UNIVERSITY OF SALFORD

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND PEACE NEGOTIATION IN NIGER DELTA

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Submitted

by

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Department of

MEDIA, MUSIC AND PERFORMANCE

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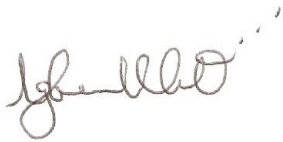
Dedication

This work is dedicated to God Almighty, the Son, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit who separately and collectively made it possible for me to start and finish this research work. It is also dedicated to all public relations motivated peace building strategists all over the world.

Certification

I **Harvey Godwin Ovie Igben** do hereby certify that I did personally carry out the research work that culminated in this thesis entitled, **"Public relations and peace negotiation in the Niger Delta"**. No part of the thesis has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma before this date herein signed below:

Harvey G.O. Igben

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Declaration by Supervisors

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This is to certify that **Harvey Godwin Ovie Igben,** in the Department of Media, Music and Performance of the College of Arts and Media of the University of Salford has fulfilled the requirements recommended for the award of the Doctor of Philosophy, Ph. D Degree of the University of Salford for Media Studies with specialization in public relations.

The thesis entitled, **"Public relations and peace negotiation in Niger Delta"** was carried out under my direct supervision. No part of the thesis was submitted before now for the award of any degree or diploma.

Clearance was secured from the Ethics and Clearance Committee of the University of Salford for carrying out this study.

_____   _____
Seamus Simpson (Main Supervisor)   David Maher (Co-Supervisor)

June, 2016

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Abstract

Crude oil was discovered in 1956, in Bayelsa State in Nigeria. Expectations were high that this find would deliver socio-economic advancement of the entire Niger Delta region in which it is located. Instead, serious hostilities have arisen based on reactions to an unequal distribution of oil wealth, socio-economic depravation faced by large numbers of the population and gross environmental degradation. In the emerging crisis, government and the oil companies were pitched against communities who are resident in the oil producing areas. Government and the oil companies maintain that they have equitably utilized oil wealth to the benefit of all stakeholders. Those from the oil producing communities claim denial of their rights to land ownership, a pollution free environment, infrastructural development, and any oil related socio-economic dividends.

This study explores the Niger Delta conflict through a focus on public relations (PR). It provides new insights into the nature of PR practices of government and oil companies in the region and their consequences for efforts to secure effective conflict resolution. The research draws its explanatory insights from a range of theoretical work in the disciplines of PR, communication, and sociology, built primarily around Excellence Theory which illuminates and advocates the two-way symmetrical model of interaction. Methodologically, the research utilizes stratified random and cluster sampling in conducting a survey of 400 respondents. The project also undertakes focus group research with 30 participants from three selected Niger Delta states.

This thesis argues that that the PR of the government and oil companies have been underpinned by outmoded models of PR practice that do not represent the collective interest of the strategic stakeholders in Niger Delta oil wealth. These practices do not support effective peace building and conflict processes. The explanatory model of this thesis points to a necessary adjustment in government and oil company PR practices in line with two-way symmetrical theory which takes account of the interests of all Niger Delta oil resource stakeholders on an equitable basis.

Igben Harvey G.O.
June 2016

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List of Abbreviations

GMOU   General Memorandum of Understanding

HDI   Human development index

IABC   International Association of Business Communication

MDGs   Millennium Development Goals

MEND   Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta

MOSOP   Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People

NDBDA   Niger Delta Basin Development Authority

NDDB   Niger Delta Development Board

NDDC   Niger Delta Development Commission

NSMS   New Social Movements

NNPC   Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation

NDPVF   Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force

NDVF   Niger Delta Volunteer Force

OMPADEC   Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission

OPEC   Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

SDEP   Shell-Darcy Exploration Parties

SPDC   Shell Petroleum Development Company

SPSS   Statistical Package for Social Science

UNDP   United Nation Development Programme

UNERD   United Nations Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination

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1.0 Introduction/ Background of the Study

The year 1956 represents a watershed of major changes of historical significance across the world. In July of 1956, the Egyptian authorities had nationalized the Suez Canal, but Britain and France had incited Israel to overrun the Sinai region to pave way for their military offensive against Egypt in the attempt to take back the canal. In the process, about 40 ships were sunk which resulted to the blockade of the canal that has been the traditional route for the daily shipment of about 1.5million barrels of oil per day to Europe. With the destruction of the Iraq oil company pipeline which had a further cut down on oil supply by 1.7million barrels per day, the shortage in total world oil production was down by 10.1%.[1] While the Suez Canal crisis was forcing petrol rationing in Britain, somewhere in Nigeria a new chapter was opening in the history of Niger Delta in 1956 as it became evident that crude oil could be produced in commercial quantity on its discovery in the village of Oloibiri in the then Rivers State now Bayelsa State.

Niger Delta as a region in Nigeria, in the Sub Sahara Africa is richly endowed with oil mineral resources raising the earlier thought that this natural endowment will be a source of joy to all who have a stake in it. The stakeholders as event would show included: those who by inheritance own the land in which the oil wells were discovered, the government of Nigeria at all levels and the various oil companies that have the expertise for the exploitation, exploration and production of crude oil. However, as events unfolded, the oil resource turned out to pitch the government and the oil companies on the one hand against the oil communities on the other hand for almost five decades over the issue of equitable distribution of the oil wealth. Past attempts including workshops and seminars conducted in order to unravel the cause(s) of the crises were mainly based on perspectives other than that of public relations. It is not certain that the few attempts made within the context of public relations did address the issue of relationship and public relations paradigm shift in connection with the promotion of peaceful co-existence among the Niger Delta

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[1] Oil and Gas Journal (1956) November 12, pp122-125

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oil stakeholders[2]. The quest for strategies that would stimulate positive relationship and encourage a conducive environment[3] for development propelled the government to introduce different forms of intervention.

As part of the measures towards establishing the problem of the region in relation to oil production and environmental hazards occasioned by the activities of the oil companies in Niger Delta were some of the interventions of the government. These interventions which were ostensibly purposed for taking reliefs and remediation to the oil communities under the grip of oil production inflicted hazards included the Niger Delta Development Board, the Niger Delta Basin Development Authority, the Presidential Task Force, the Presidential Implementation Committee, Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission and the Niger Delta Development Commission. Though the various interventions which have become regarded as part of the public relations practices of the collective efforts of the government and the oil companies to the oil communities mainly expressed in the form of corporate social responsibilities and community relations were for the reign of peaceful oil production environment. But the desired peace ruled destination appears to be yet elusive.

In view of the foregoing, this study is focused on how the nature of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies have affected the oil producing communities in order to establish if any relationship exists between such public relations practice and peace building process in the Niger Delta. It suggests that the study will try to establish if a linkage is likely to exist between the model of public relations adopted by the both the government and the oil companies and the extent to which the public relations practice arising from such model has affected the process of enthroning peaceful co-existence among the stakeholders to the oil wealth in the Niger Delta especially on a long term basis.

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[2] Stakeholder according to Freeman (1984) can be classified into both wide and narrow perspectives. In the wide perspective, they are group of people or individual that can affect or be affected by organisation's objectives. In the narrow sense, Freeman believes they are any group or individual that is critical to the continued existence of an organisation.

[3] Conducive environment is an environmnent that is supportive to the process of development. It is an environment required for facilitating the actualization of desired results from the process of development.
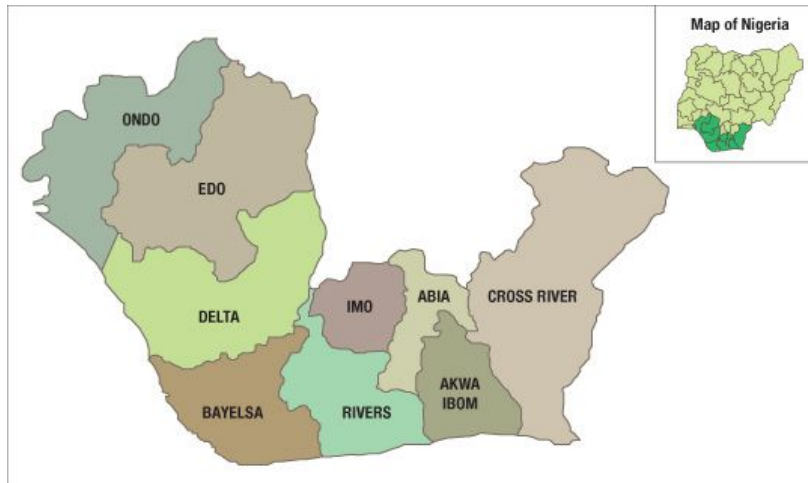
Figure1.1Niger Delta map showing the nine oil producing states.

The government often appears to take a stand on peace and security in the Niger Delta as a fundamental aspect to meaningful development yet it is largely accused of mismanagement of the oil wealth to the detriment of the oil communities in whose inherited land such wealth was created. The media have been inundated with claim from the oil producing companies to massive investment by way of community oriented public relations programmes in the various oil producing areas in the region yet they have also been indicted of environmental pollution and human rights abuses especially in course of resolving conflicts associated with the expression of oil communities' grievances and to stay off host communities generated restraints and distractions to oil production process. Given the foregoing scenario, the relationship between the government, oil companies and the oil communities, who are the major stakeholders to the oil rich region appears to have tilted to crises. The oil producing communities give the impression that the government with the cooperation of the multi-national oil companies have denied them access to the rich oil resource heritage which had so much promise of associated prosperity but has brought untold infrastructural neglect, environmental degradation to them which ultimately plunged them into almost irrecoverable abject poverty. Consequently, there has been persistent varied orchestration of aggression and expression of grievances by the oil communities in a bid to take their destiny and often time has resulted to negative impact on the oil production process.

There is no doubt that efforts have been made by different scholars separately representing different shades of thought and perspective to identify the reasons behind the continuing erosion of harmony among the major stakeholders that comprised of the government, the oil companies and the oil rich communities. Prominent from the sociological lens is the work of Stephen Davis

which uses ethnomethodology in a qualitative study to examine the causal background to the crisis in the Niger Delta and offers some useful guides that could stimulate peaceful co-existence among the stakeholders to the oil resource (Davis, 2009). Another scholar though from the background of political economy, examined the impact of the Niger Delta issues on women in the oil communities (Gabriel, 2007). He concluded that the negative effects of the oil production activities in the region has corresponding negative effects on the women of the Niger Delta region. Yet another study on the impact of the environmental degradation on the oil communities tried to focus on how it affects the socio-economic psyche of the Niger Delta. This study which relies on descriptive analysis concluded that a high degree of poverty in the region is a function of the side effects of oil exploration and production in the Niger Delta (Aluko, 2004). There has been growing scholarly concern on the impact of oil production on the socio-economic life of the Niger Delta but there is yet any that has a focus from the worldview of public relations with specific reference to the nature of public relations practice in the past decades in order to establish if any relationship exists between the impact of public relations programmes and peace building process in the relationship among the oil stakeholders. It appears that the public relations practice adopted by the government and the oil companies for dealing with the oil producing communities is anchored on a paradigm that serves the interest of one party against the other, more specifically pitches the interest of the government and oil companies on one hand against that of the oil producing communities. Grunig (1976) observes that the nature of communication organisation engages with its publics has the capacity to stimulate negative or positive reaction. Grunig cited the example of Colombia farmers and argues that where an organisation gives information more than it receives, or it is 'unlikely' to enter into dialogue with its publics which he calls 'one-way information giving' do not often mean well for the intended publics, (p5). Such model of public relations practice, according to a school of thought, that fails to balance the interest of all stakeholders is doomed to generate conflict and ultimately crises which is often costly and risky to resolve (Grunig, 2006). The foregoing position forms the basis for the research questions that are mentioned in the following unit:

1.1 Research questions

This study evaluates the nature of public relations practice which the government and the oil companies have adopted in the oil bearing communities in order to establish if it has the capacity to support long term peaceful relationship among the stakeholders to the oil sector in the Niger Delta. Stated in another way, the study is concerned with how the long term peace building efforts in the oil producing areas has been affected by the public relations practice of the government and

the oil companies in the Niger Delta? To achieve the above, the study shall depend on the following research questions:

1. What is the nature of public relations practice the government and the oil companies have carried out in the oil producing areas in relation to the oil rich communities?
2. What contribution has the nature of public relations practice made towards long term peace building process in the oil producing areas?
3. What relationship exists between the nature of public relations practice and the two-way symmetrical model of public relations as propounded in excellence theory in the context of the Niger Delta oil resource?
4. What is the way forward for a long term peaceful and productive environment to exist among the stakeholders to the oil resource in the Niger Delta?

The study shall mainly use the template for the guideline for measuring public relations practice in a long term relationship as expounded in the excellence theory (Grunig, 2006). Excellence theory which is a mix of theories, highlights the value of public relations by pointing out that PR helps organisation to achieve effectiveness when critical stakeholders and publics are identified and goal oriented steps are adopted after consultation with the relevant stakeholders (Freeman, 1999). It adds that it is only such two-way communication that has the potentials for mutually satisfying relationship among all stakeholders. Thus this study is required to establish if the various public relations efforts of both the government and the oil companies in the Niger Delta represent a shift from organisation centred tendency, which is exclusive of the interest of the oil producing communities, or otherwise, to a balance of interest of all stakeholders and therefore has the potentials for a sustainable *long term positive relationship* that is supportive of the process of peaceful co-existence. The study intends to ascertain how the relationship among the government, oil companies and oil communities weighs against the background of the six sided relationship measuring guidelines with a special reference to control mutuality, trust, satisfaction, commitment, exchange relationship and communal relationship in the Niger Delta.

Excellence theory was chosen for this study for the varied advantages it offered compared to other older public relations models especially when public relations is to be seen as a strategic management function (Grunig 2006). First, it is believed to offer a more satisfying value to the function of public relations. By this it is believed that when public relations practice is hinged on ET the resultant benefits are more than is found with other models. Second, it is the theory that

reveals that for an organisation to be effective it must behave in certain ways that lead to the satisfaction of both management and the aspiration of stakeholders. This theory is preferred for being an improvement over the three models of public relations: press agentry /publicity, public information and two-way asymmetrical model (Grunig 1984). The study is evaluative to any claim to effective public relations programme in the Niger Delta and seeks to weigh it against the six-way test to a long term relationship which represents equity and equilibrium in the rapport among the stakeholders to the oil wealth. The six-way test shall include control mutuality, trust, satisfaction, commitment, exchange relationship and communal relationship as expounded in Grunig (2006) study.

The problem of the Niger Delta in relation to oil resource is multi-faced. This suggests that the theories required to explain it and search for answers maybe more than one. As comprehensively indicated in the literature review, excellence theory represents a backbone theory to this study. But there are supporting theories that are used at one point or the other along with the excellence theory. They include system theory, agenda setting theory, uses and gratification theory and balance theory.

1.2 Research aims and objectives

1.2.1 *Research Aim*

The aim of the research is to evaluate the nature of public relations processes and outcome as they affect the strategic stakeholders to the oil related resource in the Niger Delta in order to establish how they have supported the direction of peaceful co-existence or otherwise on long term basis.

1.2.2 *Research Objectives*

As previously indicated, the study intends to examine the type of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies in the oil producing areas in order to ascertain if it has any capacity that can contribute to the peace building process in the region. This study adapts the PR guidelines of the Institute of Public relations for measuring relationship in this context as indicated below which means this study shall attempt:

1. To establish the nature of public relations, practice the government and the oil companies have carried out in relation to the oil rich communities in the Niger Delta.
2. To ascertain the level of contribution the nature of public relations practice has made towards a long term peace building process in the oil producing areas.

3. To confirm if any relationship exists between the nature of public relations practice of the government and oil companies and the excellence theory in the context of oil resource in the Niger Delta.

4. To proffer some recommendations that support paradigm shift towards an improved nature of public relations practice in the Niger Delta which in turn has the capacity for evolving a stable and peaceful environment.

The above mentioned objectives were chosen because they will ultimately assist in ascertaining the parties which are strategic to the oil related relationship in the Niger Delta. They will lead to establishing if there has been any public relations programme that tends to promote positive relationship among the oil related stakeholders in the Niger Delta in the past. The level of cooperation among the strategic stakeholders to the oil related relationship will be discovered and consequently the level of trust among the stakeholders will be ascertained. Also important is the hope that this study will ascertain the level of commitment the stakeholders have towards the relationship and the benefits they have derived from each other as a result. Derived benefits as a result of the relationship will help to explain how favourably disposed the stakeholders are towards each other in the Niger Delta.

1.3 Statement of research problem and motivation for choosing the topic of study

The government and the oil companies have several claims to establishing and sustaining good relationship with the oil producing communities. But the position of the oil producing communities is in the reverse pointing to neglect and lack of concern for their welfare by government and the oil companies as their main rewards for being owners of the land in which oil production takes place in the region (Aaron, 2010). The claims of the oil producing communities broadly classified into two reflect the cry of neglect, marginalization and infrastructure underdevelopment on the one hand; and on the other hand the indictment of the government of being corruptly supportive to the unfair attitude of the oil companies in terms of environmental degradation and dislocation of their natural habitat without any corresponding remedial measure (Amechi, 2009). Further, the government is solely indicted for failing to show sincere commitment and requisite concern for the interest of the oil communities especially in the distribution of the oil wealth in the Niger Delta (Omofonmwan, et al, 2009). This context of claims and counter claims were the driving motivators for conducting this study which evaluates the public relations practice of the government and the oil producing companies in the oil producing communities in order to establish if the type of

public relations practice they adopted has some measure of contribution to the acrimonious state of relationship that has thrived among the oil wealth stakeholders over the years.

It is in the light of the above that this researcher postulates that the state of relationship among the various stakeholders to the oil exploration and exploitation could have been affected by the type of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies in the oil communities. By extension, it can be argued, that the nature of public relations practice has a direct bearing on the degree of peaceful co-existence or otherwise in the Niger Delta.

Establishing and sustaining positive relationship is critical to the achievement of stakeholders goals (Dwyer, Schurr and Oh, 1987). D'Aveni (1994) agrees that the success of an organisation is largely dependent on the satisfaction of the stakeholders[4] (Freeman, 1999; Dwyer, Schurr & Oh, 1987; Wilson, 1995). The oil producing companies believe that having fulfilled their legal responsibility to the state by way of payment of taxes and royalties, the only obligation they owe the oil rich communities is moral[5](NNPC, 1992). This implies that they can only assist the oil communities with what their conscience considers to be right by way of corporate social responsibility[6] but they believe that such gesture is not legally binding. This points to a public relations lacuna that prompts the conclusion that the type of public relations paradigm evolved by the oil companies with the cooperation of the government has a direct bearing on the nature of relationship that exists among the oil stakeholders in the Niger Delta. The public relations gap here sprang from the failure of the government and the oil companies to seek and focus on the strategies that have the promise of producing beneficial relationship to both the organisations (government and oil companies) and the oil communities. That is not to admit that the government and the oil companies have not been engaging public relations strategies but what they appear to have evolved over the years tend to be based on the outmoded models of public relations practice. Many scholars and literature that previously paid attention to the lingering crisis situation of the Niger Delta have hardly given attention to the type of public relations practice and its theoretical motivation in

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[4] Stakeholder implies any person with vested interest in the functioning of any organisation. In the context of this study, the stakeholders are those who have interest in all ramifications of the oil exploration, production and wealth creation and distribution in the Niger Delta. They include: government, oil companies and oil communities' members whose interests are directly or indirectly affected by the oil production and associated activities in the Niger Delta.
[5] Moral obligation implies obligation that is not legally binding but of ethical concern, based on the principle of right and wrong according to the dictate of conscience.
[6] Corporate social responsibility is rooted in the theory that business and society are interconnected and therefore beyond provision of employment opportunities and payment of tax it should accept moral responsibilities by sharing its profits to assist society socially in various forms that will further develop the society in which it operates.

connection with the negative relationship that exists among the oil producing stakeholders. They found that the nature of public relations practice that exists tends to encourage short term relationships rather than long term. Secondly, public relations programmes that have been hitherto deployed were believed to be designed to reflect more of the organisation worldview and interest without adequate representation of the interest of the oil bearing communities. In public relations context such lopsided public relations progammes often have the potentials for sustaining short term good rapport (Grunig and Dozier, 2002).

This study discovered that issue of under-development, neglect and poverty in the midst of plenty has a direct bearing with the kind of public relations practice that has pervaded the relations among the oil stakeholders of the Niger Delta over the years. These developments resonated in the socio-political psyche of the region and appears to have developed anti-remedial resistance for government remedial programmes which tends to suggest that the public relations motivations need to be examined more closely. This position derives from the understanding that if after what government claims to have spent on the region has persistently failed to bring about the desired peace among the oil stakeholders then something is curiously missing along the line. This study thus seeks to identify the nature of relationship that exists among the stakeholders to the oil resource and establish if it has any potential for enduring on a long term basis. If not, to establish the type of public relations practice that has informed past responses of the government and oil companies in the region in order to establish how it has mutually represented the convergent interest of strategic stakeholders to the oil wealth. More fundamental is to ascertain the various peace drivers[7] if there are any and establish if they are capable of meeting long term goals of a sustainable positive relationship (Grunig and Dozier, 2002). According to the Committee for Economic Development on Social Responsibility of Business Corporation, the future of business will be largely determined by the quality of management's response to the changing expectations of the public(s) (Research and Public Policy Committee, CED, 1971). The mechanism for achieving the management response to public expectations is through public policy via the prism of corporate social responsibility. The concept of CSR, which is one of the functions of public

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[7] Peace drivers are the factors that are capable of promoting or contributing to peace in the Niger Delta. They involve attempts to constructively confront conflict promoting elements in order to eliminate or reduce crisis to it roots. These attempts mainly include measures that are designed to reduce or eliminate poverty, unemployment, corruption, revenue distribution and electoral malpractices (Davies, 2009).

relations demands that business has the obligation to work for the 'social betterment' of society, (Frederick 1978, p2).

It will be observed that the cause of strain in the relationship among the oil stakeholders in the Niger Delta is closely associated with the negative side effects of oil exploration by multinational oil producing companies through the cooperation of the government. The side effects are widely acknowledged to have occasioned harmful environmental hazards in the form of air, water, soil and noise pollution but without corresponding remedial measures since 1956. The consequence is that while the oil communities contend with environmental pollution, dislocation, displacement, poverty and general infrastructural underdevelopment, there are no corresponding measures to adequately compensate them and uplift them beyond the effect of the harsh reality of oil production side effects. Omofonmwan and Odia (2009) observe that owing to the effects of the environmental degradation, especially with special reference to soil pollution, water pollution and air pollution, food production in the region suffer severe setback.

Such side effects represent the outcome of the policies and behaviour of the oil companies with the collusion of the government of the day, which has collectively booster strain in the relationship among the three major stakeholders[8] to the oil production in the region. Management with public relations consciousness and understanding owe it a responsibility to address such development anchoring on public relations strategies that flow from top down to the grassroots. By implication, the government which has the political power has a responsibility to formulate the right public relations policy that will translate to mutually beneficial practices to all the stakeholders. Such mutually beneficial practices should have the potentials for researching into and identifying with the needs and aspirations of the oil communities in terms of socio-economic projects capable of transforming the oil exploration and production environment into a long term peace building process. Grunig et al (1992) were among the early public relations scholars to point out that public relations value is significant to both organisations and the society at large. They believe that organisations are effective when they 'choose and achieve goals that are important to their self-interest as well as to the interest of strategic publics in their environment' (p86). Public relations as a function of management in recent years contributes significantly to organisations' outcome and objectives (Cheney & Christensen, 2001). Scholars have identified three major areas of public relations needs in any organisation. They are in the areas of communication, management and

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[8] The three major stakeholders to the oil production are the government, oil companies and the oil communities.

relationship. This is the position of several public relations scholars who see public relations as 'the management of relationship between an organisation and its stakeholders' (Coombs 2001, p106). Grunig supports this view with his concept of public relations as 'building relationship with publics that constrains or enhances the ability of organisation to meet its mission' (Botan and Taylor, 2004, p654). This implies that if government and the oil companies are to meet their mission of optimal oil production in the region, the nature of relationship they sustain with the oil communities is highly significant. The relationship that is positive to the government, oil companies and the oil communities must be able to embrace the people oriented policy that will create the enabling environment for oil exploration and production as well as stem the growing tide of infrastructural neglect, displacement of oil communities from inherited farm land, environmental hazards and pollutions, poverty, unemployment and under-employment in the Niger Delta (Karl, 1997).

According to a report, flinted peace reigns in the Niger Delta region (Sayne, 2014). One of such flinted peace, as the report of the United States Institute of Peace maintains, is that the region has been 'calm' for four years now (Sayne, op. cit. p1). This position is possibly premised on the relative increase in the oil production activity which rose from as low as 80,000 barrels per day during the heat of militancy to 2.4million barrels per day after the peace deal arising from the amnesty programme of 2009 was struck. Some critics believe that government's interest was so much limited to the flow of oil rather than a genuine commitment to the welfare of the people. However, the report notes that the continuing incidents of kidnapping and occasional attacks on oil facilities among others tends to pose a question mark on the tenacity of a sustainable peace rule region. The report which assesses the current peace situation through a qualitative review of the federal government amnesty programme[9] of 2009 in relation to sustainable peace cultivation in the region discovered that the root causes of the Niger Delta conflict is yet to be addressed. If the amnesty programme which was applauded as one of the most laudable and recent public relations strategy of the federal government has failed to guarantee sustainable peace, it shows that the social relationships among different segments of the oil producing stakeholders are yet to normalize. One major reason why many still believe that the amnesty programme and other complementary

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[9] The amnesty programme was targeted at the ex-militants who renounced their militancy with the aim of disorientating them from the culture of arms struggle, training and rehabilitation in order to re-direct them towards embracing a new career that will predictably reduce conflict triggers in the region.

programmes are yet to launch the region into the much desired sustainable peace can be traced to the numerous challenges they have courted since inception (Sayne 2014).

First, while the amnesty programme focuses only on the youths, the rest of the publics who consists of the aged and middle age classes do not appear to receive any programme specifically designed to address their micro socio-economic needs. This approach according to Muggah (2009) which was not inclusive of the interest of the wider population may lack the guarantee for achieving the desired impact. It was also observed that the amnesty programme was a crisis management response which in public relations context is reactionary rather than proactive[10]. Reactionary public relations measures often are not only costly to execute, they are considered to be inadequate for cultivation of enduring mutually beneficial relationship (Seitel, 2004). The subterranean pressure that accounted for the reactionary position of the Federal government is traced to the influence of the decision of the United Nations Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UNERD) on the Niger Delta which recommends that the Federal government should evolve the necessary legal provisions that will enthrone proper environmental practices and fair distribution of oil wealth (Akinyele, 2006).

Second, the amnesty programme and related government interventions are believed to lack the relevant symmetric balance for addressing the needs of the Niger Delta. In the Sayne's report, it could be established that in the perception of the people of Niger Delta, the programmes have failed to overthrow 'widespread corruption, inequality, youth unemployment, lack of public accountability, local economic dysfunction, environmental degradation, and criminality' (p4). It is argued that where corruption thrives, inequalities in the distribution of socio-economic benefits are abound (Eze et al 2014, p100).

Third, the programmes appear to be unplanned and lack the necessary correlation with the defined development needs of the region (Omofonmwan and Odia, 2009). Sayne agrees that though most of the programmes appear good, they are not the products of careful planning that take the needs of the region into consideration in its conception and implementation process. He argues that the reason behind it is that, projects financing is 'opaque, geographically disbursed and unmonitored' and therefore makes it difficult to measure their effectiveness (p4). Beyond these indices, the fact

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[10] Pro-active is a patterned approach to events in which contingency plans are put in place to intelligently neutralize negative effects of surprises. Reactive refers to a public relations approach in which crisis is allowed to arise before taking steps to challenge it. It is a fire fighting approach.

that the programmes were not designed to meet the needs of the region suggests that the region was not widely consulted in their conceptualization and will always find it difficult to stimulate the support of the region which is fundamental to a mutually satisfying relationship (Heider, 1958 and Grunig 2002). This scenario does not align with the 21st century public relations practice because what has made the earlier public relations practice odd is the failure to promote programmes that appeal to all stakeholders that have common interest (Grunnig and Dozier 2002). It is this gap in pre-21st century public relations practice that compelled PR professionals to yearn for paradigm shift towards the stakeholders, excellence or symmetry theory which balances interest of all stakeholders as the pre-requisite for a peaceful relationship (Grunig. 2006).

What is evident from the history of the rift in the relationship among the stakeholders is the lack of sincerity on the part of government to coordinate a process of development that have the potentials to either eliminate or reduce the negative impact of environmental degradation and displacement associated with oil production in the Niger Delta region. Further, there is visible underlying disparity between government and or oil companies' initiatives and the aspiration of the oil rich communities. Omofonmwan and Odia (2009) agree that establishing the needs of the people through the participation of the people is a gateway to a mutually satisfactory relationship. It implies that lack of participation of the people in the idealization and implementation of public relations programmes especially those which have direct bearing on their welfare is germane to the genesis of the rift among the oil producing stakeholders.

From available literature it is also important to note that corruption in government at all levels has often served as a catalyst to rift between the various stakeholders in the Niger Delta (Davies, 2009). The various commissions set up by the government at the different times for addressing the infrastructure development needs of the region at various times were believed to have been well funded but they failed to address the problems of the Niger Delta people. This is evident from the continuing expression of dissatisfaction underlined by the endless call for resource control[11] on

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[11] *Resource control* is the agitation by the oil producing communities to have a voice in the oil production process as well as have some measure of control over the oil resources like other federating states where agricultural or solid minerals production take place (Itse, 1995). It is regaining ownership right campaign that recognizes the 1958 Raisman Commission Report which provides for 50percent of petroleum revenues to be allocated to the Niger Delta communities, 20percent to the Federal government and 30percent for distribution to other states of the federation but has been overturned by successive government over the years.

one hand and presence of violent crime especially in the form of hostage taking and pipeline vandalism.

This study was motivated to evaluate the public relations processes and outcomes using the prisms of long term relationship drivers from public relations perspective in order to offer necessary recommendations that have the potentials for a sustainable mutually beneficial socio-economic relationship in the Niger Delta. The study believes that a long term positive relationship is crucial to peaceful co-existence and consequently steady socio-economic growth. It is further argued in this study therefore that positive relationship can only be guaranteed when the public relations policies of government and the oil producing companies are modified to give recognition to equity, fairness and mutual concern for all stakeholders to the oil wealth. This aligns with the two-way symmetrical model of public relations as expounded under the umbrella of excellence theory which upholds that direction of modern public relations principles is to communicate with the objective of resolving conflict rather than stimulate, and promote mutual understanding and goodwill between organisation and its publics[12] (Grunig, 2006). This is also corroborated in the balance theory, which agrees that mutual satisfaction is a corollary to peaceful co-existence among stakeholders (Heider, 1958). The import here is that since unequal distribution of the oil wealth is central to the age long conflict in the region, a shift in the distribution pattern where the interest of every segment of the stakeholders is equitably represented would not only more likely produce a peaceful relationship among the oil related stakeholders in the Niger Delta but it is highly imperative for a sustainable macro-economic development. The implication of this to public relations processes as a management function is to counsel top management on the need for policy framework that serve not only the interest of the organisation but also the interest of the strategic publics to oil production and exploration in the region.

The study drew inspiration from *The Guidelines for measuring relationships in public relations* (Hon and Grunig, 1999). This work was the third in the series of research on public relations effectiveness which was conducted by Linda and Grunig on behalf of the Institute of Public Relations. The objective of this work then according to Childers and Grunig, was to develop a

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[12] The term *Publics* has often been used to refer to the audience or receiver of corporate messages. Publics can be divided into sub-groups homogenous enough for effective interaction to take place(Rawlins,2006) It has often been used in public relations interchangeably for stakeholders but it is believed to be somewhat different (Grunig and Repper, 1992). Grunig argues that while organisations select their stakeholders, publics emerge and select organisations that should listen to them.

dependable measurement scale for public relations related motivated long term relationship. They discovered through their descriptive studies that the best way to ascertain how an organisation relates with its various publics on a long term basis would be through emphasis on the six sides to the relationship it has with these publics. The six sides were namely *control mutuality, trust, satisfaction, commitment, exchange relationship and communal relationship.* This guideline which was as a result of a survey conducted in the developed world was found to be appropriate for adaptation and generic replication in a developing world for the purpose of establishing how public relations processes can contribute to a long term positive relationship among stakeholders of the oil rich region. It provides the basis for exploring public relations processes and the *six traditional sides* to the relationship among all the parties to the oil exploration and wealth distribution in the Niger Delta. This study therefore measures the extent to which public relations practice of the government and the oil companies based on the six sided relationship test of Grunig, namely: control mutuality, trust, satisfaction, commitment, exchange relationship and communal relationship among all stakeholders have been able to contribute to peace building process in the Niger Delta.

This oil discovery that would have been a hope raising development for those who lived contiguously to the oil find areas later in the unfolding years turned out to be a bundle of disappointment because of failure to realize the initial expectations of optimism. For over four decades, Niger Delta has consistently been under siege to varying contentious issues bordering on oil exploration activities and equitable distribution of oil wealth. Earlier expectations of stakeholders in the wake of attaining commercial quantity in oil production in 1956 to have their lives transformed as a result of oil discovery could have been seen as a mere figment of imagination but when compared to oil stakeholders in other parts of the world it was definite that oil revenue could be a source of transformation to people whose land play host to oil exploration and exploitation. One of the major pillars to this expectation is that oil is one of the highest revenues earners in the world. According to OPEC Revenues fact sheet (2003) total oil revenues to oil exporting states via Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) stood at $606billion between 2000 and 2003. In 2010 alone the oil revenues attracted $57.3billion. Despite the high oil revenues to Nigeria, most of the oil stakeholders[13] especially the oil communities suffer from

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[13] Stakeholder as a concept was first applied in 1963 to refer to a group without whom an organisation will fail to function. It implies a party that has interest in an organisation or activity which includes the investors, employees, customers, suppliers, host community, government and pressure group. In public relation context, stakeholders are

poverty, infrastructural neglect, environmental pollution and degradation (Raji, Grundlingh and Abejide, 2013).

Most significantly, at the background of the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty Niger Delta accounts for upward of 80 per cent of the Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings and 70 per cent of the government revenues. In 2000 the Central Bank of Nigeria annual report indicates that oil accounted for 83.5% of the total gross revenues of the government (Okoro, 2004, CBN, 2009). Yet the region that produces high revenue for the nation is bedeviled with lack of good roads and basic infrastructural facilities, high unemployment, environmental degradation arising from oil exploration and exploitation, low human capital development and epileptic power supply among others. The distribution of the oil wealth is alleged to be skewed in favour of some few privileged section of the society which included government and oil companies, to the neglect of the key stakeholders (Ekpo and Ubok-Udom, 2003). Further, it has been argued that the wealth from the Niger Delta solely accounted for the development of other places like Lagos, Abuja, Kaduna, Port Harourt and Enugu without corresponding level of development in the oil region (Aghalino, 2004). Eregha (2001) maintains that there is a high level of poverty in the region not because of the absence of food but the ordinary members of the oil communities do not have the means with which to buy food. This development raises concern from the oil rich communities over issues of inequitable distribution of oil wealth amidst socio-economic challenges and environmental degradation in the form of air, water and soil pollution (Eteng, 1997). One disturbing find was the total neglect and abandonment of Oloibiri, the community, where first commercial quantity of crude oil was discovered in 1956 after its oil reserve dries out. Alagoa (1993), Saro - Wiwa (1990) and Idumange (1999) are of the consensus that the distribution of oil wealth was inequitable with a consequential influence on social unrest and widespread youth restiveness. According to the United Nation Development Programme UNDP report (2006) one of the reasons that has often made it difficult for the majority of the people in the region to access the dividends of oil proceeds is either lack of requisite skills or financial wherewithal for operating in the sector. The report argues that the region believes it is not connected with the fulcrum of development. The report concludes that where 'social exclusion' exists development is often difficult to come by (p6).

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those groups that are affected by or can affect the process of actualizing organisation's defined objectives (Freeman, 1983).

In response to these challenges, government and multinational oil companies operating in the region appear to have separately and collectively evolved different forms of public relations programmes with the aim of returning all stakeholders to a positive relationship. Inspired by the Willinks Commission report of 1959, the government introduced various development commissions, industrial policy to ensure that oil companies imbibe the spirit of corporate social responsibility, support education through especially the Education Trust Fund(ETF) and the amnesty programme which was committed to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of the ex-militants (Nillson, 2005). It is however argued that these efforts were highly politicized and pervasive corruption made them unable to actualize the goals that informed their conceptualization (Akinyele 2006, Adebayo et al 2007). Viewed against the background of public relations, the efforts represented more of the outmoded model of public relations practice which is self – centred instead of public friendly. Though the Willink Commission made recommendations based ostensibly on public memoranda it is not true that the recommendations precisely dictated the whole concept of the efforts of government and oil companies in their respective or collective corporate social responsibilities to the oil communities. It is in this consternation that the industry watchers are left with un-answered question why the agitation for equitable distribution of the oil wealth has continued to mount and re-echo in ascendance, instead of attenuating, while the government argues that much has been spent on the region on oil related remedial projects; but the oil rich communities considered these to be inadequate. It has been established that most of the oil companies operating in the region often resort to the media campaign via national newspapers, magazines, in-house journal and the electronic media to persuade the less informed members of the public to accept that they have done so much to improve on their relationship with the host communities in the guise of commitment to development of the region (Enemaku, 2003, p116). Enemaku argues that despite these claims, the incidents of violent demonstration, kidnapping of oil companies' workers, road blockade and other forms of protest have been on the rise. This tends to betray the spuriousness that overhangs the claim of the oil companies to giving adequate attention to the needs of the oil producing communities. Besides, it is argued that much spending on the region cannot guarantee peace but a paradigm shift in the manner of spending may (Aaron, 2010). This implies a call for an equitable distribution of oil wealth to all key stakeholders in the Niger Delta.

Most of the various attempts made by the oil producing companies and the government in the face of demands for remediation and what should have been the expected best practices in the oil

industry often fail to represent the best interest of the oil communities. Perhaps policy thrust that drives the evolution of such programmes meant well for the people but the outcome of the implementation does not usher in the needed mutual satisfaction that would have been the expectation of the oil producing communities. In the perception of the oil communities, they believe that whatever measures both the government and the oil companies may wish to lay claim to have not only represented a short term goal but also tends to reflect efforts towards the promotion of inequitable distribution of the oil wealth and are perceived as venal subterfuge for sustained reign of marginalization, neglect and untold infrastructure under-development in the region. According to a United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) report, inequities pervade the region in the context of human development index (HDI) and oil revenue distribution (UNDP, 2006). The report argues that though there are several forms of government and oil companies' intervention, inequalities are still widely observed in the HDI and poverty index of different local governments in the Niger Delta. The UNDP report establishes that some local governments without oil facilities did better than those with oil facilities in the poverty index just as those in the urban areas did better than those in the rural areas in the HDI, an attribute which the report considers to be an evidence of inequities in the flow of oil wealth in the region.

Table 1.1: HDI for the Niger Delta States, 2005

State	Life expectancy	Education index	GDP index	HDI
Abia	0.492	0.578	0.560	0.543
Akwa Ibom	0.506	0.683	0.540	0.576
Bayelsa	0.455	0.523	0.520	0.499
Cross River	0.556	0.630	0.565	0.584
Delta	0.587	0.636	0.621	0.615
Edo	0.579	0.602	0.600	0.594
Imo	0.503	0.546	0.591	0.547
Ondo	0.501	0.575	0.512	0.529
Rivers	0.563	0.590	0.620	0.591
Niger Delta	0.527	0.596	0.570	0.564

Source: ERML field survey 2005.

According to the Federal Office of Statistics (1999) the incidence of poverty in the Niger Delta which stood at 19.8 per cent in 1980 rose to 52.4 per cent in 1985 in Edo and Delta. It went on a decline to 33.9 per cent in 1992 but was at 56.1 per cent in 1996. For Cross River, Imo, Abia, Ondo, Rivers and Bayelsa, the poverty level rose significantly after 1980. Further details as indicated below:

Table 1.2 Poverty level in the Niger Delta 1980-2004

	1980	1985	1992	1996	2004	
Nigeria	28.1	46.3	42.7	65.6	54.4	
Edo/Delta	19.8	52.4	33.9	56.1	Delta	45.35
Edo 33.09						
Cross River	10.2	41.9	45.5	66.9	41.61	
Imo/Abia	14.4	33.1	49.9	56.2	Imo	27.39
Abia 22.27						
Ondo	24.9	47.3	46.6	71.6	42.15	
Rivers/Bayelsa	7.2	44.4	43.4	44.3	Rivers	29.09
Bayelsa 19.98						

Source: National Bureau of Statistics 2004.

This study therefore is expected to establish if the quality of public relations driven attempts so far made have the capacity for launching the region into a sustainable peace oriented relationship among the various segments of stakeholders who are associated with the oil production and resource distribution in the Niger Delta. This study is evaluative of the current context of interaction among all stakeholders to the oil resource from the purview of public relations, which takes into cognisance the historical antecedence that has characterized the interaction between the oil communities, oil producing companies and government since the discovery of oil in commercial value in the Niger Delta. The idea is to empirically establish if there is any evidence of a long term mutually beneficial peaceful relationship among the key players to the oil production activities through the kind of relationship they have fostered so far in the region.

1.4 Relevance of the study

So far no study conducted in this area that deploys and adapt the excellence theory as a public relations model to a relationship problem that is distinctive to the Sub-Saharan Africa. A major challenge to public relations practice in the developing countries is the neglect of the interest of the larger stakeholders also known as publics of the organisation with a corresponding attention paid to the media and government personnel (Sriranmesh,1992). This model of public relations practice tends to strengthen one-way, persuasive and audience manipulation which the two-way symmetrical public relations may not support (Grunig and Hunt, 1984). Lindeborg (1994) agrees that the two-way symmetrical model of public relations as tested in a previous study at the AT and T Corporation tend to add more value to the function of public relations in an organisation and by extension the potentials for a peace building process (Tirone 1977). This study is an extension of

not only excellence theory but ethical communication[14] which seeks a balance in the allocation of resources as a strong pillar in a peace building process.

Within the context of the Niger Delta oil related conflict studies, this study attempts to fill the knowledge gap that has become evident either as an oversight, neglect or purposive avoidance by researchers in the past. Though the perspective of public relations has been involved in the analysis of the crisis situation in the Niger Delta but no initiative has been inclusive of the nature of public relations practice and sustainable stakeholders' relationships as a measure of cultivating and sustaining peaceful co-existence in the region.

Negative effects of oil production in the oil producing communities have been in the front burner of studies which document the reaction of the oil rich communities, the response of both the oil producing companies and government. One of such studies with focus on the relationship between oil production and environmental degradation identified oil spills, gas flaring, dredging of the canal and land take as part of the negative effects of oil production in the Niger Delta since the discovery of oil in Oloibiri in 1956 in now Bayelsa State of Nigeria (Opukri and Ibaba, 2008). The study concludes that the associated consequences of oil production have resulted to losses in income and occupation of the oil communities which further gave rise to 'voluntary and involuntary migration' of some members of the oil communities. The position of the study was corroborated by the study conducted by a group of scholars who maintain that oil production activities have resulted in the downward turn of the local economy which naturally thrive on agriculture (Aaron, 2006, Salau, 1993, Okoko, 1998, Ibeanu, 2002). Another study on peace building process in the Niger Delta taken from the perspective of amnesty programmes and violence argues that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of the militants would bring in peace to the Niger delta crisis. The study which uses both quantitative and qualitative method of analysis concludes that though there were some measures of success in the use of the amnesty programme, it observes that to sustain and improve on the level of success achieved will only be possible if the government can muster the will to evolve the participation of the oil communities in the design and implementation of development related programmes (Okonofua, 2011). The study concludes that failure of government to hook up the amnesty programme with broad base socio-economic programmes

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[14] Ethical communication is the exchange of information that has respect for truthfulness, honesty, reason and accuracy (McConnell, 2011). The National Communication Association (NCA) maintains that ethical communication encourages human worth and dignity through the promotion of truthfulness, fairness, responsibility, personal integrity, and respect for self and others (NCA,1999).

would likely usher in a more serious reign of violent rebels. This prediction was later vindicated in 2016 when a new set of militancy called Niger Delta Avengers began another regime of violent campaign against the government and oil companies operating in the Niger Delta. Within few days of launching their campaign, they have left several oil pipelines blown up thereby reducing the oil production from 2.3million barrels per day to 1.2m bpd. But none of these studies is yet to show significant focus on the likely relationship between the nature of public relations practice and the promotion of a long term peaceful relationship among stakeholders of the oil industry in relation to equitable distribution of natural resources. The excellence theory studies on which this study is principally anchored is unique in its support for managerial decisions on behalf of organisations towards corporate effectiveness especially in the Niger Delta region. It postulates that managerial decisions taken for organisation should be socially responsible for the satisfaction of publics' interest as a basis for satisfying self-interest. It argues that the empowerment of public relations practice will offer the best leverage to publics of organisations, a position that appears to be relatively exclusive to the excellence theory, for meaningful participation which is a hopeful direction for forging a positive relationship and peace building mechanism, the duo needs of a progressive and meaningful human society (Grunig, 2002).

The failure to evolve the appropriate long term peace drivers in the region appears to have been supportive of the various activities in the region that have made attainment of a long term peaceful relationship intractable for some time now. For instance, the youths in Nembe, an oil rich community in Bayelsa State in reaction to the failure of Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) to honour the General Memorandum of Understanding (GMOU) it entered into with the community since the previous year gave a 30-day ultimatum on July24, 2014, to stop its operations in the area (Segun 2014). This post amnesty strain in the relationship between the oil company and the oil producing community suggests a picture that is typical of the pervasive state of strained relationship among the stakeholders in the Niger Delta for almost five consecutive decades now. It further points to the weakness in the hope of securing a long term positive relationship in the region for oil stakeholders.

It is not out of place to find the needed long term peace drivers that is capable of a sustainable long term positive relationship in the broad field of sociological studies. But in terms of a holistic commitment and professionalized approach to peace building process, the strategies for conscious stimulation of peace building drivers are more particularly rooted in modern public relations

practice. The persistent need for a paradigm shift with emphasis on a proactive public relations practice which is a move away from organisation focused to a balanced representation of the interest of both organisation and other stakeholders interest tends to be the desirable answer to the Niger Delta oil resource related crisis. It is in the light of the foregoing that taking the perspective of public relations to address the challenges in the relationship among the Niger Delta oil resource stakeholders could not have been more imperative. This implies the need to examine the nature of public relations, as some types of public relations in the past were castigated when mistaken for propaganda or publicity, in order to establish the relationship that exists between such public relations practice and the resource related crisis. Thus what is of significant concern to this study is specifically to establish whether the current public relations approach to the question of the Niger Delta crisis is one or two-way asymmetrical or two-way symmetrical. The divide between the two natures of public relations practice if it is to be broadly categorized, is the extent to which the nature of public relations practice encourages organisation focus or a balance of both organisation and the public interest. Focus on both the interest of the organisation and the publics is the fundament of the two-way symmetrical model of Grunig which sticks to 'using bargaining, negotiating, and strategies of conflict resolution to bring about symbiotic changes in ideas, attitudes and behaviour of both an organisation and its publics' (Grunig 1989:29). This study believes that long term relationship is a function of the collective application of public relations tools in the form of changes in ideas, attitudes and behaviour of both the organisation and its publics with mutual respect for common interest. The practice of encouraging positive changes in both organisation and its publics using public relations strategies are not part of the advocacies of previous studies in this context of peace building particularly with reference to the Niger Delta question. Thus that this study relies on the Excellence theory[15] as part of its theoretical backbones in evaluating the nature of public relations practice in the Niger Delta to establish its closeness or otherwise to a relationship that is mutually satisfying to both the government, oil companies on one hand and the oil communities on the other hand was informed by its underlying postulation that effectiveness of organisations is a function of the extent to which corporate policies and actions satisfy the needs of organisation and its publics. (Grunig, 2006).

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[15] Excellence theory was a product of the excellence study under the coordination of Grunig emphasizes the value of public relations to organisation and its publics on the basis of social responsibility of management decision and 'quality of corporate relationship with its publics.

1.5 Statement of original contribution to knowledge

The quest for peaceful coexistence in the Niger Delta has been a pressing, though unrealized goal for several decades now, set against the backdrop of the socio-economic displacement of oil communities arising from gross inequality in the distribution of the oil wealth. This research breaks new ground in conducting a study of the Niger Delta conflict with a focus on the state of the relationship between the various oil producing stakeholders through the lens of Public Relations. It makes the following specific contributions to knowledge:

The established six key components of PR relations that had been tested in the Western world by Excellence Theory scholars are applied to PR processes in the Niger Delta. In the context of the oil resource question in the Niger Delta, the research presents evidence which points to the need to secure nothing less than a PR paradigm shift in the direction characterised by a two- way symmetrical communication model. By so doing, the research argues, the basis for a long term relationship among stakeholders in the Niger Delta can be created to work towards peaceful co-existence. The findings of the research thus prescribe a new direction for policy makers to secure a balancing of interests of all strategic stakeholders associated with oil exploration, exploitation and production in the Niger Delta.

The primary data generated from this research will serve as an important source of evidence for further research by PR and other social science researchers focused on the numerous situations of resource-based stakeholder conflict in the sub-Saharan African region.

1.6 Brief overview of each chapter

This chapter introduces the study with review of Niger Delta specific literature in order to position the various arguments that provide the pillar for this research. It is obvious from the introduction that peaceful co-existence is a function of ethical interaction through associated mutually shared benefits among all stakeholders.

Chapter two offers insight into the historical background of public relations practice in Nigeria and try to establish its linkage with the strains in the relationship among the stakeholders to the oil resource in the region.

Chapter three presents literature review on the relationship between public relations and peace building process geared towards a long term positive relationship. The theoretical background

supports this study with five theories, which collectively set the context for the public relations model that emphasizes ethical communication, relational equilibrium and fairness as basis for accessing positive long term peaceful co-existence among stakeholders especially in the oil rich region.

Chapter four offers explanation on the research methodology for this study. The study evolves a collaboration of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. While the quantitative involves survey of two sets of respondents, the qualitative collected data through a focus group interview. Its theoretical backbone relies on the positivistic and phenomenological theoretical approaches. A survey of 300 respondents and a focus group of 20 respondents collectively helped to produce the needed primary data for this study.

Chapter five presents the data analysis and interpretation. It uses simple percentage which involves data cleaning and coding before frequency analysis. Frequency analysis relies on frequency distribution and percentage distribution in order to establish the extant relationship among the different stakeholders in search of the evidence for long term relationship or otherwise.

Chapter six is focused on the summary of the findings from the study, draws conclusions and offer recommendations on the basis of the conclusions. In the end, paradigm shift from organisation focused or asymmetrical interaction to a balance approach that is equitably public and organisation focused or a two-way symmetrical relationship was found to drive the process of peace building in the Niger Delta to its expected destination.

2.0 The Historical Background of Niger Delta Crisis

This chapter provides insight into the historical background of the Niger Delta struggle. In this literature review attention is paid to the genealogy of oil discovery in the Niger Delta and the origin of the rift in the relationship among the oil stakeholders in the region. Before then, an insight into the development and practice of public relations in Nigeria will be provided in the attempt to set the stage for a proper understanding of the nature of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies in the Niger Delta. This historical perspective explains the factors at the centre of the struggle, the negative effects of the oil production activities, the wealth creation consequent upon the commercialization of the oil production activities and the role of governance in distribution of the oil wealth which in the perspective of the oil communities was inequitable. The chapter further captures the reactions of the oil communities to the action of government and the oil companies and the eventual public relations response of government and the oil companies in search for a peaceful co-existence among all strategic stakeholders to the oil crisis in the Niger Delta.

