. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

## RESEARCH QUESTION 1

What is the frequency of coverage of the Niger Delta crisis by government and privately owned newspapers in Nigeria?

Year	The Pointer	The Nigerian Observer	The Punch	The Guardian		
2006	42	16	51	44		
2007	32	9	33	46		
2008	39	5	61	53		
2009	22	22	67	47		
Total	135	52	212	190		

Table 1: Distribution of Frequency of Coverage of the Niger Delta Crisis

The distribution in table one above, shows that the privately owned newspapers, *The Punch* and *The Guardian* carried more reports on the Niger Delta crisis. Both newspapers, account for 35.99 percent and 32.26 percent of the total reports. The summation of the reports of these two privately- owned newspapers account for about two- third of the total reports. On the other hand, the government owned newspapers; *The Pointer* and *The Nigerian Observer* reported 135 and 52 stories respectively amounting to 31.75 percent of the total reports.

## RESEARCH QUESTION 2

What is the level of prominence given by government and privately owned newspapers in Nigeria in the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis?

Prominence here refers to the importance accorded the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis. This is determined by the position given to such reports. Stories on the front page are more prominent than ones in the inside pages. (Ohaja, 2003:16) ranks stories as descending from: Front page 4; back page 3; centre spread 2 and inside page 1. Similarly a story with bigger headline type size is regarded as more prominent than that of small headline type size.

	The I	Pointer					The Nigerian Observer					The Punch							The Guardian					
Year	Front Page	Back Page	Centre Spread	Inside Page	Big type size Headline	Small type size Headline	Front Page	Back Page	Centre Spread	Inside Page	Big type size Headline	Small type size Headline	Front Page	Back Page	Centre Spread	Inside Page	Big type size Headline	Small type size Headline	Front Page	Back Page	Centre Spread	Inside Page	Big type size Headline	Small type size Headline
2006	21	5	4	12	28	14	7	1	2	6	10	6	9	1	1	40	35	16	13	4	-	30	22	25
2007	13	7	-	12	19	13	2	-	-	7	4	5	3		3	27	28	5	13	8	2	23	21	25
2008	17	3	2	17	26	13	-	2	-	3	4	1	8	3	-	50	40	21	13	9	5	26	31	22
2009	7	5	2	8	10	12	5	1	-	16	7	15	5	2	3	57	41	26	15	8	-	24	28	19
Total	58	20	8	49	83	52	14	4	2	32	25	27	25	6	7	174	144	68	54	29	7	103	102	91

Table 2: Distribution of Prominence in the Coverage of the Niger Delta Crisis

The Pointer, a government owned newspaper gave the Niger Delta crisis more prominence with 58 articles on the Niger Delta crisis appearing on the front page, *The Nigerian Observer* had 14, *The Punch*, 25 and *The Guardian* carried 54 front page stories.

However, a summation of the placement of other stories such as back page, centre spread, inside page stories as well as headline type sizes show the private owned newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Punch* faring better than the government owned newspapers. This could be because *The Nigerian Observer* carried only 14 front page story, 4 back pages, 2 centre spread and 32 inside page stories. *The Pointer*, 58 front pages, 20 back pages, 8 centre spreads and 49 inside page stories while on the other hand; *The Guardian* had 54 front pages, 29 back pages, 7centre spread pages and 103 inside page stories. *The Punch* had 25 front pages, 6 back pages, 7 centre spread stories and 174 inside page stories.

#### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS 3**

What is the comparative depth of coverage of the Niger Delta crisis by government and privately owned newspapers in Nigeria?

Table 4: Distribution of Depth/Volume in the Coverage of the Niger Delta Crisis

Depth refers to the space allotted to the Niger Delta crisis in terms of number of paragraphs and accomplishing illustration. It reflects whether the story is quarter page, half page, full page or just a paragraph story. Full page stories are ranked 4, half page 3, quarter page 2, paragraph 1.

The table above reflects the government owned newspaper, *The Pointer* as carrying 19 full page stories; on the other hand, the privately- owned newspapers, *The Punch* and *The Guardian* had 8 and 16 full pages reports respectively.

More so, the government- owned newspapers, *The Pointer* and *The Nigerian Observer* were significantly poor in the use of pictures and information graphics.

In comparison with the frequency of report of the Niger Delta crisis, both the government owned and privately owned newspaper did not give the crisis the required depth of treatment that could have been considered significant. Bulk of the stories from all the newspapers were quarter page stories.

## RESEARCH QUESTION 4

What is the slant of government and privately owned newspaper in Nigeria in the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis?

Year	Т	he Pointe	er		Nigeria bserver	n	T	he Punc	h	The Guardian			
2006	15	17	10	7	5	4	16	27	8	15	15	15	
2007	11	14	7	5	4	-	9	21	3	14	18	14	
2008	22	13	4	2	2 -		26	28	7	20	26	8	
2009	16	4	2	9	9	4	26	31	1	22	15	10	
									0				
Total	64	48	23	23	18	1	77	10	2	69	74	47	
						1		7	8				

Table 4: Slant Given to the Coverage of the Niger Delta Crisis

This is the direction of coverage of the Niger Delta crisis. It could be favourable, unfavourable or neutral.

Data above shows that the privately- owned newspapers carried more unfavourable reports. *The Punch* carried 107 unfavourable reports, *The Guardian*, 74. The government-owned newspapers, *The Pointer*, 48 and *The Nigerian Observer*, 11.

Meanwhile, in comparison, *The Punch* carried 77 favourable reports, *The Guardian*, 69. *The Pointer* and *The Nigerian Observer*, both governments owned newspapers, carried 64 and 23 favourable reports respectively.