2.1 Evolution and practice of public relations in Nigeria

Public relations represents the various policies and activities developed by government, local authorities, communities or individuals to secure self and corporate promotion, mutual understanding and positive relationships with a defined group of people on a continuous and sustained basis. Nigeria is a former British colony. Her public relations history was greatly influenced by this relationship. Public relations history in Nigeria can be classified into two major phases: historic and modern. Excellence theory classifies public relations practice as: publicity or press agentry, public information, two-way asymmetrical communication and two-way symmetrical communication. These four models help to explain the level of maturity in the practice of public relations in Nigeria in its historic and modern eras of public relations development.

2.1.1 Historic public relations practice

Public relations practice pre-dates the existence of modern Nigeria as a nation, having its origins as far back as the pre-colonial days. Though the term public relations was not in use then, it was evident that Nigerians had been practising public relations during the pre-colonial period in the art of providing information, persuading one another, mobilizing and showing goodwill in one form or the other (Ugboajah, 1985, Wilson, 1987 and Mbeke, 2009). Those known to perform the roles of the village or town crier were believed to have served as news reporters, ambassadors, broadcasters, liaison officers and early warners in their various communities (Wilson,1987). The pre-colonial period reflects informal practice of public relations which may be regarded as primitive today though is still used in some African societies for the purpose of relaying information through the role of the roving barber, traditional priest and witch doctor (Chukwueah, 2010). The crowning aspect of the historical development of public relations during this era was the introduction of the newspaper called *Iwe Irohin* by a missionary, Reverend Henry Townsend, in Abeokuta in 1859. The newspaper according to available literature was used for the propagation of the Anglican Christian faith as well as for the announcement of births and obituaries. Also, it later served as a window for the constructive criticism of the colonial regime. Before then, in 1846, two missionaries had started a printing press in Calabar called Hope Waddel Press. Hope Waddel was used for the printing of Christian tracts and booklets for the purpose of making the Christian faith better understood by the people. Iwe Irohin, however, had to fold up in 1867 owing to a cultural and political crisis that arose among the Egba people of the then Yoruba Kingdom and the early European settlers. This era marked the birth of the publicity model of public relations, albeit in a crude form.

The second phase of public relations was the era of publicity and massive deployment of the press to offer information to the people. This opened some form of career opportunities for people but predominantly those who took up these opportunities could not be said to have public relations education and orientation. Significantly, at this time, the nation engaged in a the siege of imperialism. Available literature suggests that, as a consequence, secrecy of information by the British government was prominently practised, calling forth suspicion from indigenous people in what was its colony. In 1943, the need for the colonial government to keep Nigerians informed

about the Second World War led to the establishment of a War Information Office. While this office provided information on the progress of the war, it was also required to interpret government news and views to provide a clearer understanding of government policies and actions. Those employed then were mostly Nigerians whose role was described as publicity officer. Prominent among them were Ayodele Lijadu, a World War II correspondent and Milicent Douglas who was extracted from the West African Pilot. To support these publicity personnel, in 1948, the government took on board a group of staff who were called assistant publicity officers to assist the publicity officers in the task of getting Nigerians to understand government better. Notable figures among the ranks of the assistant publicity officers then included Cyprian Ekwensi, Anthony Enahoro and Dr Sam Epelle. This phase marked a transition from the era of 'the people be dammed' to the era of 'the people be informed' as was the postulation in the declaration of principles of Ivy Led Better Lee of the US, much earlier in 1904. In 1959, the Nigerian Electric Power Authority (NEPA), now the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN), was the first to establish what was named the Public Relations Bureau. Though it was called a public relations bureau, its activities involved persuading the consumer-public to show understanding of its perennial failure to make the power supply consistent and accessible to Nigerian consumers.

Private sector participation in the use of public relations could be traced to the United African Company of Nigeria (UACN) in 1949. This was followed by Shell BP in 1969 which largely incorporates a wider dimension of public relations practice with emphasis on the press, host communities, government, financial institutions and other strategic publics in its operations.

2.1.2 Modern public relations practice

The era of modern public relations practice in Nigeria can be traced to the 1960s which has continued to the present day. This era marks the inception of professionalism in the public relations practice. It was in 1963 that the Nigerian Army established the directorate of Army Public Relations with a mandate for information distribution. The APR's purpose was to signal the practice of information giving public relations which was often manifest as one-way communication with little or no regards for mutual interaction. Most significantly, Forsyth (1983) recalls how propaganda was used during the Nigeria civil war, especially by the leader of the Biafra soldiers, to indict the federal government soldiers of genocide by pointing to the unwarranted killing of children and women in order to gain international sympathy. In 1963, the

Nigeria Institute of Public Relations (NIPR) was established to regulate the practice of public relations in the country. NIPR developed from the Public Relations Association of Nigeria (PRAN). During this period, the public relations field was saturated by practitioners who did not have the necessary professional training. This development made the need for a culture of professionalism to be particularly apparent (Hainsworth, 1993).

The current status of public relations practice in Nigeria indicates a response to growth in terms of professionalism and scholarship. The introduction of Decree No.16, (1990) brought standardization and regulation measures to bear on the practice of public relations in Nigeria (Black 1991). This provides statutory leverage for the NIPR to introduce measures to filter out un-professional practice and practitioners (Bates, 2006). The pursuit of professionalism also made the institute to introduce strategies that could evolve standard knowledge and skills for both actual and prospective practitioners.

While public relations was still young in the professionalization process, few Nigerians could access the needed formal training and educational process. Some authors argued that the gap created by absence of a formal training programme would be a source of critical challenge to the advancement of public relations practice in Nigeria (Paluszek, 1988; Lauzen, 1992; Hainsworth, 1993; Wylie, 1994; McElreath and Blamphin, 1994; Saunders and Perrigo, 1998). Those who were fortunate to have got initial training in public relations enrolled with the Communication Advertising and Marketing (CAM) Foundation of Britain as overseas candidates. Much later still, in the 1990s, the Business Education Examination Council (BEEC) was established and subsequently took over from the CAM in the certification of members. Its examinations led to the award of a professional diploma in public relations. Later the NIPR came in to join forces with higher education examination bodies in the certification process. Its examinations also culminate in the award of a professional certificates and diploma in public relations.

The first Master's degree in PR was introduced in Nigeria in 1992 at the University of Nigeria, Enugu Campus through a chair NIPR bought in the institution. The result was the introduction of a course of learning for the training of high calibre public relations scholars in the country. Today there are no less than 62 institutions of higher learning offering one form of public relations

education or the other. They consist of universities, both public and private, polytechnics and a college of technical education.

The result of these efforts has given rise to the emergence of different forms of public relations practice in Nigeria. Contrary to the predominance of 'staff' or in-house public relations personnel in the first phase, the modern era has seen the emergence of PR consultants. In 1984, the Public Relations Consultants Association of Nigeria (PRCAN) was formed to consolidate professional practice in public relations (Ogunnorin,2000; PRCAN,2004).

One critical challenge that is still facing the profession is the question of out-growing the practice of running errands for organisations at the expense of the general good of all stakeholders. However, there is hope that, as the NIPR continues to sustain its enforcement of ethical standard practices, the future holds the prospect of realizing the desired status of public relations functions as a true strategic management function that will seek to evolve consultation, dialogue, research and mutually satisfying two-way interactive interfacing between the organisation and its publics.

2.2 Niger Delta and the genealogy of oil exploration

The discovery of oil in the Niger Delta would appear to be a novelty as far as the region is concern. But the profile of other Deltas across the world suggests that oil find in the region is not only a consistent feature of the Delta areas but such development has assisted in the advancement of the socio-economic life of the various stakeholders associated with the oil find. This is fueled by the experience of Orionoco in Venezuela, Mahakam in Indonesia, the amazon in Brazil and or the Mississippi of the United States of America. Niger Delta consists of nine states out of the thirty-six states of the Nigeria nation. Niger Delta as a region in Nigeria boasts of huge bionomical heritage which has collectively made the region to become the second largest delta in the world. Stretching over 70,000 square kilometres, it is believed to be the third largest wetland in the world and by this classification the largest in Africa occupying 7.5% of the nation's land mass. It was initially called, 'Oil Rivers' owing to the presence of palm oil in commercial quantity in the region. Later it was regarded as British Oil Rivers Protectorate between 1885 and 1893, after which it became enlarged and consequently was rechristened Niger Coast Protectorate (Hogan, 2013).

Of the six geo-political zones[16] in the country, Niger Delta occupies three. Going by the 2006 Nigeria population census, Abia and Imo are in the South-East, Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-River, Delta, Edo and Rivers are located in the South-South zone while Ondo is solely situated in South-West zone. Originally, the region was made up of Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers states but in the year 2000, the Obasanjo's administration included the other six that eventually brought all to nine in total. The region consists of 185 local government councils for ease of governance (UNDP, 2006). With the total population of 33,616,000, the region constitutes 25.6% of the nation's population figures of estimated 178,571,721 as indicated by the Nigeria National Bureau of Statistics of 2012. Projected total population is expected to be 39.2million in 2015 with the potential of rising to 45.7million in 2020 at a growth rate of 2.9%. Analysts believe the country accounts for 2.5% of the world population (UNDP, 2006).

Table 2.1 Niger Delta Population Projection.

State	2005	2010	2015	2020
Abia	3,230,000	3,763,000	4,383,000	5,106,000
Akwa Ibom	3,343,000	3,895,000	4,537,000	5,285,000
Bayelsa	1710,000	1,992,000	2,320,000	2,703,000
Cross River	2,736,000	3,187,000	3,712,000	4,325,000
Delta	3,594,000	4,186,000	4,877,000	5,681,000
Edo	3,018,000	3,516,000	4,096,000	4,871,000
Imo	3,342,000	3,894,000	4,535,000	5,283,000
Ondo	3,025,000	3,524,000	4,105,000	4,782,000
Rivers	4,858,000	5,659,000	6,592,000	7,679,000
Total	28,856,000	33,616,000	39,157,000	45,715,000

Source: National Population Commission 2004

The region that is believed to be both multi-ethnic and multicultural in composition, with no fewer than 40 ethnic nationalities, can linguistically boasts of no less than 250 dialects. According to Otite (2009) the ethnic groups included Andoni, Bekwara, Bini, Efik, Egbema, Ekoi, Ibibio, Igbo, Ijaw, Isoko, Itsekiri, Ogoni and Urhobo. The region which stretches through nine oil producing states namely Abia, Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross Rivers, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo and Rivers is

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[16] The six geo-political zones are South-South, South-East, South-West, North-West, North-East and North Central

responsible for 90% of oil revenues of the nation (Okonta and Douglas, 2001; Eyinla and Ukpo 2006; UNDP 2007).

Though oil exploration was launched between 1903 and 1935, it was not until 1956 that the combined geological survey efforts of Shell and the Anglo Iranian Oil Company later known as BP though then called Shell-Darcy Exploration Parties (SDEP) culminated in oil find in commercial quantity in Oloibiri, a village in the now Bayelsa State in the Niger Delta (SDN, 2014). Since the discovery of oil in Oloibiri and subsequently other parts of the region, Niger Delta has been the economic backbone of the nation which places Nigeria in the world map as the 7th largest exporter of crude oil in the world with reserve of 37.2 billion barrels and by implication the largest oil producer in Africa (Omofonmwan and Odia, 2009). Despite the vital economic role, the region plays it has been faced with relationship crisis among the oil stakeholders over the issue of environmental pollution, infrastructure neglect, corruption, human rights violation and inequitable distribution of the oil wealth. It has been widely argued that several decades of oil exploration in Niger Delta has significantly transformed the economic status of Nigeria into an affluent nation but the region that primarily plays host to the wealth creation does not appear to experience a corresponding degree of development (Okonta and Douglas, 2003; Ukeje 2001; Watts 2009).

2.3 The origin of the rift in the relationship among the oil stakeholders in the Niger Delta
Scholars appear to have varied perspectives on the genesis of the rift in the Niger Delta region. While some scholars believe that ecological devastation and misappropriation of oil wealth is at the root of the rift (Olorode, 1998, Ikein, 1990; Ashton-Jones 1998; Iyayi 2000; Okonta and Douglas 2003 and Watts 2009), yet there are those who indict corruption and socio-political marginalization (Igbinovia, Okonofua, Omoyibo and Omoruyi 2004; Okonofua and Ugiagbe 2004; Saliu, Luqman and Abdulahi 2007). Others agree that the cause of the rift is unemployment and poverty (Saro-Wiwa 1992; Iyayi 2008; Ukeje, Odebeyi, Sesay and Aina 2009; and Peel 2010).

From the varied positions above, one prominent factor that tends to be causal to the outbreak of the rift in the region is strain in the relationship among the oil producing stakeholders. This has a longstanding history fueled by the evidence of abject poverty in the midst of plenty in the face of visible absence of sincere remediation measures that could have helped to rebound the strained relationship among the oil stakeholders back to a mutually beneficial platform. Adebayo et al

(2007) observe that the crisis in the Niger Delta can be attributed to the denial of the people from their major source of livelihood especially those whose farmlands have been taken over by oil production activities without the necessary remediation. The implication is that since oil exploration and exploitation have largely contributed to the socio-economic displacement of people in the region, it is largely implicated to have generated oil related conflicts in the region. According to Adebayo, this appears to have negatively left a divide between the oil rich communities and the oil producing companies with the government being alleged of playing lopsided mediatory role that significantly favours the oil companies at the expense of oil rich communities. On the other hand, the government and oil producing companies have often tried to lay claim to making successful efforts at addressing the situation in a manner that reflects the best industry practice (Olorode, 1998, Ikein, 1990).

In a study carried out in the 1990s, it was established that part of the reason for the rift in the relationship among the oil stakeholders were the allegations of unrealized pledges, oil spillage, environmental neglect, unfair compensatory response, slow response to urgent save our souls, 'SOS', lack of recognition for traditional institutions, disrespect for sacred places and corruption against the oil communities by the oil companies (Hamilton, 2011).

On the question of unrealized pledges, the former minister of finance, Dr Ngonzi Okonjo-Iweala and the former president of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo agreed that Nigeria has continuously failed to honour her obligations to the people of the Niger Delta (*The Guardian*, Thursday, April 6, 2006). When the NDDC was established it got the mandate to develop the Niger Delta. It started well with the design of a master plan for the region which initially gave the hope of realizing pledges made by the government. But subsequent development indicates that despite the master plan that was put together by 32 sector consultants, it could not be implemented as initially designated (Idumange 2011).

Oil spillage occasioned by the process of oil exploration and exploitation in the Niger Delta has been of great concern to people of the region for decades. In 2005 alone 224 incidents of oil spill were reported. While human error, corrosion and equipment failure accounted for 38 percent, 62 percent were said to have resulted from sabotage. In 2006, Shell was convicted of alleged environmental pollution and ordered by a law court to pay $1.5 billion to communities in Bayelsa State but had failed to do so on the excuse that the Federal government that has 55% share of the

joint venture partnership will not be willing to honour its obligation to payment of the fine. When in 1998, about 40 youths of the Ijaw extraction met to make several declarations on how to save the region from further neglect which was termed 'Kaima Declaration[17]' the issue of oil spillage was one of the crucial points for deliberation. In a communique issued at the end of the meeting, it was observed that numerous oil spillages have taken place as a result of oil related activities in the Niger Delta (Tuodolo and Ogoriba, 1998). As part of efforts to rescue the environment from the grip of oil spillage of over five decades that the NDDC started the training of 135 youths from the nine member states of Niger Delta on the management, prevention and clean-up of the areas affected by oil spillage. Another environmental hazard is the question of gas flaring in the region. No less than 2.5 billion cubic feet per day of gas flaring takes place in the region making it among the two highest world gas flaring nations in the world, the other being Russia.

International laws on the environment call for respect for the environment. It was in pursuit of this that principle 21 and 22 of the 1972 Stockholm Declaration were entrenched which call for sustainable environment that is protected against damage and where damage inevitably occurs, due compensation should be paid to victims of pollution and other related environmental damages (Wunmi, 2002). But the oil exploration and exploitation activities in the Niger Delta appear to have little or no regards for environmental protection. Also on account of environmental neglect, report indicates that such neglect runs counter to the New Millennium Goals' expectations. Environmental sustainability is critical to the achievement of the New Millennium Goals (UNDP report, 2006). According to the report the Niger Delta region is made up of more than 70percent of the population who depend on the natural environment for survival. Experts were of the view that the oil exploration and production activities in the region has a corresponding negative effect on the productivity in the region in the areas of fisheries and related agricultural activities (Okoko, 1998, Aaron, 2006; Opukri and Ibaba, 2008). According to a UNDP Report, with more than 1,481 oil wells producing from 156 oil fields stretching over 7,000 kilometers of pipelines and flow lines 275 flow stations operated by over 13 oil companies in the region, the environment is compelled to face serious stress (UNDP Report, 2006). Eregha and Irughe (2009) observe that though the oil companies occupy about 5 percent of the land in the region, the negative effects of their activities in terms of environmental pollution cuts across the entire region. The pollution which consists of air, water, soil and noise pollution has been alleged to have degraded the environment significantly.

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[17] It was a declaration by Ijaw Youth Council in 1998 in Kaiama town that insisted on the control of the Ijaw oil by the Ijaw nation.

This was in addition to deforestation and eventual destruction of farmland that have collective negative effect on the environment (Ofehe, 1999). The construction of canal that made salt water to flow into the freshwater has also left the environment largely degraded especially in denying the oil communities access to reliable source of drinking water (Akpofure, 2008).

Enemaku (2006) agrees that though the oil companies pay compensations to some extent, the degree of extreme poverty the oil communities are faced with makes such compensation to be of no significance. He argues that the oil communities where oil is produced are underlined by absence of clean water, hospitals, good road network, and schools to mention but a few. This makes their compensation to be unfair as it does not help to advance the aspirations of the people of the oil communities. According to the UNDP Report, the people of the region lack access to farmland and consequently unable to provide for food and school fees for their wards of school age apart from proper shelter and inability to afford medical services when the need arises.

The oil communities were irked by the issue of unfair compensation as a result of oil exploration in their communities. According to the report of the Special Committee on Oil Producing Areas in 2006, government was accused of failing to provide for adequate compensation for the oil communities. The committee report observes that in 1958, 50percent of the revenues from oil and minerals were allocated to the areas from which these resources were extracted. But subsequent years witnessed progressive reduction on the percentage allocated to the communities concerned. In 1970, it was scaled down to 45 percent, 1975, it was 20percent. In 1979, it was completely abolished. It was later revived in 1982 to 10 percent, 1992, it was doubled to 3percent. In 1995 it was raised to 13percent where it stands till date.

Table 2.2 Oil Revenue sharing formula

Oil revenue sharing formula				
Year	**Federal**	**State***	**Local**	**Special Projects**	**Derivation Formula****
1958	40%	60%	0%	0%	50%
1968	80%	20%	0%	0%	10%
1977	75%	22%	3%	0%	10%
1982	55%	32.5%	10%	2.5%	10%
1989	50%	24%	15%	11%	10%
1995	48.5%	24%	20%	7.5%	13%
2001	48.5%	24%	20%	7.5%	13%

*State allocations are based on 5 criteria: equality (equal shares per state), population, social development, landmass, and revenue generation. **The derivation formula refers to the percentage of the revenue oil-producing states retain from taxes on oil and other natural resources produced in the state. World Bank Report*

Some decades after, Crisis Project Research (2010) observes that there are seven major causes of oil resource conflict in the region. They are 'rivalry between and among locals, creation of unsettled expectations, breach of perceived or real agreements, clash of values, rumour mongering and violence.'(p13). Enogholase (2000) maintains that government promises have hardly gone beyond mere rhetoric thus confirming long standing allegation of lack of adequate response to the infrastructural needs of the oil producing communities.

Efeotor (1995) remarks after an appraisal of the state of the relationship among the oil producing stakeholders that the best description for the state of the relationship as at 1995 was 'a state of war'(p26). Enemaku (2006) points out that if the state of relationship among the stakeholders in 1995 could best be described as a state of war, then as at 2006 it had widened into greater dimension. Enemaku's position is buttressed by the fact that the tempo of militancy was not as coordinated, sophisticated and equipped in 1995 as it turned out to be in 2006. It further suggests that the rift increases in complexity with the passage of time. This derives from the increase in the size of shipments of illegal weapons which include 'pump-action shotguns, AK-47s, FNCs, general purpose machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades' (Stephen, 2009, p32). A special report of the United States Institute for Peace (USIP) on the post amnesty programme as at May 2013 maintains that the major drivers for sustainable peace in the Niger Delta are yet to be in place. The report admits that much spending was going into the region but such spending lacks alignment with the developmental goal of the Niger Delta. The report concludes that with the lack of effective project supervision, ad hoc like kind of spending and non-transparency, the road to a long term peace destination appears to be fraught with grievous obstacles.

Beyond the perspective of the USIP, another major cause of the strain in the relationship between the various stakeholders to the oil production in the Niger Delta is rooted in land ownership title decree. The promulgation of Land Use Decree of 1978 now Land Use Act that gave government the power to take over ownership of land from the people was a tinder box of grievances with a sustained resentment by the oil rich communities against the government. The idea originally behind the promulgation of the Land Use Act on 26th March of 1978 then as a decree was to enable government to overcome the constraint associated with the acquisition of land for the purpose of development. It is believed that the Land Use Act has since its implementation and subsequent entrenchment in the 1979 and 1999 constitution been fraught with more problems than earlier envisaged (Uchendo, 1979; Mabogunje, 2002). The oil rich communities considered it to be highly

vexatious as it has also turned out to be an instrument of denial of their right of ownership to what by tenure system or heritage was naturally theirs yet without due compensation in the face of industrial hazards occasioned by oil production activities in the Niger Delta (Adebayo et al,2007). The introduction of the Land Use Act, tends to illegitimatize any claim by any of the oil rich communities to a fair share of the proceeds from oil wealth despite the intolerable level of devastation oil production activities have foisted on the region. The only ground on which claims to the ownership of land could be minimally tolerated would be only if any individual or community has a legal proof of ownership through certificate of occupancy issued by the government or presence of economic crops. Adebayo et al (2007) observe that what the oil communities get in return for complaints of neglect and industrial hazards was state sponsored military attack.

What has made the issue of Land Use Decree more worrisome is conjectured on the unprecedented level of deprivation it imposed on the people. Seen against the background of over-centralization of resources, Suberu (1996) believes it is highly disappointing. Osuntokun (2000) agrees that rather than power flowing from the regions it is appalling to find that it is evidently over-concentrated at the centre in a government configured on federal structure. Such is the case of the Land Use Decree as it disenfranchises the people from having effective control of their land and consequently associated resources. One particular case in point was the acquisition of land for Elf Petroleum Nigeria limited, also called IBEWA that consists of around 2,500metre square without compensation, (Anikpo, 1998).

The earlier endorsement of the Petroleum Decree No 51 of 1969 by the military government of General Yakubu Gowon could have laid the foundation for the Land Use Decree. The Petroleum Decree takes away the ownership and control of petroleum resources in any land in Nigeria from any individual, communities, local government and state government and invests the Federal Government with all rights and privileges thereto.

Revenue sharing formula left the oil producing state relatively ill compensated. The sharing formula leaves 45 per cent for the oil producing states with 55 per cent was reserved for Distributable Pool Amount. Between 1976 and 1979, the government of General Olusegun Obasanjo recognizes the difference between onshore and off-shore oil production which provides that 80 per cent of onshore revenue should be part of the Distributable Pool Amount leaving the oil producing states to contend with 20 per cent. Meanwhile all off-shore oil revenues were left in

the exclusive reserve of the Distributable Pool Amount. Derivation fund once had a pedigree of regular adjustment from 1.5 per cent between 1982 and 1992, 3per cent between 1993 and 1998 and later rose to 13percent. The failure of federal government to implement the 13 per cent opened the vista of agitation and gathering of the state governors around a common call for "resource control[18]'. Attempts to raise the derivation fund to 25 per cent with the hope of gradual rise to 50 per cent plummeted at the National Political Reform Conference convened for this purpose in 2005. The agitation for resource control is also attributed to non-implementation of the recommendations of the Committee on Oil Producing Areas which was set up by President Olusegun Obasanjo administration that submitted its report in 2002 but had its reports concealed till it was leaked to the press in 2006. This committee called for an upward review of the 13per cent derivation to no less than 50 per cent. It also called for the abrogation of the Land Use Act of 1978 and Petroleum Act of 1969.

Infrastructure underdevelopment is one of the major factors on the list of grievances the oil producing communities resent immensely. Idowu (2012) points out that some part of the region especially the riverine areas are faced with the paradox of dwelling in the midst of plenty of water but no water to drink. It reflects a society that is the source of wealth in which the majority of the residents are poor. Idowu believes that the riverine areas especially have been faced with serious economic and social deficiency despite the fact that they have been responsible for the creation of the oil wealth that drives the Nigerian economy. Part of the industrial side effect is the water and soil pollution that makes it impossible for domestic water to be sourced. Omofonwan and Odia (2009) agree that among other factors that have contributed to the grievances of the oil communities were the 'problem of environmental degradation, poor health facilities, transportation problems, poor housing and power supply' (p2). Human Rights Watch agrees that the grievances of the oil producing communities can be fundamentally traced to deficit in the source of revenue attributed to lack of compensation for use of 'community or family resources, health problem or damage to fishing, hunting or cultivation' as a result of gas flares or oil spill(p2). It is not out of

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[18] Resource control is the leverage or independent influence the owners of land where oil resource is tapped exercise over the oil wealth in their land in the promotion of their collective aspirations. Robert and Oladeji (2005) and Ya'u (2001) agree that it is the measure of access or control the oil rich communities have over the oil resource without intrusion from the federal government. It advocates against land use acts or decree, and calls for all land owners to absolutely enjoy the fruits of oil resource in their land without any encumbrance.

place to conclude that the state of infrastructure largely reflects the context of neglect which is capable of breeding dissatisfaction and in turn agitation for redress of the degradation.

2.4 Dissatisfaction, oil wealth distribution and diverse reactions from oil rich communities

The oil bearing communities who were inspired by grievances arising from the approach by government and the oil companies to their cry had to devise ways of making their feelings felt. Their reactions came in varied forms and stretches over four decades till now. The first attempt was the agitation for an independent state championed by Adaka Isaac Boro in 1966. Following was the Ken Saro Wiwa era that took the campaign against the government and the oil companies on issue of environmental and socio-economic degradation of the Niger Delta to the international attention. This was followed in subsequent years by introduction of the then Kiama declaration of the Ijaw Youth Council. Later, series of militarized confrontations by the militant youths mainly of Ijaw extraction widen the circle of the campaign against what the oil communities perceived to be the socio-economic injustice of the oil companies under the cooperation of the government of the day.

2.4.1 Isaac Adaka Boro and the struggle for self-determination

Between 1965 and 1966, the struggle for self- determination under the leadership of Isaac Adaka Boro was prominent in the history of Niger Delta. Disgusted with the state of environmental degradation against the background of inequitable distribution of resources, Adaka Boro of Ijaw extraction felt it was no longer necessary to continue under the domination of the large ethnic groups. The large ethnic group refers to the majority group that consists of the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba ethnic nationalities.

Boro who began his career as a teacher later enlisted in the police at Port Harcourt. But he was discharged from the police on his return from Western Cameroon where he had gone to teach at the Man O'War Bay Character and Leadership Center, consequently he enrolled with the University of Nigeria, Nsukka to study chemistry.

To garner support for his cause Boro sought to incorporate the Cuban embassy in Ghana but this could not go as he planned. He had to recruit about 150 youths under the umbrella name of Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF) whom he made to undertake training on how to operate firearms and related explosives. Towards the end of the second month of 1966, he led his NDVF group on a successful attack on a police station at Yenagoa, took possession of their armoury and with their

new cache of weapon blew up some oil pipelines. He was captured, tried and found guilty of treason and consequently sentenced to death by hanging. However, Gowon's administration granted him amnesty (Davis, 2009 and Idowu, 2012).

2.4.2 Kenule Saro-Wiwa and Niger Delta Struggle

With the continued state of environmental degradation in the region, the Ogonis under the leadership of Kenule Saro-Wiwa started another phase of social dialogue with the oil companies and the government in order to access remediation (Davis, 2009). Saro Wiwa, an author and playwright under the umbrella of a social movement known as Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) took their agitation to the corridor of the United Nation using more of intellectual strategies than militancy. Davis mentions that Ken Saro Wiwa's movement eventually introduced the Ogoni Bill of Rights in 1990 which sought from the federal government proper representation of the Ogonis, freedom of worship and the freedom to protect the environment.

The Ogoni Bill of Rights appears to have multiplier effects on the region through replication of similar concept in different ethnic nationalities in the Niger Delta. History cannot forget the Kaiama Declaration which was the brainchild of the Niger Delta youths that had sought to have ownership of the oil resources through their campaign theme, '100 reasons why we want our resources' which was more of a follow up to the Ogoni Bill of Rights. The Oron Bill of Rights of Akwa Ibom State that canvassed economic self-determination and the Warri Accord which was of the Itsekiri origin in Delta State, whose goal was on how to secure optimal advantage from the oil production in the Itsekiri ethnic nationality. Thus rather than a parade of a united region centric social movement, they were in fragmented forms that had the coloration of micro-interest that lack proper representation of the whole region.

According to Davis, when the federal government failed to give the movement the desired attention, the oil companies, especially SPDC became the prime target of the agitation. The singular message was that the Ogonis produce enormous wealth for the nation yet the oil rich communities wallow in abject poverty in an environment that has been significantly polluted and stimulated socio-economic dislocation.

The crowning point was the demand for $10billion by Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) from three major oil companies including SPDC, Chevron and Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), the then tri-joint venture partners, as arrears of royalties, and

general compensations with an injunction asking for urgent end to further environmental abuse(Davis,2009). In course of the struggle what had originally be expressed through peaceful dialogue escalated when a mob of youths brutally killed four members of the Ogoni community on suspicion of collaboration with the government against the overall goal of the movement. This was subsequent to the arrest and detention of Ken Saro Wiwa by military in response to a demonstration earlier mounted against the government and the oil companies. Without the right of appeal, the government of Sanni Abacha ratified the extra-judicial death sentence passed on Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other indigenes of the Ogoni community that were arrested with Ken Saro Wiwa. They were eventually executed on November 10, 1995 even in the face of international pressure to the contrary (Madjd-Sadjadi and Karagiannis, 2011 and Davis 2009).

2.4.3 Pressure groups and social movements in the Niger Delta

As part of the reaction from the oil rich communities, various forms of pressure groups and social movements rose to further the cause for remediation of social and economic imbalance associated with oil exploration and exploitation in the region. The pressure groups which mainly appear to be of Ijaw extraction, not only stimulated international concern but offer significant stimulus to macro socio-economic changes in the entire region.

Between 1998 and 1999, the oil communities became highly radicalized. This gave rise to series of violent protest in the region and massive mobilization against the then government of Sani Abacha with the Ijaw Youth Council playing a central role. According to a study, between 1998 and 2003 the region witnessed more than 400 cases of oil pipelines vandalism (Irobi, 2010). Within the period in question, the study indicates that the loss of revenue to the government owing to influence of violence and militancy rose to $6.8 billion. In 2006, the activities of the pressure militia groups brought the federal government a loss of N500 billion. An estimated further loss of $28billion from oil that could not be produced in 2008, in addition to oil theft worth of $6.3 billion were part of the negative contribution of the pressure groups to the national economy (Okeke, 2008, Duggan 2009).

The modern day pressure groups appear to have borrowed inspiration from Isaac Adaka Boro's creation of NDVF. Prominent among the pressure groups was the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) and Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF). The activities of MEND rose from obscurity to the limelight immediately after the arrest and detention of Mujahid Asari Dokubo, leader of the (NDPVF) in 2005. The activities of MEND significantly

brought oil production down by about 500,000 barrels per day (bpd) in 2006 which consequently raise the price of crude oil per barrel at the global oil market (Gbomo, 2007). In 2008, MEND declared what the group called 'oil war' in the entire region. This declaration of war implies attack on production facilities, oil pipelines and the Nigerian soldiers. MEND had to resort to disruption of oil production, kidnapping of oil staff and outright militarized face off with the Nigeria government to express their indignation to the Federal Government and oil companies that have a stake in the oil production in the Niger Delta. Though the activities of MEND were widely believed to have compelled the Federal Government to turn in the amnesty programme, the question of inequality and unfair distribution of resources do not appear to be resolved as pointed out elsewhere in this chapter. MEND and NDPVF may have often be passed for a cult gang, they are the two widely popular militias in the Niger Delta, committed to arms struggle with the government authorities against inequities in the distribution of oil wealth in the region. MEND sought to wrest the ultimate control of resources from the government and give it to the oil rich communities.

Figure 2.1 MEND

While MEND has resolved to stop arms struggle and abide by the UN weapon annihilation, it is not quite certain if NDPVF has openly made similar commitment. NDPVF which was named after the Isaac Boro's NPDF is alleged to have worked with MEND and sometimes with government as an instrument of attack against rival group (Gbomo, 2007).

2.5 Government response towards the needs of the oil rich communities

Faced with expression of displeasure by the oil producing communities, government made some attempts that appears to be in response to the socio-economic needs of the Niger Delta through different development oriented platforms at various times. Government response in this context

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was a mix bag of 'sticks' and 'carrots'. While the sticks appear to be punitive, the carrots reflect some measures of incentive.

Major sticks involve militarized approach with the hope of securing solution to the expression of dissatisfaction to socio-economic neglect of the over four decades in the region. Put more succinctly, Idowu (2012) maintains that 'when they ask for reparation and compensation they get sudden visit from soldiers' (p 103). Hamilton (2011) agrees that government reaction to the oil communities' demands has been pillared on 'coercion and threat' (p 7). Evidence tends to suggest that the importation of arms on behalf of the Nigeria Police by the Shell Petroleum Development Company, SPDC was a further attempt to promote the tradition of intimidation and threat against the oil rich communities, (Human Rights Watch, 1999, p 174).

Fig 2.2 Militarized response to the Niger Delta crisis

The roll call of the incidents of use of sticks on the oil rich communities appears to be endless. In 1990, following a peaceful protest by the youths against SPDC near one of its premises, teargas and thunderous sound of gunfire was the response. The episode turned sour the following day when the mobile policemen came shooting indiscriminately resulting to the death of some persons. The incident when investigated could not establish any evidence of threat from the communities but found that the acts of the police amounted to ruthlessness and out right recklessness but no compensation was paid for this purpose even when none of offending police was prosecuted (Guardian, 2000). Eight youths in Bayelsa who attempted to close down Agip Oil station in protest in Brass were shot dead in April 2001.

The faceoff between government and the people of Odi represents another case of the use of sticks. Though it was alleged that the Odi town, an oil bearing community had previously been involved

in the killing of about five soldiers in a violent encounter with the military, government deployment of reinforced military personnel to wipe out the entire community(Obi,2006).

The carrots' measures that appear to portray the façade of public relations influence included the establishment of development commissions and later the amnesty programme. The decision of the government to respond to the need of the Niger Delta region was partly fueled by pressure from the oil producing communities as well as third parties such as the United Nation and other forms of international influence. The responses were cosmetic and reactionary rather than proactive as they were built on the lip service structure (Akinyele, 2006, Adebayo et al 2007). More importantly the various interventions were described as lacking the necessary infrastructure to align with the development master plan for the region

In a United Nation Development Programme report of 2006, it was observed that peace was highly essential to any meaningful development. The report maintains that the past development plan of the Niger Delta has failed, which compelled the need for paradigm shift if the development need of the region must be addressed. The report identified a seven –point agenda that would serve as a rallying point for the integration of all stakeholders in the region including government at all levels, the development commission known as NDDC, the oil companies and others with commitment to the development of the region for the purpose of driving development process in the Niger Delta (p4).

The seven-point agenda consists of the following:

1) Promotion of peace as a condition for development.
2) Government should be people oriented
3) Diversification of the economy
4) Promotion and improved access to social services
5) Promotion of sustainable environment that protects the peoples means of livelihood
6) Encourage concerted method of dealing with HIV/AIDS
7) Enduring joint effort towards human capital development

Other instruments for that helped to shape the thought towards the promotion of environmentally friendly region include the *Banjul Charter* which is built on article 24 of the African Charter on human and peoples' rights which canvases for a friendly environment for meaningful development (Amechi, 2009 p109)

Following obvious grievances by the oil rich communities, the Willink Commission was set up in 1957 by the colonial administration to draw up the necessary blueprint for the development of the region. The Willink's Commission's report of 1958 delineates the socio-economic needs of the people resident in the creeks and swamps as more complex than those who live in the interior Niger Delta. It was part of the recommendations of the commission that prompted the government to establish the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDB) in 1961. NDDB was marked with failed attempts to address the problem of the Niger Delta. This failure led to the establishment of Niger Delta Basin Development Authority (NDBDA) in 1976. The board also failed thereby giving leverage to government for the establishment of Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC).

The establishment of OMPADEC in July 1979 was with the mandate to evolve measures for addressing ecological problems associated with oil exploration as well as to develop and rehabilitate the Niger Delta that had succumbed to infrastructural neglect and degradation for over four decades. To achieve its mandate, OMPADEC was to collect and judiciously manage the monthly allocation from the Federation Account in line with the certified proportion of oil production in each of the nine states in the Niger Delta. Despite its access to initial 3percent and later 6percent of the revenue that comes to the region it was evident that the Commission which has received over US$135million between 1993 and 1997, could not lay claim to any visible impact of its presence in the Niger Delta. Sadly, when the Commission was to wind up, it had already accumulated a legacy of billions of naira debts arising from unpaid but partially executed contracts in the face of wanton reckless waste of allocated funds by officials of the commission. Recounting his experience, the then Chief Executive Officer of the Commission observes that the absence of data especially on crude oil production, inadequate funding and high amount of requests were to blame for the failure of OMPADEC to actualize its set goals (UNDP Report, 2006).

The failure of OMPADEC to meet the needs of the Niger Delta people was the trigger for the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission, NDDC in 2000 by the Obasanjo led administration (Omofonma and Odia 2009). According to the UNDP report, (2006), at its inception, the Federal Government gave the commission the mandate of achieving the following goals:

- Social and physical infrastructures

- Economic and environmental remediation
- Human capital development
- Peaceful environment for tourism and cultural vitality

To achieve its mandates, the commission has to rely on financial support from the Federal Government, the oil companies and the Ecological Trust Fund.   At inception, the commission appears to have started well with the design of the Niger Delta master plan which was inspired largely by the mandate it was given by the government. The master plan which eventually turned out to be the benchmark for evaluating the performance of the commission outlines road construction, rural-urban water projects, shoreline security, repairs of schools and health centres and human capital development as areas of focus. In 2006 alone it initiated 122 projects and eventually commissioned 67 of them. However, during the same year, the nation witnessed daily loss of 211,000 barrels of crude oil as January and as April crude oil loss has risen to 650,000bpd, as a result of attacks from militants (Punch, Jan 18, 2006 and New Age, April   28, 2006). This was an indication of the failure of NDDC to fulfill its peaceful environment agenda. Idowu admits that some of the major problems of NDDC included 'inadequate supervision and politicization of projects' (p 105). Also implicated as part of its challenges, NDDC had funding problem (UNDP, 2006). According UNDP report, the commission was perceived by the people as government pro and its constitution being mainly Federal Government staff had conclusively made it to be regarded as serving government interest at the expense of the local oil producing communities. The UNDP report observes that the NDDC officials further escalated the issue of marginalization and neglect owing to their inability to use their good offices to address the needs and aspiration of the people. The report further argues that because its projects were not people oriented, they were found to be out of tune with the needs of the people hence desired impact could not be realized.

The failure to realize desired impact suggests that most of the changes were not revolutionary but mere change of name of the various commissions as in most cases the management, personnel policy, operational and strategic policies remain unchanged. With such development, it becomes difficult for a paradigm shift to evolve as the saying goes that it is not possible to expect a different result if there is no change of formula for doing the same thing.

2.6 Amnesty programme and long term relationship

The effort of the government towards addressing the socio economic needs of the oil rich communities was crowned with the introduction of amnesty programme by the government of

Umaru Musa Yar'Adua in May 2007. The idea behind the amnesty concept was borne out of the understanding that the previous interventions have failed to evolve the needed long term positive relationship for all the oil stakeholders. Besides, there were sufficient indications of threat to law and order, peace and security in the region prompting government to constitute a technical committee (Chiedozie, 2008).

The Niger-Delta Technical Committee that was set up to aggregate and study all past reports and recommendations in order to fashion out an enduring peace initiative in the region gave birth to the Presidential Committee on Amnesty and Disarmament of the militants in the Niger Delta. The committee which was commissioned to create a blueprint of disarmament, demobilization and rehabilitation of the militants resulted in the presidential declaration of the amnesty on June 25, 2009 that would expire on October 4, 2009.

Widespread allegation of failure of the amnesty programme to address the fundamental issues for which it was established has placed so much doubt on its claim to a successful implementation. According to the USIP special report (2013) the amnesty programme could not resolve the issue of inequality, corruption, under-development, youth unemployment, crime, environmental and economic dislocation. Rather than resolve the crises, amnesty benefits were believed to have been skewed in favour of a paltry segment of the Niger Delta making others to evolve illegal refineries which has consequently opened the door to a daily financial loss of no less than US$1.5million to the nation (Idowu, 2012 p106). The UNDP report concludes that though much money has gone into the programme, its projects and activities do not ally with the aspiration and development plan of the region. This development gap points to the absence of a mutually beneficial relationship among the stakeholders to the oil sector.

2.7 Conclusion
The discovery of oil in the Niger Delta was expected to be a window to fulfilment of the aspirations of the various strategic stakeholders to oil production in the region. The eventual development subsequent to the oil production activities point to inequitable distribution of the oil wealth and in a bid to cover up the government and the oil companies appear to be caught in a web of conspiracy that left the oil communities in infrastructural and macro-socio-economic deficit. The oil communities are left with no choice than to resort to various stages of struggles in a bid to bring the wealth distribution scale on a balance and secure their rights and privileges as strategic stakeholders in the control and management of the oil production activities and oil resource. The

scenario in the public relations world view shows that there is a relationship between the model of public relations practice of the government and of the oil companies in the oil communities and sustainable peaceful co-existence.

3.0 Chapter Three- Literature Review

3.1 Concepts and Models of Public Relations for Peace Negotiation

This section presents literature review on the linkage between public relations, conflict formation, peace building strategy and associated theoretical support. The review focuses on literature that provides answers to questions associated with *public relations, media and peace negotiation.* The underlying objectives as indicated in chapter one are: One, to establish the nature of public relations practice that the government and the oil companies have carried out in relation to the oil rich communities in the Niger Delta. And two, to establish the contribution the nature of public relations practice has made towards a long term peace building process in the oil producing areas. It is expected that because public relations principle promotes activities deliberately directed at achieving peace or balance of interest among stakeholders, through positive relationship, literature review was undertaken to establish if there is any relationship between public relations and peace building in the Niger Delta region (Moloney 2000). Drawing from a broad range of areas of related literature, the review explores the use of public relations in peace-building process in the context of strategies that are dependent on the media for the construction and achievement of mutual understanding.

Significantly, this review portrays a triad relationship between public relations, media and peaceful co-existence in a multi-cultural society. This derives from the understanding that every organisation or individual is involved in one relationship or the other, whether positive or negative that consequently affects or affected by the linkage to other members of the society who are strategic to the survival and or growth of the organisation or individual (Clarkson, 1995). However, rather than relate equally with all members of the society, some authorities believe that the effectiveness of the organisation or individual requires that concentration should be given to the part of the society that is strategic to its existence (Grunig, Grunig & Ehling, 1992). This has been described as strategic constituency style of public relations. However, concentration on a part of the society that management considered to be strategic to its survival alone can be misleading

as issue based style and adaptation style are equally critical when evaluating the effectiveness of an organisation or individual relationship with its publics. Effectiveness in this context is measured by the extent to which the organisation or individual is able to sustain peaceful co-existence with relevant publics in the process of achieving defined objectives by way of the type of public relations model adopted.

Peaceful co-existence in this setting represents relationship induced harmony between organisations and their relevant publics. Assumption is that the absence of peaceful co-existence tends to have a direct relationship with disequilibrium in the distribution of oil resources among stakeholders especially as in the case of the Niger Delta. The review covered the following areas namely: public relations, theoretical framework of the study, public relations media and messages, public opinion, social movement and conflict formation as relate to the research questions that drive this thesis writing. Other areas in the literature review include, colonialism, neo-colonialism, political economy, globalisation and public relations and peace building paradigm, conflict resolution and public relations.

3.1 Public Relations

In this section the literature review offers insight into the concept, evolution, importance of public relations, philosophy and theories of public relations. Conceptually, public relations has been variously defined from the management and communication perspectives. For the purpose of establishing the concept of public relations, some definitions are indicated below.

The Public Relations Consultants Association (2012) maintains that:

Public relations is all about reputation. It's the result of what you do,

what you say, and what others say about you. It is used to gain trust

and understanding between an organisation and its various publics

whether that's employees, customers, investors, the local community or

all of those stakeholder groups.

L'Etang (2009:13-18) defines public relations as:

The occupation responsible for the management of organisational

relationships and reputation. It encompasses issues management,

public affairs, corporate communications, stakeholder relations,

risk communication and corporate social responsibility. Public

relations operates on behalf of many different types of organisation

both at governmental and corporate level, to small business and voluntary

sectors. Public relations arises at points of societal change and resistance

The World Assembly of Public Relations Association (1978) in Mexico observe that:

Public relations practice is the art and social science of analyzing

trends, predicting their consequences, counselling organisation

leaders, and implementing planned programme of action

which will serve both the organisations and the public interest.

From the foregoing three definitions of public relations, it is clear that public relations helps organisations to build reputations, secure public trust for organisations and management of relationships. It achieves its goal through analysis of trends and issues of public interest and relies on available feedback to provide public friendly counsel to top management in order to establish and maintain mutual understanding between the organisation and its target publics. Public relations is about consistent interaction between an individual or organisation and the relevant publics through organised process of communication and top management counselling on public friendly policy with the potential of securing mutually satisfactory relationship for such organisation and its publics (Hendrix and Hayes 2007). Scholars believe that for public relations to be effective as a counselling function, it should be empowered to have a seat in top management meetings or at worse have the opportunity to report to senior managers (L. Grunig, J. Grunig, and Dozier, 2002). The scholars argue that unless public relations is included in strategic decision making process, it will be difficult for it to assist organisations to have respect for issues that affect strategic publics of such organisations (op cit.). Dozier and Grunig (1992) stress that public relations should be situated high in the hierarchy of organisations in order to enable its practitioner participate in strategic decision making processes that affect the publics.

The relevance of public relations to organisations or individuals has often been misunderstood to be more in the negative than in the positive contribution. This is the basis for the constant call for a paradigm shift in the public relations functions in order for its functions to reflect its positive contributions to organisations or individuals represented. Fundamentally, Grunig et al (1998) discovered through their excellence theory study that the value of public relations functions can

only be more felt when it is involved in strategic management. Falconi (2004) argues that public relations has to prove to be effective by making practitioners to be accountable for the resources they are given to manage. Butschi (2004) maintains that public relations is faced with constant demands from top management for a proof of their relevance in terms of the huge financial investment into their functions. Steyn (2003) believes that public relations functions contribute to organisation at three levels. They are the level of a strategist, manager and technician levels. Public relations relevance therefore is greatly seen against the background of the following three-way approach in establishing and sustaining positive relationship between an individual or organisation and the relevant publics (Steyn, 2000): Strategist, manager and technician approach to public relations contribution. As a strategist, Steyn (2000a) maintains that public relations roles in the organisation are two-fold; First, it involves monitoring relevant environmental changes and anticipating their consequences for organisations' policies and practices especially as they relate to stakeholders. It means information gathering on behalf of the organisation in relations to strategic stakeholders in order to provide input for top management policy formulations. Secondly according to Steyn, it is the managerial roles which mainly involves information disposal support to the organisation.

The managerial approach involves developing corporate communication policy for the organisation. The basic goal of the corporate communication policy is to establish what should be communicated to stakeholders, identify conflict and resolve such conflict while doing the best to assist organisation to take the best advantage of opportunities available. The technician approach involves implementation of corporate plans and tactics as agreed upon by top management of the organisation in relations to stakeholders.

Public relations evolves from different disciplinary backgrounds as people from other disciplines have often been actively involved in shaping the process of public relations development. This has in turn brought in different perspectives to public relations (Seitel, 2003). Seitel observes that a large percentage of those who have showed proven commitment to practice of public relations were from professional backgrounds other than public relations namely law, marketing and management. This divergent background did not foreclose the need for a universal definition of public relations. The search for a universal definition, as Seitel further notes, brought sixty-five public relations gurus into a common front in 1975 to evaluate 472 definitions of public relations.

The result of this effort was an 88-word definition of public relations that attributes public relations to management function for the purpose of achieving reciprocal relationship between an organisation and its publics (Seitel, 2003). The fundamental import of this definition is that public relations practice is a sustained relationship built on goodwill as approved by top management with the principal aim of fulfilling the interest of both organisation and its publics equitably. Further implication of the definition is that equitable fulfillment of the interest of all stakeholders provides the basis for harmony amongst all stakeholders, which ultimately is the harbinger of peace (Heilder,1958). But the question is how many public relations programmes are committed to achieving a balanced and ethically motivated relationship between organisations and their publics? Concluding, Seitel maintains that the goal of public relations is to achieve harmony between an organisation and its publics. This implies that harmony is the product of a successful public relations activities, a reflection of a long term mutually beneficial relationship and a stable peaceful co-existence. Conversely, it suggests that the absence of harmony in the relationship between an organisation and its publics is an indication of failure of public relations to achieve its goals, which means absence of a friendly relationship and by extension denial of peace driven relationship.

The cause of the failure of public relations functions to achieve their set goals in the past has often been difficult to establish. However most significantly, since the study conducted by Grunig and Dosier (2002) which ushered in the two-way symmetrical model of public relations, the nature of public relations with regards to its models has been a great suspect. The significance of the two-way symmetrical model is underscored by its popularity among post-Grunig study public relations scholars who believe this model has made organisation more effective (Taylor, Kent and White,2001). The two-way symmetrical model supports the process of peace building through search for equilibrium point through mutual cooperation and adjustment between organisations and their publics, especially the strategic ones (Pauline, 2012). Thus it is curious to establish if in the Niger Delta, the right model of public relations has ever been applied or not. If it was why was there lack of free flow of information among the oil companies, government and the oil communities as is characteristic of two-way symmetrical model of public relations? Also significant, if there was equilibrium in the relationship there would have been hope for peaceful co-existence as propounded in the two-way symmetrical study. The question of inequality and un-ethical practices have been found to be part of the reason for the Niger Delta crisis. The promotion

of inequality and un-ethical practices are not in tandem with the two-symmetrical nor system theory as introduced below which again calls to mind the question of the nature of public relations practice in the Niger Delta on oil related issue in relations to the relationship among the major stakeholders to the oil production and exploration in the Niger Delta.

Public relations relies on certain roles which have the potentials for achieving positive long term relationship between organisations and their respective publics especially when peaceful co-existence is the destination. According to Black (1989) these roles which are thirteen in number, include: counseling, analysis of future trends, prediction of consequences, research into public attitudes and expectation, advising on necessary action, two-way communication based on truth and full information, prevention of conflict and misunderstanding, promotion of mutual respect and social responsibility, harmonizing the private and public interest, promoting goodwill with staff, suppliers and customers, improving industrial relations, promotion of products and services. Others are attracting good personnel and reducing labour turn over, maximizing profitability and projecting corporate identity. Lattimore et al (2007) agree with Black on the above classification but add web site development and web interface which brings the number of the roles to 15. These two were not directly indicated in Black's classification. The thrust of public relations, from the list of the role classification suggests that if given the right operating environment public relations has the capacity for proactively preventing conflict through the promotion of goodwill, mutual respect for stakeholders and social responsibility.

Sustained culture of conflict prevention provides the basis for an enduring crisis free relationship between an organisation and its publics. But how much of this tradition has endured through the years? The answer to the foregoing question appears to be found in the various historical eras in which public relations operated. The review of literature here is aimed at establishing historically the relationship between time-related changes and effect of such changes on the practice of public relations.

The history of public relations practice suggests a gradual transition from the reactive to proactive oriented public relations strategies (Roach, 2008). It is also regarded as a movement from messaging-oriented, publicity-oriented and media relations- oriented public relations strategies to a strategic management role (Grunig and Dozier, 2002). Scholars regard these four stages in the

transition history of public relations as representing different forms of public relations practices (Grunig and Hunt,1984). These again represent progression from the worst stage to the best stage or from the crude to the refined, of public relations practice (Brown, 2003). Grunig and Dozier appear to reflect on the public relations practice that was popularly known as 'errand boy public relations practice' in the developing world. Roach points out that the initial place of public relations was unilaterally protective of organisations' interest against the interest of their publics especially external publics. The practice of exclusive protection of corporate interest, as he further posits, consigned public relations to an instrument in the exclusive control of organisations that ultimately engage the journalists in the use of the media to fight for corporate interest without taking into cognizance the interest of the publics. This type of public relations practice represents the press agentry model of public relations which tries to seek media attention in any way possible (Grunig and Hunt, 1984). They further point out that such type of public relations practice is one-way, which is source to receiver model of communication only. It is regarded as not only reactive public relations but, a lopsided public relations practice in its pursuit of stakeholders' interest (Heider, 1958, p176). This model of public relations practice appears to be persistently suspect in the context of the Niger Delta question hence the continuing breach of peace in the region because research tends to suggest the need for a reconstructed public relations practice that is balanced in terms of communication direction and purpose (Grunig and Dozier, 2002).

Lopsided public relations approach appears to have accounted for the prominence of un-ethical persuasion and bare faced propaganda in the early history of public relations practice. Lamme and Russell (2010) maintain that public relations began with the aim of generating change of public attitude in the direction of organisations' interest. They argue that rapport cultivation was not evident in the public relations practice during the early years of public relations practice. At this point in history, public relations practice was believed to be fashioned after rhetoric and press agentry (Lattimore et al, 2007). Lack of balance in the interest of organisations and their publics with emphasis on how to sway public opinion in favour of organisations' interest was believed to be predominant during this period. Consequently, public relations had to rely on persuasive strategies occasioning the culture of rhetoric, speech making as well as strategic training on persuasive skills. The underlying inspiration as Lattimore et al observe, is the model of Plato which derived from his *School of Rhetoric* of 427 to 347 BC then in Greece. However, Lattimore et al

maintain, that of greater influence was Gorgias of Leontinium, the acknowledged chief public speaker of Sicily.

During the press agentry age[19], Barnum, P.T was highly reputed as a press agentry chieftain going by the works he promoted. According to Lattimore et al (2007), the works promoted included, General Motors, Tom Thumb, Jenny Lind, the Swedish Nightingale, Jumbo the elephant and Joyce Health. Quoting the *London Times,* Lattimore et al conclude that at his death, he left behind the legacy of a 'harmless deceiver' (Lattimore, 2007, p 22). It was widely believed as Lattimore et al note that the rhetoric and press agentry phase had much respect for public opinion as every public issue was made to go through public approval for it to gain legitimacy. Evidently, instead of encouraging active publics through participatory role, publics were consigned to a passive role but would have to be persuaded to agree on matter whose decision had already been taken. Lattimore et al argue that press agentry may have been effective for the promotion of entertainment and sports but lacks the potential for supporting business and politics positively. Lattimore et al conclude that press agentry has the potential for negative public influence which may lack ethical appeal but pursue certain narrow minded goals especially that of organisation to the exclusion of the publics. The obvious defect of this era of public relations practice was the use of publicity to gain cover-up for disguised self-oriented parochial interest through the instrumentality of propaganda with the tendency to take an undue advantage of the publics. Reddi (2009, p35) believes that propaganda as the extraction of ancient Greece, was popularized by the 'Roman Empire and the early Christians' later found it useful for American and French Revolution, and negatively much subsequently in use in the Napoleonic campaign.

The foregoing historical picture of public relations practice appears to be underscored by communal disequilibrium among stakeholders. It is evident that disequilibrium among stakeholders naturally serves as a breeding ground for dissatisfaction by the segment of the stakeholders that do not find their interest represented in a general pool of common interest. Consequently, this translates to absence of enduring peaceful environment on the long run especially in terms of protection of corporate interest. Roach refers to this as the exclusion of

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[19] Press agentry as Grunig, J. and Hunt (1984) tried to identify the different forms of public relations practice is one of the four models of public relations practice. This model represents the public relations practice with propaganda orientation which seeks media attention for organisations. Grunig and Hunt believe this model uses one-way approach since it does not have shared attention for the organisation and the publics.

public relations input in the process of policy formulation because in practice, public relations function is equal attention to the interest of all stakeholders. He argues that ironically, the public relations professional is often deployed when relationship has gone sour and there is the need for repair. Further, this position was vibrant in the *excellence theory*[20] project of Grunig as the thrust of this excellence theory did not support the use of public relations functions as messaging, publicity and media relations (Grunig and Dozier 2002). Messaging, publicity and media relations collectively represent the out dated public relations practice which has the interest of organisation at the centre to the disadvantage of its publics. This practice of public relations mainly emphasizes creation of messages, campaign and effects of media on audiences (Bruning & Ledingham, 2000; Ledingham & Bruning, 1998). Roach concludes by advocating that public relations has increasingly been faced in the 21 Century with not only the need to be proactive but to balance the various interests of all the publics with that of organisations. This is the basis for a call for a new model of public relations practice that evolved the strategic public relations management (J. Grunig and Hunt (1984).

The absence of proactive public relations practice[21] and lack of proper representation of stakeholders' interest appear to be responsible for ineffectiveness of some of the PR practices in Nigeria, especially in the Niger Delta region. This position is strengthened by the resonating cry of neglect and exploitation by oil rich communities on one hand and the claim by oil producing companies and government through inundated media campaign to adequate compensation of the oil bearing communities in the past five decades. A more probable suspect is the use of *spin* in public relations practice in this region. Spinning the fact according to Seitel (2003) became associated with public relations practice when a public personality lies in order to deceive the publics. Public relations spin is the deliberate twisting of messages to create the impression of accomplishment of result which may be far from the reality. Seitel argues that 'if you lie once, you will never be trusted again' (p11). If history must have positive alteration on the practice of public

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[20] Excellence theory is the aggregation of all strategic management theories of public relations into one. It incorporates both the situational theory and models of public relations which serve as the fundamental knowledge of public relations strategy (J. Grunig, 1997). It was a product of the reconceptualization of public relations as advocated by Grunig, J and Hunt (1984). It stimulated a shift in the public relations models from being mainly a producer of messages, campaign and media effects on audiences to management of communication between an organisation and its publics.

[21] Proactive public relations practice is acting ahead of time and consequently preventing relationships from degenerating into crisis situation. It is a practice that tends to distinguish the modern public relations practice from the old.

relations it should be in placing emphasis on not only proactive but ethical public relations practice that seeks to establish and sustain equal commitment to the interest of an organisation and its publics (Seitel, 2003).

The succeeding phase, according to Lattimore et al (2007) was around the end of 19th century. This era as they claim called for a new model of public relations practice in response to the effect of industrial revolution. They observe that there was an increasing downward trend in societal harmony occasioned by the inevitable side effects that the industrial revolution had brought upon society. Organisations sought a different direction in the application of public relations in order to cope effectively with the challenges posed by government regulations, emergence and growth of workers' union and its associated industrial disputes and media criticism of lack of corporate social responsibility (Lattimore et al 2007 p22).   This era brought the relevance of sustaining public cooperation to the fore. Seitel (2003, p32) recalls that for organisations to secure public cooperation, they found solace in truthfulness and openness thereby abandoning the practice of secrecy that had earlier characterized the preceding era of interaction between organisations and their relevant publics. The practice of secrecy in government interface with the publics in Nigeria has continued to subsist which has consequently placed stress on government directed public confidence especially in the oil sector. Ivy Lebetter Lee, as Seitel (2003) Lattimore et al (2007) and Reddi (2009) agree that the public relations practice that became highly prominent in this era was the public relations model which was pillared by the philosophy of full public information as a way of gaining favourable public reception and sympathy. It was the era when organisation or persons sought to use public relations in order to make profit, recruitment, legitimacy or be part of a collective pool of ideas through the instrumentality of advocacy and public campaign (Brown, 2004). Brown argues that this form of public relations which became increasingly fashionable uses tactics that could be considered as alternative or compliments to coercion. Lee who was once a reporter to the Wall Street Journal moved into the business of publicity in 1903 by founding Harris and Lee in 1916 after his partnership attempt with George Parker under Parker and Lee in 1904 fell through (Reddi 2009, p34). In 1906 however, Lee got his first major consulting job from the Anthracite Coal Industry where he utilized his new public relations model to conquer the raging industrial disputes in the coal industry in order to establish industrial harmony. This model which

was built on his *declaration of principles* of 1906[22], became a defining moment for public relations development for which Lee was accorded the father of modern public relations. The change from ancient to modern public relations was largely underscored by Lee's emphasis on the tradition of making all relevant facts available to the public instead of a secrecy tradition that had hitherto dominated the public relations scene. Seitel (2003, p34) observes that Lee will continue to enjoy not only the legacy of pioneering 'honesty and candour' but professionalism in the practice of public relations.   Lee, according to Reddi, got many more public relations accounts after his success story at the anthracite coal industry including that of John D. Rockefeller Jr. of 1914 and Pennsylvania Railroad Company. His predominant watchword, Seitel argues, was 'supply of relevant fact' and involvement of 'human face' in the relational bond between organisations and their target publics. Later, the emergence of Edward L Bernays in 1913 in the public relations field became more decisive. While Lee will be remembered for being the first PR consultant Bernays cannot be forgotten for being the first PR lecturer on one hand and for recruiting his wife as the first female PR practitioner in the US in 1923. Seitel believes that through his early writing, Bernays was able to establish public relations delimitation consequent upon which, the distinction between public relations and press agentry became clearly defined.   The next segment shall focus on the theoretical framework for this study.

3.2 Theoretical Framework of the Study

This section presents the theories on which this study is anchored. Theory depicts an essential order of things that researchers construct in order to find meaning to certain actuality (Grunig, 2006). Suppe (1977) describes theory as ideas within the researchers' mind from which a whole body of study is born. This suggests that a theory may first take place in an abstract form but as a semantic framework, scholars use it to create a sense of reality (Suppe, 1977).

Grunig argues that a theory can either be good or bad. According to Grunig, a theory is said to be good when it 'makes a sense of reality' such as positive or explanatory theory or assist in improvement of reality such as normative theory (p152). To appreciate how public relations is practiced and seek to improve this practice for organisations, publics and the society, Grunig

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[22] Ivy Lee's popularity gain prominence in 1906 during the Anthracite Coal industry strike, when the coal operators were compelled to hire Lee to represent them. Through his regular 'handouts' or press releases on relevant facts on the organisations, the tempo of strikes came to a halt.

enjoins public relations scholars to embrace both positive and normative theories. This concept is often designed to verify the relationship between certain important happening and subsequent deeds stimulated by the happening (Lattimore et al, 2007). Public relations field is a direct consequence of its extraction from multi-disciplines ranging from management, marketing and communication (Grunig et al, 1992). The implication is that, public relations is linked to chains of theories that are believed to be an extension of different disciplines from which public relations takes its roots (Cromb, 2000; Grunig,1993; Pasadeos et al 1991). This background constitutes the preliminary challenge in the search for an appropriate theory of public relations, especially for the purpose of establishing the relationship between public relations, media and peace negotiation, the central theme of this study. However, there could be large number of theories available in the public relations field, for the purpose of this research, this study has to rely on the following theories namely: *Balance theory, System Theory, Agenda Setting Theory, Uses and Gratification theory and Excellence theory.* These theories were selected because they have the potentials for generating the right guide to explaining the nature of public relations practice in relation to peace building process in the Niger Delta which is the focus of this study. The problem of relationship crisis attendant with the oil resource in the oil rich region presents different facets hence the use of these theories that separately dovetailed into the anchor on which this study is hinged. The selected theories are therefore expected to help point the way to the consequence of using the right or wrong models of public relations practice which by implication may or may not lead to successful peace negotiation in the Niger Delta. The first three have the potential for predicting relationship while the last two are concern with influencers to information consumption. While the first four theories offer secondary support to the theoretical framework of this study, the last, which is Excellence Theory represents the theoretical backbone of this study. The following unit focuses on balance theory.

3.2.1 Balance Theory

Balance theory primarily seeks to explain how individuals cognitively coordinate their viewpoints consistently in the direction of certain individual or object. This theory is about relationship where three entities are involved with the third being an object. The *balance theory* of Heider (1958) tends to share similar position with two-way symmetrical model where three entities are involved, the third being an object. The Heider's paradigm of 1958, fundamentally addresses the question of like or dislike in a relationship between person (P) and person (O) depending on the attitude of the either person(P) or (0) towards the object, idea or event (X). He maintains that an equilibrium state exists when all the three entities

are in his words 'positive in all respects or if two are negative and one is positive'(p176). Where one of the entities is positive, the equilibrium state may not be for a long term as there is yet no satisfaction of the interest of all strategic concern. The model which is structured on the postulation that a relationship can be unbalanced or balanced, posits that an unbalanced condition is believed to be erratic and subsequently result in intra-personal worry. A balanced condition is realized when a solution is found to address the state of worry. The balanced status, according to Heider's model is attained when all three entities are positive in all areas for example including distribution of the oil wealth in the Niger Delta.

Heider postulates that the consequence of dis-equilibrium relationally is the manifestation of ill feelings among persons who have a stake in a relationship. He argues that the idea of a balanced or equilibrium state relationally is realized when the 'perceived units and experienced sentiments co-exist without stress' (Heider, 1958, p176). This paradigm is used because it has some measure of closeness to the Niger Delta question. The entities involved are generically three namely the oil rich communities on one hand, the government and the oil producing companies on the other hand while the distribution of oil wealth which represents an idea is the object. The public relations thrust in this theory is significantly the question of sustaining positive relationship between organisations and their respective publics. Such relationship can only be positive when there is relational equilibrium, that is the organisation and the target publics have mutual positive relationship among themselves. To achieve the balanced state, change of attitude on the part of both organisation and or target publics is highly imperative. It is the responsibility of public relations to sustain a state of positive relations through various programmes of corporate social responsibility and non-cosmetic goodwill. Some argue that CSR is cosmetic in nature when the quality and quantity of CSR is over- exaggerated to the public through the media. This is often rooted in the belief that CSR is primarily designed for the social enhancement and thus any financial commitment is not going to be a return on investment (Frederick, 1978). This is the case when the law is at conflict with a company's interest in the matter of commitment to CSR; to secure a cover-up the content and substance of CSR becomes compromised (Frederick, op cit). In the incidence of cosmetic CSR, the publics are disadvantaged which runs counter to the concept of balance theory.

The balance theory is significant in explaining the relationship among the stakeholders to the oil resource. It suggests that for an enduring peace to reign in the Niger Delta, the government and the oil companies are required to come up with the necessary policy thrust that will launch their public relations programmes and practices into a mutually beneficial relationship with the oil communities, the bastion of their strategic publics.

3.2.2 System Theory in Public Relations

Public relations is about relationship thus making system theory important in this study as it supports the idea of how relationship can best be managed (Lattimore et al,2007). According to Lattimore et al, *System Theory* recognizes that firms are made up of components entities that are interconnected. These component entities as Lattimore et al, argue, are subject to adjustments that their surrounding influences thrust up. These influences as Lattimore et al observe, are either of political, economic and or social implication. Grunig and Dozier (1995, p15) agree that the system view stresses the symbiosis between organisations and their internal and external publics. They argue that while organisations rely on the environment or publics for support in terms of raw materials, labour, patronage, the environment depends on the organisation for its products and services. They further argue that with *open system[23]* the companies secure feedback through public relations inputs on how the organisation impact on the environment while in *closed system* the policy makers of such companies do not rely on feedback from the environment before they reach corporate decisions. It is evident from the system theory that no organisation lives in isolation of its environment. This suggests that an open system makes room for establishing and sustaining friendly co-existence between an organisation and its publics. Dozier and Grunig (1992) opine that public relations function can be understood by using open-system theory. They argue that organisations exist in an environment and organisations are expected to adjust to the changes in the surrounding environment. Robin (1990) observes that apart from goal realization, contending corporate values and crucial publics, system orientation is critical to the direction of organisation success. It is likely that most public relations programmes executed in the Niger Delta appear to have been rooted in closed system hence the increase in public relations funding was not able to stem the tide of increasing cry of neglect and agitation for resource control by the oil rich communities. Increased environmental influence in corporate policy formulation and programme development through feedback tends to have the potentials for drumming up collective responsibility and support for organisations. Organisations that seek to enjoy a peaceful environment may find *open system* theory significant, which was the secret behind the success story of Ivy Ledbetter Lee's model that emphasizes openness, honesty and human face. Open system supports mutual interaction between the organisation and the target publics. This is a vital

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[23] An open system is management concept that allows feed forward and feedback interaction. It encourages a two-way form of interaction which has been found to be a useful theory in public relations practice for encouraging mutual exchange the relationship between organisations and their respective publics. It is the practice in which organisations engage in dialogue with or listen to the publics (Grunig 2006).

ingredient for mutual active participation of relevant stakeholders involved in a commonweal. This theory is highly significant to this study for its support for both organisation and the publics to be mutually sensitive positively towards each other.

The implication of this theory to the Niger Delta question is for the government, oil companies and the oil communities to see each other as inter-connected and as such the action of one of the three entities is capable of stimulating reaction from the other two. The policy and behaviour of government and the oil companies impact on the oil communities whose reaction will largely be a function of how they are affected by such policy and behaviour. The action of the oil communities in terms of protest to an unfriendly policy of government and the oil companies can alter the activities or policy of the latter. The theory provides a vivid explanation to the current relationship of the three entities to the oil resource on why the oil communities react the way they do as a result of changes whether positive or negative initiated by the government and the oil companies.

3.2.3 Agenda- Setting Theory

This theory postulates that though the media cannot 'tell people what to think, they are able to tell the people what to think about' (Cohen, 1963). The actual first application of the term 'agenda-setting' was traced to McCombs and Shaw (1972, 1993) who were constrained to explain an experience they had during a political campaign.

The agenda setting theory appears to be tested for the first time in the 1968 US presidential campaign, (McCombs and Valenzuela, 2007). The study which took place in North Carolina, reveals that issues given prominence in the news were also given prominence by the public. Also a study conducted on the agenda building framework tends to reflect largely the effect of agenda setting on the reputation of organisations and associated stakeholders' commitment (Kim and Kiousis, 2011). The study focuses on how two aspects of affective cognition, namely 'valence and arousal' influence receptive process to information consumption. Affective means the emotional process of acquiring knowledge. In this context, it is considered to be an element in the second level agenda setting of the media that has to do with whether a particular media framing or exposure is pleasant or unpleasant based on individual judgment (Purkis et al, 2009). Giving value to what the media framed to be salient is relative from individual to individual depending on what they consider to be pleasant or not. In Kim and Kiousis' study using two variables 'corporate

reputation' and 'stakeholders' commitment', it was evident that the influence of valence was on corporate reputation and stakeholders' commitment. The study adds that arousal influence was only noticed on corporate reputation. On the whole, it tends to corroborate the fundamental concept of agenda setting theory in terms of directing the publics on the path of salience building as a result of the prominence that media give to certain issues. The implication of the theory on public relations messages is for organisation to carefully plan the messages it releases to the public as corporate image portrayal can be negatively or positively influenced through salience given to issues of public concern. The essence of this theory is that media tend to direct public attention but Davis and Robinson (1986) are of the view that agenda-setting study could not advance evidence for salience in terms of the *who,* the *where* and *why* dimension of salience. They believe that agenda-setting study had failed to define who is of value, where the issue of value occurs and why it should be considered of value. Other critics of the agenda-setting theory, Rogers and Dearing (1987) argue that what the media recognize as salience differs from the salience of the publics and that of public policy. This implies that, the salience of the media, publics and government policy may inter-relate to produce an unexpected result. They further maintain that media credibility modifies from time to time as a result it is crucial to what the publics may accept from the media as salience. This suggests that what may account for whether or not the public will give salience to an issue to which the media have given salience may derive from the prevailing state of media credibility rather than media agenda-setting factor. They conclude that agenda-setting cannot be divorced from other kinds of effects such as that from bandwagon, media gate-keeping, spiral of silence and news diffusions (p15). Inyengar and Kinder (1987) opine that though media could set agenda but actual world events could modify the agenda earlier built. One other last critical point is the issue of balance of power between media and the provider of information (Reese,1991). That is who in the communication process exercises the greatest control over what the target publics see as salient? Is it what the organisation consider as salient or what the media give salience to? It is obvious that the organisation supplies the raw materials with which the media communicate with the publics. Since the media retain their position as the organ in direct contact with the publics, they are more likely to exercise greater influence on the publics than the organisations.

As a large percentage of media content appears to originate from the public relations sources, some tend to think that public relations practice sets the public agenda (Hunt and Grunig 1994). Experts

argue that if it is true that public relations sets the agenda then the supremacy of the media as being all-powerful can no longer have the basis for enduring any further. However, Rogers and Dearing (1988) observe that it is the collective interaction between the media and policy makers that result in agenda building on public issue. Hunt and Grunig (1994) note that people are often actively involved in the process of seeking information adding that the public only give prominence to issue which they consider personally to be salient. Rubin and Rubin (1985) agree that mass media cannot satisfy all the information needs of the publics and as such they have to resort to other sources of information including interpersonal communication. While this diminishes the all-powerful attribute of the mass media, it suggests that interpersonal interaction can contribute to agenda building. Thus mass communication and interpersonal communication are vital elements of the integrative media strategies that mediate public relations messages in the process of reaching out to target publics. Conceivably, like the wings of a bird, both are relevant depending on the context of the PR needs, but rather than advocate the isolation of one from the other, both represent complementary aspects of integrated PR media strategies for effective interaction between organisation and relevant target publics(Griese 1977).

The significance of agenda setting theory to this study is underscored by the support it gives to public relations experts to evaluate whatever information they give to the media on behalf of their organisation before it is given out. More significantly, this theory suggests the need for thorough environmental scanning, sensitivity to feedback and regular deployment of other forms of research strategies in order to secure a proper understanding of the publics before messages a turned out. This is imperative since the media as instruments of mediating messages appear to be the gateway through which public relations efforts can achieve reliable interface between organisations and their publics. Media events that are likely to set agenda for the publics should be scrutinized so as to avoid the negative response of those for whom such messages are meant. This theory is relevant as it supports the claim that a peace building process requires that messages and media events do not stir strife but are able to encourage sustainable friendly interface between organisations and their strategic publics.

3.2.4 Uses and Gratification Theory

Uses and gratification theory is rooted in the concept of media content-relevance as basis for its consumption. It is based on the assumption that audience relies on certain logic in the choice of

which content they consume as a result they are selective in their media consumption roles (Perse, 1990).

According to Lattimore et al (2007), the theory suggests that target media audience are actively involved in taking the decision on what media content they should consume, when to consume it, and how to do so. The implication is that audience rationally approaches the consumption of media messages with the expectation of fulfilling certain identified needs. Mcquail (2005) argues that the basis for this rationality is built on certain motivations which centres on preference, tastes or need, all of which have psychological roots. Mcquail observes that these motivations form the basis for grouping audience. He believes the major needs of target audience can be classified into 'relaxation, companionship, diversion or escape' (Mcquail,2005, p422). As McQuail points out, the uses and gratification theory which tends to answer the question of what the audience do with the media was a product of research efforts in the 1940s with probing focus on why people consume the media.

McGuire (1974) observes that a psychologically based audience stimulated theory identifies a distinction between intellectual for instance newspaper consumption and emotional needs, for instance, soap opera or drama show on television programme. He also maintains that audience in their attempt to consume media content may choose to be 'passive' or 'active' inner or outer focus in their quest to fulfil their needs. A general analysis of McGuire's model reveals that 16 different forms of variables are likely to prompt people into media consumption.

This theory is significant to public relations practice since mass mediated messages are perceived differently by the publics of organisations depending on the individual benefit that such a person expects to enjoy from the message. The implication is that no organisation should see the publics as one single entity but segmented groups with differing needs that cannot be addressed with one single message. While this is corroborated by Maslow Theory[24] of Needs, Lattimore et al admit that a public relations message in the media will offer diverse appeals to different people. This

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[24] Abraham Maslow's model on hierarchy of needs was propounded in 1945 to indicate the seven levels of motivation that underscore human effort. This theory maintains that these needs begin at its base with physiological needs, followed by safety, love, self-esteem and peaked at self-actualization. It adds that the fulfillment of one need, a higher level need arises along the hierarchy. Individuals are believed to differ in terms of the level they occupy in the hierarchy. This suggests that publics of organisations are not at the same level of need and will always perceive one message differently depending on the need such message is designed to address.

means that it is not only enough for instance, to write a news release unless such a new release offers some form of personal benefits to the target audience it will not engage the attention of intended target audience. Also, it is significant to mention that one public relations message has the potentials to stimulate different motivations in different publics. This suggests that while it arouses anger in one, it gives joy to another audience. For instance, an editorial that considers demands of the oil communities on the oil companies for road construction in the region as baseless will arouse different reactions from both the indigenes of the oil communities and staff of the oil companies. The reason being that different individual within the publics occupies different level of needs therefore messages could be interpreted on the basis of the individual gratification. Promoting peace building process calls for public relations programmes that are without the contemplation of triggering or inflaming crisis but with the realistic goal of filling the vacuum created by peace restraints. This calls for genuine media events that take cognizance of the overall interest of the target publics. It is in the light of making public relations to contribute to peace building process that this theory appears to be of significance to this study.

3.2.5 Excellence Theory

The Excellence Theory primarily represents the effort to establish the value derivable from the application of public relations. The proponent of this theory believes that it would be expected to provide the response to challenges that the earlier theories could not resolve (Grunig, op cit). The study which covers a period of 15 years attempts to evaluate public relations practices of public relations chiefs, chief executive officers and workers of 327 organisations drawn across different countries including United States, United Kingdom and Canada (Grunig 2006). Grunig observes, that the formulation of this theory went through two-step approach of interviews and survey, began with the investigation into what should constitute organisational effectiveness by re-appraising the existing theories associated with social responsibility, ethics and conflict transformation. This theory provides for both the need of organisations and publics with the rider that absence of satisfied publics or stakeholders could trigger off forceful demands from the publics or stakeholders. Grunig argues that a corrective process resulting from such pressure can be risk and cost intensive suggesting the need for organisation to be proactive in both policy formulation and implementation. The theory calls for identification and recognition of stakeholders' interest as basis for drawing up corporate policies and programmes. He believes, that mutual interest will be achievable and consequently enduring friendly rapport through the use of two-way communication

which is the thrust of excellence theory. Excellence theory is a gathering and synthesis of Situation Theory and Symmetrical Theory. Though when Grunig revised these two communication behaviours he came up with the four models of public relations: press agentry/publicity, public information, two-way asymmetrical and two-way symmetrical model (Grunig1992, p320). He argues that of the four models, the two-way symmetrical model is of greater value for proposing that 'individuals, organisations, and publics should use communication to adjust their ideas and behaviour to those of others rather than to try to control how others think and behave' (p156). The theory was found to be an improvement over other previous theories as its focus demonstrates the need for organisations to seek goals that are mutually beneficial to all related interest groups. Grunig argues that to achieve the best result in public relations practice, public relations experts should saddle the managerial role to enable them evolve public relations strategically in the managerial process (Dozier *et al*, 1995).

One significant problem that appears to be associated with public relations practice has been the failure in theory based transition from the old paradigm to new in response to the 21 century challenges of postmodern society (Valentini et al 2012). According to Valentini et al, globalism has significantly redefined the concept of 'publics' suggesting that the hypothesis which justifies public relations practice in its focus exclusively on 'corporations, nongovernmental and civil society organisations and government' at the expense of the interest of their strategic publics was not only outmoded but was already consigned to the 20century PR practice. This gap opens the door to the excellence theory which advocates that the interest of all strategic parties to a common interest should be served without jeopardizing any (Grunig 2004). Valentini et al had by their position signaled the alert that public relations practice can no longer represent the interest of one party in disregard to the interest of other parties to a common interest. They contend that the theory which informs such concept requires refocusing to align with the realities of the postmodern society. These realities, they argue, present values and mores of global orientation that have come to characterize the 21st century communication technology with contemplation to intensify the demands of cultural diversity. The implication is the rise in the demand for a professional expertise that has the capability to provide the needed response to the multicultural need of the society. This calls for increased empowerment of public relations practice to enable it participate in strategic management process that supports the interest of both organisations and the target publics.

A major milestone in the journey towards increasing the value of public relations practice is rooted in the excellence study sponsored by the International Association of Business Communication (IABC). With the effort of six researchers including Grunig, J, Grunig, Dozier, Ehling, Rippers and White, a study was conducted underpinned by a methodological mix of survey and literature review that was aimed at paradigm shift from the old public relations theory[25] which was popularly known as attitudes and persuasion theories. The idea had the tendency to have more sympathy for organisation at the detriment of the publics (Grunig, 1989). The inadequacy of this theory stimulated the need for a new direction in public relations theory, ultimately, the result of this study was the introduction of *Excellence Theory* which drew inspiration from *Situational Theory*.

Situational theory, according to Grunig (1997) recognizes that there are both active and passive publics who should be segmented for different forms of PR communication strategies in order to guarantee the realization of optimal results in relationship. Ironically, in most organisations while attention is paid to active publics passive publics are neglected, the resulting development is a stimulated underground growth and consolidation of sectional hostility.

In his research effort to establish why people seek information, Grunig observes that for organisations to effectively relate with the publics, 'strategic publics' his term for those of more strategic relevance to the organisation operation, relationship building is imperative. Grunig posits that it was not until situational theory was also applied to how organisations communicate with their publics, that the predominantly one-way communication was found to be at the background of poor public response to corporate communication. His subsequent introduction of four models of public relations namely *press agentry/publicity, public information, two-way asymmetrical and two- way symmetrical,* were parts of the attempts to achieve the most effective result for public relations programmes (Grunig, 1984). All the same, as Grunig would admit, public relations programme failure was always a direct result of the absence of two-way communication in the communication portfolio which was rather limited to one-way communication strategy, media relations and marketing prop. His four PR models are:

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[25] The old public relations theory was attributed to Edward Barney which Grunig 1989 describes 'as attitudes and persuasion theories' as they were directed at attitude change through unethical persuasive messages.

*Press Agency/Publicity***:** Relies on persuasion and manipulation to influence audiences to behave as the organisation desires. This does not evolve ethical balance as its goals are skewed in favour of the organisation.

*Public Information Model***:** It involves press releases and other one-way communication strategies to disseminate corporate information. The function of the PR expert is more journalistic. This implies information giving without adequate provision for receiving which again fails to fulfil the requirements for a two-way interaction between an organisation and its publics.

Two-way Asymmetrical Model: Without the use of research into the feelings of stakeholders, this model utilizes persuasion and manipulation to influence audiences to behave as the organisation pleases. This model agrees with the organisation centred approach in the public relations practice in which organisations tends to dictate the direction of relationship without the leverage for the strategic publics to make contributions or suggestions on changes that directly impact on them.

Two-way Symmetrical Model: Strategically communicate to negotiate with the public, resolve conflict and advance mutual understanding and goodwill between the organisation and its publics. This model represents the interest of both the organisation and that of the strategic publics in which there is a mutual sense of belonging, commitment and contribution to a common cause among stakeholders. This is a stimulus to the paradigm shift pressure in the public relations practice which gives room to ethically balanced approach to a mutually satisfying relationship between organisations and their relevant publics, a condition for peaceful co-existence.

The *Symmetrical model,* as Grunig maintains, represents a two-way communication model. This model was inspired by the *diachronic communication model* of Thayer (1968) on one hand and the *co-orientation* on the other hand (Carter 1965 and Chaffee and Mcleod 1968).[26] Diachronic

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[26] Diachronic communication of Thayer (1968) was a model that advocates inter-change as the basis for seeking the mutual benefits of both organisation and their various publics. He also proposes synchronic model which emphasizes tilting the publics towards the needs of organisations. But co-orientation represents how two persons or two higher systems jointly orient towards each other and their environment. It is a departure from one-way communication or

communication model emphasizes a two-way communication just as co-orientation is about interconnected entities that are slanted towards each other and their environment. Co-orientation is a model that emphasizes if change is required it should start with the person or organisation that is interested in such a change. This suggests that if the oil companies and the government need positive change in the relationship with the oil communities, the change should start with those who need the change. These two models demonstrate a contrary focus to those of attitude change models in public relations practice which encourages the use of communication to sway the attitudes of the public in favour of the interest of organisations. The symmetrical theory postulates that stakeholders in the form of persons, or corporate entities and the target publics should modify their concepts and actions towards one another instead of setting agenda for others on a normative direction of thought and action.

Excellence theory became the crowning effort of the Grunig and associates of researchers through their study which establishes that public relations makes several contributions towards organisational effectiveness one of which is financial return on investment (ROI). The contention is that corporate efficiency is a function of the measure of solution that organisations bring to bear upon the challenges faced by all stakeholders. The theory adds that the failure of organisations to live up to the expectations of stakeholders could lead stakeholders to use of force on organisations in order to give attention to the interest of stakeholders. This suggests that organisations must keep abreast with changes in the aspirations and preferences of the stakeholders in order to secure alignment between corporate policy and actions and publics' interest. The excellence is also significant to this study for being a model that addresses the question of relationship.

In the excellence theory scholars identified the key components to high quality relationship (Huang,1997, Grunig and Huang 2000). The key components according to them were *trust, control mutuality, satisfaction and commitment* which they believe could be measured for the purposes of public relations planning and evaluation. Huang had used a survey instrument to test these concepts in a study he conducted on the relationship between the executive and the legislative branches of the Taiwanese government. Hon and Grunig (1999) went further to index and test their reliability after which they considered the addition of two more concepts which included *exchange* and

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processes of changing the orientation of one person towards the attitudes of the other for example the orientation of the publics towards the organisations.

communal relationships. Both believe that organisations need both types of relationship but they argue that public relations makes special contribution to strategy when it helps organisations to engage communal relationship[27]. Grunig maintains that relationships make it possible for the contribution of public relations programmes on a long and short term basis to be evaluated. He also posits that relationship is a significant asset in the evaluation of organisational effectiveness. Grunig and Hung (2002) discovered through the various literature they examined that relationship has the capacity to determine the reputation[28] especially of organisations. Yang and J. E. Grunig (2005) later used structural equation models to establish that reputation of an organisation evolve from the nature and quality of relationships it engages with the publics. From the study they conducted, they discovered that public relations helps to manage reputations by encouraging organisations to make socially responsible decisions. The excellence theory has so much promise for the Niger Delta crisis resolution and peace building process.

First the theory is significant as its import suggests that the authorities of the Nigeria government and the oil companies stand to benefit more on the investment they make in the oil sector when there is a peaceful environment for oil exploitation and exploration. The absence of the application of the right public relations model leads to losses instead of return on investment. This is not an exception especially in the Nigeria oil sector which has its economy almost crippled in the heat of the oil induced crises. Oil induced crises brought about a shortfall in the oil production to 450,000 barrels in 2006. In the wake of this the then Minister of Finance, Dr Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala predicted that since oil accounts for about 90% of the Nigeria economy, the 2006 budget might be negatively affected (*The Guardian*, Wednesday, February 22,2006) This development which is one case among many represents effects of the application of public relations practice that relies on the old PR paradigm. The value of public relations in an organisation is enhanced when it supports the process of making organisations to realise returns on investments (Phillips, 2005). Return on investment can hardly be achieved without the synergic influence that derives from all strategic stakeholders. It suggests that excellence theory will offer critical support to the process of building conducive environment for the right return on investment in the oil sector to be realised. But above all relationship is paramount to the success of any organisation especially in comparison to the value of ROI (Ledingham and Bruning, 2000).

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[27] Communal relationship benefits the publics without necessarily benefiting the organisation.
[28] Grunig and Hung (2002) define reputation as the 'cognitive representation in the minds of different stakeholders.

Peaceful environment is a function of good relationship just as good relationship is a function of public friendly decisions that organisations make in their operational areas (Grunig 2006). This suggests that the persistent culture of conflict in the Niger-Delta may have some measure of connection with the nature of public relations practice adopted by both the government and the oil companies in their interaction with the oil communities. The two-way symmetrical model of public relations is found to be greatly supportive to the process of building mutual understanding among the key stakeholders in the Niger Delta.

In summation, the excellence theory, balance theory and system theory are considered to have focus on relationship aspect of public relations (Lattimore et al, 2007). This suggests that they tend to focus on the policy and action especially, on the various goodwill building efforts which organisations establish with their respective publics. Agenda setting and Uses and gratification theories are concerned with public relations media. It beholds organisations especially the government and oil companies in the Niger Delta to understand that mediated messages create salience and appeal to publics of different levels of information needs. Therefore, no organisation will achieve much if it takes the publics for granted by failing to send out messages that key into the needs of society. The unifying knot of relevance for the first three theories is the fact that the existence of peace is a function of mutual satisfaction that stakeholders derive from a society in which all stakeholders have a common stake (Reardon and Cabezudo, 2002). The public relations media theories are significant as public relations is responsible for a large percentage of the media contents suggesting that in building public issue, public relations has a responsibility of building issues or media events that are tailored to public needs especially promotion of mutual understanding if a stable peaceful co-existence is a desired destination (Hunt and Grunig 1994).

Theoretical Framework Relationship
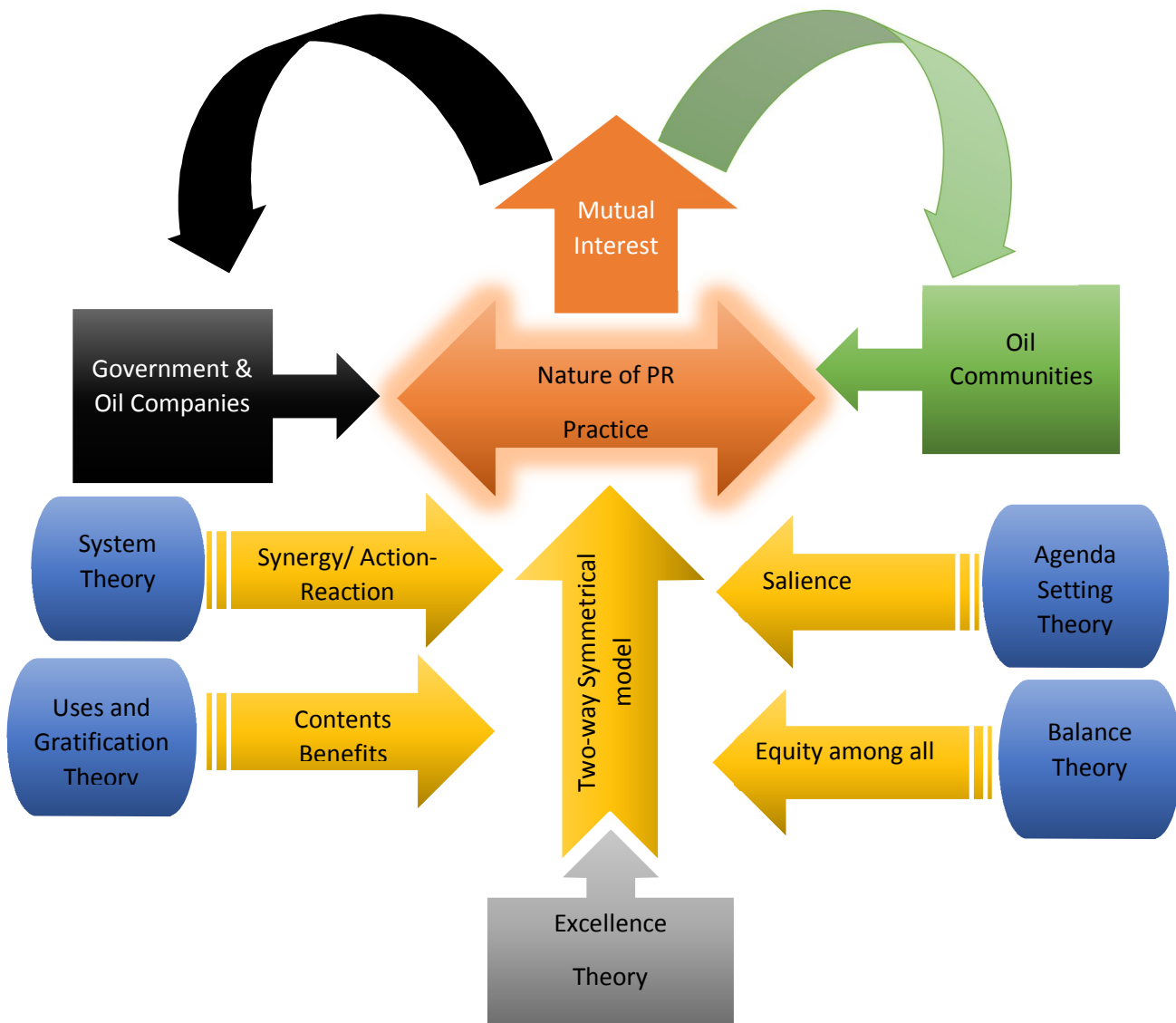
Figure 3.1 showing the relationship between Balance theory, System theory, Agenda Setting theory, Uses and Gratification theory and Excellence theory in Public relations and peace negotiation in Niger Delta

3.3 Public Relations Media and Messages

This section examines the media and messages public relations experts utilize for achieving professional goals. Experts believe that public relations and media are symbiotically related (Hunt and Grunig 1994). Hunt and Grunig who had conducted researches in Miwaukee between 1963 and 1975 observe that 45 percent of newspapers contents and 15percent of news materials in the

radio and television were said to have been sourced through public relations. This relationship that appear to have the potential of portraying public relations client in good light has often been indicted of portraying public relations field in bad light. (Park,2010).

However, it is evident that since public relations serves as the source of raw materials for the media it tends to exercise some degree of influence over the media through its activities. These activities include press conferences and news release which represent PR message windows (Pfetsch, 1998). Davis (2002) believes that increased relevance of PR as one of the major sources of news supply to the media is attributed to its relative low cost to the media in the process of hunting for news. That is not to say that the media no longer exercise professional authority over the news materials sourced from the PR industry. McNair (2007) argues that the media is still the professional authority over materials that stream from the media by assessment and choice as to whether to publish or otherwise; which is the gate keeping function of the media. The media still remain the acknowledged traditional window through which public relations activities are made known to the public. Thus the print media, radio, and television through editorial and opinion related pages, talk shows and entertainment programmes have proven to be of dependable support to the public relations field (Larsson, 2009). Larsson argues that the media often question public relations materials with the intention of ensuring that public interest is priced above the partisan and commercial interest of the public relations client.

Of the various media opportunities available to PR, the internet appears to be increasingly more engaging the interest of the public relations experts (Croft, 2007). Croft observes that the emergence of new media in the public relations field provides the potentials for making public relations client to be more worthwhile especially through the use of blogs. Avidar, observes that public relations relies on the internet as a medium of communication (Avidar, 2011).

In a study carried out on Isreali public relations practitioners, it was observed that the internet and its associated social media have continued to be a growing area of public relations media practice. The increasing relevance of this area of public relations media, Avidar, argues, is partly attributed to its unique potential for strengthening interactive communication. Although, the interactive attribute has conceptually been an essential aspect of public relations philosophy, its realization through the traditional media of newspapers, radio and television has been quite slow. Supporting

this position further, Grunig (2009), opines that the influence of the new media provides the window for public relations to be more 'global, strategic, two-way, interactive, dialogical and socially responsible'(p1). He however expresses worry over the way public relations practitioners still approach the new media with the attitude they have for the old media which tends to encourage one way rather than interactive communication. Interactive communication is the hope public relations has for increasing public active engagement with organisations which is lacking in most corporate relational portfolio but appears to represent the direction of peaceful co-existence.

3.4 Public Opinion, Social Movements and Conflict Formation

This segment examines literature on what relationship might exist between public opinion, social movement and conflict formation on one hand and public relations and peace negotiation on the other hand. They were reviewed in order to provide the conceptual perspective on the question of public relations practices of the government and the oil companies and the various challenges posed by public opinions, social movements and conflict formation in the Niger Delta region.

Public opinion represents the collective desire of a majority of the public (Page and Shapiro 1992, Stimson, Mackuen and Erikson 1995). Stimson (1991) however maintains that placing emphasis on collective public may be misleading as a single basis for defining public opinion since the knowledge of the conduct of those who hold the opinion is highly important. This suggests that the quality, integrity and character of the persons that constitute the collective public may to determine the extent to which such group represent the interest of the public in the opinion they express.

Public opinion appears to have some measure of significant relationship with corporate policy. In a study conducted to establish if public opinion goes in the same direction with policy, it was discovered that some measure of change in policy derives from a change of public opinion (Page and Shapiro, 1983). Other studies conducted previously that corroborate the Page and Shapiro studies included the work of the Weissberg, R., Devine, D.J. and Monroe, A.D. (Weissberg 1976, Devine, 1970 and Monroe, 1979). The Page and Shapiro studies which use co-variation[29] or

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[29] Co-variation is the measure of change that takes place in one variable as a result of change in the other. This term was used to describe the extent to which the opinion of the American public goes in the same direction with the policy preference of the US Government (Page and Shapiro, 1982). It is the extent to which the public opinion influences decisions on policy formulation and selection or otherwise.

agreement on the extent of influence public opinion exert on public policy relied on the analysis of 357 cases of opinion change to establish if one government policy or the other at a given time and public opinion move in the same direction or otherwise. Its findings show that there are cases where change in public opinion did not move in the same direction with public policy, but according to this study, which lasted for a period of two years, such incidents of non-responsiveness of policy change to change in public opinion were fewer compared to responsive cases represented. When such incident of non-responses is examined further, the study argues, consistence in changes between public opinion shift and policy change is implicitly evident. Organisations fundamentally affect their publics through corporate policy and or action, suggesting that public relations has the potentials for building public oriented agenda, which in turn stimulates public support that can ultimately influence legislation or public policy formulation (Grunig 2006; Berger 2005; Mintzberg 1983). It was in view of its potentials for influencing public policy that a call was made for the empowerment of the public relations functions in the excellence study (Grunig, 2006). By empowerment, Grunig means that public relations functions should be at the strategic level of management rather than at the operational level. He believes that this position will give public relations function the needed influence for affecting policy formulation in a public friendly direction. Grunig argues that unless public relations is at the top of management functions it will be less disposed to defend and stand for the interest of the public from the inside of the organisation. Having established that public relations builds public agenda through news generating raw materials, it becomes pertinent at this point to consider how public opinion is formed.

In the area of public opinion formation, it was observed that certain core values and core beliefs system built on learning forms the basis for the formation of public opinion (McClosky and Zaller, 1984). According to McClosky and Zaller, these values and beliefs system are not only widespread but form the socio-cultural prism for defining the way they relate with government and other members of the society. Central to these core values and core belief system as these studies point out, are three prominent determinants that engage the interest of the public: equality of opportunity, economic individualism and free enterprise system (Lipset, 1979; Elder and Roger, 1983; McClosky and Zaller, 1984). Viewed against the backdrop of the Niger Delta crisis, the problem of inequality in opportunities presented by the oil boom has often been one of the major causes of the rift in the region. This derives from the understanding that those whose lands the oil companies

have taken through the cooperation of the government for oil exploration and production got little or nothing in return for their sacrifices. This further explains the underlying motivation of those of the Niger Delta origin who felt since they live in poverty in the midst of plenty they should take full control of the process of the oil production and resource management. The overwhelming opinion of the oil communities is that government and the oil companies have not been fair in the distribution of the oil wealth and have used their resources to develop other parts of the country to their neglect. Though economic individualism which characterizes a capitalist or mix-economy is evident, the gap between the rich and the poor is widening daily owing to lack of equal opportunities from the oil sector.

With increased interest of government in the oil sector and going by its various regulatory measures, the oil sector is far from being a free enterprise economy. Government determines almost everything that should be done in the sector and often to the detriment of the oil communities. It is in this regards that most of the negative opinions of the oil communities about government and oil companies kept reverberating and in some cases opinions are not expressed for fear of intimidation and brutality from government of the day (Davis 2009). Hyman, Carmines and Stimson (1980) observe that the nature of issue as to whether it is difficult or otherwise serve as a challenge to getting at the true nature of the opinion expression.

According to Davis, opinion expression has often centred on injustice from government and the oil companies which has often given birth to social groups such as the MOSOP under the leadership of Isaac Boro and Ken Sir Wiwa in the pre-democracy days. Since 1999, many militia groups have sprung up under the leadership of people like Asari Dokubo, Fredrick Fasheun, Ralph Uwazurike and Ganiyu Adams which separately re-echo the position of Isaac Boro and Ken-Saro Wiwa in their opinions on the negative attitude of government and oil companies towards the plight of the oil communities. With the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa by the government of Sanni Abacha, more social movements and group began to spring up contrary to the expectations of government and the oil companies (Davis, 2009). According to Davis, the detention of Asari Dokubo was in the expectation of government an attempt to reduce the activities of social groups in the Niger Delta on the oil related crisis but the reverse was the case as many more social groups were later created. Most of the social groups later re-structured into social movements with

significant pressure on government and oil companies towards stemming the tide of infrastructural and socio-economic neglect in the Niger Delta.

Social movements are regarded as a structured group of people with the aim of achieving certain defined goal (Tyler et al, 2001). According to Tyler et al, the fundamental objective of most social movements is to address societal ills that often have the tendency of building and sustaining disequilibrium or inequality in the society as it affects a particular group of people in the society. In the Niger Delta the central theme of the social movement campaign was the issue of official corruption and mismanagement of the oil wealth (Davis, 2009). Most of the social movements according Davis, believe that corruption within the government, NGOs and oil companies have often militated against use of approved funds for infrastructure and community development in the oil communities. He further avers that the social movements see such development as frustrating to the desired peace building process in the oil rich region. The concept of social movement secured recognition in 1848 through the effort of a German Sociologist, Lorenz von Stein. Since then, social movement has often constituted collective expression of a group of people with focus on seeking to wrest social rights from the crutches of deprivation (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950). Inspired by modern western values which encourages freedom of expression, education and significant measure of economic self-reliance, social movement has become highly pervasive across different parts of the world. While it is still argued that social movements tend to represent the midwife to democracy, its activities globally have assisted to define it as a collective representation of opposition's interest. This suggests that social movements are committed to the pursuit of group goal rather than individualistic interest but with the trapping of a dissent (De la Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 20). Such group goal, De la Porta & Diani argue, is often oriented towards policy or cultural transformation. In the Niger Delta, it has been the collective goals of the dominant social movements to wrest control of the oil wealth from the government and the oil companies. The Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) in the 70's was highly acknowledged as a social movement that pressured the government and the oil companies for significant control of the oil wealth as was later entrenched in the Ogoni Bill of Rights of 1990. To achieve their group goals, the social movements mobilized youths, technology, mass media, social relationships, network, public attention, organisations, moral commitment and personal connections through influence of resource mobilization theory (Fuchs, 2006, Jenkins 1983).

Martin (2001,) observes that all social movements are concerned with the issue of 'redistribution and recognition' (pp362-383). Since the early 80's social movements have built up a reputation of being opposed to contemporary issues and consequently have become christened as 'new social movements' (NSM), (Weir, 1993).