The table also shows *The Punch* and *The Guardian* as carrying 28 and 47 neutral reports respectively while The Pointer and *The Nigerian Observer* carried 23 and 11 neutral reports respectively.

Examining the frequency of the reports on the Niger Delta crisis by the government owned newspapers (The Pointer and The Nigerian Observer) as well as the privately owned newspapers (The Punch and The Guardian) clearly revealed that Niger Delta crisis was grossly under reported by the government owned newspapers while the privately owned newspapers had a higher level of coverage. The table showed The Pointer and The Nigerian Observer as having 135 and 52 reports respectively, amounting to 31.75 percent of the total reports. Conversely, The Punch and The Guardian, both privately owned newspapers account for 212 and 190 reports respectively, amounting to 68.52% of the total report. From the data presented and analyzed in this study, it was clear that the government owned newspapers failed in the performance of the agenda-setting function as stated in the theoretical framework of this study. This ran contrary to Akpan's (2009) statement that the critical importance of the agenda setting theory to the success of policies in the Niger Delta region lies in the fact that through the process of interpretations, shaping, selecting, editing, emphasizing de-emphasizing ....the mass media bring the policy issues to the attention frame of the people of the Niger Delta.

For the prominence of coverage, The data analyzed, showed that *The Pointer*, a government owned newspaper gave more prominence in the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis with 58 articles about the crisis on the front page, amounting to 38.41 percent; The *Nigerian Observer*, 14, which is 9.27 percent while *The Punch* carried 25 and *The Guardian* had 54 Niger Delta reports on their front pages,

accounting for 16.56 percent and 35.76 percent respectively. Meanwhile, the above figures when compared with the Niger Delta stories placed in the inside pages of the privately owned newspapers, reveal that the private newspapers rather preferred to attach importance to other news stories such as politics rather than the Niger Delta crisis. For instance, *The Punch* carried 174 inside page stories and *The Guardian* carried 103 inside page stories on the Niger Delta crisis.

The above scenario under-plays McComb and Shaw's (1994) opinion that newspapers clearly state the value they place on the salience of item through head line size and placement within the newspaper -anywhere from the lead item on page one, to placement at the bottom of a column on a page. The implication for this study therefore, is that the Niger Delta crisis was not considered important enough to take the front page of the privately owned newspapers.

Depth in this study refers to the space allotted to the Niger Delta crisis in terms of number of paragraph, and accompanying illustration. It reflects whether the story is full page, half page, quarter page or just a few paragraph stories. As opined by Antai (2002, p.47) "the more the paragraphs accorded a story, the deeper the treatment the story is given." From the foregoing, both the government owned and privately owned newspapers did not give the Niger Delta crisis, the required depth of treatment that could have been considered significant. Bulk of the stories from all the newspapers were quarter page stories. *The Pointer* carried only 19 full page stories on the Niger Delta. *The Nigerian Observer*, 6; while *The Punch* had 8 and *The Guardian*, 16. More so, the government owned newspapers were significantly poor in the use of pictures and information graphics.

The implication of this is that considering the peculiarity and horrendous dimension the Niger Delta crisis took in the last four years, as well as its effects on the country and the world, one would have expected the newspapers, whether government or privately-owned to have considered the crisis important enough to have been given an in-depth treatment especially as Ashiekpe (2009, p.202) opined that the mass media are potent tools to be utilized in turning around the situation in the Niger Delta. Van de Veen (1997, p.1) holds a similar view; she says many advocates of conflict prevention are convinced that the media can play a critical role in defusing tension and forging peace.

With the newspapers appearing to have fallen short of the above functions, it poses a question, has the newspapers in Nigeria, whether government or privately owned made enough impact in their coverage of the Niger Delta crisis? Slant here, refers to the direction of the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis. It could be favourable, unfavourable or neutral. Favourable or positive means the reports were geared towards resolving conflict. Unfavourable or negative slant refers to report that exacerbate the crisis and neutral means the writer was neither inflaming the situation nor pushing for an immediate end or solution.

# VII. CONCLUSIONS

This study shows the privately owned newspapers, *The Punch* and *The Guardian* faring better in the coverage of the Niger Delta crisis while the government owned newspapers,

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The Pointer and The Nigerian Observer under-reported the crisis. All the newspapers whether government or privately owned were significantly poor in their performance of the agenda setting function. This ran contrary to popular opinion that the media can defuse tension and forge peace. More so, from the study carried out, it was not far-fetched to say that ownership pattern to great extent influenced media coverage.

# VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are proffered:

- ✓ Nigerian Newspapers, whether government or privately owned should perform their news and editorial functions by going beyond (mere) straight news to accommodate more editorials, features and opinion stories
- ✓ The privately owned newspapers should give more prominence to issues related to the Niger Delta crisis, such that reports on the crisis especially positive reports that could resolve the crisis would always be displayed on front pages.
- ✓ To effectively carry out their social responsibility and agenda setting function, Nigerian newspapers should carry out reports that are geared towards resolving crisis in the Niger Delta rather than reports that could heighten tension in the already crisis prone area.
- ✓ With privatization going on in Nigeria, government should be encouraged to divest its media ownership to the private sector to guarantee more and fair coverage of crisis in the country
- ✓ Newspapers in Nigeria should make more use of pictures, info graphics and illustrations in their reports especially as it have been said that "a photograph speaks more than a thousand words".

Through the code of ethics enforced by the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) and other media bodies including tertiary institutions, training for journalists must include the

professional decency to represent both sides of any issue objectively

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