Spencer (1995) believes that social movement can be classified into old or classical and the new. Whether new or old, the history of social movements tends to portray them as a group of people with the motivation to effect change in the society (Payes, 2005). Such change may have diverse dimensions with their focus often revolving around cultural, social and or political context of change (Earl, 2004). The study argues that changes in economic and political direction were largely influential to the rise of social movements across the globe (Tilly, 2008, p5). The British Abolitionist movement of 1542 directed at ending slave trade was reputed to be about the genesis of social movements; the French Revolution of 1789-1799 and the Polish Constitution of 1791 among others represent old or early class of social movements. There can also be another class that does not fit into the early nor recent, which this study classifies as medieval group. This group encapsulates the Labour Movement of the 19th century, Socialist Movement of the same period, the Russian Revolution of 1905 and 1917 that sparked off the demise of the Czarist reign. The third group also recognized as the new social movement, beginning from the 19th century includes the women rights movement, gay rights movement, civil rights, anti-nuclear movement, environmental movement and global citizenship movement. However, the influence of alteration in market capitalization, democratization and rise in the number of working class appears to fuel the consolidating status of social movements (Tilly, 2008). Most social movements tend to relive the concept of Karl Marx that not only recognizes the growing class distinction between the capitalist and the proletariat but predicts that capital accumulation will concentrate wealth in a few capitalists which would ultimately trigger the overthrow of the capitalist otherwise known as the *bourgeoisie.* The various social movements in the Niger Delta are not far from the ones already identified above in terms of philosophy, drive and objectives. The thrust of activities of the social movements in the Niger Delta is to change the existing order of oil wealth distribution which they consider to be wrong because of a large percentage of people who do not have access to the oil wealth. The drive that underlines their campaign for equitable distribution of the oil wealth is the ever widening paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in the region. The objectives of most of the social movements border on the desire to secure socio-economic emancipation of the oil

communities in the Niger Delta. The struggle has attracted the attention of the local, national and international communities to the plight of the people of the oil communities but much of what the government and the oil companies claimed to have done constitute an insignificant aspect of the infrastructural and development needs of the oil communities. The principal social movements in the Niger Delta: MEND, NDVF, and MOSOP among others were products of grievances and sense of deprivation and as such constituted for the purpose of introducing change that they believe would right the real or perceived wrong.

Apart from the historical classification into old or medieval or new, a cultural anthropologist, Aberle (2004) identifies four major types of social movement which were consequent upon two enquiries he made. While one question attempts to establish who the social movement is targeting for a change, the other question was on the degree of change the movement is promoting. Aberle's categorization includes redemptive, reformative, revolutionary and alternative kinds of social movements. Sociologists have widely come to acknowledge other forms of classification of social movements. They agree that social movements can be classified according to its scope, type of change, targets, method of work, old and new and range. The scope of social movement as literature suggests may be local or international. Almost all the social movements in the Niger Delta are local in their orientation. Social movements are known by the type of change they intend to effect in the society. Aberle (1966) maintains that social movements emphasize change at the individual level or group or societal level. In the Niger Delta, most of the predominant social movements such as the MOSOP or MEND often advocate for changes in the entire region of nine states. But a closer examination tends to reveal that their activities were ethno-centric as particular ethnic needs are often promoted above the needs of the entire region. For instance, the Kaiama Declaration of 1998 or the Ogoni Bill Rights of 1990 called for a change for the Ogoni or at most the Ijaw nations. Such ethno centric attitude tends to weaken the cohesiveness of the entire Niger Delta and has frustrated the process of forging a common front for the articulation of needs for the entire region. Though the reality of their struggles may have ethnic colouration the consequence of their struggle tends to draw attention to the neglects and disequilibrium in the distribution of oil wealth in the entire Niger Delta.

The targets of social movements tend to distinguish them from one another. The targets are often the authorities or organisations that they need to pressure in order to achieve their collective goals.

Christiansen (2009) argues that leaders of social movements have often been integrated into the values of the target instead of sustaining their loyalties to the collective goals. Beyond the Marx's ideological springboard, social movements are believed to draw inspiration from a variety of certain theories. Kendall (2005) observes that several theories developed by different sociologists provide the support for explaining the root of social movements. Further, it is contended that any social movement that is not built on established theoretical structure might make little or no meaningful effect (Rootes, 1990). These theories include: (1) Marxist theory of the 1880s (2) Collective behaviour theory of 1950s (3) Relative deprivation theory of the 1960s (4) Value-added theory of the 1960s (5) Resource mobilization theory of 1980s (6) Framing theory of 1980s and (7) The new social movement theory of the 1980s. For the purpose of securing better understanding of social movements in their various forms and manifestation, details are given below on the above listed theories.

Marxism, derives from the concept of close examination of conflict influenced relationship between the workers and their capitalist employers. In the 19th century, neo-Marxist theories are implicated in the rise of movements associated with race, gender, and environment to mention but a few. Scholars tend to agree that Marxist related movements have greatly assisted in a better understanding of political economy and class distinction especially in confronting the problem posed by absence of options to 'consumer capitalist social settings' (Staggenborg, 2008).

Collective behaviour is woven around certain *theory*. Collective behaviour theory of 1950s represents impulsive methods and activities that do not conform to prevailing norms, legal system or custom (Blumer, 1951). Blumer notes that collective behaviour may not align with norms but it may not be described as a deviation from the rule. This implies that the review of the oil wealth sharing formula by the various social movements in the Niger Delta may not be the usual but it does not itself amount to a breach of the rules for registering similar resentment. Contrary to the contention that social actors are passive and are subject to the pressure of social forces, Blumer argues that social actors are active as they inspire the action of others. Collective behaviour is believed to have several forms which include *crowd, public and the mass* (Blumer,1951 and McPhail,1991).

Relative deprivation theory of the 1960s is rooted in the idea that deprivation from resources or common benefits is a cause of social movements (Walker and Heater, 2001). It has been described as a fall out of the gap between what people expect and what they actualize. The origin of the term 'relative deprivation' is traced to Merton Robert, who relied on the idea of a*nomie* of Durkheim to structure this theory. Runciman (1966) observes that deprivation is relative and for it to exist there must be four basic requirements to be fulfilled. According to him, this is when:

A does not have X,

A is aware that other persons have X

A desires to have X

A is confident that it is possible to secure X

Runciman argues that there are different types of relative deprivation. He classifies them as *egoistic and fraternalistic* relative deprivation. However, critics of this theory have continued to question why people with discontent fail to be part of social movements (Kendall, 2005).

Value-added theory of the 1960s also referred to as social strain theory was the brain child of Neil Smelser. Smelser (1962) who considers this theory as relevant for explaining collective behaviour argues that social factors are implicated in the development of collective behaviour instead of psychological factors as earlier theorist tend to portray. He stresses that the rise of a social movement is a function of the fulfillment of specific pre-requisites which are 'values, norms, individual mobilization of motivation and situational facilities. He further argues that situation context and social factors often convert what would ordinarily have been regarded illogical or irrational to logical and rational to those within the confines of the social context. For example, the collective behaviour of those who rose against dictatorship in most countries across the world consider their collective behaviour which translated to rebel group logical but their targets which is often the ruling power had always seen them as irrational. In the Niger Delta, the oil producing communities' agitators see the increased control over their oil wealth as rational but the government of the day and the oil companies had always believed that such demand is irrational. This is at the background of the rift among the stakeholders to the Niger Delta oil resource. He points out that for collective behaviour to develop it goes through five sequences which are: structural conduciveness, structural strain, generalized belief, mobilization of participants and social control.

Resource mobilization theory stresses the relevance of resources to social movements. It postulates that social movements are normal phenomena for expression of dissent. It exalts social movement to the status of a rational socially organized body that assembles resources in the form of human, financial, media and materials resources in order to optimally pursue the corporate goals of the movement at a minimal cost (Kendall, 2005). It positions resources as vital instruments to the success of social movements pointing out that social actors are rationally calculative in the process of achieving the corporate goal of the social group. Critics tend to lambaste this theory for its emphasis on the narrow mindedness and antagonism with the contemplation of initiating revolutionary takeover in its approach in some cases in the promotion of its cause (Rootes, 1990). However, resource mobilization theory has been adjudged to be most preferred of the theories of social movements essentially for its adoption of rationality and analysis of situation on the basis of costs and benefits as basis for social actors to initiate or join a social group (Jenkins, 1985). Jenkins (1983) maintains that there are five fundamental principles that underline the resource mobilization theory which include:

- The actions of the members and actors of social movement are sane.
- Institutionalized power imbalances and conflicts of interest inspire actions of social movement.
- The power imbalances and conflict of interest provide adequate justification for complaint which can consequently induce social movement that canvasses for a change in the distribution of resources.
- Social movements are more likely to achieve change oriented goals when their structures are officially concentrated than when they are not.
- The tactics of the social movement as a body and prevailing political situation are major determinant of their success or failure.

Framing is one of the theoretical structures at the root of social movement (Goffman, 1974). Goffman defines frame as the 'schemata of interpretation' with which 'to locate, perceive, identify and label incidents within the context of the collective efforts of individual's socio-cultural environment (p21). The joint action is largely regarded as coherent with the concept of schema in the cognitive precinct of psychological terrain (Klandermans et al, 2002, Sherkat and Ellison 1997). Because schema appears not to go beyond the assemblage of attitudes and opinions, schemata tends to assume a different dimension as it involves collaboration on mutual

understanding (Gamson, 1992). Framing however does not appear to be an exclusive concept to psychology as it traverses linguistics (Tannen, 1993), sociology (Goffman 1974), political field (Schon and Rein 1994, Triandafyllidou and Fotiou 1998) as well as the media and communication scholarship (Pan and Kosicki 1993).

The advantage of frame is seen in the area of guidepost, clarification on public issues and springboard for rallying public support while diminishing all forms of deceptive appearance and even the essence of opposition to a defined goal (Snow and Benford, 1988). Framing tends to enhance social identities, which ultimately as a collective entity provides the trigger for social movements (Hunt et al 1994).

The post industrial economy gave birth to different kinds of social movements that are largely different from those of the pre-industrial period especially in the western world. This development raises the challenge of developing appropriate theory for explaining these new movements and the result is the emergence of a theory called *new social movements* (NSMS) (Pichardo, 1997). The distinguishing feature between the old and the new social movement is that while the old focuses primarily on industrial or workers' issues, the new social movements are primarily oriented towards social and cultural issues but secondarily, political (Scott, 1990). Also, the new social movements represent avenue for aggregated expression of a civil or cultural society, resistant to authoritarian institutions, with concentration on definite theme or issue instead of a broad range of issues. Though the new social movements still engage workers interest, they cater to the need of a new class of workers that are by their interest segmented into cultural, social and political orientation (Scott, op. cit.).

With regards to their life span social movements operate within the bound of a definite life cycle. Blumer (1966) identifies a four-stage of social movement life cycle which included social ferment, popular excitement, formalization and institutionalization (De la Porta and Diani, 2006, p150). Since then these stages have been modified though with their respective themes still retained. The result of the modification is that social movements go through the process where they *emerge, coalesce, bureaucratize and decline* (Blumer 1966, Mauss 1975, and Tilly 1978).

The first stage of the social movement is called emergence which Blumer refers to as social ferment (De la Porta & Diani, 2006). It is the stage where participants of the social movement have identified some form of discontents with existing order but are yet to decide on the line of action to be taken to address them. Coordination of the social movement at this stage may be by certain social movement organisation whose responsibility is to raise public consciousness to the cause of the social movement by spreading the sense of discontent among the larger society. The next stage emerges where there is a reaction from the targets of the social movement such as the extra-judicial killing of Ken Saro Wiwa by the then military administration of late Sanni Abacha.

The next stage which is the coalescence stage in the life cycle of the social movements is also known as 'popular stage' or going by Blumer's classification called 'popular excitement' portrays more sense of discontents. At this stage according to Christiansen (2009), it is more than just a mere sense of discontent but about a sense of what the discontent is all about. It is also in this stage when so many activities of the social movements translate from secrecy to openness, where discontent is no longer individualistic but collective with increased focus on the collective goals. It is at this stage according to Christiansen that leadership structure emerges and often at this stage that demonstration may occur as a strategy for making demands known. In the Niger Delta there were cases of peaceful demonstration, some of which were repelled by government and oil companies through the use of force. On April 6, 2015, a social group known as the Iduwini Volunteer Force, IVF issued a 14-day ultimatum to Shell Petroleum Development Company, SPDC, to vacate its community for unlawfully terminating the contract between them and the oil company.

The third stage which Blumer calls formalization is known as bureaucratization. At this stage the social movements could have achieved some measure of success. This suggests that social movement could have raised awareness to such a level that makes proper organisation to become highly imperative. At this stage, the social movement may need the support of experts and professionals that can assist in the various functions of the movement (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950). The implication is that when the volunteer participants would have lost their excitement the trained staff take over the management of the affairs of the movement on salary basis. But those that are not able to bureaucratize, peter out because members could no longer mobilize new members and there are no dedicated paid staff to sustain the tempo of activities.

The decline stage in the life cycle, involves varieties of options depending on the state of development which could either be success, failure, co-optation, repression or main stream before reaching the exit stage (Maccionis, 2001; Miller, 1999). Miller (op cit.) notes that some social movements decline because they have achieved their target goals. Others decline because they are not able to manage their success. It was also argued that some social movements decline because they fail to achieve their defined goals. Cooptation is possible when over time the leaders of the social movement associate more with the relevant authorities than with the social movement. Repression stage sets in when the targets of the social movements use the power within their disposal to suppress the activities of the social movement. The state or affiliated agents uses the repression actions to make the existence of the social movement illegal and illegitimate through enactment of appropriate laws (Miller, 1990). Repression often leads to break-up of affected social movements (Boren, 2001; Churchill & Wall, 1990).

Differences in individual interests and goals appear to make conflicts inevitable occurrences in a human society for as long as they continue to interact with one another. Conflicts are said to occur when individuals or groups of people recognize that there are opposition to their interest or goals. (Kriesberg,1998; Mitchell, 1981, Rubin, Pruitt and Kim, 1994).

Galtung (1996) tries to classify conflict into two forms which he called the 'actor and structure' conflict, (p73). His classification suggests that conflict can be covert as well as overt. This underscores the degree to which conflict is made visible or otherwise through its manifestation. In other word, conflict may exist and yet not be noticed while in other cases it becomes evidently manifest.

The formation of conflict according to Galtung (1996, p80) arises from the absence of harmony or social context where the achievement of one's goal leads to the dissatisfaction of another. Several theories appear to have engaged the attention of scholars in the attempt to define conflict formation (Oloruntimehin and Ayoade, 2002; Fisher et al 2000). Ayoade and Oloruntimehin point at addictive theory, cumulative theory, consecutive causation theory and micro-macro causation theory. In Ayoade and Oloruntimehin theorization, addictive theory postulates conflict may occur even when there is no direct linkage between expression and conflict stimulus. That is, no conflict

stimulating words exists yet conflict breaks out. The cumulative theory involves stock piling incidents of dissatisfaction until they become intolerable. Micro-macro theory lays stress on trivial issues in order to convert them to conflict triggers.

Fisher et al (2000) believe that theoretically, conflict formation can be explained against the background of 'community relations theory, principled negotiation theory, human need theory, the identity theory and intercultural miscommunication theory'. They argue that under *community relations theory*, conflict arises when there is intra-communal disunity, suspicion and antagonism among different members of the community. On *principled negotiation theory*, they maintain that conflict occurs when the constituent members of interactive groups are not suited for one another. They observe that conflict is bound to occur when certain basic human needs are not satisfied which they attributed to *human needs theory*. Their *intercultural miscommunication theory* is underlined by inability of people to get along with one another owing to certain inherent differences.

All the theories postulated have to explain the problem of Niger Delta in the context of public relations and peace negotiation but more graphically close to the Niger Delta question is that of the human needs theory. Though there is mutual suspicion as to the management of oil related wealth among the oil stakeholders, the fundamental issue has been the paradox of living in abject poverty in the midst of financial abundance (Ndulo, 1999). The failure of the majority of these people to achieve their socio-economic aspiration has often been indicted as the major source of conflict in the Niger Delta region (Onduko, 2001). Onduko concludes that eliminating the cause of conflict in the Niger Delta will only be possible through policies that address the collective interest of the people especially the poor, commitment to rural investment, unbroken electric power supply, human capital development, job opportunities, health care facilities and poverty reduction programmes. Ironically, most of the above mentioned remedies have existed in cosmetic public relations manner which have made it impossible for the people to feel the impact of government intervention. What is lacking is the required public relations paradigm that will provide for the empowerment of public relations functions for it to be supportive to top management through policy oriented counselling, research and adequate feedback on actions of oganisations. This has portrayed the Nigerian government as indifferent to the plight of the people. Costello (2001)

declares that Nigeria has all it takes to eradicate poverty in her region if only there is conscientious fight against corruption and financial recklessness.

3.5 Colonialism, neocolonialism, political economy, globalisation and public relations
Some form of relationship appears to exist between colonialism, neocolonialism, political economy, globalization and public relations. This segment examines the relationship between colonialism, neocolonialism, political economy in relation to conflicts negotiation. Several works reviewed for the purpose of this study tend to indict colonialism and neo-colonialism as causal agents to major conflicts in most regions where the two styles of relationship once existed in the political life of the people especially in the sub- Sahara Africa (Montville, 2001). Political economy and globalization shall also be examined to establish the relationship they have on the socio-economic life of nations where they were introduced and sustained as normative to the process of governance and policy formulation and consequently their implication for public relations practice and peaceful co-existence.

Colonialism derives from a Latin word *colonus* which means farmer. This suggests the use of exploitative strategies to harness a farm in order to secure the harvest of the controlled 'farmland'. It refers to a form of control that subdues the system of government in place prior to its emergence. In more specific term, colonialism represents the dominion of Europe over the remainder of the world. Wherever, colonialism exists, the constituent area is regarded as colony, a term that derives from Latin word, *colonia* meaning farm or settlement. Thus from inception colonialism begins on the platform of collision with existing socio-economic and cultural institutions in the process of establishing its presence and legitimacy in affected territory (Young, 2001)

Colonialism has often been considered a synonymous term to imperialism. Thus, many have in frustration often elect to use colonialism in place of imperialism. However, its root as a Latin word *imperium* which means 'to order' tends to portray it as different in some measure from colonialism. It represents the sovereignty of one nation over the other without necessarily having the contemplation of residing there permanently (Young, 2001). Experts have tried to attribute direct government to colonialism while attributing indirect government that relies on the use of the local authority to imperialism. Though the term imperialism was not commonly in use in the nineteenth century Britain, British effort to expand her empire as it was then known brought a clearer definition to the word. Imperialism as a term gained pre-eminence later to replace Elizabethans

use of *British Empire* that was used to refer to overseas controlled territories indirectly under British hegemony (Young, op cit). Imperialism was subsequently accepted as a term to describe a type of government with military control that effect control of territories indirectly through the local institution of governance.

The rightfulness of colonialism was a question that continued to bother the minds of both scholars and morally persuaded individuals for a long time. Ideologically, the argument for the rightfulness or legitimacy of colonialism was built on the evangelical excuse of taking Christianity to the natives of conquered regions with the objective of converting them to Christianity (Kohn, 2012). In cases where the territory had earlier been conquered by non-Christian, colonialist rationalized that colonialism was the most dependable strategy for wresting such territories from those they consider as unbeliever in order to ultimately rescue and convert the natives to Christianity. While the British colonial architects of the nineteenth century focus more on civilizing their conquered territories, their Spanish counterpart was indicted of genocide in their conquered territory especially when their history of enslaving the Indians is taken into consideration. It was observed that within 20years, the Spanish colonialist had reduced the Hispaniola population of the Indian community from 250,000 to 15,000 through invasion, servitude and persistent conflict (Williams,1990). This development brought a wide range condemnation to the Spanish colonial project.

Franciscus de Victoria was among the critics of the Spanish practice of barbarity but maintained a distinction between natural laws and laws against the nations as the basis for justifying colonial legitimacy or otherwise. Natural laws which were the creation of St. Thomas Aquinas were in the perception of Pope Innocent 1V not a sufficient ground for the Spanish authority to deny the colonists of their rights to their assets simply because they were not Christians. Victoria argues that the legality of Spanish colonialism lacks basis if it was inspired on issue of adultery or idol worship which form the bulk of natural laws as the colony they intend to take over could not be charged for a breach of natural laws; what they did not believe in since they were yet to be Christians. He however observes that justification could be found for the Spanish when their colonialism is stimulated by a desire to protect the Law of Nations especially issue of peaceful co-existence. Victoria's position through series of lectures on Indian's rights, recognizes that all human beings are rational beings which in turn provides for the natural rights adding that the Pope

had no right to wage war against people and confiscate their properties simply because they are not of the Christian faith who were regarded as 'fornicators and thieves' (William, 1990).

The argument that all human beings have the capacity to rationalize could do little to stem the appetite for colonialism, the introduction of a new dimension with emphasis on *culture and cultural pluralism* was perceived to have the capacity for repressing the forces of colonialism (Muthu, 2003). The deficiency associated with universal human capacity for rationality was in the argument of Diderot premised on the fact that when the colonists were found to be involved in practices that appear to be culturally strange to the colonialists, they framed as irrational. Diderot contention was for recognition to be given to *particularity* rather than the universality of human beings as the best approach to challenging colonialism. This new direction of reasoning appears to be inspired by *moeurs,* a French term for culture, which underlines the universality in human desire to carve a particular way of life that will be socially friendly to other human beings rather than universal rationality as the best weapon against colonialism.

Other critics that stood against the legality of colonialism were some of the great nineteenth century philosophers like Kant, Smith and Diderot. They argue that rather than subjugating the rest of the non-European world to slavery, confiscation of assets of colonies, induced labour among others, Europeans should be committed to the process of civilizing the world adding that every human being has a thinking faculty and can succeed in self- governance. Diderot who was described as most vocal in challenging colonialism maintains that because the colonialists were far from their native countries they cannot be subject to norms and moral values that would have helped to shape them culturally and morally into civilized people. He contends that this deficiency makes the colonialists incapable of establishing and sustaining a society driven by moral restraints and values meant for a civilized world (Muthu, 2003). He concludes that colonialism may only be justified if it is taken to a virgin territory that is yet to be inhabited. Contiguous to this logic is developmental history which tends to justify imperialism (Mehta,1999). Mehta argues that though central to liberalism is the universalism of human capacity to rationalize and govern self, developmental history modifies this through the understanding that this capacity to govern self does not spring out at the same time among human being rather it emerges at some stage of human civilization. Mill corroborates this by pointing to the savages as incapable of realizing self-government owing to their disproportionate love for freedom, a constraint imposed by this stage of civilization in their human lives. Innocent 1V shares a similar position as he says that though

no nation should be colonized simply on the ground of their refusal or failure to subscribe to the Christian faith, but any nation that cannot show indication of competence in self-government can be colonized. This perspective tends to portray the civilized nations as fatherly in their imperialistic practices absorbing them of charges of economic exploitation but civilization merchants that seek the good of the native colonists. But the core and periphery theory of Wallerstein (1974-1989) opposes the civilization export as solely the aim of imperialist authorities. Mamdani support this further as he sees colonialism from the perspective of decentralized despotism which portrays colonialism as not only transplant of Western civilization but in itself has tendency to erode the indigenous traditional and social setting of the colonist that amount to cultural annihilation (Mamdani, 1996). Wallerstein in his *world system theory* observes that the world is divided into central nations, a reference to the developed world and border nations, the less developed world, in which the interest of the developed world is to sustain an unchanging coordinated exploitation of the less-developed nations. To establish the fairness in Wallerstein's observation, it is important to examine the legacy of colonialism.

Colonial orientation remains one of most commanding heritage in the formal colonial territories after gaining independence. One major legacy associated with colonialism is the self- centred orientation it bequeathed most of the colonies. Mill observes that self- interest optimization was paramount to colonialism rather than the claim to civilization of the colonised territories (Young, 2001). Another legacy was the capitalistic exploitation of the colonies. Lenin was quick to point at the link between imperialism and accumulated capitalism, arguing that economic exploitation was strategic to imperialism in the colonies of domination. In his pamphlet, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism,* Lenin argues that imperialism was the transfer of economic liability to colonies, a consequence of the search for new markets that would dissolve the effect of over production on domestic economy of colonialist (Lenin, 1999). Decentralized despotism cannot be forgotten on the list of colonial legacy in the colonies. In his book, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism,* Mamdani argues that the systems of government inherited from the colonial administration in the colonies were representation of decentralized despotism. This encapsulates indirect rule and concentration of power among few key figures in the colonies with a clear indication of racial and tribal sentiments in the use of power and justice administration (Mamdani, 1996).

Largely colonial orientation expressed in terms of economic exploitation appears to be pervasive in the distribution of resources among some of the former colonists. While some inherited capitalist orientation, others are social while still some embrace mixed economy. All these economies have come to be explained under political economy which is an extraction of several but related fields of studies such as economics, laws and political science that expound the interaction between political institutions, political environment and economic system involving the capitalist, socialist and mixed economy (Weingast, and Wittman, 2008). The *Journal of Economic Literature classification codes* suggest that political economy is propped by three sub areas namely: the role of government in resource allocation in the context of different economic system, international political economy and economic paradigms for political activities. Government failures in the proper allocation of resources in some of these former colonies have been explained against the background of certain theories but most significantly, the *public choice theory* of the 1960s, which underscores self-centeredness or self-interest in distribution of resources (Tullock, 2008). Self-interest driven approach to distribution of resources reflects not only capitalist tendency but it has been implicated in the spate of conflicts in some of the former colonies. Self-interest attitude represents a consequence of colonial deprivation of the colonists which gives rise to human 'frustration of natural instincts' and desires that drive process of 'conflict and reactive violence '(Montville 2001:130)

Fifty years after colonialism has been eradicated from most of the colonial territories, policy analysts believe that conflicts in this region are still attributed to the effects of colonial orientation (Kanyesigye, 2012). Several theories such as the postcolonial theory, decolonization theory and post-culturalism have largely focused on the aftermath of colonialism and imperialism after colonies have secure independence (Kohn,2010). Kohn, observes that postcolonial theory raises issues of hybridity, diaspora, representation, knowledge and power while decolonization brought issues of economic disequilibrium, reform, violence and political identity to the fore. Kohn may be right when post-colonial influence is examined closely. Many of the former colonies have nationals who were Africans by descent but western in orientation, whose lifestyles hardly portray them as Africans. There are those who by reason of training overseas or as former slaves never returned back or could not re-establish linkage with their place of origin and were compelled to be in diaspora. Those in diaspora have influenced and still continue to influence the African culture and politics. However, the issue of economic disequilibrium in most of the former colonies including Nigeria and by extension the Niger Delta tends to derive from the failure of the post-

colonial governments to embrace national interest but instead express more commitment to personal aggrandizement at the expense of the larger society. In many former colonies, colonialism would herald violence driven culture, social fragmentation, cultural conflicts and helplessness (Gabbidon, 2010). Further effect of colonialism is seen against the backdrop of internal colonial influence in the former colonies that produces social grouping that tends to make one group more human than others (Moore, 1993). This re-echoes the superiority and inferiority categorization mind frame that the colonialists impose on the colonists. This contraption, as Moore points out, portrays the colonialists as the superior, who are competent to rule while the colonists are regarded as less competent. Such in-grouping was inherited by some section of the former colonists categorizing other ethnic nationalities as incapable of taking on the saddle of leadership. For instance, in Nigeria, the average northerner of Islamic background often believe the average person of southern descent is not in a position to exercise rule over them. This has accounted for successive military regimes of over 29 years that were northern dominated. The harvest of this is ethno-centric conflict that tends to be pervasive in leadership with a consequent distribution of national resources with tilts to self-directed inclination. Globalization is examined next with information on global community and its implication for public relations processes and outcome.

Globalization appears to be contentious conceptually. To some it means openness among nations, but to others it is an economic exploitation of the developing world by the developed nations. Since the 80s there has been a remarkable growth of interconnectedness and accessibility between different countries especially the developed and developing countries (Lee and Vivarelli, 2006). Lee and Vivarelli observe that the term often tends to accommodate growth in trade and liberalization policies as well as cutback on cost of transportation and technology transfer.

Much concern has been raised on the question of the impact of globalization focusing attention on issues of economic growth, employment, income distribution and inequalities at international and intra-national levels. Environmental issue, poverty alleviation, human and labour rights protection are equally vital to globalization concept (Lee and Vivarelli, op cit.). Sriramesh (2006) maintains that globalization was propped by three basic factors. According to Sriramesh, these factors include the removal of trade barriers, the media and communication with special reference to Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and lastly the acknowledgement of the need for people of different nationalities to forge a common front against the challenges associated with terrorism, nuclear rise, over-population and environmental issue. Globalization is believed to be

responsible for reduction (Hamelink 1994; Latouche 1995) or growth (Featherstone, Lash and Robertson 1995) of cultural pluralism.

On globalization of public relations, Sriramesh believes that societal and organisational culture is a significant variable that influences the practice of public relations (Grunig and Dozier, 2002). Based on data collected in the 1990s in US, UK and Canada   followed by public relations models and roles oriented studies in Indian, Taiwan and Greece, it became clear that public relations was set for global relevance (Sriramesh, 1992, Grunig, Grunig, Sriramesh, Huang and Lyra, 1995). The studies, especially the Excellence Theory, propose 10 generic principles that can be applied generally across the world. Taking into account five principal variables which consist of political system, economic system, media environment, culture and state of development it was observed that public relations environment is not the same across the world. The five variables which were later condensed into three namely *infrastructure* which comprises of political, economic and activism, *culture* and *media system,* collectively explain public relations practices in almost 40 countries in the world, portraying that public relations environment is unique from one region of the world to another (Sriramesh and Vercic, 2009). This suggests that in a global context, public relations practices will need to adjust its responses according to the uniqueness of each environment in order to effectively address global challenges. It also goes to say that public relations strategies that were effective in one region may not have the guarantee of success in another region.

In this section it is observed that there is a direct relationship between colonialism, neocolonialism, political economy, globalization and conflicts in most of the regions where they occurred (Mamdani, 1996). Colonialism appears to be implicated for the exploitation of the colonies, creating capitalism and selfish orientation that has made post-colonial leadership of most of the regions of former colonies to be less patriotic to their nations (Gang 2010). This development is believed to be at the background of most conflicts in the former colonies including Nigeria in general and the Niger Delta question in particular occasioning socio-economic divide of the 'halves' and the 'halves not', a major vive for activism (Kanyesigye,2012). With a self - directed leadership motivation, public relations programmes have to reel out campaigns that tend to set agenda which lack adequate representation of all strategic stakeholders 'interest in the former colonies. PR campaigns in this context pervasively appear to be skewed in favour of the organisation or government at the expense of other vital stakeholders. Globalization posits that the

world is increasingly de-territorialized through improved transportation and especially ICT thereby creating the impression of a global community (Sriramesh, 2009). The idea of a global community appears to have informed the introduction of the 10 generic public relations principles (Vercic, Grunig and Grunig,1996), which can be applied in different parts of the world. However, the challenges posed by disparity in infrastructural development, culture and media system make it imperative for public relations campaigns to recognize the varying needs of different nations (Sriramesh and Vercic, 2009). Nigeria as a multi-cultural nation needs policy thrust that recognizes her varying cultural context and accordingly provide for the varying socio-economic needs attendant with such variation. This appears to have the potentials for a mutually satisfying relationship required for a long term peace building process.

3.6 Peace Building Paradigm, Conflict Resolution and Public Relations

Peace is described as freedom from disharmony and or social restraints (Reardon & Cabezudo, 2002). Haavelsrud, (1996) describes peace as an enduring project that has the potentials for effecting and sustaining positive change in a human society. This implies that peace is an active social catalyst of change in a society. According to Reardon and Cabezudo (2002) peace catalyzes change through interactive series of activities that seek to promote social equilibrium in terms of equity, justice and respect for fundamental human rights but seek to diminish the presence of savagery and repressive elements to the full realization of societal goals.

Though peace may exist in different forms, Galtung (1990) maintains that peace tends to exist in two basic forms. He opines that peace may either be negative or positive arguing that freedom from physical hurt represents negative peace while freedom from disequilibrium in the distribution of resources symbolizes positive peace. Galtung points out that negative peace is reactive while positive peace is proactive. Buttressing his point, Galtung admits that negative peace is reactive because it strives to end an existing or threatening conflict. Since this is a cessation, he describes this as the most popular public acknowledgement of peace driven regime. He however, consigns positive peace to the process that challenges the fundamental structures that have the potentials of generating conflict with the primary goal of reducing or eliminating such structures. This appears to offer an enduring period of peace which Kevin (2004) describes as stable peace. Significantly, most peace negotiation cases tend to represent more of cessation that is reactive rather than proactive peace negotiation strategies.

Different scholars have tried to come up with the concept of peace building. But peace building as a term first became prominently associated with Boutros Boutros-Ghali[30] in 1992. The term has over time assume a wider dimension, to admit supportive measures to political as well as religious institutions that strengthen the peace building process. According to Lederach (1995), peace building is expected to be an enduring commitment with emphasis on mobilization of resources, including material, money, labour, and associated strategies designed to promote positive relationship. By implication the essence of peace building process is to translate existing relationship from negative to positive status on a sustainable platform. This compels significant aspects of structural and psychological transformation. The goal is not for transient cessation of crisis but long term thus a holistic appreciation of the fundaments to this enduring legacy of stable peace where justice and fairness reign is highly essential (Fisher et al, 2000). The road to enduring peace is conflict resolution, but where this is elusive, the inevitable becomes conflict transformation. In other word, conflict transformation is not stable peace but management of conflict through changes of certain variables that have the potential for conflict escalation in such a way as to make stakeholders live together but not in the atmosphere of holistic reconciliation. This is very common with cultural conflict as the case of Israeli and Palestinian regression relationship.

Conflict reduction measures have assumed different dimensions and conceptual terminology. Conflict reconciliation as a dimension to conflict attenuation is found to be unrealistic especially in the context of cultural conflict (Burges et al, 1997; Lederach, 1995 and Vayrinen, 1991). They argue that where such happens the resort is made to conflict transformation which does not lead to conflict eradication but management of the relationships by attacking danger prone area. Though it could be difficult to achieve peace reconciliation stage, it is imperative that effort should be directed at conflict resolution process. Besides, borrowing from Oslo peace negotiation process, public opinion had consistent support for peace resolution rather than transformation (Shinar, 2003).

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[30] Boutros-Ghali, as the then United Nation Secretary-General, used the term peace building to refer to a broad range of strategies or activities that were designed towards crisis interception. This was part of his launch pad representation of his peace agenda at the assumption of office.

Different forms of conflict resolution exist. For the purpose of peace building, experts agree that nine forms of conflict resolution are dependable (Plowman, Briggs and Huang, 2001). These forms of conflict resolution according to the foregoing experts include *contention, cooperation, accommodation, avoidance, unconditional constructive, compromise, principled* and *mediated.* Plowman et al believes that *contention* as a form of conflict resolution process in which there is imposition of one's viewpoint or opinion on others. This is not different from persuasive communication and organisation focused public relations practice which has little or no sympathy for other stakeholders or especially the strategic publics. The implication of this is the difficulty in achieving effective conflict resolution but instead conflict management. Conflict management is not known to be the most desirable end to peace building process since it often has the potentials for escalating into further conflict but in the absence of conflict resolution, conflict management becomes inevitable. It is however argued that a better approach to peace building process is conflict transformation which is considered to be a new concept and more comprehensive (Rupesinghe (1995, 1998). Rupesingle sees conflict transformation as an all embracing strategy because of its inclusion of conflict resolution training, diplomatic and peace keeping supports in the peace building process.

Cooperation is the joining of forces together by stakeholders towards achieving a result that is profitable to all concern. To a large extent, mutual profitability is the destination of conflict resolution, since the freedom of stakeholders from dissatisfaction is the pathway to peaceful co-existence. Cooperation exists when all stakeholders believe that they secure satisfactory answers to whatever question that would have warranted the eruption of conflict in the first place. *Accommodation* is a surrender and or a re-invention of goal probably in the face of pressure. This approach may lead to realization of peace oriented goal if the process is at the initiative of the stakeholder who accepts defeat and draw dawn on his ambition in the context of conflict resolution strategies. On use of *Avoidance* strategy, Plowman et al believe it involves the resolve of one or all the stakeholders to the conflict to take to psychological or physical exit. When this occurs, there is the likelihood that stable peace will survive as long as those who retire from the conflict remain in their respective status-quo. *Unconditional constructive,* as Plowman et al argue, is the bringing together of the line of action of all stakeholder at the instance of one or more stakeholders without expecting other stakeholders to fulfill any form of requirement. The import here is that steps taken towards reconciliation may not place equal demand on all concern. The important factor here is

that the success of this approach tends to be a function of whether stakeholders to the peace building process find the expected result mutually satisfactory or not. The use of *compromise* means that stakeholders to the conflict mutually seek alternative point of concord to their respective areas of interest. This approach may result in conflict resolution when all stakeholders to the conflict are willing to shift ground in their respective positions. When stakeholders adopt *principled* approach, there is the tendency that they might not have a meeting point except their respective positions are alike. *Win/win or no Deal* according to Plowman et al, is a point of temporary truce by the stakeholder in question until a more convenient time when they can go back to the conflict resolution process. The last on the list of approaches to conflict resolution, *mediated* is basically the use of a third party that has neutral interest to the conflict in question. Most often the third party do feign to have no partisan interest, but in reality they are found to have hidden agenda of self centred interest. When viewed against the backdrop of the role of the Federal Governments of Nigeria in the Niger Delta context, it often tends to use the media to convince the larger society that they have a neutral interest in the oil related crisis in the Niger Delta between the oil companies and the oil communities but the reality has often times betrayed the position of the government as skewed in favour of the oil companies against the interest of the oil communities.

Scholars have suggested a linkage between the conflict resolution process and public relations. Some of such scholars are Grunig and Ehling (1992) who believe that public relations management and the peace-building process have significant relationship. The question is what kind of relationship exists between conflict phenomenon and public relations practice? In answer to this question, resort is made first to the observation of Grunig James. According to Grunig (1992) both are interdependent since they are invented together. But how interdependent are they? Does it mean that public relations depends on conflict phenomenon or conflict phenomenon on public relations? The answer to this question was not found in the work of Grunig who simply notes they were invented together. To resolve this puzzle, other PR experts below have tried to proffer answers.

Mintzberg (1983) notes that public relations influences decision making process of top management of organisations. Lattimore et al contend that when conflict situation occurs, public relations take it as a responsibility to move the stakeholders away into the path of resolution. This

implies that public relations has the potentials to influence decision associated with conflict resolution process. This further suggests that public relations has the capacity to intervene in conflict situation rather than encourage it. The only ground on which there is the possibility of public relations dependence on conflict resolution process is in proving its relevance in terms of return on investment (ROI) when decisions it influences consequently produce freedom from conflict; the desired state for productive co-existence in an economic sense (Grunig 2006). Again, by way of its agenda building potentials, rooted in agenda setting theory, public relations practice has direct causal relationship with conflict by way of public issues it agendas. In this context public relations has the potential to create and resolve conflict situations. Public relations may encourage conflict situation when its practice unethically seeks to please organisation at the expense of the larger society. When this occurs, it subsequently resorts to use of negative propaganda and persuasion in the hope of achieving alignment with the strategic publics. This is evident in the asymmetrical theory (Grunig, 2006), hence the two-way symmetrical model was subsequently proposed as the basis for forging a healthy relationship between organisation and the publics (Grunig and Stamm,1973). Grunig further argues that the effectiveness of organisation remains a function of the extent to which it 'fulfills corporate goals as well as aspirations of the publics' (p159).

Public relations intervention in conflict situation was traced to post-modern public relations model. Toth (2007) delineates this model as bearing four facets namely (1) issues management (Heath, 2006), (2) relationship management (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2000; Ferguson, 1984; Ledingham and Bruning, 2000), (3) communication management (Grunig and Hunt 1984) and (4) rhetorical facet (Toth and Heath, 1992). Toth's model tends to summarize the position of different scholars on the interventionist model. Grunig (2006) believes that for organisations to be socially responsible, they should always track down the effects of its policies and action on the environment and symmetrically relate with the affected publics.

First Toth believes that public relations intervenes in issues management. Issue management represents the degree of sensitivity of an organisation to changes in its internal or external environment (Ansoff, 1980). These changes could have negative or positive impact on how the organisation operates (Grunig,2006) but calls for prompt response with the intention of taking the organisation to advantage point. However very often, such effort derives from sentiments that are

skewed in favour of the organisation without equal concern for the interest of other stakeholders (p155). It is only when organisation understands and identifies with the needs and aspirations of all stakeholders that it stabilizes on the path of effectiveness.

3.7 Conclusion

It is evident from the literature review that self-oriented interest, self- directed concern, inadequate exposure to relevant information and a sense of dissatisfaction have the potentials that can lead to conflict situations. The literature review suggests that public relations processes can bring about mutually beneficial relationship between organisations and their target publics. This is only possible when public relations programmes take into cognizance the varying needs of stakeholders and evolve strategies that offer mutually beneficial results. It was discovered that peaceful co-existence is essential for the meaningful realization of diverse aspirations of stakeholders. The literature further notes that infrastructure neglect and socio-economic underdevelopment in the Niger Delta are products of failure of the government, oil companies and oil communities to embrace a mutually beneficial relationship within the region. It is argued that individuals, corporate entities and their relevant target publics require wholehearted commitment to the processes that seek the realization of mutually satisfactory goals for all stakeholders if peaceful co-existence is to be sustained. The fundamental goal of public relations in peace building and negotiation process is to catalyze the process of peace building initiatives rather than discourage it by strategically influencing corporate policies and practices in relation to stakeholders' interest. But it is only the modern public relations theories rooted in two-way symmetrical orientation that has the capacity for forging and sustaining an enduring peaceful co-existence significantly especially on a long term basis.

Chapter Four

4.0 Research Methodology

The ultimate aim of this study is to evaluate the nature of public relations programmes of the government and the oil companies in the oil communities in order to establish if they have any direct relationship with peace building process in the Niger Delta. This further developed into the three pronged research objectives which are to establish: 1.the nature of public relations practice that the government and the oil companies have carried out in relation to the oil rich communities in the Niger Delta. 2. the contribution the nature of public relations practice has made towards peace building process on a long term basis and 3. the relationship that exists between the nature of public relations and the two-way symmetrical model of public relations as postulated in the excellence theory relation to the Niger Delta, and 4. the way forward in terms of appropriate recommendation for a sustainable long term peaceful and productive environment. The major components of the research methodology consist of the conceptual and theoretical perspective of the research method, research design, study population, sampling techniques, research instrument, data collection, data analysis and the ethical background of the study.

4.1 Conceptual Perspective to the research methodology

This study evaluates the public relations processes and outcomes in the Niger Delta in the context of oil mineral resource distribution in relation to the various efforts of the government and oil producing companies to build a peaceful environment for all the stakeholders in the oil bearing region. The literature review was achieved through critical study of relevant literatures and writing. However, for the purpose of gathering primary data for this study, fieldwork was carried out to establish the effectiveness of the various public relations programmes of government in collaboration with multi- national oil producing companies in the oil communities in the Niger Delta. Ultimately, the study hopes to ascertain if the oil mineral resource distribution among stakeholders in the oil region was conducted in line with the public relations model that has the capacity to drive the process of building and sustaining positive relationship among the stakeholders and if so, to establish how they have contributed to long term peace building process.

The research is a blend of quantitative and qualitative methods. Thus theoretically, this research methodology anchors on the positivistic and phenomenological theoretical viewpoints expecting that this combination is the best way to negotiate away from errors that would otherwise have been

courted if either method had been used without the other (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003; Creswell 2002).

Positivism was chosen from array of other theories since it appears not only to be in the list of the most dominant theoretical underpinnings for social science research but it is considered to be most appropriate for the kind of research problem in question (Gray, 2014). Gray argues that positivism is the belief that the 'social world exists externally to the researcher and… its properties can be measured directly through observation' (p21). Gray underlines three dimensions of positivism. First, he argues, that positivism means that everything that exists or could exist in real life is accessible to the senses. Second, as opposed to philosophical conjecture, positivism relies on a process of scientific investigation or preferably empirical inquiry to arrive at facts. Third, that one logical and methodological assumption is true of natural and 'human sciences' for interacting with facts (p21). This suggests that through scientific inquiry into the social world accuracy of fact is more likely to be realized. This underlies the argument of Suki et al (2004) as they maintain that the discovery of accurate fact is a function of scientific method of knowing about the social world. This approach is popularly referred to as empiricist because it posits that the human senses are dependable windows for securing authentic information about the social world. Positivism has been criticised as one of the greatest weakness of 'modern philosophy' (William and May, 1996:27). However, Johnson, Onwuegbuzie &Turner (2007) believe that the backbone of modern quantitative researchers are post-positivists who have to study independent reality but caution that all observations are prone to error. They however contend that within this margin of error, significant degree of truth can still be discovered.

Phenomenological model which relies on the perception of research subjects as a way of constructing social reality was adopted for this study. According to Gray, phenomenological paradigm requires that for 'new meaning' to evolve, current knowledge should be kept aside and rely on the benefit of 'immediate past experience (p24). Gray argues that this approach is to discourage the intrusion of bias into the research process. This suggests the need for a researcher to have a neutral mind-set and freedom from prejudgement in order to deliver new discovery. O'Leary (2010) believes that phenomenological study is descriptive, which probes further into the consciousness of the research subjects in order to establish how they perceive the social reality. He sees this method of research as a simplifying approach to the rigours and mystics that statistics tend to impose on the process of comprehending research reports. It uses individual based interviews

conversationally or explore existing documents in the form of content analysis to arrive at authentic data.

This study draws its inspiration from the research template on the, *Guidelines for measuring relationships in Public relations.* This template is a product of a group of experts in public relations under the leadership of Dr Linda Childers Hon and Dr James E Grunig which was eventually presented as a gold paper on behalf of the Institute of Public Relations in 1999. The efforts of Childers and Grunig were built on the 1997 attempts by the Institute of Public Relations Research and Education to provide guidelines for measuring and evaluating PR effectiveness. Through research it was discovered that the most effective way of determining the outcome of organisation's long term relationship with its strategic publics derives from focusing on six components of relationship. These components as mentioned elsewhere are: *control mutuality; trust; satisfaction; commitment; exchange relationship and communal relationship.* This study relies on these six components in evaluating the nature of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies in the oil communities in the Niger Delta. The idea behind the choice of the Institute for Public Relations guidelines lies in the capacity of the template to meet the required research method threshold for study of this kind in terms of: reliability, validity, representativeness and generalization to other research studies.

Seitel (2004) proposes what can be termed as the basic standard for conducting public relations research. First, he maintains that distinct PR programme objectives and expected results as defined in corporate aims should be determined. Second factor in the search for basic standard, as he points out, is distinguishing between measuring public relations in a short term basis with specific reference to 'output' such as volume of media coverage exposure of a certain PR communication and long term basis, which usually involves 'outcome'. Third, as he opines, is the need for evaluating media contents at the preliminary stage of measuring public relations process. Fourth, Seitel extols the relevance of blending different methods based on the fundamental realization that no one method is sufficient for establishing public relations effectiveness. Fifth, he suggests the need for caution in comparing public relations effectiveness with advertising effectiveness. The reason, according to him, is that while advertising contents are subject to control, public relations contents are not[31]. Sixth, he concludes that the most reliable measurement of public relations

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[31] Advertising content is said to be controlled because the advertiser determines its message in terms of size, location, and time of presenting the message to the relevant audience or prospective customers for having paid for it. Public relations contents such as the news release is not paid for by the source and as such, it is not within the

effectiveness comes from an organisation that has well-defined crucial communication, publics and needed channel of communication. Concluding, Lindenmann (1997) maintains that public relations measurement can only be achieved when it is related to the entire corporate 'goals, strategies and tactics.'

4.2 Research Design

In conceptualizing the design for this research, contentious challenges have to be confronted particularly in terms of where to locate the research design and draw the necessary boundaries. First was to establish what research design was about, in the hope that with such understanding, it will be relatively easy to gain the right perspective for the choice of the design for this study. Gray (2014) defines research design as a 'plan' that is the bedrock to the collection, measurement and analysis of data (p128). Moira (2004) describes research design as 'an integrated map' for a research undertaking (p130). It is evident that it gives the direction in the process of conducting a research more correctly.

Research design is a crucial aspect of this research process. Gray points out that research design portrays the aim of the study, the research questions, the method of collecting data, sampling procedure and the way data will be analysed. Most importantly here, there is the need to establish a research design on which this study was structured. Moira (op cit) believes that three essential factors guide the structuring rule. First, he points out that well defined 'questions, problem or hypothesis' is essential. Secondly, that methods intended for the research process should be able to evolve reliable data analysis that provide answers to the research problem. Third, the research process should have regard for 'ethical research practice' (p130). This study agrees with the position of Moira that is the three-fold principle which tends to direct the path of this research in terms of defined research questions, dependable data analysis with focus on resolving the research problems earlier defined and leverage within the influence of ethical approval of the Ethics Panel Committee of the University of Salford. Next is the question of how should research design be classified? Research design might appear to be the same but in practice it is evident that it represents different shades of classifications, though for the purpose of this research, the essential ones are examined in the following paragraph.

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control of the organisation that generate it but the editorial team that decide the time of its occurrence, size of message and location in the media that is whether it should be cover page or inside page of a newspaper or not.

Two broad base types of research design are available to the researcher within the context of controllability as a constant factor. It is important to establish the types of research available to this study in order to locate the root of the research design adopted for this research. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2002) believe that research design can be divided into two major groups within the context of control or manipulation by the researcher. This implies that while some research designs can be controlled others are not subject to the control of the researcher. However, Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias agree that research designs can be grouped into four major types namely: *experimental, quasi-experimental, cross-sectional and pre-sectional* (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2002). They argue that experimental research design is subject to the control of the researcher since the elements of analysis are randomly allocated to an experimental set though, the independent variable may have been made known to the group involved in the experiment. They further point out that the experimental research design provides for 'comparison, control, manipulation and generalizability' (p115). They maintain that quasi-experimental research design may consist of some of the elements found in experimental design but in terms of control and randomness they differ. They conclude that even cross-sectional research design does not have what it takes to establish relationship that might exist between two or more variables. The experimental and quasi-experimental research designs are regarded as more popular to the natural sciences' research than the social sciences (Gray, 2014). This finding accounts mainly for its exclusion in the selection of research design for this research process.

Though it appears that experimental research design is likely to generate more reliable research outcome, the trend that is of research relevance to social science is not within the framework of control or manipulation (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2002). Moira (2004) argues that though experimental design has been more in use in the laboratory, it has been of late found to be part of research resource in the social sciences. In this respect, Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias disagree, pointing out that what appears to be of significance to the social sciences is the quasi-experimental and or pre-experimental and not the experimental research design.

It is important to note that cross-sectional design provides the most suitable research design for the purpose of this study. Why? It has been observed that cross-sectional design is not only the most common design in use in the social sciences, it has the closest relationship with survey (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2002). The independent variable of this study is not subject to control, if

it were possible this would have made experimental design a better choice. The independent variable is peace while the dependent variable is the public relations processes. While peace cannot be manipulated, it is possible for public relations processes to be reviewed and re-initiated in the face of modification if by so doing peace can be stimulated. This is the underlying principle that governs the two-way symmetrical theory which postulates the need for organisation to accept changes in their policy and action just as they will expect the society or other stakeholders to do. For the purpose of the research questions and research problems in this study against the background of time and material constraints, there could not have been a more appropriate research design than the cross sectional research design. Gray (2014) advises that when the 'timeframes for research' is short it is better to rely on the cross-sectional research design which uses survey as one of its methods for the collection of primary data.

4.3 Study population

In this section, it is important to establish those that should have the answers to the questions this research is aimed at resolving. The word, *population* refers to the 'total membership' of a given set of people, objects or events (O'Leary, 2010:161). O'Leary argues that in social science research going by the quantitative approach, the research process relies on the answers that the defined people give. According to O'Leary, the essence of relying on the population is to secure a broad societal representation in order to establish what 'they think, feel or do'(p160). He further points out that in qualitative research, the population might not be as large as that of quantitative, but the most fundamental issue is identifying the location or source of the answers to defined research problems. Bloch (2004) insists that study population may not always be people rather they can be institutions or organisation such as schools, hospital, government or businesses especially when it has to be a survey.

Since every element of the population is vital to the search for answers to the research questions, it would have been recommended that all be included as respondents. But the task is enormous particularly in locating those who 'are appropriate, representative, open, honest, knowledgeable, have good memories and are not afraid' to express themselves (Bloch, 2004:161). The implication is that mapping out the right elements that constitute the population itself is a difficult task. Apart from that, another challenge is being able to conduct survey on every element of the population even if the right population is accessed. O'Leary (2010) agrees that any attempt at conducting a census, which is the survey of every element in the population is not practicable. He argues that it

is not possible to reach the entire population, since it might be either too small or too large. The question is what should be the way out? O'Leary suggests that information can be generated from a sizable number that are likely to represent the entire population in terms of 'feeling, thought, attitude, knowledge and beliefs' (p161). This makes the use of a sample inevitable in this context and for this reason it was adopted in this research.

The census population of the Niger Delta, the focus of this study is 33,616,000 million going by the 2015 projected census report. This consists of all stakeholders to the oil related relationships in the Niger Delta. The stakeholders who can be broadly classified into active and the passive group consist of community heads, the representatives of oil producing companies, federal government, state governments of the nine oil producing states, students and staff of tertiary institutions, staff of development commissions and any entity that has a stake in the oil related relationship. However, since it has been established above of the inappropriateness of collecting data from all the elements in the study population, a sample is extracted for this research process.

4.4 Sampling

It has been established that a census survey is not convenient for the purpose of achieving answers to the research question and or problem given the background of time, financial and human resource constraints. This makes the process of picking the element in a population inevitable in a research process (Gray 2014). At this point, it is necessary to offer some explanation on, why sample was chosen, sampling frame, sample selection, ascertaining sample size, types of sample and sampling method.

4.4.1 Sample

A sample is described as the sub-group within a population of study. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2003) maintain that a sample is that subset of a population that generate data that can be generalized to the entire group or population. A sample implies the data collected from a sub set of a population which are eventually regarded as representative of the whole population. This study relied on a sample since it is believed to be representative of the entire study population.

The decision to use a sample instead of the entire population is largely influenced by certain factors. O'Leary (2010) agrees that three reasons often help to explain why a sample is preferred for research purposes instead of the entire population. First, he believes that a sample makes the research process to be more easily managed. Second, he adds that a sample makes it possible for

the researcher to gain access to those elements that could have been difficult to reach if it was the entire population. Third, he explains that a sample can be used to represent the entire population with some degree of certainty. A sample is usually extracted from a list of every element in a population. The next unit explains briefly what a sampling frame can do in the research process.

4.4.2 Sampling Frame

A sampling frame consists of a whole list of the elements in the population. Gray (2014) calls it 'the operational definition of the population'. (p472). According to Gray, the importance of a sampling frame cannot be ever emphasized especially in conducting a survey. He however maintains that the degree of relevance may not be as high in small scale research such as a focus group study. Steward et al (2007) agree that a sampling frame is a fair representation of the whole population. O'Leary argues that naturally, there is expected to be an alignment between the sampling frame and the study population but it is often unrealistic. He justifies his position by pointing out that securing the full list is often difficult. He concludes that the most important thing is to make sampling frame to reflect the study population as much as possible.

It has been established that in compiling sample frame certain drawbacks surface. In view of this possible development, Frankfork-Nachmias and Nachmias (2002) suggest that researcher should always evaluate the sampling frame before deciding on the issue of a sample size. Leslie (1965) identifies three major challenges associated with sampling frame to include *incomplete sampling frame, clusters of elements* and *foreign elements* (p27). He recommends that for incomplete sampling frame, it is advisable to seek for an additional list that possibly complements the incomplete edition. He adds that where it is concerned with a cluster of elements, it is better to take a sample of any block where they are clustered and list out the constituent elements separately. His recommendation for the third challenge is that a large sample should be selected so that it will be easy to fill any gap created by the incomplete edition. The sampling frame of this study was based on the available census record of the Nigeria Population Census of 2010. Though there were some reported discrepancies, it roughly reflects the projected figure of the study population as at the moment.

4.4.3 Types of sample

The theory of sampling recognizes some form of classification in the sampling process. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2002) agree that the theory of sampling specifies two types: *probability and non-probability sampling.* Though these two are not engaged in this study, it is important

offering some explanation on them as it will assist in establishing why the sampling design adopted below was chosen.

4.4.4 Probability Sampling

In course of searching for the right sample design it was observed that probability sampling offers the opportunity for all research subjects in a study population to be equally represented. The implication is that emphasis is on representativeness which makes it probable for any element in the study population to be selected as the random method of selection recognises no partiality (Gray 2014; Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 2002). Gray, Nachmias and Nachmias point out that probability sampling offers the following types of sample designs namely: *Simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling and cluster sampling.*

4.4.5 Simple random sampling is described as the design that gives equal and known chance to every element in the sampling frame the opportunity to be selected. The emphasis is random selection based on equal and predictable opportunity. Gray argues that simple random sampling can lead to either over or under sampling. He suggests that to avoid the temptation of either over or under sampling, it is better to go for systematic or stratified sampling.

4.4.6 Systematic sampling involves selection of every *K*th unit after the selection of the first element on a random basis until the desired sample size is achieved. Gray believes that the K is known as the sampling interval. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias believe that the use of a table of random digit can assist in achieving the selection of the first number. They argue that systematic sampling is simpler to use than simple random sampling. They add that systematic random sampling is also easier to amend especially when the study population is very large.

4.4.7 Stratified random sampling appears to be enhanced version of simple random and systematic sampling. According to Gray it is an improvement over simple random and systematic sampling. Gray observes that stratified random sampling guarantees a higher level of representativeness and reduces errors associated with sampling more than the preceding ones mentioned above. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias agree that this type of sampling makes it possible for people of different group within a study population to be sufficiently represented. They add that to secure homogeneity of the different group, the researcher is expected to rely on prior information about the study population to segment the population into groups. They further point out that when the segmented groups are combined they ultimately reflect the heterogeneous composition of the population.

Though stratified random sampling affords the opportunity for the core groups to be represented, it has the disadvantage of not always making it possible for the researcher to access prior information required for the effective segmentation of the sampling frame.

4.4.8 Cluster sampling involves selecting a large group out of which the researcher generates the sample from the group selected. The initial group is what is called cluster because all the sample elements are accessed in one location through simple random sampling or stratified sampling process (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2002). The implication is that cluster sampling makes it possible to gain access to research elements that would have ordinarily been difficult to access. However, Gray (2014) argues that sometimes certain cluster groups may not comprise of the desired size of sample units. It is against this background that Dattalo (2010) points out that cluster sampling has the potential of courting two-fold sampling error. His position is based on the contention that once error registers at the cluster group stage, the selection of the sample units is bound to inherit this. The foregoing sampling designs do not fit into the framework of this study and they were not accepted for this research purpose going by the inherent weakness associated with it.

 4.*4.8 Non-probability Sampling*
Sampling designs within the confines of non-probability sampling have one common fundamental feature that tends to distinguish them from probability sampling. This is the absence of equal or known chance to all research subjects in the sampling process. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2002) agree that non-probability sampling can be classified into three namely *convenience sampling, purposive sampling* and *quota sampling.*

4.4.9 Convenience sampling simply involves research subjects that are most readily available or nearby (Gray, 2014). Gray maintains that convenience sampling is the most popular type of sampling method mainly because it is most cost efficient in terms of money, time and human resources. But he castigated convenience sampling for lack of reliability since it is not only unplanned but without focus.

 4.4.10 Purposive sampling is achieved by relying on the discretion of the researcher in the selection of the sample unit. Gray (2014) observes that the use of purposive sampling is for a small scale study sometimes involving single case but usually with the expectation that those selected are the best placed source of reliable data. This type of sample is also called judgement sampling because the decision on who should be included is the judgement of the researcher. The major challenge

with the purposive sampling, as Gray points out, is the possibility of leaving out an important source of data by the researcher in the sampling process.

4.4.11 Quota sampling involves the use of non-random approach to select data until the desired number predetermined by the researcher is attained (Gray 2014). Gray argues that while quota sampling offers the benefit that guarantees equal stratum or group, there is the failure of some strata to be truly representative of the entire population

4.5 Sampling technique

The study relies on the use of *Stratified random sampling* and *cluster sampling* techniques for the purpose of data collection. While primary data collected on the member of the oil producing communities relied on stratified random sampling, cluster sampling was used for data on government and oil companies' representatives. Stratified implies recognition of the different segments that constitute the study population in order to ensure a fair representation of different strata of respondents who are connected with the study population in question. Clive (2004) observes that stratified sample is more 'representative though more complex' (p174). The stratification approach recognises the various groups of respondents that make up the study population. They include the chiefs, university lecturers, students, and the government officials. Within each stratum, a random sampling was adopted to give equal representation to all members of the selected group. Random approach was involved once the relevant stratum was identified which gives the respondents equal opportunity to be represented. Lattimore et al (2007) argues that random sampling is a more scientific survey method in public relations research. This is attributed to the equal and fair representativeness it accords all relevant respondents in the study population. Cluster sampling targets the oil company staff and government representatives within certain geographical locations designated for this study in the Niger Delta.

The assumptions that drive the use of stratified random and cluster sampling is that the attitudes of the chiefs from the oil producing communities vary from that of the students, just as both the attitudes of the community heads and students differ from that of university staff. The use of cluster sampling for government officials and staff of oil companies on the issue of the relationship between oil related public relations practice and peace building process in the Niger Delta region was informed by the fact that they aggregate around certain locations or work places.

Using the proportional approach which involves sampling of the 1/10 or 10percent of each stratum suggests that of the 300 fraction, the study population could have been 20,000,000. The idea is to break the different groups into homogenous units in which a random sample is generated giving every member of the study population equal chance of being selected.

4.5.1 Sample size

It is evident from the above that the study population is too large for the purpose of data collection. Since the study population is too large, a census survey cannot be carried out making the use of a sample inevitable (O'Leary, 2010). Seitel (2004) observes that a sample should be representative of the entire study population that are relevant to the primary data collection. A sample size of 400 was therefore selected as respondents for the data collection for this study. The sample consists of community heads, university students, university staff, staff of oil development commissions and staff of the oil companies in Edo, Delta and Bayelsa States. This sample distribution is representative of all stakeholders to the oil related issues in the Niger Delta. However, for the purpose of effective representation, two sets of questionnaire were developed. Two hundred and fifty (250) copies of the questionnaire were directed at the oil producing communities which are made up of community heads, university students and staff. The second set of 150 copies of the questionnaire was designed to be administered on government officials and staff of the oil producing companies.

A focus group study of 30 students was constituted through purposive sampling as a separate sample to answer some questions through unstructured interview. It was unstructured as the participants were served open ended questions which gave each participant the opportunity to freely express their various opinions. Effort was made to ensure that those who were served questionnaire earlier were not part of the three sessions of focus groups. The strata of the respondent designated for this research are those who are perceived to be well informed about the general status of the oil related crisis in the Niger Delta. These are representatives of the study population because they are part of and close to the illiterates and people at the grassroots. The thirty (30) university students of ten in each focus group session, were purposively selected to generate complementary data. It was purposively selected to reflect the characteristics of the different ethnic groups in the Niger Delta as the convergence of these ethnic nationalities was easily accessed at the university.

4.6 Data collection method

Various forms of data collection exist in the social science research process. It is important to point out the different forms of data collection available in the social sciences briefly before narrowing down on the one chosen for this study with supportive reasons for this decision.

Nachmias and Nachmias (2002) identify four forms of data collection in the social sciences namely observation, survey, 'secondary data analysis and qualitative research. While the first two are common categorisation, the last two point to action carried after data collection and type of research respectively. Gray (2014) outlines seven methods of data collection which include 'questionnaire, interviewing, non-participant observation, ethnographic and participant observation, focus group, unobtrusive measures and secondary analysis. Lattimore et al (2007) note that in a public relations research context, there are two methods of data collection namely 'descriptive and inferential methods'(p98). They however add that whether descriptive or inferential, data can be collected through 'observation, interviews and questionnaire. The position of Lattimore et al confirms that public relations research process also supports the method of data collection in the social sciences. This is attributed to the historical connection between public relations and social science because the former is regarded as an extraction of the latter.

This study relied mainly on the use of survey which has been accepted to be the most popular methods of data collection in the social sciences (Gray 2014). One major reason for its popularity was its relative high degree of reliability. Survey is classified as a form of formal research in public relations (Lattimore et al 2007). Other forms of formal research in use in the public relations field include observation, communication audits and content analysis (Seitel 2004). He concludes that use of each method offers its relative benefits from which any modern public relations researcher can choose. However, survey has increasingly become more regularly in use in public relations research compared to observation and experimentation (Seitel 2004; Lattimore et al 2007). Seitel argues that application of survey for a wide range of societal issues has been on the increase. Corroborating the position of Seitel, Lattimore et al believe that survey is the most efficient method of securing access to data for 'planning and evaluating' public relations programmes (p95). This study therefore uses the survey for the collection of quantitative data. Explanation and justification on the use of survey in this study will be examined in the following section.

4.7 Survey Research

This study prefers the use of survey because it is considered to be the most reliable method of achieving an evaluative study in the context of this research. The survey is more positioned to answer questions on how the federal government and oil companies have used public relations programmes to contribute to a long term positive relationship or otherwise in the Niger Delta. O'Leary (2010) describes the survey as a 'process of collecting data by asking a range of individuals the same questions related to their characteristics, attributes, how they live or their opinions through questionnaire'(p181). It implies that instead of seeing questionnaire and survey as separate methods of data collection, the former can be regarded as a tool of the latter in the research process. This is the position of this study.

The adoption of survey method was born out of the need for a data collection process that provides support for the quality of evaluative study that is of interest to this research. If there is a process that is *defensible, consistent and dispassionate,* it is the survey approach which makes it more of a better choice compared to other process of data collection such as observation or communication audits and content analysis (Gray 2014). This suggests that going by the demand of this study especially when faced with finding out what people think or say and the need to effectively manage high volume of data, the survey is comparatively the best choice. A brief explanation below will offer the justification for the use of the survey approach.

To justify the choice for survey method as defensible some comparative information is provided below. Patton (2002) believes that the observation method in which the research subjects are aware of the process of data collection on their activities can hardly be defensible. Gray points out that the other option would have been a veiled observation but there is the question of ethical breach. The choice of survey evolves from the higher value it brings to bear on the research process in comparison to other methods of data collection. Though Gray suggests that long term observation is likely to generate invaluable results, he argues that the best evaluative approach is the one that is not merely concerned about collection of information about things or people. This position makes survey to be highly significant in the evaluative study as it embraces collection of data on opinions, attitudes and behaviour among others (Hansen et al, 1998). This implies that survey passes the test of being of better value comparatively in the portfolio of evaluative research approach especially as it affords the opportunity for establishing what the respondents think or say instead of only what they do as in observation or communication audits and content analysis (Seitel, 2004).

Secondly, an effective evaluative process is expected to be consistent. Oppenheim (1992) maintains that a trustworthy evaluative process is 'consistent.' Further, he explains that such consistence involves two factors, namely the possibility for its findings to be verified and the capacity for it to generate analogous result when used for the same data purpose under a different setting.

Thirdly, survey is believed to be relatively free from bias hence it was adopted for this study. Though Patton (2002) argues that freedom from bias is a function of the integrity of the researcher or assistants, he concludes that for findings to be accepted as credible they have to be placed side by side with the findings of a related study, compare with a previous study, reconcile with defined aims and or compare with established professional standards extraneous to the study or paradigm of study within the same speciality. In this context, it is expected that this research process will guarantee some measure of freedom from bias suggesting its findings will be largely reliable.

4.7.1 Forms of Survey Research

Survey has been variously categorized. While in one it is on the basis of the goal it achieves, the other is on the basis of coverage. Both categorisations are considered here briefly to provide the rationale for the choice of survey research this study has adopted. For the purpose of the categorisation towards achieving the desired goal, survey research includes *descriptive* and *explanatory* or *analytical* (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 2002, Gray 2014 and O'Leary 2010). In terms of coverage, survey research consists of *census survey research* and *representative survey research* (O'Leary 2010).

Descriptive survey research measures defining features of a defined study population with the aim of establishing what happened within a given period of time. Gray (2010) believes that descriptive survey has been found to be useful in 'market research, public opinion poll, voting intention and media research'(p237). This suggests that this form of survey describes essential characteristics of the research subjects in terms of demography especially age, gender, socio-economic class, personal information or behaviour (O'Leary 2010). Gray argues that descriptive survey does not cover the cause of the behaviour or occurrence but merely describes the phenomenon. He admits that survey has the potentials of causing a major policy adjustment to occur as it relies on inductive method[32] in the data collection process.

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[32] Inductive method involves first a lay down plan for data collection before data are analyzed in order to establish if any model emerges that indicate a linkage between variables (Gray, 2014).

An explanatory survey also called an analytical survey is an enhancement over a descriptive survey (O'Leary, 2010). It focuses on the cause of happenings rather than merely describing what happened. Seitel (2004) observes that explanatory survey involves cause and effect. This implies that it assists in establishing the cause of a phenomenon and goes further to explain why it occurred. Gray (op cit) argues that a descriptive survey may serve as the preliminary step to explanatory survey research. He adds that in reality the major determinant as to whether a survey is descriptive or explanatory is the size of the sample. He maintains that explanatory survey often tries to test a theory in the research field in order to examine the relationships between two or more variables often independent and dependent variables. Independent variables represent causes while dependent variables are effects or impact of changes or phenomenon. In this study for example the independent variable is peaceful co-existence while the dependent variables are the public relations programmes deployed for the purpose of evolving mutual understanding among stakeholders of the oil rich region.

Two forms of survey exist for social science research purposes in the context of size of coverage (Seitel, 2004). O'Leary (2010) lists these two options to include census survey and 'cross sectional survey' (p181). He maintains that census survey collects data on every research subject in the study population. Population census is a typical example of this. Gray (2014) argues that the census survey studies every element or research subject in a defined study population. He concludes that census survey is of immense benefit to government and the business community in the delivery of crucial data.

The cross sectional survey is another form of survey research. Gray (2014) observes that this form of survey research is representative suggesting that not all the research subjects are involved for the purpose of the data collection process. This study however chooses to adopt the representative survey for obvious reasons. The idea is to ensure that the section taken for study is representative of the entire study population in order that the findings are eventually generalized. In terms of advantage, time, cost of execution and control, cross sectional survey appears to be better preferred of other forms of survey especially when formal or conclusive research is to be conducted.

4.7.2 Method of survey research
Before reaching the decision on which method of survey research is appropriate for this study, it was discovered that several options are available. Though it could not have been possible to

accommodate all the methods in this study, it is important to mention the available ones before narrowing in on the one chosen if this could help to find justification for the choice made.

The available methods of survey research options for this study include mail questionnaire, personal interview and telephone interview (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 2002). Gray (2014) agrees with Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias but adds online questionnaire. He however notes that the online questionnaire is becoming more popular, the older methods namely mail questionnaire, personal interview and telephone interview are still more in use. He advises that the choice should be a function of time and budgetary constraints. Apart from these constraints, as he further explains, other considerations include the goal and the questions the research is set to address. On further classification of the methods of survey research, Gray reduced them into two broad categories namely 'self-administered questionnaire and interviewer-administered questionnaire' (pp246-251).

Within each category, Gray outlines three sub- categories making it a total of six. Going by his classification the following figure was generated.

Figure 4.1 Classification of survey methods

Self-administered Questionnaires	Interviewer-administered Questionnaires
Postal questionnaires	Structured interviews
Delivery and collection questionnaires	Focus Group interviews
Online Questionnaires	Telephone interviews

Though all of the above have their respective strengths and weaknesses, this study opted for delivery and collection questionnaire and focus group interviews approach. The most prominent factor for choosing the delivery and collection questionnaire option is its relative guarantee of a higher response rate (Gary 2014). Gray agrees that bias rate is low, and it has become the most effective source of securing primary data especially with reference to the flexibility it offers in the process of data collection and interviewers' controllability of the research process (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 2002). Though it has some weaknesses which include high cost, a delay in returning administered questionnaire and absence of anonymity, this study has adopted it because it was found to be the best for addressing the research objectives and questions to which this study is committed. The drawbacks were taken care of which has led to the reduction of their interference with the process of data collection in this study.

To complement the survey method, focus group approach to the data gathering was adopted. The idea is to mix the quantitative and the qualitative method in order to reduce bias error much further. The focus relied on semi-structured questions fielded to respondents on a purposive sampling approach. Though Morgan (2013) expresses worry over the challenges associated with the moderation, it is expected that since the questions are semi-structured, the process remains within the control of the researcher who is also the moderator. The following section provides information on the research instrument, which is the questionnaire, selected for this study.

4.7.3 The research instrument

The research instrument for this study is a questionnaire and interview guide. Research instrument is a crucial aspect of data gathering in most of the research processes especially for the purpose of a large size survey like the one in question in this study (Gray 2014). Gillham (2007) maintains that the cost and time involved in the use of questionnaire is low compare to other form of data collection instruments. He adds, that the flow of data from the field is swift even when it is administered on a large number of research subjects. Other advantages as he further points out include freedom from interviewer's bias, high rate of anonymity and offer of easy process of data analysis.

Though achieving the right questionnaire for this study was not easy. First was to ensure that the questionnaire was not unnecessarily too long, as it is found to pose the problem of low return rate when it is too long (Gillham, 2007). Despite its drawback as indicated above, for which mitigating measures have also been proffered elsewhere, it was found to be worthwhile because of its potentials for validity, reliability and objectivity[33]. The questionnaire consists of two main parts namely 'A' and 'B'. The part A focuses on the demographic information of the research subjects but without seeking to break its pledge to anonymity. Part B is the main part which is the measurement of the six dimensional aspects of the relationship between the oil stakeholders in the Niger Delta. In this unit information is provided on *areas of coverage in the questionnaire content, the type of questions* and *the questions asking strategy* as indicated below:

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[33] Validity means it is reasonable or justifiable to use questionnaire within the context of the research. Reliability refers to the extent to which the questionnaire can be relied upon or trusted as a method for generating the desired primary data. Objectivity means freedom from partiality or inaccuracy of the questionnaire as a method of data collection.

4.7.4 Areas of Coverage in the Questionnaire

Drawing inspiration from the guidelines for measuring public relations processes and outcomes, this questionnaire measures PR *processes* and *outcome*s of the public relations programmes of the government and the oil companies in the oil producing communities.

On *public relations processes,* the study tries to establish those that constitute the strategic publics of the federal government and the oil companies in connection with the oil related relationship. Secondly, the study measures the effectiveness of the PR programmes of the federal government and the oil companies in attempt to maintain positive relationship with the strategic publics. Focus group discussion was used as a complementary instrument for qualitative data gathering on the public relations processes while survey was deployed for the collection of data on public relations outcome.

The focus group discussion was preceded by the survey, but it was designed to complement the survey data gathering method. To measure the public relations processes, eight unstructured questions were used as guide in the discussion process. This affords the participants the leverage to express themselves freely on issues the structured questions in the survey questionnaire may not be able to manage.

The aspect of *public relations outcome* focuses on six major areas which the PR Guidelines for measuring relationships considered to be critical to measuring a long-term relationship. They are namely: *control mutuality, trust, satisfaction, commitment, exchange relationship and communal relationship.* They are expounded little more below to offer better understanding of what they stand for.

Control mutuality refers to the extent to which parties or stakeholders agree on who is legitimately placed to exercise control over the other.

Trust is the extent to which one is willing to rely on one another. In this context the study shall measure the extent to which the oil rich communities, the federal government and oil companies can rely on one another. In this area, the three facets of trust will be measured which include *integrity, dependability and competence.*

On *Satisfaction,* the study measures the extent to which one segment of the stakeholders is kindly disposed towards the other since expectations are fulfilled.

The study measures *commitment* to establish the degree to which each stakeholder considers the relationship as worth fostering.

On *Exchange relationship* the study measures the support the federal government and oil companies give out to the other stakeholders for oil exploration and exploitation in the oil rich communities.

The study measures *communal relationship* to establish what one party does to cater to the welfare of the other stakeholders. Other components to the research design are as indicated below. It is expected that the foregoing research design will assist in the achievement of the following objectives as earlier pointed in chapter one:

1. To establish the nature of public relations practice the government and the oil companies have carried out in relation to the oil rich communities in the Niger Delta.
2. To ascertain the level of contribution the nature of public relations practice has made towards a long term peace building process in the oil producing areas.
3. To confirm if any relationship exists between the nature of public relations practice of the government and oil companies and the excellence theory in the context of oil resource in the Niger Delta.
4. To proffer some measure of recommendations for an improved nature of public relations practice in the Niger Delta that has the capacity for evolving a stable and peaceful environment.

4.7.5 Type of Questions

Two types of questions were available for the purpose of questionnaire content drafting. Gray (2014) believes that the 'main body of the questionnaire' should consist of either open or closed questions. This is also referred to by some authorities as unstructured or structured questions or interview. Open ended questions, according to Gray, give room to untold answers in which the research subjects have the leverage of full expression. He cautions that while the questions of open ended questionnaire are relatively less difficult to answer, analysing the responses is the most difficult task to do. The implication is that closed ended questions may be restrictive but are found to be relatively easy to analyse. It is on this basis that the choice of closed ended question was made especially when the large numerical size of the research subjects is anything to go by. Though the closed ended questions are complemented with unstructured questions in the focus group using a small size of respondents was able to reduce the difficulty that would have been associated with the analysis of open ended question data.

4.7.6 The Question asking strategy

Quite a good number of strategies compete for attention in search for the method of asking the questions. Gray maintains that the strategies consist of: list questions asking strategies, category questions approach, ranking questions and scale question strategy method. All the strategies appear to be useful but a choice has to be made especially going by the nature of questions and responses expected.

The *list question asking strategy* offers the respondents a list of answers to one question from which they are permitted to choose any. Gray (2014) believes that list is relatively useful when the research subjects are required to recall information in which case the list serves as memory aid. *Category question strategy* expects that the respondents to select only one answer. Fink (2003) argues that a maximum limit of five possible answer will be required if it is administered by self and telephone. *Ranking question strategy* requires the research subjects to rank a list of answers in order of importance. Gray warns against too long list as it could complicate the process of responding to questions asked.

Scale question strategy involves placing the expected responses from the research subjects into a scale. Gray identifies five type of scale questions namely *nominal, ordinal, interval, ratio and continuum.* According to Gray, the most popular scale question is that of Likert which offers respondents the wide range of choice in a continuum from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. He adds that most Likert scales use 'four- or five-point' (p363). He further points out that more types of scales fall into this group which may use two- point involving 'True or False', 'Yes or No' use a continuum to draw comparative responses from the respondents. This study uses the scale question strategy that is fashion after the Likert scale model.

The questions were structured for purposes of reliability and generalization. The researcher engaged the support of heads of departments of three universities in the selected area to arrange for student volunteers. The student volunteers were given a short briefing and an instruction notes on how they would administer the questions. They are to tick the answers for the respondents according to the respondent's response where the respondent may not be in a position to write. Otherwise, the questionnaires were primarily meant for distribution to respondents who are expected to fill and return to the interviewers within a short interval of time. The questionnaire

uses a six-point Likert scale which begins with 'agree' 'fairly agree', 'neutral' 'fairly disagree' 'disagree' and ends with 'I don't know'.[34]

4.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

As indicated above, Likert scale was used for the purpose of the primary data collection meaning that the data analysis conforms to the method of data analysis obtainable in this context. Though this is a survey research, it is not designed to delve into the core area of statistics. It shall use tables, column charts, bar charts and simple percentage to analyse the data collected for the purpose of interpretation. Below is brief explanation on the data preparation, analysis and presentation involved in this study.

The process of preparing data before they are analysed went beyond initial stretch of imagination. In course of trying to establish how best the data can be prepared before they are taken for analysis, several findings came to the fore. First is the need to categorise the data. Second, data cleaning. Third, is to assign code to the data before they are ready for analysis. And fourth is capturing the data into an SPSS file for computer generated analysis. Another important aspect is the presentation of the data.

4.8.1 Data Categorisation

Gray (2014) observes that data categorisation is a crucial aspect of the research process attributing this relevance to the fact that the use of statistical test for data analysis is a function of the kind of data gathered. He opines that it is important to place the data into category at the initial stage before the data analysis process begins. He further distinguishes between what he called 'categorical' data and 'quantifiable data'. According to him the categorical data are arranged into set or group or grade (p555). While those classified into a group or set are called *ordinal data* those placed into certain kind of grades are called *nominal data* because they cannot be numerically quantified. The quantifiable data, as Gray argues, are more exact because they can be numerically computed. Gray concludes that the quantifiable data can further be classified into two namely *interval* and *ratio*. This study evolved the categorisation approach indicated above since it targets ordinal data. Gray (op cit) points out that the ordinal data uses ordinal scale for questions that tend to determine the quality of a phenomenon ranging from 'strongly agree' 'agree' 'to disagree'(p556).

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[34] For detail information on the questionnaire, see the appendix.

4.8.2 Data cleaning

Data cleaning was carried out in this study. This is a process of making data analysis more correctly (Gray, 2014). Gray (2014) believes that it is only 'clean data' that can make data entry into the computer more correctly. He suggests that to achieve correct entry of data into the computer, data can be entered by different people separately, though which he considered to be cost intensive. He however recommends use of 'frequency analysis on a column of data' (p558). The implication is that any number that is falsely entered can easily be detected. His last recommendation is that research subjects should be closely monitored in the process of entering data into the research instrument to ensure they go through the question thoroughly. The idea is to avoid the incident of wrong data entry. This study uses frequency analysis for entry data collected from the fieldwork.

4.8.3 Data coding

Data coding is the process of assigning number to data (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2002). The essence of assigning number is to be able to identify such data hence Gray (2014) calls it 'Identification number' ID. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias insist that the coding should be uniform in the analysis of a set of data that are same. They suggest that information on the implication of the code should be written in a book called codebook[35]. Pallant (2010) believes that the codebook fulfills two major objectives namely first, to describe and label all the variables that are strategic to the study, and second, to assign number to every response in the questionnaire. Describing and labeling of variables which is also known as naming follow certain rules. Gray suggests that in naming all variable must be unique, begin with a letter instead of number, should consists of symbols nor command related words, no blank spaces, not ended with full stop and should not contain more than 64 characters. Gray argues that when the coding is successfully accomplished, it becomes easy to collate the data. He cautions against taking the code for raw data.

Certain rules are believed to be helpful in the coding process. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias spell out some rules. They maintain that for coding to be meaningful, the number assigned should be easily known without much conscious effort. This implies that low score should be assigned to low variable while high score or numbers are assigned to high variable. That is numbering should be sequential starting with 0 or 1 as the case may be and progress to higher numbers may be 10 or more. While a low variable is assigned to 1, high variable is assigned to 10 especially in measuring

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[35] The codebook outlines the rules for the conversion of the data collected into the format for entry into SPSS.

the degree of variation between negative and positive in terms of using the Likert scale of strongly disagree as 1 and strongly agree assigned 10 depending on the length of the continuum. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias conclude that coding rule should therefore relate coding to the research theory, it should be mutually exclusive, every category should be adequately complete and should be to detail in the sense of anchoring on the research question. In this study the data were coded before they were analysed.

4.8.4 *Data analysis using SPSS*

Several methods of data analysis are available for data analysis. However, since this study uses survey approach to the collection of data, it is only appropriate for it to rely on method of data analysis that is suitable to the nature of this research. Gray (2014) maintains that frequency distribution is the most appropriate and popular approach to analysis of survey data. He further admits that the frequency[36] distribution is typical of Likert scale. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2002) agree that frequency distribution should be designed for data analysis once data coding is done. They add that frequency distribution alone does not offer meaningful interpretation of data. But beyond frequency distribution design, percentage distribution should be created. According to Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, percentage distribution assists for drawing comparison between different variables. They further stress that to draw comparison, frequencies can be converted to percentages or proportion.[37] Likert scale provides the inspiration for the framing of the questionnaire suggesting why the data analysis is descriptive which involves presentation of data graphically.

Statistical package for social science, SPSS provides the interface for entry and analysis of data collected. Gray (2010) maintains that before variables are entered into SPSS, it should be evident that they are harmonious. To be harmonious implies that the variables are described in line with the data they are to be consisted of. To achieve this, Gray points out that variables can be classified into *numeric, string and date.*

Numeric variables according to Gray are number related. This suggests that every variable that has to do with numeracy when entered into SPSS, spontaneously collect at one point. He argues that numeric variable includes *Binary* variables which represent two types of variables such as 'female

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[36] Frequency in this context means the number of occurrence in a particular group or unit.
[37] Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2002) believe percentage or proportion assist in displaying the comparative thickness of each category in distribution.

or male,' 'yes or no'(p544). He insists that to calculate them, numbers are assigned to them in order to ascertain the actual part of the whole each occupies.

String is the value of a variable that is not number related for the purpose of calculation. Gray (2010) argues that though string can be used for numbers such as telephone numbers or post codes, they cannot be calculated and result will be of no significance that is meaningless if attempt is made to calculate them. Date is a variable that consists of time value. According to Gray, it includes calendar which appears in 'date 'or clock which appears in 'time format'

Once data have been given labels and value, it will be ready for entry into the SPSS in the computer. This study is subject to the data preparation, labelling and assignment of value as indicated above in course of analysing data collected from the field.

4.8.5 Data Presentation

Two types of statistical presentations of data appear to be available in the social sciences. Gray (2014) agrees that descriptive statistics and inferential statistics exist but they differ somewhat. According to him, while the descriptive statistics describe the data, inferential statistics go further to infer from the description given. He adds that descriptive statistics use graphs to describe but he cautions that the type of graph used is naturally a function of the type of data presented. This implies that use of graphs to describe in descriptive statistics will depend on whether the data is nominal, ordinal, interval or ration.

Black (1999) offers a picture of what is appropriate application in graphical representation of data in descriptive statistics. His analysis suggests that *bar chart* is more suitable for data related to nominal and ordinal. While he believes that *pie chart* is suitable for only nominal, *histogram* is more suitable for both interval and ratio. He concludes by pointing out that *frequency distribution* is more suitable for interval and ratio. For the purpose of data analysis in this study, the researcher used frequency distribution, percentage distribution, bar chart, column chart, line chart and other relevant graphs to present data analysed.

4.9 Potential problem areas/ risk mitigation options

No problem area is currently envisaged as this exercise is regarded as normal academic activity which often enjoys the cooperation of people in the area. That is not to say there were not some problems such as lack of motivation by students who are expected to assist in the distribution of

interview guide and poor transport network. The use of the student volunteers was to reduce the amount of time committed to the data gathering process. The copies of the questionnaires were given to four selected students who were given preliminary orientation before they were sent out to administer the questionnaires to respondents within the school and its environs.

Though the volunteers were enthusiastic about the area of research, motivation measures which included incentives such as stipends that cover the cost of transportation and lunch were provided through the heads of departments of the designated schools including the Bayelsa State University, Delta State University and Edo State University. Also, arrangement was made for a private transport that made it possible for the researcher to coordinate the process of administration and collection. Alternatively, those sent through the email addresses to officials of government and oil companies were sent through email to respondents who downloaded, filled and returned directly to the researcher's email address.

4.10 Ethical Aspect of the Research

This section establishes the ethical aspect of this study. This study is committed to the moral obligation associated with research of this nature that deals with human subjects. The essence of this is to conduct the research in a responsible manner with emphasis on respect for the research goal and interest of the research subjects who are human beings. Homan (1991:1) calls this the 'science of morality'. This suggests that research process is not adequate purely because the methodology is considered to be right rather it should be reliable and morally justifiable (Gray, 2014). It further implies that what a research might consider to be appropriate may lack the desired truth acceptable to society when completed and the process of achieving the research goal could possibly fail to provide for the necessary protection of the human subjects involved. Research ethics is therefore the inspiration for the compliance of this study with the established tradition for conducting research with respect for human research and research goal.

Research ethics has become an imperative in the process of generating knowledge as it tends to raise the quality of research to the level of integrity that commands public confidence. One reason why it has become imperative is the concern that arose from the post- World War11 report on the Nazi experiments in the concentration camp. The aftermath of the tribunal on war crimes was the Nuremberg Code 1947 which insists on the minimum level of quality a research process that involves human experiment must adhere to. The threshold includes *voluntary* and *informed consent* of research subjects (Gray, 2014).

Later the Helsinki Declaration replaced the Nuremberg Code as it maintains that a balance should exist for both the need to conduct a scientific research and research subjects. While the adherence to this ethical practice could be more observable in the medical sciences, it was not visible in the social sciences of which this study has its roots (Schneider, 2006b). Two assumptions are unavoidable here.

First, the ethical practice was thought to be in the exclusive reserve of the natural sciences where initial research harm to research subjects was recorded. It is argued that in the social sciences focuses on contribution to knowledge and therefore will not intentionally seek to cause any harm to any research subject but the various activities associated with the process of generating such knowledge may require ethical concern (Nachmias and Nachmias, 2002). Secondly, the Nachmiases add that social science being a collection of different disciplines was expected to have had different ethics for the different fields of specialization. This is evidently correct, as public relations, the core areas of this study has its own commitment to ethical standards that emphasizes that its practice should be subject to a balance of interest between that of organisations and the publics, which constitute the larger society. Lattimore et al (2007) observe that ethics guides public relations professionals to take decision about what is right in the interest of both the organisation and the publics. They argue that PR professionals must always seek to ensure that the gain they go after in their practice does not pose any danger to the society particularly if the gain is to be of value on the long run (p73). This advice is often relegated to the background otherwise the resort to media spinning by PR professionals could not have been smuggled into PR practice (Seitel, 2003:11). Concluding on the need for ethical consideration in social science research, the Nachmiases believe that the nature of problems, the methods, surrounding, steps required, the type of research subjects and the kind of data to be collected may collectively make ethics a necessary aspect of the research process.

Basically, the general emphasis of ethics in research is the management of the risk factor in the research process. In the United Kingdom, ESRC in 2004 provides a guideline on risk related factors that make ethics in a research process highly crucial. They are:

- Research that is connected with those who are open to harm for children, disables or any without adequate protection against harm.
- Sensitive research topics that borders on sexuality, abuse or violence
- Research that involves subjects who are under restrained access.

- Research that tends to use undercover method to obtain data especially without the subjects' consent.

- Research that contains access to classified information.

- Research that is capable of causing anxiety or embarrassment to research subjects.

- Research that demands for excessive invasion of research subjects' regular lifestyle.

The implication of the foregoing is that research should be reliable[38], should not invade privacy and should not have the likelihood of causing research subject any form of harm whether physical or psychological. The ESRC guidelines can be summarized into four-fold ethical code namely:

- Harm to research subjects must be prevented

- Informed consent of research subjects must be sought.

- Privacy of research subjects must be respected.

- Deception in research process must be shunned.

This study complies with the above four-fold ethical principles. Consequently, each of them was explained further below as part of the method adopted in this research process as submitted to the College Ethics Panel of the University of Salford.

4.10.1 Harm to Research Subjects

Harm has been described to represent a kind of damage or injury that is capable of affecting a broad range of issues covering mental, moral or physical issues. It is argued that a research process that causes research subjects to feel derided, embarrassed, psychologically distressed or scorned is guilty of causing harm to the subjects (Sudman, 1998). Gray (op cit) adds that harm stimulating research tends to arouse 'negative emotional' response from the research subject (p74). This type of research is in breach of research ethics and should be avoided.

The essence of avoiding harm to research subjects is to give justifiable protection to them against risk of physical injury which is typical of natural science research. Though it is not common for social science research to cause physical injury, it is argued that conducting research into criminal or undercover activities might lead to exposure of both the research subjects and the researcher to danger (Gray 2014). The danger to the research subjects arises when information on their identities

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[38] Reliability according to Black (1999) refers to consistency among two assessments of the variable.

exposes them to reaction from the security operatives and as a result, others who are yet to be arrested can target attack at the researcher or any other future researcher. This is where anonymity is recommended particularly if expression of opinion to a sensitive issue might lead to victimization especially in the work place or political circles.

Injury commonly associated with social science research is more psychological in nature. Gary (2014) describes them as 'anxiety, stress, embarrassment or loss of self-esteem' (p74). Identification of psychological injury is not as easy as in the case of physical injury (O'Leary, 2009), yet they exist to a level of collateral damage to research subjects. Some injuries have led to litigations which suggest that every research process should subjectively establish a balance between the need for research and the welfare of research subjects. It may be safe to add, that the primary goal of research is to contribute to knowledge, thus researcher should be able to ethically navigate the research process to accommodate the protection of the research subjects while at the same time focusing on the actualization of the potential benefits the research is expected to provide.

4.10.2 Informed consent

The practice of insisting on informed consent in the social science research is increasingly becoming widespread. Informed consent is important when it is evident that a particular research process will likely expose research subjects to one form of risk or the other (Nachmias and Nachmias, 2002). Nachmias and Nachmias argue that the idea behind informed consent practice is rooted in the high degree of importance that society attaches to 'freedom and self- determination' (p82). Gray (2014:75) believes that informed consent involves making 'sufficient and accessible' information available to research subjects to enable them to reach an informed decision. Such an informed decision may either be positive or negative the information has been accessed by the research subject (Eduard and Rick, 1978). This implies that informed consent is the provision of adequate information to research subjects in order for them to secure informed decision.

However, the question of adequate information is relative and does not infer full information as some authorities tend to canvass. The call for full information is still contested by some authorities. The argument is that if a researcher has full information as to what the entire outcome of the research process will produce then there is no need to conduct the research (Paul 1979). Also if full information is given as some advocate, the control group research will be consigned to irrelevance (Nachmias and Nachmias, 2002). Paul believes that a research is only significant when what is to be investigated is yet be clearly defined to the researcher. The conclusion is that informed

consent can better be adopted through a middle point approach which may be regarded as rationally sufficient for the research subject to make the required decision to participate voluntarily without the risk of courting harm.

What justification really exists for informed consent within the social science research context? Nachmias and Nachmias (2002:82) outline four reasons to justify the practice of informed consent. First, they believe that a research subject that is likely to have restriction on his/her freedom in course of participating in a research process deserves to be informed.   Sudman (1998) insists that the volume of information given to the research subjects should clearly indicate the level of risk attendant with the research process. Secondly, they further add that informed consent practice is an indication of respect for the research subject's right to self-determination. Thirdly, they maintain that an informed research subject is better placed to advance his/her own comfort. Evidently, an informed research subject will be prepared to access his/her freedom of choice and will be more active in the analysis of the research situation so as to avoid any likely risk inherent in the study where necessary. Fourthly, informed consent, according to the Nachmiases, gives room for shifting responsibility from the researcher to the research subject as long as the decision to participate in the face of information was voluntary and not under duress. In this regard, evidence of voluntary participation that has no linkage with any form of duress will be a reasonable safeguard to the researcher should any lawsuit arise as a result of eventual research related hazard.

Informed consent is believed to offer some benefits even when it appears that its relevance is more felt where there are indicators of likely harm to research subjects. Crow et al (2006) outline some factors that can be regarded as benefits to informed consent which are namely:

- That research subjects are more likely to have more confidence in the research
- Such confidence will raise the numerical size of those that will be involved in the research process.
- That the idea that informed consent is an essential aspect of the research process will make the researcher to be definite about his/her research goals and objectives.

Some of the points raised above are contentious. For instance, the argument that informed consent could raise the number of those that will participate in a research process tends to contrast the result of the experiment carried out by Resnick and Schwartz (1973) which shows that potential research subject refuse to turn up for the study after they were fully informed about the research.

The question is what determines the information that should be given to research subjects as a precursor to participation in a research process?

It has been contended that survey research presents low risk to research subjects, therefore the time and volume of information required may be little (Sudman, 1998). It is however agreed that the most important aspect of informed consent should minimally consist of:

- First the ability of the research subject to understand the information given and why (Eduard and Crandall, 1978). This implies that demented, under-age and any person who is not in a position to rationally his mental capacity cannot be included.
- Secondly, the process of participation should be voluntary. This suggests that potential research subject should be at liberty to decide whether to participate or not. Further implication to this that nobody should be coerced into participation rather research subjects are expected to exercise their free will to decide whether to participate or not. When the process has started, his free will should permit exit at any time if so desired. For effectiveness of voluntarism, it has been suggested that the presence of a third party in the research process may help to reduce or eliminate incidence of force.
- Thirdly, adequate information to research subjects on the nature of the research. Such information according to Crow et al (2006) should be enough for the research subject to take informed decision. This involves providing information on any known risk or associated danger before the research subject takes decision to participate or not.
- Fourthly, information given should be well understood by the research subjects. This calls for use of feedback mechanism to establish if the research subjects fully understand or not the precursory information given by the researcher before informed decision is taken.

4.10.3 Privacy of Research Subjects

Research subjects like any member of the society are by law entitled to the right to privacy. Privacy means freedom from the observation, intrusion or attention of others with regards to personal data or information unless given on voluntary consent. Gray (2014) observes that right to privacy is an established fundamental aspect of any democratic society. This implies that nobody is under any obligation to divulge personal information to government or its agencies unless it is for interest of the entire state or for a good cause which must first be disclosed. Ruebhausen and Oliver (1966) believe that right to privacy is the 'freedom of the individual' to decide for himself when, how and

what he/she shares on personal issues or information such as attitudes, beliefs, lifestyle and views with others. Within the context of research process, researcher can only access research subjects' personal information if the latter gives informed consent.

Privacy may exist at different levels. Nachmias and Nachmias (2002) identifies three levels of privacy namely 'sensitivity of information', setting of research observation and information circulation (p87). Nachmiases describe sensitive information to highly personal data or such information that carries some form of threat when made public. The American Psychological Association (1973) lists sensitive issues to include: religious inclination, sexual orientation, income, racial discrimination, 'intelligence, honesty and courage'. Gray (2014) adds that issue associated with' names, telephone numbers, emails and postal addresses' or any form of personal identification should be used sparingly and lawfully (p79). Laws on data protection are compelling factors why a researcher has to be responsible for protecting the research subjects against invasion of their privacy.

4.10.4 Deception in Research Process

It has been observed that though research is all about truth, validity and reliability many researchers appear to use deception in the research process (Gray,2014). Deception occurs when research is portrayed to mean what it is not (Gray, 2014). Gray argues that researchers do use deception in the bid to get research subjects to respond naturally. He considers that deception is often an infringement on the fundamental human right of the research subjects. It can lead to loss of confidence if the deception is discovered and cooperation can be withdrawn in the long run. Gray concludes that deception should be avoided in the research process as a matter of integrity.

From the discussion so far it is evident that the researcher owes the research subjects the obligation to protect them in course of conducting his/her research. To conclude this section of ethical aspect of the research method, it is important to briefly discuss these two cardinal means researchers use for protecting research subjects namely *confidentiality and anonymity* (Nachmias and Nachmias 2002).

Confidentiality is a common watchword in social science research particularly with respect to survey research. O'Leary (2010) believes that confidentiality is keeping all forms of data that are capable of revealing the identity of the research subjects exclusively within the confines of the researcher without any access granted to a third party. However, committed a researcher is to

protecting confidential information, court orders or demand from lawmakers may make it difficult for such information to remain confidential. The advice is that research subjects are to be informed at the early stage of the limitation to confidentiality (Nachmias and Nachmias 2002). This early information absolves the researcher of any blame and less liable to litigation should the research subject decides to seek legal redress. Further, documentation of such pre-information is necessary so that attempt to provide evidence of informed consent becomes less difficult.

Before this section concludes, there is an important question of how the data collected can be made available to the public without jeopardising the confidentiality of the research subjects. Gray suggests that for a third party or another researcher to access confidential information, a non-disclosure form should be provided for the researcher to sign before such information can be accessed. This study subscribes to adequate protection of research subjects in terms of keeping classified information away from unauthorized access.

Anonymity is described to be a higher level of protection researcher offers to research subjects than confidentiality. According to Nachmias and Nachmias (2002) anonymity is the isolation of research subjects' identity from the data they give. In this case the researcher or any person is not able to link person identity with data given. To secure anonymity, research instruments are designed in such a way that need for personal identifiers will not arise. Though it is argued that when questionnaire is administered personally or made to accompany an interview the identity of the respondent may be known to the interviewer. However, it is recommended that when processing data efforts should be made to destroy any linkage between identifiers and the research subject. Following this practice, the questionnaire for this study encourages anonymity as only the data offered by research subjects have room for further consideration.

Research ethics, an aspect of research in the social sciences has in recent times become almost an inseparable aspect of social science research. Ethics considers the issue of privacy, confidentiality, informed consent and risk recognition a crucial aspect of research process. Generally, researcher and research subjects are often working companions, therefore in seeking to access the evidence via research, effort should always be made to balance the research need with the safety and welfare of the research participants. This study is committed to the anonymity of research subjects by ensuring that the means of research subjects' identifiers are not encouraged during the process of data collection and analysis.

4.11 Conclusion

It is evident that this research methodology admits to the existence of fact that lies behind the issue of perennial conflict in the oil producing areas. It is the contention here that through the process of scientific inquiry, the nature of public relations of government and the oil companies in the oil producing areas in relation to peace building process will be established. It was established that the adoption of mixed method that incorporates both quantitative and qualitative research process will lead to reasonable reduction on the error margin thereby increase the degree of authenticity of the result generated. Thus, the method of research for this study was the survey and the focus group methods using the six dimensions to relationship as the context of measuring the nature of public relations programmes of the government and the oil producing companies for the purpose of enthroning a peaceful environment in the Niger Delta. Gray (2014) agrees that what essentially distinguishes quantitative research from qualitative study, is the size of sample in terms of whether the size of the sample is large or small and not necessarily the depth of statistical calculation. O'Leary (2010) further points out that qualitative is the result of seeking an alternative method to generating knowledge which has regards for both inductive and deductive process of inquiries in the study of social reality. The study uses simple percentage distribution and graphs where necessary to analyse and present data drawing on computer generated data analysis software supported by the SPSS.

Chapter five

5.0 Data presentation, analysis and discussion of findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the data analysis and findings from 400 copies of the questionnaire completed. The objective of this study is to establish the relationship between public relations and peace building. The study has in the process of achieving this goal narrowed its focus on the nature of public relations practices of the government and oil companies in the oil communities in the Niger Delta and seek to find out if it was supportive of peace building process on a long term basis. Though the bulk of the data analysis and presentation is on display in the appendix, few of them that have direct bearing with the research questions have been selected for analysis in this chapter.

The data were analyzed based on the following research questions: First is what is the nature of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies in the Niger Delta? Second, is do the government and oil companies' public relations support the peace building process in the Niger Delta on a long term basis? Three, what relationship exists between the nature of the public relations practice and the two-way symmetrical model of public relations as propounded in the excellence theory in relation to the Niger Delta oil resource question? And four, what is the way forward in terms of recommendations for ensuring sustainable long term peace building process?

5.2 Research Question 1: What is the nature of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies in the Niger Delta?

In this research question attempt was made using the data gathered to secure answers to issues associated with the type of public relations practice operated by the government and the oil companies in the Niger Delta in the oil communities. To address the research question above the following tables and charts will assist in providing the relevant answers.

Figure 5.2.1 Control mutuality 5- Government pays attention to what people like me have to say on oil related matters.
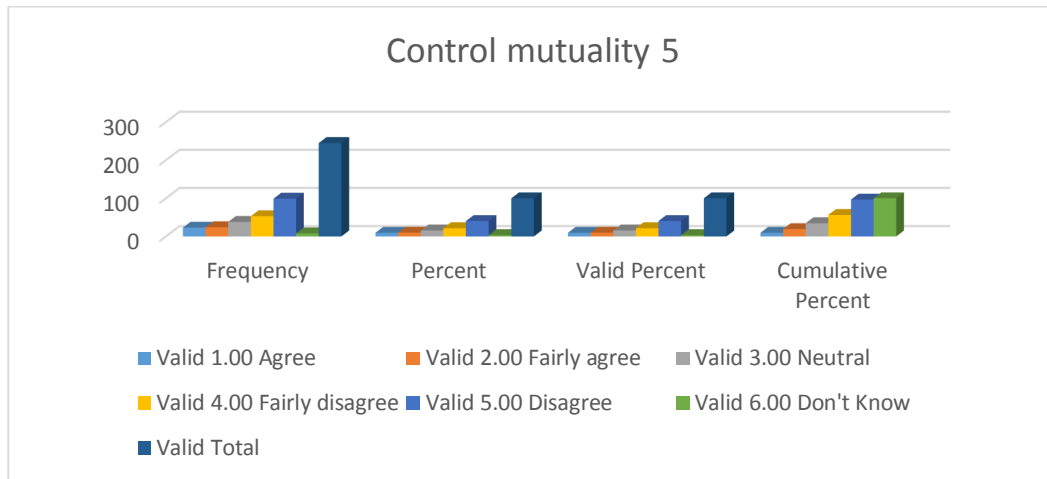
The above column chart indicates that 99 (40.4%) of the respondents disagree that government listens to the oil communities. Fifty-three (21.6%) of the respondents fairly disagree that government listens to the oil communities. Thirty-eight (15.5%) were neutral, 24(9.8%) fairly agree, 23(9.4%) agree that government listens to the oil communities. Eight (3.3%) do not know whether government listens or not.

Figure 5.2.2 Control mutuality 6- Oil companies pay attention to the oil communities
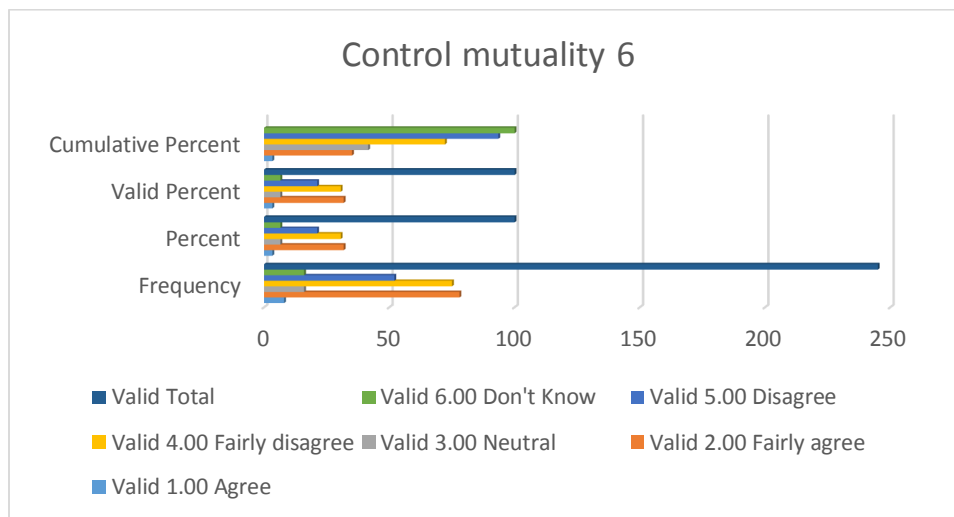
The above bar chart indicates that 78(31.8%) fairly agree that the oil companies really listen to the oil communities. Seventy-five (30.6%) fairly disagree and 52(21.2%) disagree that oil companies listen to the oil communities.

Figure 5.2.3 Participation in government decision making process

Control mutuality 7
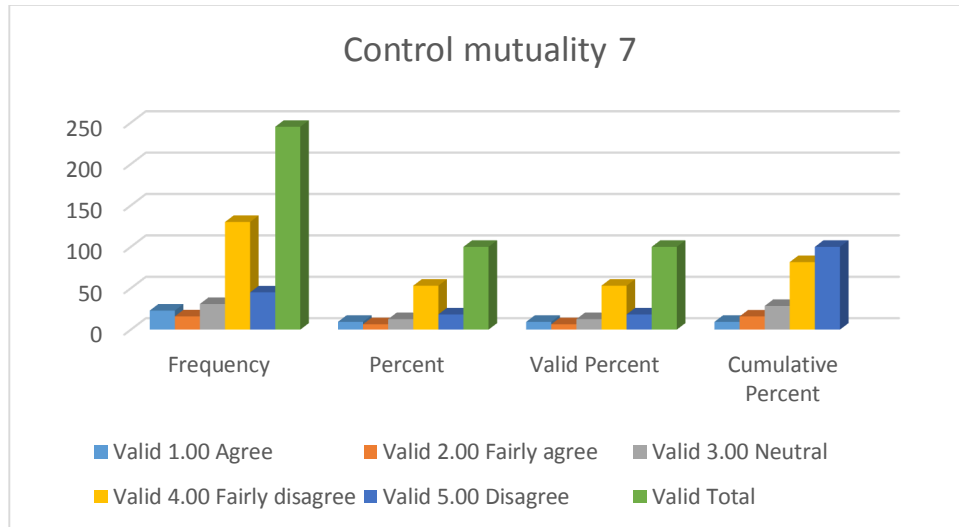
Column chart 5.2.3 shows that 130 (53.1%) respondents fairly disagree and 45(18.4%) disagree that oil communities are given adequate opportunity to contribute to the decision making process of the government.

Figure 5.2.4 Participation in oil companies' decision making process

Control mutuality 8
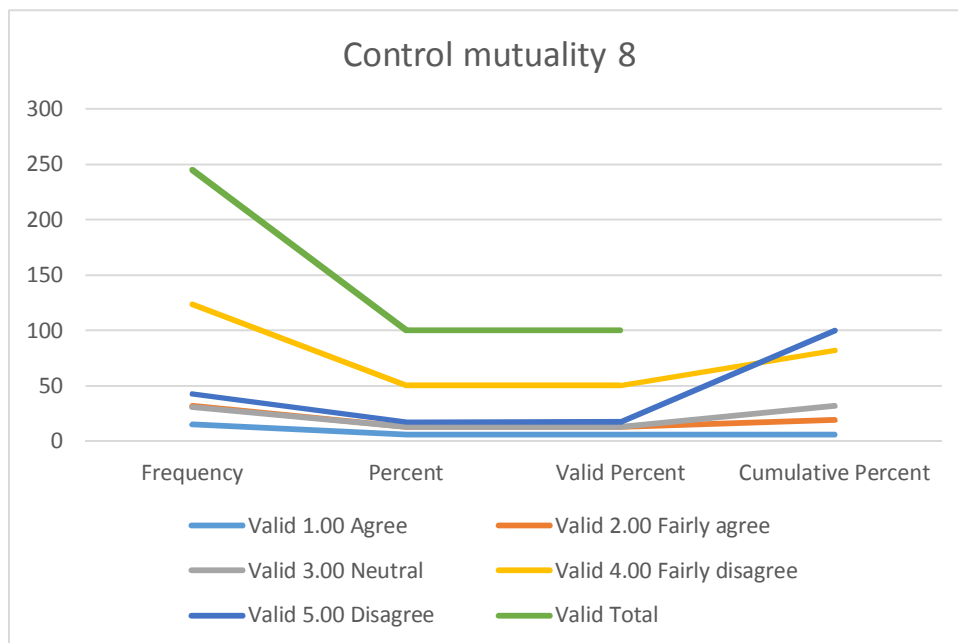
Line chart 5.2.4 indicates that 124(50.6%) fairly disagree and 43(17.6%) disagree that oil companies do give enough opportunity to the oil rich communities to participate in oil related decision making process. Thirty-two (13.1%) fairly agree and 15 (6.1%) agree that oil companies do allow the oil rich communities to participate in oil related decision making process.

Figure 5.2.5 Government can be relied upon to keep its promises
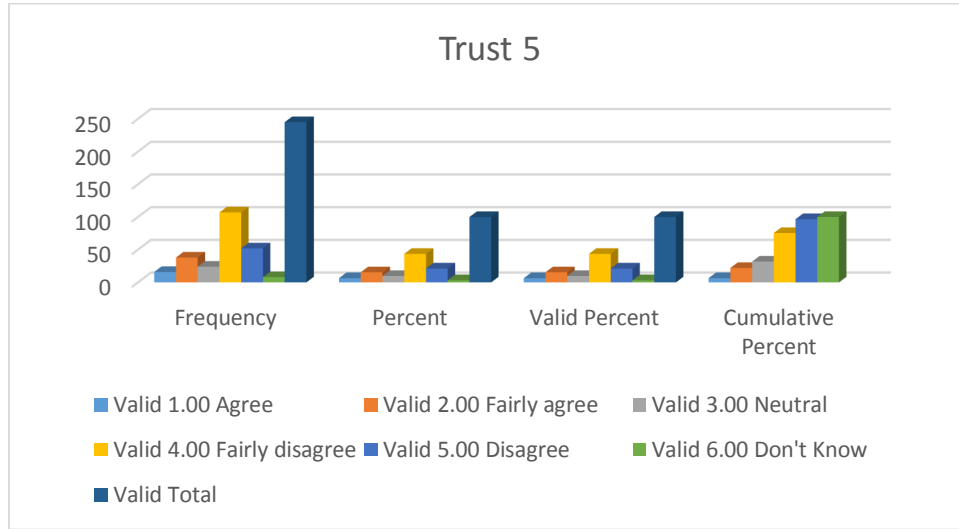
The column chart above indicates that 107(43.7%) fairly disagree and 52(21.2%) disagree with the claim that government is reliable in keeping its promises. Since the percentage of those who fairly agree 15.5% and those who agree 6.5% that government is reliable in keeping its promises is lower than those who disagree 21.2% and fairly disagree 43.7%, it suggests that at the cumulative percentage of 64.9% the respondents are of the opinion that government is not reliable in keeping its promises on oil related matters.

5.3 Research Question 2: Do Government and oil companies' public relations support the peace building process in the Niger Delta on a long term basis?

On the issue of government and oil companies' public relations support for peace building process the study consider *satisfaction* as a significant variable. Public relations principles believe that effectiveness in public relations practice is to satisfy the interest of both organisation and its strategic publics. Two-way symmetrical model of excellence theory and balance theories are both implied in this context as mutual satisfaction is the major emphasis of the two theories which is also a precursor of peaceful co-existence.

Figure 5.3.1 Satisfaction 1- I am happy with the government on oil related matters
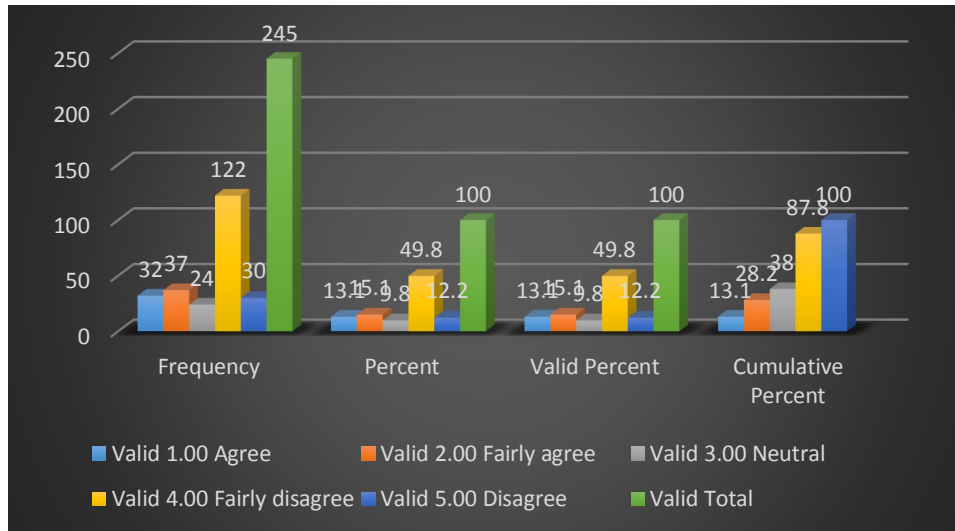
The column chart above reveals that 122(49.8%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 37 (15.1%) fairly agree that they are happy with the government on oil related matters. Thirty-two (13.1%) agree while 30 (12.2%) disagree that they are happy with the government on oil related matters.

Figure 5.3.2 Satisfaction 2- I am happy with the oil companies on oil related matters
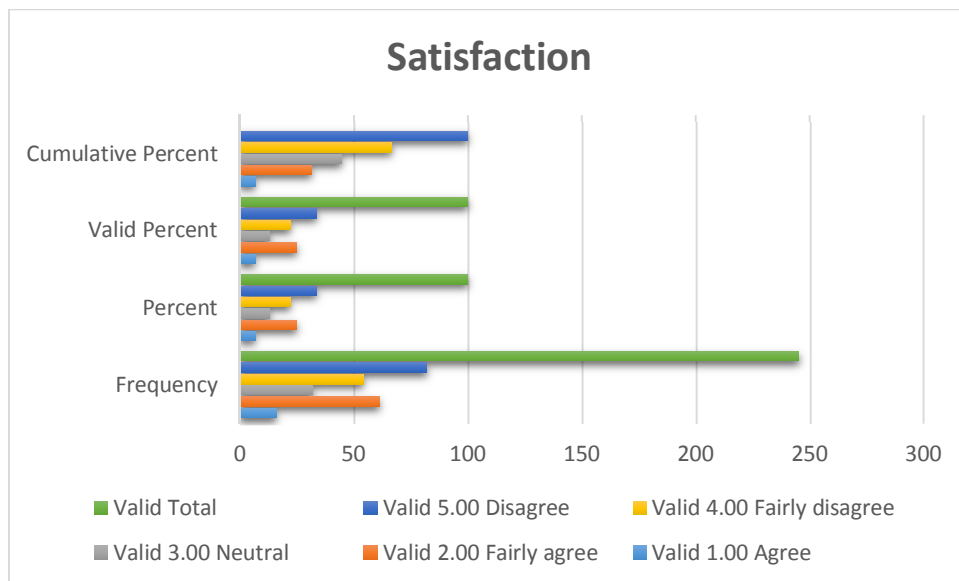
Above table indicates that 82(33.5%) of the respondents disagree while 61 (24.9%) fairly agree that they are happy with the oil companies. Further 54(22%) fairly disagree while 16(6.5%) agree that they are happy with the oil companies.

Figure 5.3.3 Commitment 1-The government is trying to maintain a long term relationship on oil related matters.
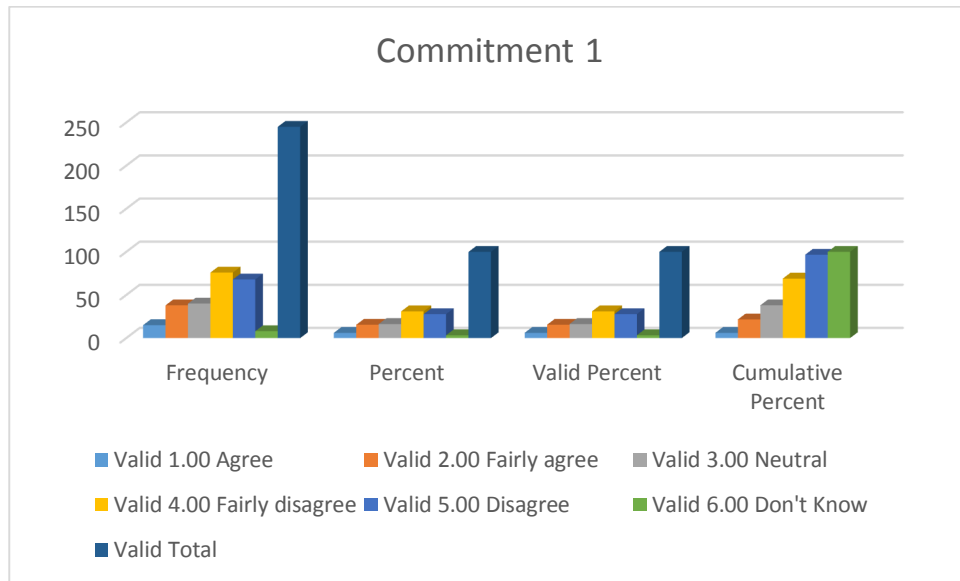
The bar chart above indicates that 76(31%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 68(27.8%) disagree with the claim that they feel that government is trying to make a long term relationship with them. While 40(16.3%) is neutral, 38 (15.5%) fairly agree and 15 (6.1%) agree that they feel that the government is trying to make a long term relationship with them.

Figure 5.3.4 Commitment 2- Oil companies and long term relationship with oil communities
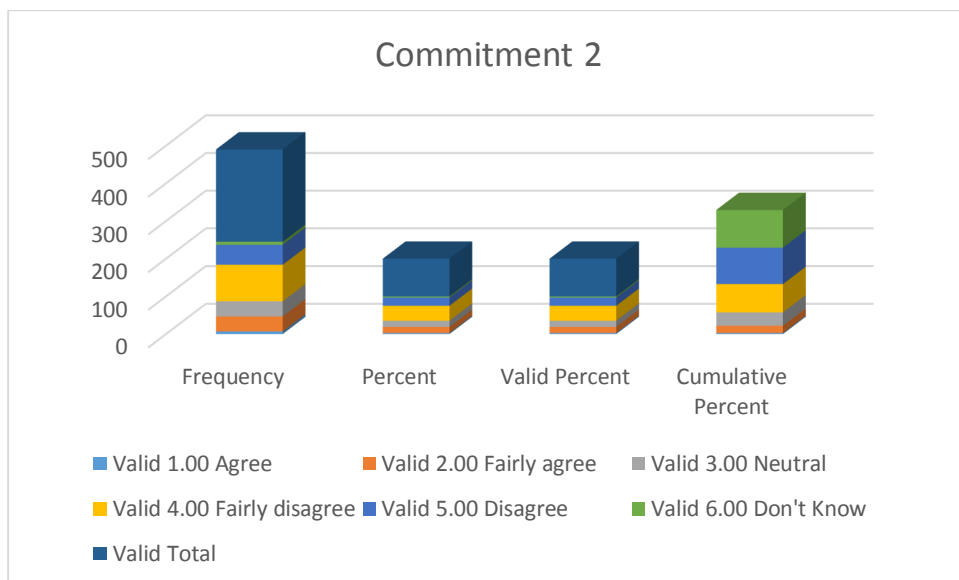
The column chart above shows that 97 (39.6%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 53 (21.6%) disagree that they feel that oil companies are trying to maintain a long term positive relationship with them on oil related matters. Forty (16.3%) fairly agree and 7(2.9%) agree that oil communities

feel that oil companies are trying to maintain a long term positive relationship with them on oil related matters.

Figure 5.3.5 Commitment 9- Working together with government on oil related matters
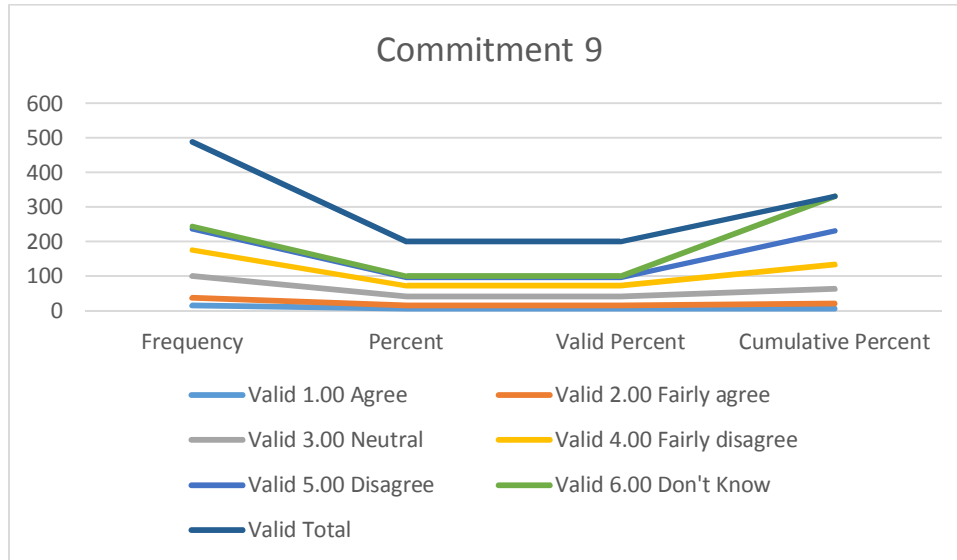
The line chart 5.11 confirms that 75(30.6%) of the survey respondents fairly disagree and 61(24.9%) disagree with the claim that they would rather work together with government on oil related matters. Twenty-three (9.4%) fairly agree and 15(6.1%) agree that they would rather work together with government on oil related matters.

Figure 5.3.6 Commitment 10- Working together with the oil companies
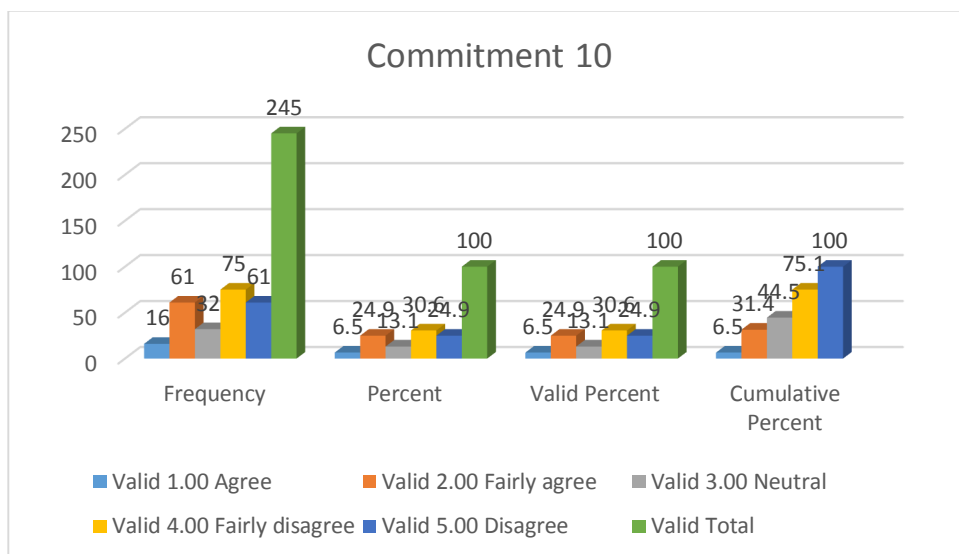
The bar chart above indicates that 75(30.6%) fairly disagree and 61(24.9%) disagree that they would rather work together with oil companies than not on oil related matters. Sixty-one (24.9%) fairly agree and 16(6.5%) agree that they would rather work together with the oil companies than not on oil related matters.

5.4 Research Question 3: Three, what relationship exists between the nature of the public relations practice and the two-way symmetrical model of public relations as propounded in the excellence theory in relation to the Niger Delta oil resource question?

The fundamental thrust of the excellence theory is the value of public relations to organisations and society in terms of social responsibility of managerial decision and quality of relationship with their strategic publics. This research questions therefore seeks to provide answers to the extent to which the type of public relations practice of the government and oil companies in the oil communities reflects the excellence theory or otherwise. To establish the relationship between the type of public relations and excellence theory, this study uses the variable of mutual benefits the stakeholders derive from and the value the oil communities place on the relationship to establish the degree of nearness to excellence theory or otherwise.

Figure 5.4.1 Satisfaction 3- Both the government and the oil communities mutually benefit from the oil related relationship.
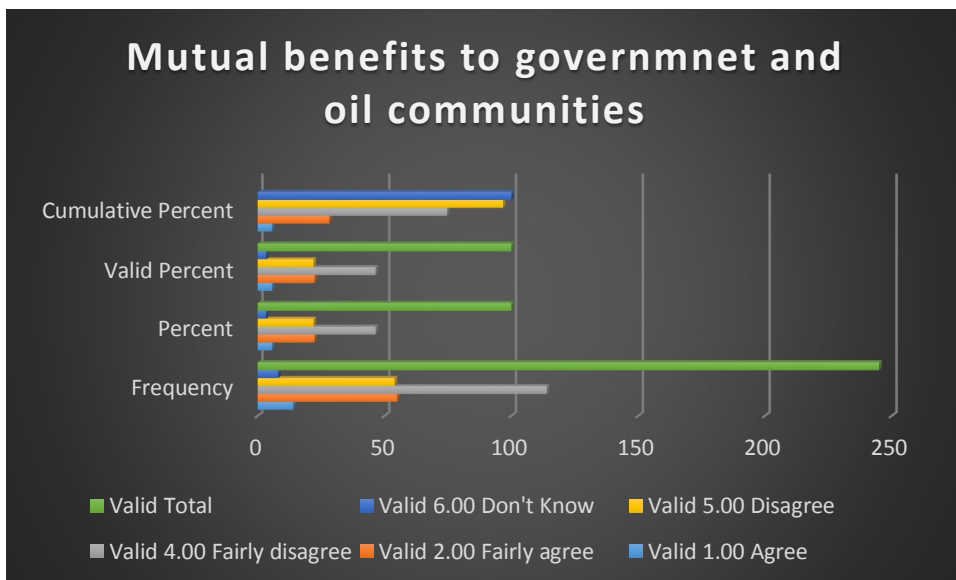
The above bar chart indicates that 114(46.5%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 55(22.4%) fairly agree that both the government and people like them mutually benefit from the oil related

relationship. Fifty-four (22%) disagree while 14(5.7%) agree that both government and people like them benefit from the oil related relationship.

Figure 5.4.2 Satisfaction 4- Both oil companies and oil communities mutually benefit from the oil related relationship

Mutual benefits to oil companies and oil communities
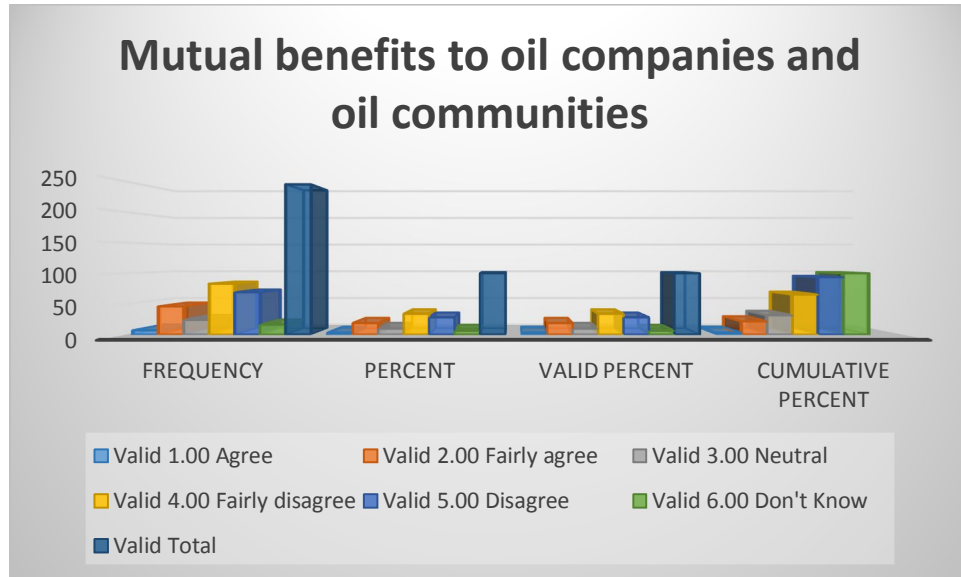
Column chart 5.14 confirms that 83 (33.9%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 69(28.2%) disagree with the claim that both the oil companies and the people like them mutually benefit from the oil related relationship. Forty-six (18.8%) fairly agree and 7(2.9%) agree that both oil companies and oil communities benefit from the oil related relationship.

Figure 5.4.3 Commitment 7- I value my relationship with the government on oil related matters

Value oil communities placced on the relationship
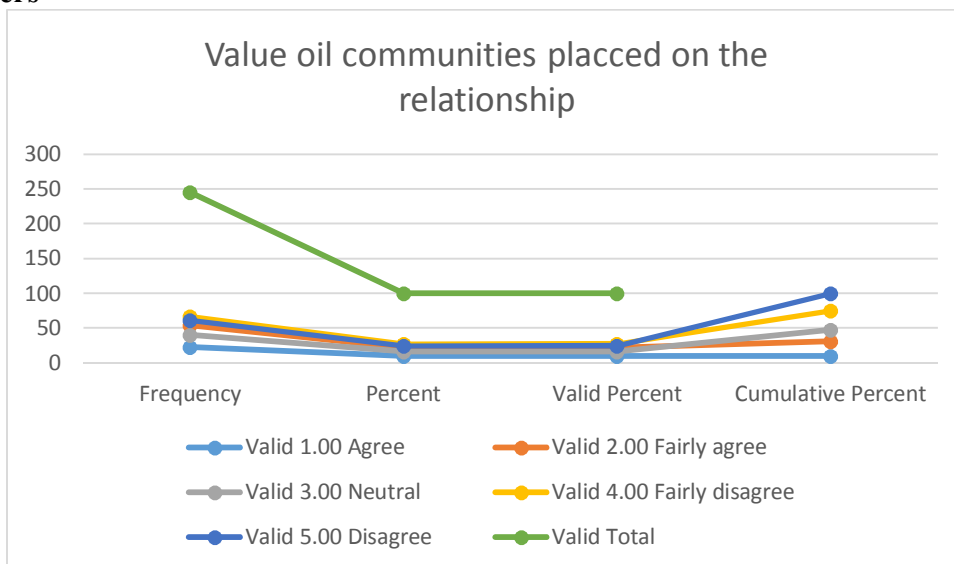
The figure above shows that 67(27.3%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 61(24.9%) disagree

with the claim that they value their relationship with the government on oil related matters. Fifty-four (22%) fairly agree and 23 (9.4%) agree that they value their relationship with the government.

5.5 Discussions of findings to the data analyzed.

Before proceeding to draw conclusions and offer necessary recommendations on the general findings, it is important to discuss the few analyzed data in chapter five. The bar chart in 5.3 reveals that respondents are of the opinion that government does not listen to the opinions of the oil communities on oil related matters. This shows that the communication is predominantly one-way rather than two ways. When juxtaposed with the models of public relations, it shows a reflection of public information and two-way asymmetrical models which encourages communication flow in one direction. By implication, it fails to incorporate the two-way symmetrical model of public relations which supports two-way information flow and the thrust of excellence theory. If the opinions of the respondents are truly representative of the state of things in the oil region, it shows that government and the oil companies are still involved in the use of the old public relations models that do not have the potentials for peace building process. Where an organisation does not listen to its strategic publics, it gradually creates a closed system relationally in which the opinions, ideas and significant inputs from the publics are blocked out in corporate policy formulation. Organisations that fail to listen to strategic publics seeks to manipulate and use one-way persuasive communication to induce change in the behaviour and attitudes of the target publics. This does not often work out the best results. Lindeborg (1994) believes that two-way symmetrical model of public relations brings out the best nature of public relations practice by promoting dialogue and mutual trust and highly interactive for effective conflict resolution; that has the pointer to peace building process.

The bar chart in 5.4 shows that the respondents are of the opinion that the oil companies do not listen to the oil communities who are their strategic publics. Like the government, the absence of listenership habit suggests that the oil companies do not take the feedback from the oil communities into consideration. Feedback and constructive criticism from the oil communities underlines the best way to establish representativeness for the oil communities in the policy formulation process of the oil companies but it appears to be lacking as indicated by the respondents. It further implies a significant alienation of the oil companies from the oil communities on oil related issues when the former do not listen to the latter. This again points to the nature of public relations that relies on one-way flow of information that belongs to the old

generation of public relations models that were found to be inadequate for sustained positive interaction between organisations and their strategic publics.

In the column chart, 68.7% of the respondents are of the view that the oil communities do not participate in the decision making process of the government. This tends to suggest a system that is not open to inflow but closed and lacks of involvement of the oil communities in the process of making decisions that may shape their destinies. This practice is encouraged by the one-way information flow that is common with the press agentry/ publicity model of public relations as well as the public information and two-way asymmetrical models of public relations. Organisations that supports the use of the first three models of public relations tend to think they can decide the destinies of the other stakeholders but in the end the result is conflict because of the failure of the system to incorporate the feelings and opinions of all in the process of policy formulation. On the other hand, the stakeholders that are excluded from participation in the process of decision making feel alienated and the best way to bring them closer and given a sense of belonging is to give them the opportunity to be part of the decision making of the organisations that operate in their environment. Such alienation as clearly defined in the balance theory of Heider (1958) is an important factor in the development of strain in relationship as it has the capacity to evolve apathy and subsequently hostility which closely explains the situation of the Niger Delta crisis situation.

The line chart 5.6 indicates that the respondents are of the opinion that the oil communities are excluded from the decision making process of the oil companies. This tends to suggest that within the context of the decision making process, the government and the oil companies in the perception of the respondents behave similarly in their relationship with the oil communities. This explains the alienation that has stimulated so much hostilities from the oil communities towards the oil companies in terms of blockade to access road, kidnapping of oil companies' official and temporary disruption of operations.

The column chart in 5.7 reveals that the respondents are of the view that government cannot be relied upon to keep its promises to the oil communities on oil related matters. With 64.9% of the respondents who believe that government cannot be relied upon, there is the potential for confidence crisis whenever promises are made. The failure to keep to promises encourages difficulty in trusting the source of promises in the future. The implication of the failure to keep

promises is the lack of trust by the oil communities for the government. The lack of trust arising from failed promises provides the basis for the government to be accused of self- centredness and lack of genuine commitment to the people of the oil producing region hence the increased resentment of the people against the various social responsibilities of government. Most of the projects of government for the people of the oil producing communities were considered to be of low quality and out of tune with the desires and aspirations of the oil communities. This accounted for why the claims of government to huge investment in the oil communities stands in contrast to the continued cry of infrastructural neglect and deception by the oil communities.

The column chart 5.6 shows that respondents were of the views that the oil communities are not happy with government on oil related issues. According to the balance theory, happiness is closely related to satisfaction, which suggests that those of the opinion that the oil communities are not happy with the government also infer they are not satisfied with what government does in the oil sector in the Niger Delta. It goes to confirm why there is strain in the relationship between the government and the oil companies and consequently the reason behind the crisis in the region. The absence of happiness is an indication of lack of equitable distribution of the oil wealth among the stakeholders. No person who is satisfied with the government programmes on oil in the region will be unhappy with government which leads to strain in the relationship among the stakeholders.

The bar chart 5.8 reveals that 52.1% of the respondents are of the view that the oil communities are not happy with the oil companies on oil related matters. If the views of the respondents are anything to go by, it tends to show that the oil communities are not in a positive relationship with oil companies. The implication of the above is that the oil companies are not supportive of peace building process if they are to be part of the sources of dissatisfaction to the oil communities in a relationship where they have mutual interest. Peace building thrives in the atmosphere of mutual happiness which is a function of satisfaction. Balance theory argues that where a party is not satisfied where others are satisfied, strain is likely to occur (Heilder, 1958). He further maintains that lack of satisfaction in a relationship where the stakeholders have mutual interest the result is a state of disequilibrium which in turn breeds intra-personal worry. The consequence of this is eruption of hostilities like has been the experience of the oil region of the Niger Delta.

The bar chart 5.9 shows that the respondents are of the opinion that government is not trying to maintain long term relationship with the people of the oil communities. With 58.8% of the respondents who maintain that government is not committed to a long term relationship it tends to indicate that the path to long term peace building process is faced with challenges.

The column chart 5.10 indicates that 66.2% of the respondents do not believe that the oil companies are committed to long term positive relationship with the oil communities. Commitment to long term relationship is the basis for forging a long term peace building project. Viewed against low quality of infrastructural development projects, corporate social responsibility and community relations projects of the government and the oil companies in the oil communities, there is a high degree of certainty in the opinions of the respondents who maintain that no long term positive relationship exists among them.

Still on the issue of commitment, line chart 5.11 indicates that 55.5% of the respondents were of the opinion that they would not like to work together with government on oil related matters. The position of the respondents tends to reflect the reason for the various agitations by the oil communities for independent control of the means of production and eventual management of the wealth that accrue as a result. The findings above confirm the findings in 5.6 and 5.7 which show the result of their dissatisfaction with the government and oil companies on oil related matters in the Niger Delta.

The bar chart 5.12 shows that 55.5% of the respondents are of the opinion that the oil communities are not ready to work together with the oil companies. The lack of willingness to work with the oil companies tends to suggest evidence of lack of cooperation. The absence of this vital ingredient in the relationship between the oil companies and the oil communities tends to correlate with their lack of dissatisfaction as indicated in 5.7 above and a likely potential to hostility and sabotage by the oil communities who continue to see the oil companies as an unwanted evil. When 5.10 and 5.11 are compared, it shows that the respondents believe that they would neither like to work with the government nor oil companies in oil related matters. In the face of this disposition it is difficult for a long term peace to reign even if it appears to have been struck.

The question of how much the nature of public relations of the government and the oil companies in the oil communities reflects the excellence theory it was observed that it is far from excellence theory. Using the factor of mutual benefits among stakeholders and the value the oil communities place on the relationship as indices of measurement, it was clear that the benefits associated with

the oil resource are not beneficial to all stakeholders on mutual basis. The consequence of this is that the oil communities that cannot access mutual benefit do not attach importance to the relationship they have with the government in the setting of the oil resource.

5.6 Focus Group Report

This focus group discussion is supportive to the data gathering process of the thesis in part 1 and 2. It provides the basis for comparative and complementary support to the survey research data. This focus group was conducted to further establish the position of the oil producing communities through the perspective of the tertiary institution students of the Niger Delta origin on some of the issues that could not come under the survey purview and to confirm some that were examined in the survey.

Why the choice of the university students? The university students' community consists of the elitist, well-informed segment, vocal community and active group who are extracted from the nine oil producing states in the region. They are not only well informed on the trends in the oil related crisis, but have often been intellectually supportive to the process of seeking redress in the oil wealth distribution and quest for peaceful coexistence among the stakeholders. They represent the youths, who have often felt inadequately represented by the elders and traditional rulers and have resolved to directly interact with the various authorities that are concerned with the oil related peace building process. According to Idowu (2012) the youths represent the major actors in the oil resource conflicts in the Niger Delta. The active publics, according to Grunig (2005) in S*ituational theory* deserve more focused attention than the passive publics, and since the university students comprise of the active publics, a separate more reinforcing interview was necessary. It is also important to conduct this elitist focus group discussion in order to ascertain the true pulse of the feelings of the Niger Delta agitators for self-determination and independence in much more detail through the perspectives of those who can articulate more clearly on the issue in question. The overall aim of this focus group is in tandem with the aim of the general study which is to establish if the public relations programmes of the government and the oil companies in the oil communities have any contribution to a long term peace building process or otherwise.

Out of the nine states that make up the Niger Delta, the focus groups were conducted in three states which included Bayelsa State, Delta State and Edo State, all in Nigeria, in the Sub Sahara Africa. The three states were chosen purposively with the belief that they adequately represent the nine

oil producing states in the Niger Delta. The reason is that all the characteristics expected from the Niger Delta young elites were fully represented in the chosen sample of thirty students. However, efforts were made to ensure that no respondent to survey questionnaire was part of the focus group participants. The study was conducted between the months of August 1 and October 30, 2014 by the researcher who also doubled as a moderator in each occasion.

Methodology

Three separate focus groups of ten each, were purposively chosen for the focus group interviews which lasted for about 80 minutes in each session making a total of 30 participants in all. The participants were invited through their various classes where the researcher personally approached the participants on individual basis through their various class representatives to establish if they would be interested in a brief discussion that is concerned with the Niger Delta. They were quite enthusiastic to participate in the discussion especially as they felt it is a reflection on what affects all of them psychologically and economically. Before they were enlisted, it was first established if they were from the Niger Delta region and if they will be willing to speak on the issue of oil and the Niger Delta crisis. Ten questions in the moderator's guide were used to direct the interview process. Each session started after explaining to the participants the purpose of the discussion and the rule of the interaction. The focus group participants were students of tertiary institution who were aged between 20 and 40 years. Since knowledge of the Niger Delta situation is a requirement for participating in the focus group, those who were recruited hail from the oil producing communities. But as indicated above, none of those who filled questionnaire in the survey was allowed to participate in the focus group discussion. Forty percent of them were females. Though they all appear to have a desire to speak up on the issue of the oil crisis and the region, to motivate them further to participate, they were given a token of about £5 each equivalent in Nigeria currency for participating in the focus group discussion. Their stimulus to participate was not based on the token of £5 but was primarily rooted in their desire for an opportunity to air their views. They therefore found these focus group discussion fora as a welcome relief for articulating their views on the question of the Niger Delta. All the three focus groups took place in the universities environment of University of Benin, Bayelsa State University and Delta State University, Abraka respectively.

Each focus group discussion was recorded using audio recording devices and stored away for future references. Before each recording session, every member was informed of the purpose of the discussion and they were all willing to volunteer information suggesting they all consented without coercion to participate in the focus group discussion. The discussions provide the basis for detailed transcripts. The transcripts were used to generate this report. The textual data were coded and consequently major themes were extracted and in some cases the participants own words were reported as indicated below.

The focus group was constituted by 40% females while males were 60%, representing diverse professional and academic backgrounds. They share a common background in terms of their level of experiences about the current realities in the Niger Delta. Secondly, the youths appear to be more dominant in commitment and participation and yet often neglected in the struggle for fair distribution of the oil wealth in the oil rich region (Davis, 2009). Thirdly, though they originate from different communities in the region, they are relatively familiar with each other since they are from the same learning environment, which reduces the likely threats to free flow of self-expression (Gamson, 1992). Below is a list of unstructured questions used as guide in the focus group discussion. They are:

1) Considering the current realities in the Niger Delta what can you say about peaceful co-existence among the stakeholders to oil production in the region?
2) In your opinion, what do you think has been the cause of the grievances of the oil producing communities?
3) In brief, how would you classify the manifestation of the grievances?
4) In your perception, how would you describe government reaction to the grievances?
5) How do the oil companies react to the oil communities' grievances?
6) What are the weaknesses you observe in the way the government and the oil companies deal with oil related issue that affect the oil producing communities?
7) How satisfied are you with the way the oil wealth is distributed?
8) Do you see any linkage between the public relations programmes of the government and the oil related conflicts in the region?
9) How would you describe the relationship between the oil companies' public relations programmes and the oil related conflicts in the Niger Delta?
10) In what way can the government and oil companies improve on their relationship with the oil producing communities for a sustainable peaceful coexistence to exist in the Niger Delta?

The major themes discovered as a result of the focus group discussions included the following:

- Peaceful co-existence.
- Causes of the oil related grievances in the Niger Delta.
- Oil motivated grievances in the Niger Delta have been expressed in various forms ranging from kidnap, flow station takeover, pipeline vandalism among others.
- Government reaction to the oil motivated grievances is both insincere and self-centred.
- Oil companies and the grievances of the oil rich communities.
- Major weaknesses inherent in the way government and oil companies deal with oil related issue in the Niger Delta.
- The pattern of oil wealth distribution in the Niger Delta.
- Relationship between the public relations programmes and the oil related conflicts in the region
- The way forward for sustainable peaceful co-existence.

1) Participants were asked that, '*Considering the current realities in the Niger Delta what can you say about peaceful co-existence among the stakeholders to oil production in the region?*' Almost all believe that peaceful co-existence is still far from the relationship among the various stakeholders in the oil rich region. One of the participant's comment that tends to capture the position of all participants reads:

Government and oil companies think that concentrating all their efforts on the militants will solve the problem of the Niger Delta. Peaceful co-existence will continue to be a mirage as long as the militants are enjoying proceeds of the oil wealth in the name of amnesty programmes and other people in the oil communities are still suffering. Though so much has been spent on the militants in training and daily up keep, the people in the riverine areas are still drinking from the polluted waters and modern amenities are not accessible as expected. This means an encouragement for more militants' groups to spring up in the future as the regime of the current militancy fades away.

2) When participants were asked, '*in your opinion, what do you think is the cause of the grievances of the oil producing communities?*' Almost all the participants believe that corruption, poverty in the midst of plenty, ozone layer depletion, environmental pollution,

desertification, oil spillage, gas flaring, irresponsible leadership and disparity in the distribution of oil wealth were significant among the factors responsible for the oil motivated grievances in the oil rich region. According to one of the participants, *'not much impact has been made on the lives and living standards of most ordinary people of the oil rich region.'* *'The bottom line,* as another participant admitted, *is the deep poverty, lack of development and pollution in the midst of plenty. On top of this, we, the people of the oil producing communities are constantly exposed to the negative effects of environmental issues such as gas flaring, ozone layer depletion, desertification, oil spillage and neglect to mention but a few'*

3) The participants were asked to state in briefly, *'how they would classify the manifestation of the oil motivated grievances.'* Almost all agree that oil motivated grievances have often manifested in the form of road blockade, kidnapping, take-over of oil companies' operational stations, oil pipeline vandalism, oil theft, community hostility, agitation for the control of oil resources popularly known in Nigeria as 'resource control 'and sea piracy. As one of the participants puts it, *'Since 1990s the Niger Delta as a region has been the home to ethnic, communal and political crisis. And in most of these crises, human lives were lost especially through face off with the security operatives or kidnap where ransom could not be paid.'* Another participant adds, *'social disorder, youth restiveness, robbery, militancy and arms struggle',* as manifestation of their oil induced grievances.

4) Participants were asked, *in your perception, how would you describe government reaction to the oil related grievances?* Majority of the participants describe the reaction of the government to the grievances of the oil communities as lack of genuine concern, human right abuses, coercion, sexual violence on women by soldiers deployed by the government to crises ridden situation, beating, maiming, arson and even killing by the Joint Task Force (JTF) of the government of the day. According to one of the participants, *'government has often used repression and when under pressure resort to selective settlement of community leaders as a way of reacting to the grievances of the oil rich community instead of seeking to promote policies and activities that represents the interest of the entire oil community. This approach divides the people against one another in their own communities.'* Another

participant argues that, '*government has equally brought in some forms of positive intervention in likes of Niger Delta Development Boards, the Niger Delta Basin Development Authority, Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission and the Niger Delta Development Commission but they were ruled by massive corruption and politicization.*'

5) When the participants were asked, '*How do the oil companies react to the oil communities' grievances?*' almost all of them were of the opinion that, the oil companies tend to regard the grievances of the oil communities as illegitimate and unwarranted since they believe that they have invested so much in the operational environment, paid their royalties and taxes to the local authorities. According to one of the participants, *the oil companies are aware that there is the problem of under-development in the area, but they see it as the responsibility of the government to address such gap the oil production activities have brought to bear on the oil communities.*'

6) On the question of, '*What are the weaknesses you observe in the way the government and the oil companies deal with oil related issue that affect the oil producing communities?* A good number of the participants were of the view that the weaknesses in the government and oil companies' strategies included negative relationship cultivated through implementation of development programmes that are not in line with the priority needs and aspirations of the oil producing communities, self centred community relations projects that fail to take cognizance of the changing context of the oil communities and lack of proper involvement of the oil rich communities in the process of projects identification and implementation. A participant points out that, '*the campaign against corruption has been highly politicized thereby making it difficult to win the war against corruption. The Nigerian government is a toothless bulldog that barks only but cannot bite.*' Another participant adds that, *most of the projects the oil companies sited in the various communities were done out of the selfish interest of such companies and not in the interest of the oil communities. Take road for instance, it is only when they know the road will enable them to commute easily to their work location that the oil companies will take interest to construct it.*

7) Reacting to the question of, '*How satisfied are you with the way the oil wealth is distributed?*' Seventy percent of the participants agree that they were not satisfied with the way the oil wealth is distributed in the Niger Delta. They believe that a situation where so much money comes into the region but the distribution is concentrated in the hands of a few is unacceptable. A participant points out that, '*those who have access to power corruptly limit the circulation of the oil wealth to their friends and relatives. Only the leaders of some of the prominent militant groups were fortunate to have access to the oil wealth after the amnesty deal was struck. Though a pocket of the militants benefited from the amnesty deal, the militants do not represent the ordinary suffering people of the Niger Delta region.*'

8) The participants were asked, '*How would you describe the relationship between the oil companies' public relations programmes and the oil related conflicts in the Niger Delta?* Some argue that government has good public relations programmes but they are not positively felt by the people. A large percentage of the participants condemned the public relations programmes of the government as mere propaganda and outright deception. They believe that 'he who pays the piper dictates the tune' as one of them pointed out. The general conclusion of the majority of them was the public relations programmes of the government have significant influence over the oil related conflicts in the region. As one of them points out, '*the public relations programmes of the government have something to do with the major conflicts in the region. Government will publish something in the media, say road construction for some communities and do another thing on the ground, how can the people continue to have confidence in such government? And when the people feel they have been deceived they become angry and find every possible way to express their bitterness. The government public relations programmes are complete failure and self-serving.*'

9) On the question of '*How would you describe the relationship between the oil companies' public relations programmes and the oil related conflicts in the Niger Delta?*' their reactions were negative though less than 30% of them applaud the oil companies' public relations programmes which was called 'community relations' projects. Sixty percent of them believe that most of the multinational oil firms do something only the areas where

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they have discovered oil and where they have their oil facilities. Sometimes as they largely claim after some moments of debate, that oil companies are merely serving the interest of a corrupt government and when execute any public relations programmes such as a construction of roads or school buildings, it is because they need access way to their oil facilities and could have got so much from the community. One of them maintains that, *the oil companies are government representatives and so they do not care so much for the oil communities they meet in poverty situation but use them as prime spectators for the display of flamboyant and ostentatious lifestyles. This is why some of them are kidnapped and locked out of their oil facilities and flow stations because the people could no longer bear with the ugly situation.'*

10) In reaction to the question of, *'In what ways can the government and oil companies improve on their relationship with the oil producing communities for a sustainable peaceful coexistence in the Niger Delta?'* the participants maintain that corruption and irresponsible leadership must give way. They add that, oil companies must learn to keep to their promises and respect the rule of law. Many participants believe that infrastructure and efficient community oriented service improvement, could improve the triangular relationship between the government, oil companies and the oil rich communities. A participant observes that, *'they have to start by improving on the way they relate with the oil communities. The idea of relating with the people through the traditional rulers cannot work because most of the traditional rulers have failed in their capacity to effectively represent the people. Many traditional rulers have been banished by their own people for questionable character especially in misrepresentation of the people. What we need is a situation where we sit together to plan the way forward that is democratic-participant and grassroots focused.'* Adding, another participant believes that, *'since it will be difficult for government to cede the entire oil income to the oil producing region, about 85percent of the oil wealth should be spent on the infrastructure and human capital development in the Niger Delta via a process that has zero tolerance for corruption.'*

At the end of the focus group, the participants are of the opinion that basic drivers for peaceful co-existence are yet to be available in the triangular relationship between the government, oil companies and the oil rich communities. This position is anchored on the argument that the issues

that motivated their grievances are yet to be addressed. They believe that government and the oil companies are self centred and political in their promises and various seeming development initiatives including public relations programmes. They want government and the oil companies to be people oriented through policy formulation and implementation, have zero tolerance for corruption and be transparent in their relationship with the oil rich communities if they would like to achieve the harvest of a peaceful co-existence with the oil communities.

5.7 Conclusion

The chapter is focused on data analysis and interpretation with reference to the literature review. The aim of this study was to establish the nature of public relations of the government and oil companies in the oil communities of the Niger Delta and how it contributes to long term peace building process. The findings show that the nature of public relations practices of the government and oil companies reflect the outmoded model of public relations practice. They are not in line with the expectations of the oil communities as majority of the respondents indicated. This implies that the road to a long term peace building process is still some distance away. The main findings of the investigation were as presented as response to each of the research questions.

Chapter Six

6.0 Conclusion, Recommendations, Original contribution to knowledge and Suggestion for further study

The purpose of this research is to evaluate the nature of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies in the oil producing areas in order to establish the relationship it has with peace building process in the Niger Delta on a long term basis. The survey was conducted with the long term relationship measurement guidelines of the Institute of Public Relations which outline the following six components of relationship: *control mutuality, trust, satisfaction, commitment, exchange relationship and communal relationship.* The six components were adopted as major sub themes which were extended to related sub components associated with each of the six major components. In course of conducting the survey and the focus group discussions, the following objectives as earlier indicated at the introductory stage form the basis of what to achieve in this study. The objectives are to:

5. Establish the nature of public relations practice the government and the oil companies have carried out in relation to the oil rich communities in the Niger Delta.

6. Ascertain the level of contribution the nature of the public relations practices of the government and the oil companies has made towards long term peace building process.

7. Confirm if any relationship exists between the nature of public relations practice of the government and oil companies and the excellence theory in the context of oil resource in the Niger Delta.

8. Proffer some measure of recommendations for an improved nature of public relations practice in the Niger Delta that has the capacity for evolving a stable and peaceful environment.

This conclusions and recommendations offered in this study were based on the above research questions. However, the findings generated from the primary data collection through survey and complementary focus group studies indicate the need to add a rider to long term peace by asking if any relationship exists between the public relations practices of government and the oil companies and peace building process. It is rendered as research question two below:

What is the nature of public relations practice the government and the oil companies have carried out in the oil producing areas in relation to the oil rich communities?

What contribution has the public relations practice made towards peace building process in the oil producing areas?

Does the public relations practice have any support for peace building process of a long-term value in the Niger Delta?

6.1 Research Question 1: The nature of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies in the Niger Delta

This section is focused on the nature of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies in the oil communities in the Niger Delta. In the attempt to establish the nature of public relations practice of the government and oil companies in the Niger Delta region as it affects the oil bearing communities, the study took cognizance of the perspectives of both the oil communities and that of the government and the oil companies' representatives. The public relations programmes of both the government and the oil companies were expressed basically in the forms of corporate social responsibilities, community relations projects and associated media relations for the purpose of interacting with the oil communities. This study questions the quality and currency of these programmes and the manner of prosecution if they have the potential for promoting peaceful coexistence on a long term basis. For this purpose, 'Control mutuality' came first in the list of major variables and being hinged on the Excellence theory of public relations with support from other associated theories as indicated in the theoretical framework, efforts were made to provide answers to the research question above on the nature of public relations practice in the Niger Delta. The components to control mutuality in the perspective of the oil communities, government and oil companies were consequently measured. The components measured and analyzed included 'attentiveness among the stakeholders,' 'exercise of excessive control,' 'listening mechanism,' 'participation in decision making process,' 'sense of belonging,' 'cooperation,' 'freedom of expression,' and influence on decision making process'. All these components to control mutuality like any other in this study were adapted from the long term relationship measurement guidelines of the Institute of Public Relations. The objective is to establish first if there has been any public relations programme that tends to promote positive relationship among the oil related stakeholders in the Niger Delta in the past and secondly, to

identify the extent to which the parties to the oil related relationship have shared in the exercise of influence over one another on oil related matters in the Niger Delta. To achieve these two objectives, this study tried to answer the above questions on the nature of public relations practice. Excellence theory was mainly used as the theoretical framework for this research question because it is better placed to capture the fundamental concept of a paradigm shift in corporate public relations practice. Paradigm shift in public relations practice is long standing call for a redirection of public relations practice from organisation centred interest to a balance of interest of organisation with that of other stakeholders. In course of harnessing mutually beneficial resources especially with regards to oil related wealth distribution as the case of the Niger Delta   emphasis in corporate policy and behaviour is expected to take the interest of all strategic stakeholders on board. Out of the 8 variables measured, only on attentiveness that respondents agreed that the oil communities and the representatives of government and oil companies were mutually attentive but they disagreed in the others. This suggests that the respondents were of the opinions that the government and oil companies and the stakeholders give mutual attention to each other in the process of the oil exploration, production and oil wealth distribution in the Niger Delta. Though they mutually pay attention to each other, the oil communities are suspicious of the both government and the oil companies as they neither have trust in any of them in the Niger Delta as far as oil business is concerned.

The findings established that there is absence of listening mechanism. Through listening to the publics the modern public relations of organisations identifies issues of public relevance and seeks ways to manage them in the best ways that the image of the organisation is protected as well as negotiate the organisation away from crisis. In a study on the relationship between organisations and farmers in Colombia, using the situational theory, Grunig (1976) observes that the communication programmes of the agricultural agencies failed because the agencies were more willing to give information than to seek information from the publics. Absence of listening mechanism suggests a close system, and the *system theory* points out that an organisation that is continuously faced with a closed system ultimately turns atrophy and functionally dead. The reputation of a firm is a big asset but it is only through feedback that the true status of the corporate reputation can be mirrored back to the organisation for possible adjustment in the positive direction. Where the listening aspect is lacking it becomes difficult to identify the strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) that may stand as challenges to such organisation. The government and the oil companies operating in the Niger Delta cannot afford to ignore

feedback from the oil communities since it is one of the ways of converging their interest at a common point for the purpose of achieving mutually beneficial relationship devoid of grudges and murmuring.

The findings also reveal lack of participation by the oil communities in government and oil companies' decision making process. The lack of participation in decision making process of the government and oil companies is a clear demonstration of absence of listening mechanism. Modern public relations encourages the use of the town square meeting, consensus meeting and suggestion boxes for strategic stakeholders to become part of the decision making process of the organisations in question. In most cases it is not that the structures for open system is lacking but the outcome of the interchange is hardly made part of the decision making process during policy formulation. Since the time of Williks Commission of 1958 several similar commissions have been set up to listen to the oil producing communities and make recommendations to government on proper policy thrust that would improve on the interest of the strategic stakeholders to the oil resource but often none could secure a place in the policy formulation with regards to the oil industry. Since the oil companies have to operate within the policy framework of the government their policies also fail to accommodate the input from the oil communities in their strategic decision making process.

Lack of mutual cooperation among the stakeholders to the oil resource was found to be prominent in the Niger Delta. Faced with the unfriendly oil policies of the government which first stripped the oil communities of their rights to the ownership of the land in which oil wells were discovered in the 1950s, the oil communities also withdrew the necessary cooperation which they would have given to the government and the oil companies operating in the region. One of the major pains of the oil communities is the fact that during the military era, the interest of the region was grossly neglected   while the oil wealth was used to developed the northern part of the country which had no link to oil resource except through the political power of the military that held on to power for 27years since independence in 1960. The reaction of the oil communities could not be hidden and as such made the eruption of oil communities' hostilities to be on the increase ranging from kidnapping, pipelines vandalism, and blockade of access way to oil flow stations, interception of oil vessel, demonstration, temporary takeover of oil facilities and eventual call for restructuring and resource control.

Lack of legitimacy in opinion expression and lack of influence of the oil communities on government and oil companies during the process of making decisions were part of the findings in this study. This implies that the government and the oil companies do not regard it as legally right for the oil communities to express their opinions on the way the oil industry operates and by extension how they affect them. The oil companies through the leverage given by the government appear to believe that having paid their tax and royalties to government they have fulfilled the obligation required of them to have the exclusive control of the oil resource. Government on its part by law especially relying on the Land Use Decree of 1978 that was later entrenched in the 1999 Constitution demonstrates that the oil communities have no ownership right to the oil resource in the land they had regarded as their inheritance prior to the oil discovery in 1956. According to Adebayo et al (2007) the removal of the land ownership rights from the people without compensation plunges the oil communities into poverty and idleness. The findings in this study were able to identify the nature of the public relations practice of the government and the oil companies in the Niger Delta region. They reveal that public relations was in existence and was initiated by both the government and the oil companies but the nature of it is not representative of the model supported by the *excellence theory,* which is a modern model that provides for a balance of interest to all relevant stakeholders. Rather the study found that the public relations programmes of the government and oil companies are reflections of outmoded public relations models that are characterized by press agentry or publicity based public relations practice, public information model and two-way asymmetrical model. The nature of government and oil companies' public relations programmes as the study discovered is self centred that is government or oil companies directed to the exclusion of the interest of the oil communities. It seeks to evolve change without commitment to change but with the ultimate objective of changing the attitudes and opinions of the oil communities in favour of the interest of the government and the oil companies. For example, the government and the oil companies had always wanted the oil communities to accept that so much has been done in their areas but the irony is that the oil communities kept maintaining that there is no correlation between such claim and the state of development in the oil communities across the Niger Delta. Government and the oil companies in their bid to cover up for the weaknesses resort to use of media propaganda which seeks to stimulate the attitudes of the public in their favour. But in the process they fail to persuade the strategic publics who in reality are regularly and physically exposed to the impact of policies and programmes of the government and oil companies directly. Though with occasional use of force, the government and the oil companies

predominantly resort to persuasive strategies to secure positive change in the attitudes and opinions of the oil communities by relying on the media to achieve the desired change through the use of any of the public relations models that existed before excellence theory. Grunig (1984) observes that for an organisation to be more effective it is required to transit from any of the public relations models that is exclusively organisation directed or one-way to two-way symmetrical model which advocates promotion of the interest of both organisation and its publics or stakeholders. In the focus group studies, it was further established that government does not have recognition for the opinions of the oil communities as a legitimate process of self- expression. The focus group participants established that instead of government to listen to the grievances of the oil communities, it resorts to use of force and in some cases try to stimulate crisis among the oil communities' members. One of the focus group participants was sad to say that, '*government has often used repression and when under pressure resort to selective settlement of community leaders as a way of reacting to the grievances of the oil rich community instead of seeking to promote policies and activities that represents the interest of the entire oil community.*

6.2 Research question 2: Government and oil companies' public relations contribute to peace building process in the Niger Delta.

On the question of public relations contribution to peace building process, the study measured one of the six sides to relationship in public relations known as 'trust'. In the search for the contribution of public relations to peace, trust, exchange relationship and communal relationship, the three of the six major variables ultimately form the basis of measurement in this research question. It is from the three variables that the following eleven variables were extracted and measured: *fair and just treatment, concern, reliability, prioritization, competence, capability, sound principles, deception, consent, close watch and successful*. On exchange relationship, the study measured: *returning favour, compromise and selective care*. In communal relationship, the study measured: *financial support and undue advantage.*

It was established that no peaceful co-existence can be guaranteed in the absence of the above variables measured in the survey. Literature review points to the fact that public relations is of value when it not only helps organisations to achieve their goals but helps the organisation to identify the strategic stakeholders and publics in their segmented structure and communicate with these stakeholders and publics symmetrically (Grunig, 1984). The measurement process led to collection of data on the above variables from the oil communities, government and oil companies'

representatives. The use of the above variables for establishing the contribution of public relations to peace building process or otherwise is based on the understanding that *trust* is an important ingredient for mutual understanding. The findings reveal that there is no evidence of fair and just treatment from government and the oil companies in the perspectives of those who represented oil communities. The government and oil companies' representatives shared similar opinions with the oil communities that the oil communities were not treated fairly and justly by the government and the oil companies in the Niger Delta. This convergence in opinion correlation on the issue of lack of fair and just treatment appears to spring from the fact that both the oil communities' representatives and majority of the government and oil companies' representatives share a common experience on the paradox of poverty of the oil communities in the midst of rich oil resource in the Niger Delta. Opinions of the oil communities and that of government and oil companies' representatives indicate that there is the absence of mutual consent and reliability in their relationship. It further reveals that there is no priority place for the opinions of the oil communities when the government and the oil companies are making decisions as the perspective of the government and oil companies' representatives indicated. This suggests that oil communities are excluded in the process of making decisions that have a bearing on their posterity and aspirations in the region. This is a strong factor that tends to construct some measure of strain in the relationship among the stakeholders who have otherwise been mutually knitted together. But the respondents representing the oil communities believe that though government does not give priority place to the opinions of the oil communities, they believe that the oil companies do take their opinions into consideration when making decisions. But this is not the position of the government and the oil companies' representatives who maintain that both the government and the oil companies do not take the opinions of the oil communities into consideration in the process of making important decisions in their respective organisations. These findings correlate the opinions of the representatives of oil communities, government and the oil companies on whether government counts on the opinions of the oil communities when taking important decisions that affects the oil communities. However, it was discovered that they differ on whether the oil companies do count on the opinions of the oil communities since respondents on the oil communities' perspective believe that oil companies take their opinions into consideration. On the contrary, the respondents on behalf of government and the oil companies were of different opinions as they held the view that the opinions of the oil communities do not take a priority place when government and the oil companies make decisions. This suggests that while the oil communities

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live on the false assumption that their opinions count on the important decisions of the oil companies in reality they do not as the opinions of the government and oil companies' representatives point out. The reason most of the opinions of the oil communities fail to be accepted into the decision making process of the government and the oil companies is frivolity. Some of the demands of the oil communities are said to be culture based while others reflect their religious belief system. The oil companies or government for example find it difficult to accept that they should be made to build a house for a particular deity or made to offer employment to their indigenous people for jobs they are less qualified for. But that is not to agree that all their opinions are frivolous; some are constructive but due to the policy framework that oil companies operate with, the ideas emanating from such constructive articulation does not mean much and as such fails to meet with acceptance especially when the officials of the government and oil companies find them to be indictment or extraneous to the way they execute their mandate in the region. The policy framework of most of the oil companies alienates the oil communities from the responsibility of the oil companies and defined them as the responsibility of the government which should need their opinions.

This development shows that the oil communities are not considered to be responsible enough or competent by the government and oil companies to be part of the process that shape their destinies. Significantly, oil communities are in the minority group and have been denied access to central political power which the successive northern dominated military government wield for over 26 years to the detriment and neglect of the minorities especially the oil rich region. The implication of this is resentment to the authorities of government and oil companies whom the oil communities see as the major barricade on their path to economic advancement.

In the opinions of the oil communities' respondents, government and the oil companies are able to do what they say they will do. This position differs with the government and oil companies' representatives who were of the opinion that government and the oil companies are not able to achieve what they say they will do. The oil communities lack proper information as to the details of government plans and policies thus whatever project they see they believe it represents what the government say it will do. However, the government and oil companies' officials who are well informed about the actual scope of government development plan and policy will always know when there is a shortfall at the point of implementation. Besides, the officials of government and oil companies are often part of the process of drafting the plan and policy as well as instrument for

the execution of the projects who also help in the cover up strategy of the government and the oil companies. Most often they are the one that address the media, organize media conference to defend their employers while acting as spin doctors in some cases to convince the oil communities that what government says it does. When the oil communities discover these subterfuges it turns out to be a source of hostilities and aggression against the government and its representatives. It is also evident that government does what it says it will do in other places especially the transformation of Abuja from a thick forest to mega city for use as the seat of federal government headquarters is a pointer to this but that is not the case of the oil producing communities. Thus if the government fails to do what it says in the oil communities, it is regarded as unwillingness and lack of commitment to the cause of the Niger Delta people.

The oil communities, government and oil companies agree that the government and oil companies do not use sound principles in the triangular relationship. It is understandable that oil communities who claim to be suffering from socio-economic and infrastructural neglect could not have accepted that government and oil companies use sound principles in their interaction with them. The incident of use of force to react to a peaceful demonstration of the oil communities which in the case of Odi, led to total annihilation of a whole community does not credit the government with sound principle in dealing with the people of the oil producing communities. Most oil spill in the oil communities were attributed to sabotage but a good number of the oil spills were found to be as a result of faulty pipelines or oil facilities. The issue of gas flaring that has existed for many decades with attendant effect of the Ozone layer and acid rain among others side effects and has been wasted instead of being converted to economic advantage does not represent sound operational principle in the Niger Delta.

In the perspectives of the respondents from oil communities, the government and the oil companies all agree that government and the oil companies do mislead or deceive the oil communities in the triangulated relationship. Deception or misleading information breaches even the strongest trust in a relationship. When it was resolved some years ago that the Niger Delta be split into more state the impression was for development and growth to spread more throughout the region. But the expected effect of the state creation did not lead to the fulfillment of the oil communities' desires. Infrastructural development, social amenities and facilities are still not available as expected. Most oil communities have got support from the oil companies in the areas of education, skills acquisition and road construction but the reality of it has always been problem of quality of such

community relations projects and inability of such projects to meet the aspirations of the oil communities. There are cases of fiscal allocation from the Federation and Derivation Fund to states that were diverted by government officials and politicians to private use thus raising a feeling of mistrust among the oil communities against the government and the oil companies (UNDP, 2006).

Deception is also felt in the handling of complaint procedure. Stated policy concerning complaints are diametrically opposed to actual response to public complaint. Policy thrust on oil spill and environmental pollution is well stated in their operational guidelines but the actual response to actual incidents of oil spill and environment protection is a different thing altogether.

Mutual consent, according to the views of the respondents from the oil communities, government and oil companies, is lacking in the relationship between the government and the oil communities. However, the respondents from government and oil communities believe that there is mutual consent between the oil communities and the oil companies. The implication is that the oil communities often believed that government is responsible for their plight since it is not able to come up with the right policy framework that would stem the tide of neglect and infrastructure decay. They realized that companies can do but little if government support is not given and from the little community relations, the oil communities in some areas do enter into mutual consent especially on issues of where and how to site certain community oriented projects like market stores, portable pipe born water and or cottage hospitals.

Closely watching the government and the oil companies by the oil communities on what they do tends to depict suspicion. The respondents from the oil communities do not support the idea of keeping the government and the oil companies under close watch. However, the respondents from the government and oil companies hold a different opinion as they believe there is the need to keep the government and the oil companies under close watch. The respondents from the oil communities differ with those of the government and the oil companies on the issue of successful execution of what they promise to do in the oil communities. This finding tends to confirm the position of some literature which point to absence of wholehearted commitment from both government and oil companies on what they promise to do for the oil communities. Often, what they do is over exaggerated and blown out of proportion through the mass media, which reflects the outmoded public relations model that is rooted in press agentry. Poor quality of and under-delivery in the execution of promises are strong reason in the perspective of those who see un-fulfilment in the promises made by government and oil companies in the Niger Delta. For example,

cases of abandoned projects in the Niger Delta by the Oil Minerals Producing Areas Development Commission despite huge budget it collected and high expectations of the people of the oil communities that were dashed point to one of the numerous un-fulfillment in government and oil companies promises to the oil communities (UNDP, 2006). In some cases, there is outright denial like some roads that were published in the media as part of government or oil companies' project in certain communities but in reality, such projects were never executed. Past experience arising from this kind of deception tends to heighten suspicion and the need to keep a close watch on the source of such deception.

While the respondents of the oil communities were of the opinion that government and oil companies are not successful in the implementation of what they promised to do, respondents who represent the government and the oil companies believe that the government and the oil companies are successful in what they promised to do. The polarity of opinions of the oil communities on one hand and the government and oil companies on the other hand is understandable in the divergent experience of the beneficiaries and executors of projects. This implies that while the oil communities who are the actual beneficiaries of the promises feel the direct negative impact of the ill executed projects, the government and oil companies' officials who are the executors may hardly see how such projects directly impact on the lives of the people of the oil producing areas. This is more so since the members of the oil communities are significantly apart from the officials of the government and oil companies in the social strata.

The successive failure of the various interventions especially the development commissions and the amnesty programmes which has a high record of corruption and fraudulent practices are collectively a confirmation of the position of the oil communities' respondents. Rather than serving as long-term peace drivers they are regarded as mere stop-gap in the short run but with great indication for long term failure because most of those who could have benefited from such programmes are largely excluded by corrupt and self-serving practices (Sayne 2013). Amnesty as a show of goodwill to underserving ex-militants in the Niger Delta reflects one of the functions of the modern public relations model in the context of community relations but its actual execution consigns it to outmoded public relations model going by its infiltration by wanton corruption and self centredness. This kind of public relations practice is opposed to what the reflexive[39] public

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[39] Reflexive public relations method is the concept certain scholars from the European school of public relations which proposes that professional public relations experts should not think of what will be of benefit to their organisations alone but what will be of benefit to the entire good of the society.

relations programme stands for which has a broad minded approach with significant consideration for the good of the organisation and its strategic publics (van Ruler and Vercic, 2002).

6.3 Research Question 3: Do the government and oil companies' public relations programmes support peace building process on a long term basis?

Responsive policy and programmes that address the needs of the ordinary people of the Niger Delta is believed to be the way forward towards peace especially on a long term basis (Naagbanton 2006). By extension long term peaceful co-existence is an indication of organisational effectiveness which occurs through public friendly policies and practices. Scholars argue that public relations help organisation to build positive relationships by resolving conflict between such organisation and strategic publics (Grunig, L., Grunig, J. & Ehling, 1992). They further maintain that this can be achieved through the involvement of public relations in strategic management, empowerment of public relations to be in direct relationship with top management, two-way symmetrical model of public relations, symmetrical system of internal communication and professionalized public relations function among others. The balance theory agrees with this by pointing out that dis-equilibrium in a relationship produces worry among people who have a stake in the relationship and it is only a solution that addresses the needs of all stakeholders that can eliminate or reduce the state of worry even in the long run (Heider, 1958). The study therefore used the variable of *satisfaction* and *commitment* to establish if the public relations programmes of government and oil companies have the necessary drivers for a peaceful co-existence on a long term basis. Within the context of satisfaction, the study measured the following variables in the survey to ascertain the presence of a long term peace building process which included: *happiness, mutual benefit, satisfaction and enjoyment.* In commitment, the study measured *long-term relationship, good relationship, long standing bond, value of the relationship and work together.* Since satisfaction is a precursor of a peaceful co-existence, the focus group participants were asked to state how satisfied they were with the oil distribution method.

The study discovered that the opinions of the respondents representing the oil producing communities indicate that the oil communities are not satisfied with the public relations programmes of the government and the oil companies. Most of the public relations programmes of the government in the form of corporate social responsibilities and community relations have often come under criticism for their quality and appropriateness. Besides, human abuses in the oil communities with the use of military and the police contrary to international convention on human

rights are reasonable ground for dissatisfaction by the oil producing areas. Damage occasioned by oil exploration and production have in some cases form the basis for human rights abuses when the oil communities insist that international standard practice be adhered to. Inadequate compensation for buildings, crops, fishing rights or drinking water affected by oil production activities have been met with military intimidation and repression. Also significantly the oil communities are compelled to be dissatisfied for the effect of their displacement arising from frustration on the basis of failure of the government and the oil companies to give adequate attention on the above stated issues. In the opinions of the respondents, they believe the oil communities are not happy with the PR programmes of government and the oil companies, neither do they agree that they derive mutual benefits from the relationship. The respondent expressed displeasure and maintain that they do not enjoy the relationship. This position suggests why the oil communities had often been propelled to embark on the campaign for resource control, the total management of their oil resources.

The perspective of the respondents representing the government and oil companies is not different from the position of the respondents representing the oil communities on whether they mutually enjoy the relationship rather it was a convergence of opinions. In the atmosphere of constant kidnapping of employees, takeover of flow stations, disruption of production process and blockade of access way by the oil communities there can be no more reason for the displeasure of the government and the oil companies. This suggests the evidence of an unhealthy relationship in the use of public relations that was based on the outmoded model which anchors emphasis on the interest of the organisation at the expense of the publics. The balance theory is better placed to explain the type of relationship in question here. As the theory postulates, the evidence of displeasure and dissatisfaction by the oil communities shows the failure of the public relations programmes of government and oil companies to fulfil the interest of all strategic stakeholders to oil resource, the object of common interest to all. By implication, the failure of the programmes to achieve mutually satisfactory goal is a trigger to negative development in the relationship among the stakeholders which ultimately leads to strain relationally especially when some of the strategic stakeholders are not pleased with what the other stakeholders do. The essence of modern public relations model built on the excellence theory is for parties to any relationship like the case of the Niger Delta to seek ways of achieving goals that mutually satisfy the interest of all to a reasonable extent. Poor community relations programmes like the construction of roads that is skewed in

favour of the facility area of government or oil companies' operation leaving a large percentage of other part of the community with deplorable road condition is bound to breed an unsatisfactory public relations practice in the long run because of its self-serving nature.

On the question of commitment, it was discovered that in the opinions of the oil communities' respondents, there is no long-term relationship among the three entities that have a stake in the oil production in the region. The oil communities would find it difficult to be committed to the government and the oil companies which they regard as impostors and leach who merely want to suck their oil resource dry without commensurate re-investment policy and practices that is positively transforming in the socio-economic life of the communities in the Niger Delta. According to a UNDP report, most of the people of the oil producing areas believe that 'progress and hope, much less prosperity, remain out of reach' (UNDP 2006, p1). The report adds that the dividends of oil production in the region has been felt rather, 'misdirected resources, inappropriate policy frameworks and a poor visioning of what development should look like have destabilized their societies' (p1). It concludes that if the situation is not properly addressed it will not augur well for the Nigeria. The oil communities believe the relationship is not good enough to guarantee long standing bond, neither to be valued and therefore does not provide for the stakeholders to work together. The implication is that the centre of common interest is broken and everyone seeks its own. This explains why there are so many unending incidents of pipelines vandalism and operation of illegal refineries and oil bunkering by the oil communities while the government and the oil companies are grossly involved in siphoning and diversion of funds meant for the infrastructural development and socio-economic advancement of the people. The government and oil companies' positions further re-affirm the opinions of the oil communities' respondents. When the question came up in the focus group on how satisfied they were with the distribution of the oil wealth, the overwhelming opinion was underlined by dissatisfaction. Their position can be summarized thus: '*Though a pocket of the militants benefited from the amnesty deal, the militants do not represent the ordinary suffering people of the Niger Delta region.*' The above reaction suggests that oil wealth distribution in the Niger Delta through the prism of the amnesty programme relies on selective approach to the exclusion of a larger majority of the people of the oil communities.

Public relations based on the symmetrical model of two-way communication seeks the satisfaction of all stakeholders especially those who are strategic to such relationship. The amnesty programme is widely believed to be one of the best public relations programmes of the government in recent times. While the government could be seen as having genuine intention in the introduction of the amnesty programme, government official at the top levels saw it as a means of self-enrichment and payment for political indebtedness to political thugs and cronies, majority of whom were aside the scope of the amnesty programme. Consequently, this scenario has generated image problem for the government and reinforced the negative attitudes of the oil communities towards the oil companies which are regarded as representatives of the government as well as the government itself. The overall review of the amnesty programme shows a reflection of a corruption ridden project embellished with the traits of lack of deep commitment to the plight of the majority of people of the Niger Delta. Public relations practice since the advent of the excellence theory is focused on how organisations can succeed through values that public relations adds to such organisation. Grunig, L. Grunig, J. & Ehling, (1992) argue that public relations assist organisations to achieve effectiveness by building positive relationships and resolving conflicts between organisations and their strategic publics. Building positive relationships among government, oil companies and oil communities is a function of the use of the right public relations model especially as advocated in excellence theory which accommodates the interest of all concern to a common interest. It is evident from the findings that the dissatisfaction from the oil communities in terms of community oriented programmes of government and oil companies within the context of oil production and oil wealth distribution is a reaction to corporate social responsibilities that were poorly executed.

Poorly executed corporate social responsibilities are the harbingers of image and reputation crises. Good public relations is concerned about the corporate image and reputation that the organisation exposes to the publics. This is the reason for most organisation to invest so much in building goodwill with their publics. Such goodwill like construction of roads, hospitals, sponsorship, scholarship, support for infrastructural development and encouragement of feedback culture becomes meaningful when they are in tandem with the yearnings and aspirations of the publics. The study discovered that due to the failure of government and oil companies to establish and sustain the needed goodwill much of what they claim to have done further raise the suspicion and hostilities of the oil communities.

6.4 Research question four: What relationship exists between the nature of public relations practice of government and oil companies and the two-way symmetrical model in the excellence theory?

This research appears to be a summary of the preceding research questions because it infiltrates the different questions posed above. It has been established in research question on the nature of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies that the model of public relations practice is old fashion. This results from the findings indicate that the public relations practice of the government and the oil companies relies on press agentry/ publicity, public information and two-way asymmetrical models. This suggests that model of public relations practice is organisation focused and at the detriment of the strategic publics. The consequence of organisation focused public relations practice is the absence of two-way symmetrical influence which is mainly characteristic of the excellence theory. Excellence theory as observed above emphasizes the value of public relations not only to the organisation but to the society. When there is a contribution of public relations to both the organisation and the society, that is the strategic publics, there should be evidence of mutual benefit. Mutual benefits make those beneficiary to place value on the relationship that links them to such benefit. But it was established through the use of the two variables, the *mutual benefit* and *value* that there is no mutual benefit and consequently no oil community places any value on the relationship they have with the government and the oil companies. By implication, the absence of these vital elements in the relationship among the oil resource stakeholders clearly indicates that there is no meeting point for the both the nature of public relations practice of the government and the oil companies in the oil communities and excellence theory. Both appear to be at variance and if there is any significant achievement to be made it is the need to bridge the gap between the nature of public relations of the government and the oil companies in the oil communities and the two-way symmetrical model in the excellence theory.

6.5 Conclusion

The study tried to establish if the public relations programmes of the government and the oil companies contributed to peace building in the Niger Delta. Both the survey and the focus group established that the necessary drivers for peace building process are yet to be in place. In the first place, the nature of public relations practice in the Niger Delta suggests that government and the oil companies do not use the two-way symmetrical model of public relations. Though the policy

framework of government and oil companies pretends to be people centred but the actual execution of projects and programmes arising from such policy is at variance with the needs and aspiration of the oil communities. Failure to listen to the opinions of the strategic stakeholders and absence of effective feedback mechanism collectively defines the nature of public relations model of the government and the oil companies as one way, publicity/press agentry, public information and two-asymmetrical. When government and oil companies discourage expression of opinions, the oil communities will not be able to make their needs and aspirations as strategic publics, known. Consequently, it results in poor understanding of the oil communities' desires and further creates significant gap between the policy framework of government and oil companies on one hand and the needs of the oil communities. All of these find expression in the relationship between the government and the oil communities as well as the oil companies and the oil communities. Government has often been applauded for formulating good policies sometimes but there has been a regular problem of implementation. Some of the policies of the government and oil companies encourage research in the form of national conferences and call for memoranda, environmental impact studies and sponsorship of different forms of researches on the oil sector in relations to the oil communities but the reports emanating from most of them end up in the dust bin. For instance, the National Political Reforms Conference(NPRC) convened by Olusegun Obasanjo in 2005 which recommended 25% derivation and was later reduced to 18% and could not be subsequently implemented despite the elaborate efforts that were committed to it. Few of those implemented were selectively done without resort to the reality of the objectives and needs that informed the exercise. This further points to the absence of ethically balanced interest of the government, oil companies and the oil communities in the issue of the oil production and distribution of wealth arising thereof. This lack of ethically balanced interest is believed to be outmoded in the public relations practice of the present century and societies having become more complex demands more from organisations now than ever before. But organisations that continue to stick to the old fashion of public relations models will continue to grapple with challenges that tend to question their effectiveness. It is the contention here that since the two-way symmetrical model of public relations is not evident in the public relations practice of government and the oil companies, they cannot effectively affect the oil communities positively to be able to usher in the desired peaceful co-existence in the Niger Delta. This builds up the conclusion that the lack of effectiveness especially in the implementation of people centred policies and distribution of the oil wealth as manifested by both government and the oil companies remain a historical cause of strain in the

relationship between the government and oil companies on the one hand and the oil communities on the other hand. This is the thrust of the research question one. Central to the findings as established in the response to research question one, is that the oil communities believe they were not fairly and justly treated by the government and the oil companies on oil related issue in the Niger Delta. This trend poses serious challenges to the peace building process in the context of public relations practice mounted on outmoded model.

There is a convergence in the opinions of the oil communities, government and oil companies on exchange relationship and communal relationship. On exchange relationship the oil communities and the government respondents maintain that government and the oil companies do expect something in return for whatever they do in the oil communities. The essence of government policy and corporate policy of oil companies is to secure return for their efforts. This orientation applies to corporate social responsibilities and community relations effort of the government and the oil companies. Thus the social responsibilities and community relations of the government and oil companies are exchange strategies for the pollution, displacement and other environmental hazards associated with the oil exploration and production in the oil communities. Thus whenever these projects are to be sited in the oil communities the community member see it as compensation and when juxtaposed with the amount of wealth derived from the oil resource and depth of dislocation experienced by the oil communities, they are seen as inadequate.

They all agree that government and oil companies do not expect something in return for the favour they show. As established above favours that flows from both government and the oil companies are hardly separated from the expectations of something in return. When the then government of late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua introduced the amnesty programme it was with the hope of securing solution to the persistent insecurity associated with the oil production process and ultimately create a peaceful and conducive environment for the oil business in the region. Another factor was for the government and the oil companies to continue to be in control of the oil resource as the threats from the oil communities' militias to take over the entire control of the oil resource was almost being executed and could no longer be deterred. In the short run, the oil production that was brought down to less than 800,000 barrels per day between 2006 and 2008 rose to 2.3million barrels per day in 2010. Other community relations projects such as cottage hospitals, scholarship, market stalls and roads were usually in expectation for something. This give food for

thought that since oil is a non-renewable resource it would dry up someday. It was indicated that unless fresh oil deposits were found the current oil reserve that stands at 37.3billion barrels may likely be exhausted within a period of 40years on the average of 2.2mbp exploitation (NBS, 2008). This raises the fear that once the oil dries up, the current state of neglect will intensify which may ultimately leave the region to its own fate. The fear is that if inadequate attention is being given now, when the oil dries up it will become worst.

Oil companies may not yield to compromise but government was indicted of compromise and non-selective in offering care in the opinions of the oil communities. Oil companies that do not yield to compromise do that in the area of employment of skilled staff. Most of the oil communities had always wanted their less qualifying members to fill vacant positions meant for skillful personnel. But the oil companies that will have to implement the guidelines from their headquarters in the western world see such degree of compromise as unacceptable. The non-selective practice of the government in offering care has been much felt in the provision of infrastructure to communities other than the oil communities. This shows that the oil communities are taken as a special case in terms of conception and implementation of developmental projects. The oil communities have at one time accused the federal government of spending the oil wealth more on other parts of the country at the expense of the oil communities which is the source of the wealth. The distribution of the oil wealth within the Niger Delta region has also witnessed non-selective spending especially during the implementation of the amnesty programme. It was discovered that most of those from this goodwill gesture were political allies, kith and kin of politicians and others who were not among the over 20,000 ex-militants target for the amnesty gesture.

The opinions of the respondents tend to reflect some form of support towards a peaceful relationship but going by the perspectives of the oil communities, government and oil companies on communal relationship, the absence of financial support for the oil communities is evident. The absence of financial support through empowerment programmes with the capacity to drive oil communities toward fulfilment of their life aspirations is not likely to booster relationship that is capable of encouraging the process of peaceful co-existence. This is more distressful when it is remembered that the oil communities support the income generation of the nation up to 90%, the source of wealth for the affluent lifestyles of the oil companies and some government officials, yet they suffer from so much infrastructural neglect, degradation and low per capital income. Enemaku

(2006, pp 2-3) buttressed this position further by pointing out that the relationship is in a state of war. He adds that:

> *The communities where oil is produced are characterised by squalor, neglect,*
> *abject poverty and absence of basic amenities such as clean water, hospitals,*
> *good roads, schools, etc. The people of the Niger Delta are aggrieved that*
> *proceeds of the oil business are not being used to develop the people on whose*
> *land and in whose backyard the oil is produced, and who suffer degradation*
> *caused by oil exploration and production activities.*

In the face of such scenario as portrayed above, it is difficult for peace building process to take place. Over the years, other interventions of the government and the oil companies, which represent some forms of public relations programmes have taken place but all were riddled with corruption and large scale insincerity. This is underlined by the story-line that trails the various commissions and the most applauded amnesty programme of the last administration, an intended peace stimulus initiative, but was negatively skewed by the corrupt and self-serving officials of the ministry in favour of a few militants and their friends and relations to the exclusion of the vast majority of those affected by the hazards of the oil production process.

Where common interest exists, paying attention to what each other has to say is good but it is not sufficient if it stands alone for the promotion of a long term peace building process. Paying attention only becomes meaningful when all active stakeholders are given the opportunity to exercise their right to freedom of expression especially on issues of mutual interest, participate in decision making process, given a sense of belonging and influence in implementation of strategic decision. The result of Grunig (1976) findings on the failure in the communication programmes of agricultural agencies in Colombia in 1969 were partly rooted in the nature of communication with which farmers were engaged. According to him, the organisations he studied were not likely to listen to their publics and gave more information than they were prepared to receive which he branded as one-way communication. This suggests that the nature of public relations programmes of the government and the oil companies were separately and collectively at variant with the two-way symmetrical model, which postulates that individuals, organisations and the publics should adjust their own ideas and behaviour instead of trying to adjust the ideas and behaviour of others through the use of communication (Grunig, 1984). Grunig adds that for an organisation to be in

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good relationship with the relevant stakeholders, its behaviour must be directed at not only solving its problems but at satisfying the goals of these stakeholders. When the relationship is set on the reverse, suggesting the presence of no opportunity for taking the opinion of the other party into consideration even when the issue involved affects those for whom such decision will be made cannot stimulate proper representation. This partisan representation of interest group is not in line with the reality of the excellence theory nor does it agree with the balance theory as indicated in the theoretical framework. Excellence theory and balance theory as indicated in the theoretical framework seek an inclusive kind of relationship where the interest of all who are joined by a common interest are adequately served. Both theories predict a break down in relationship and lack of effectiveness if the pluralistic interest is pursued at the expense of one entity.

The contention is that rather than being a strategic management function which relationally supports mutual cooperation, mutual interchange of ideas, encourages feedback, mutual sense of belonging postulated by the excellence and balance theories, the findings are in the contrary. Thus the nature of public relations indicated in this finding align with reactive instead of proactive, messaging oriented and or publicity incline and is more bent towards the interest of government and the oil companies to the neglect of the oil communities. A public relations practice that is reactive does not have strategic plan for breakout of crisis or future incidents. It simply reacts to situations as they occur like the fire fighter instead of proactively developing strategic plans that can counter and neutralize such challenge at the time of occurrence. This is the picture of the nature of public relations practice with regards to the Niger Delta question. For instance, when the amnesty programme would be introduced, it was a time when the militias were almost grinding the oil production in the region to a standstill. The oil production had dropped below 800,000 barrels per day and that meant so much to revenue accruing to the federal government, meaning that government would soon be unable to meet with its financial obligations. This approach represents the nature of corporate social responsibility or community relations of the early public relations models predating the excellence theory that supports the two-way asymmetrical model. The out outmoded model of public relations practice as indicated elsewhere is tilted to the interest of the organisation at the expense of the strategic publics. A public relations practice that is tilted towards organisation interest to the exclusion of the other active stakeholders is not likely to make positive contribution to peace building process because the relationship is not in agreement with

socially acceptable ways in the world view of stakeholders yet it is expected to be mutually interdependent and beneficial to all (Clarkson, 1995).

Public relations programmes that have the potentials for an enduring value are consistent and sustainable, not ad hoc. The intervention programmes of the government and oil companies are perceived to be reactionary, self-serving and not sustainable mainly because of their failure to give proper representation to the oil communities, especially in the conceptualization of public relations programmes and public related policies. This is responsible for the distrust that is established in the study, an indication of lack of two-way symmetrical communication and proper balance in the relationship among the stakeholders. This practice reduces the supposedly active stakeholders to passive constituent in the relational scheme. Lattimore (2007) believe that this exclusivity approach is no longer fashionable but only acceptable in the use of press agentry, a practice which was prevalent earlier in the public relations history. The press agentry or publicity model of public relations practice has not proved to be successful in managing public relations challenges as in the case of the Niger Delta because it tends to consign the active stakeholders to the background. Lattimore argues that public relations programmes that consign the active stakeholders to passive role may only work for entertainment and sport purposes but is certain to generate negative public relations influence. This negative influence as the study reveals, is at the background of the oil related grievances and consequently peace deficient relationship among the oil stakeholders in the Niger Delta. The implication is that public relations programmes of the government and the oil companies were made to face the challenge of persuading the oil communities to change their attitude in favour of government and or oil companies. Such persuasive communication does not appear to incorporate the interest of the oil communities enough for them to respond positively as the distribution of oil wealth excludes a significant percentage of the stakeholders. Given the exclusivity environment, the use of propaganda or deception and or sometimes coercion to convince the oil communities that government and oil companies meant well for them becomes almost inevitable which poses a daunting task for the public relations professional who ought to be ethical, but through organisational unethical pressure achieve a possible short term success that later degenerates to a harvest of distrust in the long run. The deployment of agenda building as a tool by public relations professional to project the government and the oil companies in good light could have been countered by the failure of the agenda to incorporate the diverse interest of the stakeholders. When the interest of the larger society of stakeholders is excluded, it is ultimately perceived as a deprivation and therefore regarded as a social ill that should require collective will

or social pressure to correct (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950).   The rise of such rift that requires a collective will to address reduces the chances an organisation hs to be effective in the conduct of primary business especially in the long run. Grunig L. A., Grunig, J. E., & Ehling, W. P. (1992) observe that the long term effectiveness of an organisation is a function of the organisation's success at achieving goals that are cherished by both the organisation and the publics. To this extent, the public relations programmes of the government and the oil companies in the oil communities are not designed for a sustainable relationship because they lack the consistency and relevant continuity element for such enduring value that is capable of sustaining a long term peace driven relationship. The oil communities therefore do not have the courage to repose the necessary trust on the public relations programmes of the government and the oil companies operating in their areas as they believe that the PR programmes are misleading, deceptive, unreliable and lack the lustre for a long term relationship.

6.5 Recommendations

- The absence of basic features of control mutuality, trust and satisfaction in the interchange of relationship point to the nature of public relations that does not take the interest of all stakeholders into consideration. This type of public relations practice represents the press agentry and or publicity model, which exalts the interest of the organisation above that of its publics. By implication in the context of the Niger Delta question, this type of public relations that exalts the interest of the government and oil companies above the interest of the oil producing communities is a negation of what the excellence theory stands for. According to Roach (2008) this is not the nature of public relations practice for the 21st Century because he maintains that modern public relations practice is expected to embrace a balance of interest of all parties in order to sustain mutual interest. It is only when the interest of all converge at a balance that peaceful coexistence can be guaranteed. This study therefore advocates that government and oil companies should consider a review of the current public relations practice and formulate policy thrust that jettison the prevailing outmoded public relations model. Such model of public relations which fails to accommodate the interest of government, oil companies and oil communities equally should be discarded or restructured to embrace the public relations models that is in tandem with the two-way symmetrical model advocated in the excellence theory which is capable of balancing the interest of the government, oil companies and oil communities as indicated in the literature review. The two- way symmetrical model supports proactive rather than

reactive public relations practice which is capable of promoting the necessary peace drivers in the oil rich region because sustained peaceful relationship requires that positive change in behavioural attitudes, policy framework and public opinions should come from all with a common interest. This implies that the government and the oil companies should go back to the drawing board to fashion out the policy that will encourage the implementation of the right public relations model which has respect for public friendly relationship. That is the pathway to sustainable peace building process.

- Peaceful co-existence is evident in a relationship where mutual trust, exchange and communal relationship feature prominently. Any organisation that believes in peaceful co-existence must strive to sustain fair and just treatment, show concern for the welfare of others, seeks to be reliable, prioritize the needs of other stakeholders, encourage competence, capability and sound principles as advocated in excellence theory. Such organisation should avoid deception, favour for favour, compromise and selective care. Though financial support may be discouraged in terms of cash, but financial support that leads to empowerment and creation of entrepreneurial skills among the oil communities' members is strongly advised which will go a long, not only to accelerate the peace building process but raise the positive image of both the government and the oil companies in the region. The idea of taking undue advantage of the low or weak in the society like the case of the Odi Community, one of the oil communities that was razed down by the federal government during the administration of Olusagun Obasanjo in response to expression of grievances by the oil communities should be discouraged. Part of the causes of the Niger Delta crisis was the idea of taking advantage of the oil rich communities whose land produces the wealth of the nation but were relegated to the background of poverty and infrastructural neglect. To contribute to peace, the government and the oil companies must be committed to causes that gratify all stakeholders, suggesting that before any public relations is embarked upon adequate research should be have been conducted into the needs of all stakeholders and PR programmes should align with such needs, which may revolve around three basic determinants of public interest: equality of opportunity, economic individualism and free enterprise system (Lipset, 1979; Elder and Cobb, 1983; McClosky and Zaller, 1984). The presence of these determinants in a relationship, especially in the

triangular setting of the government, oil companies and oil rich communities, will relatively support the peace building process.

- It is one thing to initiate a process that is of benefit to all interest groups but it is quite another thing to sustain it. Unless good is sustained, its goodness fades out the moment it is no longer sustained and it is soon forgotten (Ezekiel 18:24; 33:18). The British Institute of Public Relations believes that mutual understanding once established should be sustained (Igben,1998). This suggests that commitment to long term relationship and sustainable good relationship constitute the hallmark for fostering an enduring legacy of peaceful co-existence. The government and the oil companies cannot expect sustainable peaceful co-existence in the atmosphere of policies and corporate practices that do not accommodate the interest of the oil rich communities on a long term basis. This implies that from conceptualisation to implementation of policies and projects the corporate image of the organisation and the interest of all strategic stakeholders on a long term basis should be of priority to the government and the oil companies. This calls for enhanced public relations programmes in terms of quality and quantity which can only be guaranteed by adherence to the postulations of the excellence theory, balance and system theory which collectively maintain emphasis on balancing the interest of all stakeholders concern satisfactorily. Further to this, language management is highly important especially during interactive session to ensure agenda setting effects of deployed media do promote peace instead of mistrust and suspicion which subsequently degenerate to crisis.

- It is evident from the study that the government and the oil companies did not indicate through their behaviour and various policies that public relations should be meaningfully deployed in order to realise the benefits of their investment in the oil communities. Excellence theory which suggests that for organisation to succeed it must behave in a manner that result in the satisfaction and resolution of problems that confronts both management and all stakeholders appears not to have been incorporated into the relationship of the government and oil companies with the oil communities. Though there are certain indications to suggest that government and the oil companies do scan the environment to establish how their behaviour and policies affect the stakeholders, the results of such scanning do not appear to be significantly influential to the direction of

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government and oil companies' policies and behaviour subsequently. Government and oil companies should listen more and be genuinely committed to integrating the result of their feedback into the process of policy formulation and programmes planning.

6.6 Original contribution to knowledge

This research contributes to the understanding of the practice of public relations in Nigeria in the following ways:

First, this research has applied the two-way symmetrical model of public relations as expounded in Excellence Theory to the public relations challenges of the Niger Delta region. Secondly, beyond the application of the two-way symmetrical model to the public relations problems in the Niger Delta, the research has drawn together supporting elements from theories such as agenda setting, balance theory, uses and gratification theory, and system theory to understand public relations practices in the Niger Delta. Thirdly, the study offers a raft of recommendations to stimulate change in the policy framework of PR deployed by government and the Niger Delta oil companies in their interactions with the oil producing communities in the Niger Delta. Lastly, the primary data generated in this research provide a source of secondary data support to future researchers on the complex and ongoing problems evident in the region.

The public relations practices of government and the oil companies in the Niger Delta are contrary to what the Excellence Theory posits. The study has found evidence of outmoded, ineffectual and counter-productive practices of press agentry, public information and assymetric communication which epitomise self interested public relations practice. Excellence theory supports the public relations model in which the interest of all strategic stakeholders is considered and catered for especially when it is imperative that peaceful co-existence is delivered. The application of Excellence Theory was first applied in a developing country context to Columbia. In this research ET has been to the public relations context of the Niger Delta, which has generated recommendations for a new direction in the public relations research in this part of the world.

The application of ET in Columbia was in isolation of other theories that could further explain the position of ET in relation to a long term peace building process. First, agenda setting theory with emphasis on public friendly issues as tools for creating salience in messages for the publics to think about has been proposed. Second, Balance theory which calls for balance of interest

especially in the distribution of oil wealth is salient. Third, uses and gratification theory suggests public relations policies and practices that are based on results of research on, and consultation with the target publics. Fourth, system theory suggests that whilst oil companies and oil communities are separate entities, they are also highly interdependent in a chain of common interest with one not being able to function effectively without the other. The research argues that these theories along side the ET approach support a theoretical framework that when applied would improve the quality of relationship among Niger Delta stakeholders. This breaks new ground in understanding the practice of public relations in the Niger Delta.

Policy makers in the Niger Delta have hardly been told that there is deficiency in the public relations models that have hitherto informed past public relations practices of the government and the oil companies in the Niger Delta. This study draws attention of policy makers to the need to implement policy that will make government and oil companies acknowledge their commitments to problems of society, especially to the oil communities, as the most effective route to solving their own problems. This research calls for fundamental change in the policy direction concerning the nature of public relations practice so that the interest of all strategic stakeholders is adequately and equitably accommodated in the future public relations practice of government and oil companies. This can provide the basis for guaranteeing sustainable peaceful co-existence in the Niger Delta region.

6.7 Suggestions for further study

This study was limited to the nature of public relations practice of the government and oil companies in the oil communities in relation to a long term peace building process in the Niger Delta. Other areas of interest which this study could not incorporate into the scope of ths study is language management in the use of public relations for peace building process. Language management which has been at the background of successful or unsuccessful business relationship across the world also has the capacity to shape relationships of stakeholders in the oil rich region. This position derives from the fact that Niger Delta is multicultural and therefore communication from government and oil companies to the oil communities can be misunderstood and thereby stimulate undesirable response and often such undesirable response may be destined for crisis. Further studies can therefore be conducted in the area of public relations language management for long term peace building in the Niger Delta.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Consent statement

Department of Media, Music and Performance,
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Manchester, UK
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       +4477046390774
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August 4, 2014

Dear Sir/Madam
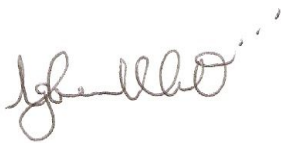
This is a PhD research on Public relations and Peace negotiation in the Niger Delta. It is purely an academic exercise, aimed at establishing the relationship between public relations programmes and long term relationships among oil producing stakeholders in the Niger Delta.

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this survey.

The information provided by you in this questionnaire will be used for research purposes. It will not be used in a manner which would allow identification of your individual responses.

Anonymized research data will be archived at the UK Data Archive in order to make them available to other researchers in line with current data sharing practices.

Yours faithfully,

Igben, Harvey G.O.

Appendix B: Questionnaire for oil communities' representatives

Section A- Demographic Data

In this section you are required to provide data on some of your characteristics as indicated below but without the mention of your names in order to guarantee your anonymity as this is meant for academic purpose only. Please tick (x) where appropriate.

1. Age: Less than 20years (   ), 21-30 years (   ), 31-40 years (   ), 41- 50years (   )

     51 and above (   )

2. Gender: Male (   )   Female   (   )

3. Marital status: Married (   ) , Single   (   ), Widow (   ) Widower (   ) Living Partner (   )   Separated (   )

4. Occupation: Student (   ) Full-time work (   ) Part-time work (   ), Self-employed (   ) Unemployed (   )

5. Religion: Christianity (   )   Muslim   (   ) Traditional (   ) Freethinker (   )

Section B- Relationship Measurement

This section of the questionnaire focuses on measuring the value of public relations to the oil producing companies, government and oil producing communities as instrument of building peace related long term relationship in the Niger Delta. You are required to tick the variable that is appropriate to your choice from agree, fairly agree, neutral, fairly disagree, disagree to don't know in the continuum below.

1.0 Control mutuality

1.1 Government and people like me are attentive to what each other say on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.2 Oil companies and people like me are attentive to what each other say.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.3 In dealing with people like me, government has the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people in oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.4 In dealing with people like me, oil companies have the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people in oil related matters.

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Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.5 Government listens to what people like me have to say on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.6 Oil companies listen to what people like me have to say on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.7 Authorities of government give people like me enough say in the decision-making process.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.8 Oil companies give people like me enough say in decision-making process.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.9 When I have the opportunity to relate with the government on oil related matters I feel I have some sense of control over the situation.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.10 When I have the opportunity to relate with oil companies I feel I have some sense of control over the situation.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.11 Government will not cooperate with people like me on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.12 Oil companies will not cooperate with people like me on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.13 People like me will not cooperate with government on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.14 People like me will not cooperate with oil companies on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.15 Government believes that opinions of people like me are lawful.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.16 Oil companies believe that opinions of people like me on oil related matters are lawful.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.17 I believe people like me exercise influence on decision-makers of government on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.18 I believe people like me exercise influence on decision-makers of oil companies.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Trust

2.1 Government treats people like me fairly and justly on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.2 Oil companies treat people like me fairly and justly on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.3 Whenever government makes important decision on oil related matters, I know it will be concerned about people like me.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.4 Whenever oil companies make important decision on oil related matters, I know it will be concerned about people like me.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.5 Government can be relied on to keep its promises on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.6 Oil companies can be relied on to keep their promises on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.7 I believe that government takes opinions of people like me into consideration when making decisions on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.8 I believe that oil companies take opinions of people like me into consideration when making decisions on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.9 I feel very confident about government skills on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.10 I feel very confident about oil companies on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.11 Government has the ability to accomplish what it says it will do.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.12 Oil companies have the ability to accomplish what it says it will do.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.13 Sound principles seem to guide government's behaviour on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.14 Sound principles seem to guide oil companies' behaviour on oil related matter.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.15 Government does not mislead people like me on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.16 Oil companies do not mislead people like me on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.17 I am very willing to let the government make decisions for people like me on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.18 I am very willing to let oil companies make decision for people like me on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.19 I think it is important to watch the government closely so that it does not take advantage of people like me on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.20 I think it is important to watch the oil companies closely so that they do not take advantage of people like me on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.21 Government is perceived to be successful at things it tries to do in the oil producing areas.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.22 Oil companies are perceived to be successful at things they try to do in the oil producing areas.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Satisfaction

3.1 I am happy with the government on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.2 I am happy with the oil companies on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.3 Both the government and people like me mutually benefit from the oil related relationship.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.4 Both the oil companies and people like me mutually benefit from the oil related relationship.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.5 Most people like me are happy in their interaction with the government on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.6 Most people like me are happy in their interaction with oil companies on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.7 I am pleased with the relationship government has established with people like me generally speaking.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.8 I am pleased with the relationship the oil companies have established with people like generally speaking.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.9 Most people enjoy dealing with the government on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.10 Most people enjoy dealing with the oil companies on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Commitment

4.1 I feel that the government is trying to maintain a long-term relationship with people like me on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.2 I feel that oil companies are trying to maintain a long-term positive relationship with people like me on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.3 I can see that the government wants to maintain a good relationship with people like me.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.4 I can see that oil companies want to maintain a good relationship with people like me.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.5 There is a long standing bond between the government and people like me.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.6 There is a long standing relationship between the oil companies and people like me.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.7 I value my relationship with the government on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.8 I value my relationship with the oil companies in the Niger Delta.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.9 I would rather work together with the government on oil related matters than not.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.10 I would rather work together with oil companies on oil related matters than not.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Exchange relationship

5.1 Whenever government gives something to people like me, it usually expects something in return.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.2 Whenever the oil companies give something to people like me, they usually expect something in return.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.3 Though people like me have had a long standing relationship with the government on oil related matters, it still expects something from me whenever it offers us a favour.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.4 Though people like me have had a long standing relationship with the oil companies, they still expect something from us whenever they offer us a favour.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.5 Government will compromise with people like me when it knows that it will gain something.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.6 The oil companies will compromise with people like me when they know they will gain something.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.7 Government takes care of people who are likely to reward it.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.8 The oil companies take care of people who are likely to reward them.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Communal relationship

6.1 The government especially enjoy giving others aid.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.2 The oil companies do enjoy giving others aid.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.3 I feel that government takes advantage of people who are vulnerable.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.4 I feel the oil companies do not take advantage of people who are vulnerable.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.5 I think that government succeeds by stepping on other people on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.6 I think that oil companies step on other people to succeed.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.7 Government helps people like me without expecting anything in return.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.8 Oil companies help people like me without expecting anything in return.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Appendix C: Questionnaire for government and oil companies' representatives

Section A- Demographic Data

In this section you are required to provide data on some of your characteristics as indicated below but without the mention of your names in order to guarantee your anonymity as this is meant for academic purpose only. Please tick (x) where appropriate.

6. Age: Less than 20years (   ), 21-30 years (   ), 31-40 years (   ), 41- 50years (   )

   51 and above (   )

7. Gender: Male (   ) Female   (   )

8. Marital status: Married (   ) , Single   (   ), Widow (   ) Widower (   ) Living Partner (   )   Separated (   )

9. Occupation: Full-time work (   ) Part-time work (   ) Contract staff (   )

10. Religion: Christianity (   ) Muslim   (   ) Traditional (   ) Freethinker (   )

Section B- Relationship Measurement

This section of the questionnaire focuses on measuring the value of public relations to the oil producing companies, government and oil producing communities as instrument of building peace related long term relationship in the Niger Delta. You are required to tick the variable that is appropriate to your choice from agree, fairly agree, neutral, fairly disagree, disagree to don't know in the continuum below.

1.0 Control mutuality

1.1 Government and the oil communities are attentive to what each other say on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.2 Oil companies and the oil communities are attentive to what each other say on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.3 In relating with the oil communities' government has the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.4 In relating with the oil communities oil companies have the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.5 Government listens to what the oil communities have to say on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.6 Oil companies listen to what oil communities have to say on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.7 Authorities of government give the oil communities enough say in the decision-making process.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.8 Oil companies give the oil communities enough say in decision-making process.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.9 When the government has the opportunity to relate with the oil communities on oil related matters they are made to have some sense of control over the situation.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.10 When the oil companies have the opportunity to relate with the oil communities on oil related matters they give them a sense of control over the situation.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.11 Government cooperates with the oil communities on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.12 Oil companies cooperate with the oil communities on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.13 The oil communities cooperate with government on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.14 The oil communities cooperate with oil companies on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.15 Government believes that the opinion of the people is lawful.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.16 Oil companies believe that the opinion of the people is lawful.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.17 The oil communities exercise influence on decision-makers of government on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

1.18 The oil communities exercise influence on decision-makers of oil companies.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Trust

2.1 Government treats the oil communities fairly and justly on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.2 Oil companies treat the oil communities fairly and justly on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.3 Whenever government makes important decision on oil related matters, it is concerned about the people.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.4 Whenever oil companies make important decision on oil related matters they are concerned about the oil communities.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.5 Government is reliable in keeping its promises on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.6 Oil companies are reliable in keeping their promises to the oil communities on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.7 I believe that government takes opinions of the oil communities into consideration when making decisions on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.8 I believe that oil companies take opinions of the oil communities into consideration when making decisions on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.9 I feel very confident in government's skills on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.10 I feel very confident in oil companies' skills on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.11 Government has the ability to accomplish what it says it will do.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.12 Oil companies have the ability to accomplish what they say they will do.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.13 Sound principles seem to guide government's behaviour on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.14 Sound principles seem to guide oil companies' behaviour on oil related matter.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.15 Government does not mislead the people on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.16 Oil companies do not mislead the people on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.17 The oil communities are very willing to let the government make decisions for them on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.18 The oil communities are very willing to let oil companies make decision for them on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.19 The oil communities think it is important to know whether government treats them fairly on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.20 The oil communities think it is important to know whether oil companies treat them fairly on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.21Government is known to be successful at things it tries to do in the oil producing areas.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

2.22 Oil companies are known to be successful at things they try to do in the oil producing areas.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Satisfaction

3.1 The oil communities are happy with the government on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.2 The oil communities are happy with the oil companies on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.3 Both the government and the oil communities mutually benefit from the oil related relationship.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.4 Both the oil companies and oil communities mutually benefit from the oil related relationship.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.5 Most oil communities are happy in their interaction with the government on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.6 Most oil communities are happy in their interaction with oil the companies on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.7 I am pleased with the relationship government has established with the oil communities generally speaking.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.8 I am pleased with the relationship the oil companies have established with the oil communities speaking.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.9 Most oil communities enjoy dealing with the government on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

3.10 Most oil communities enjoy dealing with oil the companies on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Commitment

4.1 I feel that the government is trying to maintain a long-term positive relationship with the oil communities on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.2 I feel that oil companies are trying to maintain a long-term positive relationship with oil communities on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.3 I can see that the government wants to maintain a relationship with the oil communities.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.4 I can see that oil companies want to maintain a cordial relationship with the oil communities.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.5 There is a long standing bond between the government and oil communities.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.6 There is a long standing relationship between the oil companies and oil communities.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.7 The oil communities value their relationship with the government on oil related matters in the Niger Delta.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.8 The oil communities value their relationship with the oil companies in the Niger Delta.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.9 The oil communities would rather work together with the government on oil related matters than not.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

4.10 The oil communities would rather work together with oil companies on oil related matters than not.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Exchange relationship

5.1 Whenever government gives something to the oil communities, it usually expects something in return.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.2 Whenever the oil companies give something to the oil communities, they usually expect something in return.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.3 Though the people have had a long standing relationship with the government on oil related matters, it still expects something from them whenever it offers them a favour.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.4 Though the people have had a long standing relationship with the oil companies, they still expect something from them whenever they offer them a favour.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.5 Government will compromise with the people when it knows that it will gain something.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.6 The oil companies will compromise with the people when they know they will gain something.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.7 Government takes care of only the oil communities that are likely to reward it.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

5.8 The oil companies take care of only the oil communities that are likely to reward them.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Communal relationship

6.1 The government especially likes giving financial support to the oil communities.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.2 The oil companies especially like giving financial support to the oil communities.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.3 I feel that government takes advantage of the oil communities that are vulnerable.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.4 I feel that oil companies do not take advantage of the oil communities that are vulnerable.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.5 I think that government succeeds by stepping on the toes of the oil communities on oil related matters.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.6 I think that oil companies step on the toes of the oil communities to succeed.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.7 Government helps the oil communities without expecting anything in return.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

6.8 Oil companies help the oil communities without expecting anything in return.

Agree		Fairly agree		Neutral		Fairly disagree		Disagree		Don't Know	

Appendix D: Complete data analysis, presentation and interpretation

This chapter presents data collected from both the oil producing communities and government and oil companies' representatives in three states of the Niger Delta: Bayelsa State, Delta State and Edo State. Apart from the use of questionnaires in two separate administrations on the oil communities, the government and oil companies respectively, three separate focus groups were conducted to collect qualitative data on purposively sampled groups of university students to complement the process of securing quantitative primary data for this study. See 3.3 and 3.5.1 in research methodology for details already provided.

This purpose of the study is to evaluate the nature of public relations of the government and oil companies in the Niger Delta in order to establish if it has a bearing on the process of promoting long term peace in the oil producing areas. This is informed by the two pronged objectives of the study namely: One, to establish, the nature of public relations practice the government and the oil companies have carried out in relation to the oil rich communities in the Niger Delta. And two, to ascertain the contribution the nature of public relations practice has made towards a long term peace building process in the oil producing areas. It uses both quantitative and qualitative methods in the primary data collection process; this is a combination of survey and focus group studies. To accomplish this goal, the survey uses the Six Sided Test to a long term relationship as contained in the guidelines for measuring long term relationship of the Institute of Public Relations for the survey which included: *control mutuality, trust, satisfaction, commitment, exchange relationship and communal relationship,* while the focus group probes further into the identification of the strategic stakeholders, their relational expectations and the way forward (Childers and Grunig 1999). The Six Sided Test to relationship measurement guideline as indicated in the above mentioned objectives informed the process of primary data collection for this study which translates to further information on the following areas: identity of the parties which are strategic to the oil related relationship in the Niger Delta. Any public relations programme that tends to promote positive relationship among the oil related stakeholders in the Niger Delta in the past. The extent to which the parties to the oil related relationship have consented on who can exercise influence over one another on oil related matters in the Niger Delta. The level of trust that exists among the stakeholders to the Niger Delta oil question and ascertain the extent of dependability, integrity and effectiveness of the relationship. The degree of favourable disposition the parties have toward one another as a function of having expectations fulfilled by way of the relationship,

the level of commitment the parties have towards the relationship, the extent of benefits the parties have derived from each other as a result of the oil oriented relationship and the extent of concern the parties have towards the welfare of one another through any form of benefits provided.

The section is divided into three segments. The first segment is devoted to the survey data on the oil producing communities. The second segment is a presentation of data on government and the oil companies. The third segment is the focus group, a qualitative study which is expected to complement the effort of the survey process.

Part 1- Survey on Oil Producing Communities

The first segment is further divided into section *A* and *B*. While section A measures five demographic variables, section B measures 77 relationship variables. In all both sections measure 82 variables which constitute the values the Statistical Package for Social Sciences, SPSS measured in course of the data analysis.

Questionnaire response rate

Out of the 250 copies of the questionnaire administered on the oil producing communities, 245copies representing 98% were returned while 5copies representing 2% were regrets. This return rate was achieved through repeated phone calls, visits and appeals to respondents and perseverance in waiting for those who were slow in completing the questionnaire. Also personal assistance in helping respondents to fill their questionnaire serve as an additional spur to increased rate of completion.

5.3 Section A –Demographic Data

Table 5.1 Age distribution of oil communities.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Less than 20years	31	12.7	12.7	12.7
	2.00 21-30	37	15.1	15.1	27.8
	3.00 31-40	108	44.1	44.1	71.8
	4.00 41-50	61	24.9	24.9	96.7
	5.00 51and above	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows that those within the age bracket of 31-40 were 108(44.1%) indicating proper representation of the youths, the most active group in the Niger Delta campaign for

equitable distribution of the oil wealth. Sixty-one (24.9%) were between the age of 41-50. Thirty-seven (15.1%) were between 21-30 years.

Table 5.2 Gender distribution of oil communities

Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Male	101	41.2	41.2	41.2
	2.00 Female	144	58.8	58.8	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table above shows 144 (58.8%) were females, while 101(41.2%) were males.

Table 5.3 The marital status of the respondents.

Marital Status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Married	84	34.3	34.3	34.3
	2.00 Single	107	43.7	43.7	78.0
	3.00 Widow	32	13.1	13.1	91.0
	4.00 Widower	7	2.9	2.9	93.9
	5.00 Living partner	15	6.1	6.1	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table 5.3 shows that 107 (43.7) were singles while 84 (34.3%) were married. Thirty-two (13.1%) were widow, 15(6.1%) were living partners and 7(2.9%) were widowers.

Table 5.4 The occupational distribution of the oil communities.

Occupation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Student	32	13.1	13.1	13.1
	2.00 Full time work	76	31.0	31.0	44.1
	3.00 Part time work	77	31.4	31.4	75.5
	4.00 Self employed	45	18.4	18.4	93.9
	5.00 Unemployed	15	6.1	6.1	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows that 77(31.4%) of the oil communities are engaged in part-time work while those on full time work were 76 (31.0%). Forty-five (18.4%) were self-employed while 32(13.1%) were students.

Table 5.5 Belief system of the oil communities

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Religion					
Valid	1.00 Christianity	165	67.3	67.3	67.3
	2.00 Muslim	39	15.9	15.9	83.3
	3.00 Traditional	16	6.5	6.5	89.8
	4.00 Freethinker	25	10.2	10.2	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows that 165 (67.3%) are Christians while 39(15.9%) are Muslims.

5.4 Section B- Relationship Measurement

Table 5.6 Mutual attention between government and oil communities

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Control_mutuality_1 - Government and people like me are attentive to what each other say on oil related matters.					
Valid	1.00 Agree	47	19.2	19.2	19.2
	2.00 Fairly agree	99	40.4	40.4	59.6
	3.00 Neutral	16	6.5	6.5	66.1
	4.00 Fairly disagree	38	15.5	15.5	81.6
	5.00 Disagree	37	15.1	15.1	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.6 indicates that 99(40.4%) of the respondents fairly agree and 47(19.2%) agree that mutual attention is paid to what each other says on oil related matters.

Table 5.7 Mutual attention between oil companies and the oil communities

Control_mutuality_2 - Oil companies and people like me are attentive to what each other say.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	39	15.9	15.9	15.9
	2.00 Fairly agree	86	35.1	35.1	51.0
	3.00 Neutral	39	15.9	15.9	66.9
	4.00 Fairly disagree	67	27.3	27.3	94.3
	5.00 Disagree	14	5.7	5.7	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table 5.7 shows that 86 (35.1%) of the respondents fairly agree that the oil communities and oil companies are attentive to what each other say on oil related matters. However, 67 (27.3%) fairly disagree that they and the oil companies are attentive to what each other say. Thirty-nine (15.9%) agree with the same number respectively neutral on whether both oil companies and the oil communities mutually pay attention to one another.

Table 5.8 Government has the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people.

Control_mutuality_3- In relating with people like me, government has the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people in oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	31	12.7	12.7	12.7
	2.00 Fairly agree	62	25.3	25.3	38.0
	3.00 Neutral	39	15.9	15.9	53.9
	4.00 Fairly disagree	69	28.2	28.2	82.0
	5.00 Disagree	28	11.4	11.4	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows that 69(28.2%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 62(25.2%) fairly agree that government has the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people when relating with them on oil related matters. While 39 (15.9%) were neutral, 31(12.7%) agree but 28(11.4%) disagree on the use of excessive control over the people by the government on oil related matters.

Table 5.9 Oil companies have the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people.

Control_mutuality_4- In relating with people like me, oil companies have the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people in oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	84	34.3	34.3	40.8
	3.00 Neutral	47	19.2	19.2	60.0
	4.00 Fairly disagree	60	24.5	24.5	84.5
	5.00 Disagree	30	12.2	12.2	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above establishes that 84 (34.3%) respondents fairly agree that oil companies do have the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people when relating with them on oil related matters. Sixty (24.5%) fairly disagree that oil companies have the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people when relating with them on oil related matters. Forty-seven (19.2%) were neutral on whether the oil companies have the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people when relating with them on oil related matters. Thirty (12.2%) disagree that the oil companies have the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people when relating with the people on oil related matters.

Table 5.10 Government listens to what the oil communities say.

Control_mutuality_5- Government listens to what people like me have to say on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	23	9.4	9.4	9.4
	2.00 Fairly agree	24	9.8	9.8	19.2
	3.00 Neutral	38	15.5	15.5	34.7
	4.00 Fairly disagree	53	21.6	21.6	56.3
	5.00 Disagree	99	40.4	40.4	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.10 indicates that 99 (40.4%) of the respondents disagree that government listens to the oil communities. Fifty-three (21.6%) of the respondents fairly disagree that government listens to the oil communities. Thirty-eight (15.5%) were neutral, 24(9.8%) fairly agree, 23(9.4%) agree that

government listens to the oil communities. Eight (3.3%) do not know whether government listens or not.

Table 5.11 Oil companies really listen to the oil rich communities.

Control_mutuality_6- Oil companies listen to what people like me have to say on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	8	3.3	3.3	3.3
	2.00 Fairly agree	78	31.8	31.8	35.1
	3.00 Neutral	16	6.5	6.5	41.6
	4.00 Fairly disagree	75	30.6	30.6	72.2
	5.00 Disagree	52	21.2	21.2	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table indicates that 78(31.8%) fairly agree that the oil companies really listen to the oil communities. Seventy-five (30.6%) fairly disagree and 52(21.2%) disagree that oil companies listen to the oil communities.

Table 5.12 Oil communities' participation in government decision making process

Control_mutuality_7- Authorities of government give people like me enough say in the decision-making process.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	23	9.4	9.4	9.4
	2.00 Fairly agree	16	6.5	6.5	15.9
	3.00 Neutral	31	12.7	12.7	28.6
	4.00 Fairly disagree	130	53.1	53.1	81.6
	5.00 Disagree	45	18.4	18.4	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.12 shows that 130 (53.1%) respondents fairly disagree and 45(18.4%) disagree that oil communities are given adequate opportunity to contribute to the decision making process of the government.

Table 5.13 Oil companies give oil communities enough opportunity to participate in oil related decision making process.

Control_mutuality_8- Oil companies give people like me enough say in decision-making process.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	15	6.1	6.1	6.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	32	13.1	13.1	19.2
	3.00 Neutral	31	12.7	12.7	31.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	124	50.6	50.6	82.4
	5.00 Disagree	43	17.6	17.6	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.13 indicates that 124(50.6%) fairly disagree and 43(17.6%) disagree that oil companies do give enough opportunity to the oil rich communities to participate in oil related decision making process. Thirty-two (13.1%) fairly agree and 15 (6.1%) agree that oil companies do allow the oil rich communities to participate in oil related decision making process.

Table 5.14 Oil communities have a sense of control when they have the opportunity to relate with government on oil related matters.

Control_mutuality_9- When I have the opportunity to relate with the government on oil related matters I feel I have some sense of control over the situation.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	32	13.1	13.1	13.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	38	15.5	15.5	28.6
	3.00 Neutral	16	6.5	6.5	35.1
	4.00 Fairly disagree	98	40.0	40.0	75.1
	5.00 Disagree	61	24.9	24.9	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows that 98(40%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 61(24.9%) disagree that they feel a sense of control over the situation whenever they have the opportunity to relate with government on oil related matters. Thirty-eight (15.5%) fairly disagree while 32(13.1%) agree that they do have a sense of control over the situation whenever they have the opportunity to relate with government on oil related matters.

Table 5.15 Oil communities have a sense of control when they have opportunity to relate with oil companies on oil related matters.

Control_mutuality_10- When I have the opportunity to relate with oil companies I feel I have some sense of control over the situation.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	40	16.3	16.3	16.3
	2.00 Fairly agree	46	18.8	18.8	35.1
	3.00 Neutral	23	9.4	9.4	44.5
	4.00 Fairly disagree	76	31.0	31.0	75.5
	5.00 Disagree	60	24.5	24.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows that 76(31%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 60(24.5%) disagree that they do have a sense of control over the situation when they have the opportunity to relate with the oil companies on oil related matters. Forty-six (18.8%) fairly agree and 40(16.3%) agree that they do have a sense of control over situation when they have the opportunity to relate with oil companies on oil related matters.

Table 5.16 Government cooperates with the oil communities on oil related matters.

Control_mutuality_11- Government will not cooperate with people like me on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	7	2.9	2.9	2.9
	2.00 Fairly agree	46	18.8	18.8	21.6
	3.00 Neutral	16	6.5	6.5	28.2
	4.00 Fairly disagree	106	43.3	43.3	71.4
	5.00 Disagree	70	28.6	28.6	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.16 shows that 106 (43.3%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 70 (28.6%) disagree that government cooperate with people like them on oil related matters. Forty-six (18.8%) fairly agree while 16(6.5%) were neutral as to whether government cooperate with them on oil related matters.

Table 5.17 Oil companies cooperate with the oil communities on oil related matters.

Control_mutuality_12- Oil companies will not cooperate with people like me on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	14	5.7	5.7	5.7
	2.00 Fairly agree	47	19.2	19.2	24.9
	3.00 Neutral	30	12.2	12.2	37.1
	4.00 Fairly disagree	85	34.7	34.7	71.8
	5.00 Disagree	69	28.2	28.2	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows that 85(34.7%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 69(28.2%) disagree that the oil companies cooperate with them on oil related matters. Forty-seven (19.2%) fairly agree oil companies cooperate with them while 30(12.2%) were neutral as to whether the oil companies cooperate with them on oil related matters.

Table 5.18 Cooperation with government on oil related matters

Control_mutuality_13 - People like me will not cooperate with government on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	77	31.4	31.4	38.0
	3.00 Neutral	32	13.1	13.1	51.0
	4.00 Fairly disagree	81	33.1	33.1	84.1
	5.00 Disagree	39	15.9	15.9	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows that 81(33.1%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 77(31.4%) fairly agree that they do cooperate with government on oil related matters. Thirty-nine (15.9%) disagree that they do cooperate with government but 32(13.1%) were neutral on this, though 16(6.5%) agree that they do cooperate with government.

Table 5.19 Cooperation with oil companies on oil related matters

Control_mutuality_14 - People like me will not cooperate with oil companies on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	23	9.4	9.4	9.4
	2.00 Fairly agree	54	22.0	22.0	31.4
	3.00 Neutral	8	3.3	3.3	34.7
	4.00 Fairly disagree	71	29.0	29.0	63.7
	5.00 Disagree	89	36.3	36.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table 5.19 shows that 89(36.3%) of the respondents disagree and 71(29%) fairly disagree that they do cooperate with the oil companies. Fifty-four (22%) fairly disagree and 23 (9.4%) disagree that they do cooperate with government on oil related issue.

Table 5.20 Government believes that the opinion of the people is lawful.

Control_mutuality_15- Government believes that the opinions of people like me are lawful.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	45	18.4	18.4	24.9
	3.00 Neutral	32	13.1	13.1	38.0
	4.00 Fairly disagree	81	33.1	33.1	71.0
	5.00 Disagree	63	25.7	25.7	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table shows that 81(33.1%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 63(25.7%) disagree that government considers their opinions as lawful. Forty-five (18.4%) fairly agree that government sees their opinions as lawful while 32(13.1%) were neutral on this.

Table 5.21 Oil companies believe that the opinion of the oil people is lawful.

Control_mutuality_16- Oil companies believe that opinions of people like me on oil related matters are lawful.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	30	12.2	12.2	12.2
	2.00 Fairly agree	47	19.2	19.2	31.4
	3.00 Neutral	8	3.3	3.3	34.7
	4.00 Fairly disagree	39	15.9	15.9	50.6
	5.00 Disagree	113	46.1	46.1	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.21 indicates that 113(46.1%) of the respondents disagree while 47(19.2%) fairly agree that oil companies see their opinions as lawful. Thirty-nine (15.9%) fairly disagree while 30 (12.2%) agree that oil companies regard their opinions as lawful.

Table 5.22 Influence on government decision makers on oil related matters.

Control_mutuality_17- I believe people like me exercise influence on decision-makers of government on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	37	15.1	15.1	21.6
	3.00 Neutral	16	6.5	6.5	28.2
	4.00 Fairly disagree	144	58.8	58.8	86.9
	5.00 Disagree	24	9.8	9.8	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows that 144(58.8%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 37(15.1%) fairly agree that they do exercise influence on government decision makers on oil related matters. Twenty-four (9.8%) disagree while 16(6.5%) each agree and were neutral as to whether they do exercise influence on government decision makers on oil related matters.

Table 5.23 Influence on oil companies' decision makers on oil related matters.

Control_mutuality_18- I believe people like me exercise influence on decision-makers of oil companies.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	62	25.3	25.3	31.8
	3.00 Neutral	23	9.4	9.4	41.2
	4.00 Fairly disagree	61	24.9	24.9	66.1
	5.00 Disagree	75	30.6	30.6	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.23 points out that 75(30.6%) of the respondents disagree while 62(25.3%) fairly agree that they do exercise influence on oil companies' decision makers on oil related matters. Sixty-one (24.9%) fairly disagree that they do exercise influence on oil companies' decision makers on oil related matters.

Table 5.24 Government treats fairly and justly on oil related matters.

Trust1- Government treats people like me fairly and justly on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	37	15.1	15.1	15.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	16	6.5	6.5	21.6
	3.00 Neutral	40	16.3	16.3	38.0
	4.00 Fairly disagree	98	40.0	40.0	78.0
	5.00 Disagree	54	22.0	22.0	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.24 establishes that 98 (40%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 54(22%) disagree with the statement that government treats them fairly and justly on oil related matters. While 40(16.3%) were neutral as to whether government treats them fairly and justly, 37(15.1%) agree that government is fair and just in its treatment of the people.

Table 5.25 Oil companies treat fairly and justly on oil related matters.

Trust2-2 Oil companies treat people like me fairly and justly on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	8	3.3	3.3	3.3
	2.00 Fairly agree	77	31.4	31.4	34.7
	3.00 Neutral	32	13.1	13.1	47.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	68	27.8	27.8	75.5
	5.00 Disagree	52	21.2	21.2	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above indicates that 77(31.4%) of the respondents fairly agree while 68 (27.8%) fairly disagree that oil companies treat the oil communities fairly and justly on oil related matters. Fifty-two (21.2%) disagree while 32(13.1%) were neutral as to whether oil companies treat them fairly and justly on oil related matters.

Table 5.26 Government is concerned when making important decision.

Trust3- Whenever government makes important decision on oil related matters, I know it will be concerned about people like me.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2.00 Fairly agree	78	31.8	31.8	31.8
	3.00 Neutral	39	15.9	15.9	47.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	59	24.1	24.1	71.8
	5.00 Disagree	61	24.9	24.9	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.26 confirms that 78(31.8%) of the respondents fairly agree that important decision of government on the oil sector is concerned about the oil communities. Sixty-one (24.9%) disagree and 59(24.1%) fairly disagree with the assertion that government's important decision on the oil sector is concerned about the oil communities. Aggregated percentage of the respondents that disagree 24.9% and those that fairly disagree 24.1% at 49% proves that government's important decision on the oil sector is not concerned about the oil rich communities.

Table 5.27 Oil companies are concerned about the people when making important decision on oil related matters.

Trust4-4 Whenever oil companies make important decision on oil related matters, I know it will be concerned about people like me.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	31	12.7	12.7	12.7
	2.00 Fairly agree	39	15.9	15.9	28.6
	3.00 Neutral	24	9.8	9.8	38.4
	4.00 Fairly disagree	92	37.6	37.6	75.9
	5.00 Disagree	51	20.8	20.8	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows that 92(37.6%) fairly disagree and 51(20.8%) disagree with the statement that the important decision of the oil companies takes the interest of the respondents into consideration. Thirty-nine (15.9) fairly agree and 31 (12.7%) agree that the oil companies are concerned about them when making important oil related decisions.

Table 5.28 Government is reliable in keeping its promises on oil related matters

Trust5- Government can be relied on to keep its promises on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	38	15.5	15.5	22.0
	3.00 Neutral	24	9.8	9.8	31.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	107	43.7	43.7	75.5
	5.00 Disagree	52	21.2	21.2	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above indicates that 107(43.7%) fairly disagree and 52(21.2%) disagree with the claim that government is reliable in keeping its promises. Since the percentage of those who fairly agree 15.5% and those who agree 6.5% that government is reliable in keeping its promises is lower than those who disagree 21.2% and fairly disagree 43.7%, it suggests that at the cumulative percentage of 64.9% the respondents are of the opinion that government is not reliable in keeping its promises on oil related matters.

Table 5.29 Oil companies are reliable in keeping their promises on oil related matters.

Trust6- Oil companies can be relied on to keep their promises on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	30	12.2	12.2	18.8
	3.00 Neutral	32	13.1	13.1	31.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	107	43.7	43.7	75.5
	5.00 Disagree	52	21.2	21.2	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.29 shows that 107 (43.7%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 52(21.2%) disagree with the opinion that oil companies are reliable in keeping their promises on oil related matters. Thirty-two (13.1%) were neutral as to whether oil companies are reliable while 30(12.2%) fairly agree that they are reliable on oil related matters.

Table 5.30 Government takes the opinions of the people into consideration when making decision on the oil sector.

Trust7- I believe that government takes opinions of people like me into consideration when making decisions on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	7	2.9	2.9	2.9
	2.00 Fairly agree	47	19.2	19.2	22.0
	4.00 Fairly disagree	97	39.6	39.6	61.6
	5.00 Disagree	77	31.4	31.4	93.1
	6.00 Don't Know	17	6.9	6.9	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows that 97(39.6%) fairly disagree and 77(31.4%) disagree with claim that government takes their opinions into consideration on oil related issues. While 47(19.2%) agree that government takes their opinions into consideration, 17(6.9%) do not know if government gives consideration to their opinions.

Table 5.31 Oil companies take the opinions of the people into consideration.

Trust8- I believe that oil companies take opinions of people like me into consideration when making decisions on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	14	5.7	5.7	5.7
	2.00 Fairly agree	15	6.1	6.1	11.8
	3.00 Neutral	8	3.3	3.3	15.1
	4.00 Fairly disagree	86	35.1	35.1	50.2
	5.00 Disagree	98	40.0	40.0	90.2
	6.00 Don't Know	24	9.8	9.8	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.31 indicates that of the 245 respondents 98(40%) disagree and 86(35.1%) fairly disagree with the claim that oil companies take the opinions of people like them into consideration when making decision on the oil sector. While 24(9.8%) respondents do not know if the oil companies take the opinions of people like them into consideration, 15(6.1%) fairly agree and 14 (5.7%) agree that their opinions count.

Table 5.32 Confidence on government skills on oil related matters.

Trust9-9 I feel very confident about government skills on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	7	2.9	2.9	2.9
	2.00 Fairly agree	31	12.7	12.7	15.5
	3.00 Neutral	47	19.2	19.2	34.7
	4.00 Fairly disagree	123	50.2	50.2	84.9
	5.00 Disagree	29	11.8	11.8	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above the table shows that 123(50.2%) of the respondents fairly disagree that there is confidence in government skills on oil related matters. Thirty-one (12.7%) fairly agree that they have confidence in government skills on oil related matters.

Table 5.33 Confidence in oil companies' skills on oil related matters

Trust10- I feel very confident about oil companies' skills on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	24	9.8	9.8	9.8
	2.00 Fairly agree	45	18.4	18.4	28.2
	3.00 Neutral	40	16.3	16.3	44.5
	4.00 Fairly disagree	75	30.6	30.6	75.1
	5.00 Disagree	53	21.6	21.6	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows that 75(30.6%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 53(21.6%) disagree that they feel very confident in the oil companies' skills on oil related matters. Forty-five (18.4%) fairly agree that they feel very confident in the oil companies' skills on oil related matters.

Table 5.34 Government accomplishes what it says.

Trust11-Government has the ability to accomplish what it says it will do.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	39	15.9	15.9	15.9
	2.00 Fairly agree	78	31.8	31.8	47.8
	3.00 Neutral	7	2.9	2.9	50.6
	4.00 Fairly disagree	76	31.0	31.0	81.6
	5.00 Disagree	37	15.1	15.1	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above confirms that 78(31.8%) of the respondents are of the opinion that government has the ability to accomplish what it says. Seventy-six (31%) of the respondents fairly disagree that government has the ability to do what it says. Thirty-nine (15.9%) agree while 37(15.1%) disagree that government has the ability to do what it says.

Table 5.35 Oil companies have the ability to do what they say.

Trust12- Oil companies have the ability to accomplish what it says it will do.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	47	19.2	19.2	19.2
	2.00 Fairly agree	62	25.3	25.3	44.5
	3.00 Neutral	8	3.3	3.3	47.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	76	31.0	31.0	78.8
	5.00 Disagree	44	18.0	18.0	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows that 76(31%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 62(25.3%) fairly agree that the oil companies have the ability to do what they say they will do. Forty-seven (19.2%) agree while 44(18%) disagree with the claim that oil companies have the ability to do what they say they will do.

Table 5.36 Sound principles guide government's behaviour on oil related matters.

Trust13- Sound principles seem to guide government's behaviour on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	63	25.7	25.7	25.7
	2.00 Fairly agree	37	15.1	15.1	40.8
	3.00 Neutral	24	9.8	9.8	50.6
	4.00 Fairly disagree	59	24.1	24.1	74.7
	5.00 Disagree	46	18.8	18.8	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above reveals that 63(25.7%) of the respondents agree that sound principles do guide government's behaviour on oil related matters. Fifty-nine (24.1%) fairly disagree and 46(18.8%) disagree with the assertion that sound principles guide government's behaviour on oil related matters. Thirty-seven (15.1%) fairly agree that government's behaviour is guided by sound principles on oil related matters.

Table 5.37 Sound principles guide oil companies on oil related matters.

Trust14- Sound principles seem to guide oil companies' behaviour on oil related matter.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	55	22.4	22.4	22.4
	2.00 Fairly agree	61	24.9	24.9	47.3
	3.00 Neutral	16	6.5	6.5	53.9
	4.00 Fairly disagree	30	12.2	12.2	66.1
	5.00 Disagree	67	27.3	27.3	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table above points out that 67(27.3%) disagree while 61 (24.9%) fairly agree with the claim that sound principles seem to guide oil companies' behaviour on oil related matters. Fifty-five (22.4%) agree while 30(12.3%) fairly disagree with the claim that sound principles seem to guide the behaviour of oil companies on oil related matters.

Table 5.38 Government does not mislead the people.

Trust15-15Government does not mislead people like me on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	46	18.8	18.8	18.8
	2.00 Fairly agree	46	18.8	18.8	37.6
	3.00 Neutral	32	13.1	13.1	50.6
	4.00 Fairly disagree	82	33.5	33.5	84.1
	5.00 Disagree	23	9.4	9.4	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above reveals that 82(33.5%) fairly disagree while 46 (18.8%) fairly agree and 46(18.8%) agree with the claim that government does not mislead people like them on oil related matters. Twenty-three (9.4%) disagree with the assertion that government does not mislead people like them.

Table 5.39 Oil companies do not mislead people.

Trust16- Oil companies do not mislead people like me on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	15	6.1	6.1	6.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	69	28.2	28.2	34.3
	3.00 Neutral	24	9.8	9.8	44.1
	4.00 Fairly disagree	92	37.6	37.6	81.6
	5.00 Disagree	29	11.8	11.8	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.39 confirms that 92 (37.6%) fairly disagree while 69(28.2%) fairly agree that oil companies do not mislead people like them. Twenty-nine (11.8%) disagree while 15(6.1%) agree that oil companies do not mislead people like them.

Table 5.40 Government makes decision for the people on oil related matters.

Trust17-17 I am very willing to let the government make decisions for people like me on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	22	9.0	9.0	9.0
	2.00 Fairly agree	48	19.6	19.6	28.6
	3.00 Neutral	32	13.1	13.1	41.6
	4.00 Fairly disagree	90	36.7	36.7	78.4
	5.00 Disagree	45	18.4	18.4	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above reveals that 90(36.7%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 48(19.6%) fairly agree that they are willing for government to make decision for them on oil related matters. Forty-five (18.4%) disagree while 22(9%) agree that they are willing for government to make decision for them on the oil sector.

Table 5.41 Oil companies make decision for them on oil related matters.

Trust18- I am very willing to let oil companies make decision for people like me on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	8	3.3	3.3	3.3
	2.00 Fairly agree	46	18.8	18.8	22.0
	3.00 Neutral	24	9.8	9.8	31.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	92	37.6	37.6	69.4
	5.00 Disagree	67	27.3	27.3	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.41 points out that 92(37.6%) fairly disagree and 67(27.3%) disagree that they are very willing for the oil companies to make decision for them on oil related matters. Forty-six (18.8%) fairly agree and 8(3.3%) agree that they are very willing to let oil companies make decision for them on oil related matters.

Table 5.42 It is important to watch government closely.

Trust19- I think it is important to watch the government closely so that it does not take advantage of people like me on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	48	19.6	19.6	19.6
	2.00 Fairly agree	46	18.8	18.8	38.4
	3.00 Neutral	8	3.3	3.3	41.6
	4.00 Fairly disagree	76	31.0	31.0	72.7
	5.00 Disagree	59	24.1	24.1	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above indicates that 76(31%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 59(24.1%) disagree that it is important for them to watch government closely so that it will not take advantage of them. Forty-eight (19.6%) agree and 46(18.8%) fairly agree that it is important for them to watch government closely in order to prevent it from taking advantage of them.

Table 5.43 It is important to watch the oil companies closely.

Trust20- I think it is important to watch the oil companies closely so that they do not take advantage of people like me on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	48	19.6	19.6	19.6
	2.00 Fairly agree	30	12.2	12.2	31.8
	3.00 Neutral	16	6.5	6.5	38.4
	4.00 Fairly disagree	84	34.3	34.3	72.7
	5.00 Disagree	59	24.1	24.1	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above confirms that 84(34.3%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 59(24.1%) disagree that they think it is important for them to watch the oil companies closely so that they do not take advantage of them. Forty-eight (19.6%) agree and 30(12.2%) fairly agree that they think it is important for them to watch the oil companies closely lest they take advantage of them on oil related issues.

Table 5.44 Government is perceived to be successful in the oil producing areas.

Trust21- Government is perceived to be successful at things it tries to do in the oil producing areas.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	54	22.0	22.0	28.6
	3.00 Neutral	8	3.3	3.3	31.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	84	34.3	34.3	66.1
	5.00 Disagree	67	27.3	27.3	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Eighty-four (34.3%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 67(27.3%) disagree with the perception that government is successful in what it tries to do in the oil producing areas. Fifty-four (22%) fairly agree and 16(6.5%) agree that government is successful in what it tries to do in the oil producing areas.

Table 5.45 Oil companies are perceived to be successful in the oil producing areas.

Trust22- Oil companies are perceived to be successful at things they try to do in the oil producing areas.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	15	6.1	6.1	6.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	31	12.7	12.7	18.8
	3.00 Neutral	32	13.1	13.1	31.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	90	36.7	36.7	68.6
	5.00 Disagree	45	18.4	18.4	86.9
	6.00 Don't Know	32	13.1	13.1	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above points out that 90(36.7%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 45(18.4%) disagree with the perception that oil companies are successful in what they try to do in the oil producing areas. Thirty-two (13.1%) believe they do not know but 31 (12.7%) fairly agree and 15 (6.1%) agree that oil companies are perceived to be successful in things they try to do in the oil producing areas.

Table 5.46 People are happy with the government on oil related matters.

Satisfaction1- I am happy with the government on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	32	13.1	13.1	13.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	37	15.1	15.1	28.2
	3.00 Neutral	24	9.8	9.8	38.0
	4.00 Fairly disagree	122	49.8	49.8	87.8
	5.00 Disagree	30	12.2	12.2	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.46 reveals that 122(49.8%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 37 (15.1%) fairly agree that they are happy with the government on oil related matters. Thirty-two (13.1%) agree while 30 (12.2%) disagree that they are happy with the government on oil related matters.

Table 5.47 People are happy with oil companies on oil related matters.

Satisfaction2- I am happy with the oil companies on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	61	24.9	24.9	31.4
	3.00 Neutral	32	13.1	13.1	44.5
	4.00 Fairly disagree	54	22.0	22.0	66.5
	5.00 Disagree	82	33.5	33.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Above table indicates that 82(33.5%) of the respondents disagree while 61 (24.9%) fairly agree that are happy with the oil companies. Further 54(22%) fairly disagree while 16(6.5%) agree that they are happy with the oil companies.

Table 5.48 Government and the stakeholders mutually benefit.

Satisfaction3- Both the government and people like me mutually benefit from the oil related relationship.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	14	5.7	5.7	5.7
	2.00 Fairly agree	55	22.4	22.4	28.2
	4.00 Fairly disagree	114	46.5	46.5	74.7
	5.00 Disagree	54	22.0	22.0	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table indicates that 114(46.5%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 55(22.4%) fairly agree that both the government and people like them mutually benefit from the oil related relationship. Fifty-four (22%) disagree while 14(5.7%) agree that both government and people like them benefit from the oil related relationship.

Table 5.49 Oil companies and oil communities mutually benefit.

Satisfaction4- Both the oil companies and people like me mutually benefit from the oil related relationship.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	7	2.9	2.9	2.9
	2.00 Fairly agree	46	18.8	18.8	21.6
	3.00 Neutral	24	9.8	9.8	31.4
	4.00 Fairly disagree	83	33.9	33.9	65.3
	5.00 Disagree	69	28.2	28.2	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.49 confirms that 83 (33.9%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 69(28.2%) disagree with the claim that both the oil companies and the people like them mutually benefit from the oil related relationship. Forty-six (18.8%) fairly agree and 7(2.9%) agree that both oil companies and oil communities benefit from the oil related relationship.

Table 5.50 Most people are happy in their interaction with the government.

Satisfaction5- Most people like me are happy in their interaction with the government on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	31	12.7	12.7	12.7
	2.00 Fairly agree	47	19.2	19.2	31.8
	3.00 Neutral	7	2.9	2.9	34.7
	4.00 Fairly disagree	84	34.3	34.3	69.0
	5.00 Disagree	60	24.5	24.5	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above reveals that 84 (34.3%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 60(24.5%) disagree with the assertion that most people like them are happy in their interaction with the government on oil related matters. Forty-seven (19.2%) fairly agree and 31(12.7%) agree that most people like them are happy in their interaction with government on oil related matters.

Table 4.51 Most of the oil communities are happy with the oil companies.

Satisfaction6- Most people like me are happy in their interaction with oil companies on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	38	15.5	15.5	15.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	79	32.2	32.2	47.8
	3.00 Neutral	16	6.5	6.5	54.3
	4.00 Fairly disagree	73	29.8	29.8	84.1
	5.00 Disagree	23	9.4	9.4	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.51 indicates that 79 (32.2%) of the respondents fairly agree while 73 (29.8%) fairly disagree with the claim that most people like them are happy in their interaction with the oil companies. Thirty-eight (15.5%) agree while 23 (9.4%) disagree with the statement that most people like them are happy with their interaction with the oil companies on oil related matters.

Table 5.52 People are pleased with the relationship government has established with them.

Satisfaction7- I am pleased with the relationship government has established with people like me generally speaking.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	39	15.9	15.9	15.9
	2.00 Fairly agree	31	12.7	12.7	28.6
	3.00 Neutral	23	9.4	9.4	38.0
	4.00 Fairly disagree	60	24.5	24.5	62.4
	5.00 Disagree	84	34.3	34.3	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above reveals that 84 (34.3%) disagree and 60 (24.5%) fairly disagree with the contention that they are pleased with the relationship government has established with them generally speaking. Thirty-nine (15.9%) agree and 31(12.7%) fairly agree that they are pleased with the relationship government has established with them generally.

Table 5.53 People are pleased with the relationship oil companies have established with them

Satisfaction8- I am pleased with the relationship the oil companies have established with people like generally speaking.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	39	15.9	15.9	15.9
	2.00 Fairly agree	30	12.2	12.2	28.2
	3.00 Neutral	48	19.6	19.6	47.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	61	24.9	24.9	72.7
	5.00 Disagree	59	24.1	24.1	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Sixty-one (24.9%) fairly disagree and 59(24.1%) disagree with the contention that they are pleased with the relationship the oil companies have established with them generally speaking. Thirty-nine (15.9%) agree and 30 (13.2%) fairly agree that oil communities are pleased with the relationship oil companies have established with them.

Table 5.54 Most of the oil communities enjoy dealing with the government.

Satisfaction9 - Most of the oil communities enjoy dealing with the government on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	23	9.4	9.4	9.4
	2.00 Fairly agree	22	9.0	9.0	18.4
	3.00 Neutral	40	16.3	16.3	34.7
	4.00 Fairly disagree	97	39.6	39.6	74.3
	5.00 Disagree	47	19.2	19.2	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above establishes that 97(39.6%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 47 (19.2%) disagree with the claim that most of the people enjoy dealing with the government on oil related matters. Twenty-three (9.4%) agree and 22 (9.0%) fairly agree that most of the people enjoy dealing with the government on oil related matters.

Table 4.55 Most of the oil communities enjoy dealing with oil companies.

Satisfaction10- Most people enjoy dealing with the oil companies on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	31	12.7	12.7	12.7
	2.00 Fairly agree	39	15.9	15.9	28.6
	3.00 Neutral	31	12.7	12.7	41.2
	4.00 Fairly disagree	75	30.6	30.6	71.8
	5.00 Disagree	53	21.6	21.6	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.55 reveals that 75 (30.6%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 53 (21.6%) disagree with the contention that most people enjoy dealing with the oil companies on oil related matters. Thirty-nine (15.9%) fairly agree and 31(12.7%) agree that most of the oil communities enjoy dealing with the oil companies on oil related matters.

Table 5.56 Government is trying to maintain a long term relationship.

Commitment1- I feel that the government is trying to maintain a long-term relationship with people like me on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	15	6.1	6.1	6.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	38	15.5	15.5	21.6
	3.00 Neutral	40	16.3	16.3	38.0
	4.00 Fairly disagree	76	31.0	31.0	69.0
	5.00 Disagree	68	27.8	27.8	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above indicates that 76(31%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 68(27.8%) disagree with the claim that they feel that government is trying to make a long term relationship with them. While 40(16.3%) is neutral, 38 (15.5%) fairly agree and 15 (6.1%) agree that they feel that the government is trying to make a long term relationship with them.

Table 5.57 Oil companies are trying to maintain a long term positive relationship.

Commitment2- I feel that oil companies are trying to maintain a long-term positive relationship with people like me on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	7	2.9	2.9	2.9
	2.00 Fairly agree	40	16.3	16.3	19.2
	3.00 Neutral	40	16.3	16.3	35.5
	4.00 Fairly disagree	97	39.6	39.6	75.1
	5.00 Disagree	53	21.6	21.6	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows that 97 (39.6%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 53 (21.6%) disagree that they feel that oil companies are trying to maintain a long term positive relationship with them on oil related matters. Forty (16.3%) fairly agree and 7(2.9%) agree that oil communities feel that oil companies are trying to maintain a long term positive relationship with them on oil related matters.

Table 5.58 The government wants to maintain a good relationship with them.

Commitment3- I can see that the government wants to maintain a good relationship with people like me.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	7	2.9	2.9	2.9
	2.00 Fairly agree	37	15.1	15.1	18.0
	3.00 Neutral	32	13.1	13.1	31.0
	4.00 Fairly disagree	46	18.8	18.8	49.8
	5.00 Disagree	107	43.7	43.7	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.58 indicates that 107 (43.7%) of the respondents disagree and 46 (18.8%) fairly disagree with the contention that they can see that government wants to maintain a relationship with them. Thirty-seven (15.1%) fairly agree and 7 (2.9%) agree that they can see that government wants to maintain a relationship with them.

Table 5.59 Oil companies want to maintain good relationship with them.

Commitment4- I can see that the oil companies want to maintain a good relationship with people like me.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	8	3.3	3.3	3.3
	2.00 Fairly agree	53	21.6	21.6	24.9
	3.00 Neutral	23	9.4	9.4	34.3
	4.00 Fairly disagree	84	34.3	34.3	68.6
	5.00 Disagree	61	24.9	24.9	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above reveals that 84(34.3%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 61(24.9%) disagree with the claim that they can see that oil companies want to maintain relationship with them on oil related matters. Fifty-three (21.6%) fairly agree and 8(3.3%) agree that they can see that oil companies want to maintain relationship with them on oil related matters.

Table 5.60 A long standing bond between the government and the oil communities.

Commitment5- There is a long standing bond between the government and people like me.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	22	9.0	9.0	9.0
	2.00 Fairly agree	47	19.2	19.2	28.2
	3.00 Neutral	8	3.3	3.3	31.4
	4.00 Fairly disagree	53	21.6	21.6	53.1
	5.00 Disagree	91	37.1	37.1	90.2
	6.00 Don't Know	24	9.8	9.8	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above confirms that 91 (37.1%) of the respondents disagree and 53(21.6%) fairly disagree that there is a long standing bond between the government and people like them on oil related matters. Forty-seven (19.2%) fairly agree and 22 (9.0%) agree that there is a long standing bond between the government and people like them on oil related matters.

Table 5.61 There is a long standing bond between oil companies and the oil communities.

Commitment6- There is a long bond relationship between the oil companies and people like me.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	15	6.1	6.1	6.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	31	12.7	12.7	18.8
	3.00 Neutral	31	12.7	12.7	31.4
	4.00 Fairly disagree	83	33.9	33.9	65.3
	5.00 Disagree	61	24.9	24.9	90.2
	6.00 Don't Know	24	9.8	9.8	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above reveals that 83(33.9%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 61(24.9%) disagree with the assertion that there is a long standing bond between the oil companies and the oil communities. Thirty-one (12.7%) fairly agree and 15(6.1%) agree that there is a long standing bond between the oil companies and the oil communities.

Table 5.62 The people value their relationship with the government.

Commitment7- I value my relationship with the government on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	23	9.4	9.4	9.4
	2.00 Fairly agree	54	22.0	22.0	31.4
	3.00 Neutral	40	16.3	16.3	47.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	67	27.3	27.3	75.1
	5.00 Disagree	61	24.9	24.9	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows that 67(27.3%) of the respondents fairly disagree and 61(24.9%) disagree with the claim that they value their relationship with the government on oil related matters. Fifty-four (22%) fairly agree and 23 (9.4%) agree that they value their relationship with the government.

Table 5.63 The people value their relationship with the oil companies.

Commitment8- I value my relationship with the oil companies in the Niger Delta.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	8	3.3	3.3	3.3
	2.00 Fairly agree	54	22.0	22.0	25.3
	3.00 Neutral	62	25.3	25.3	50.6
	4.00 Fairly disagree	77	31.4	31.4	82.0
	5.00 Disagree	44	18.0	18.0	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.63 indicates that 77(31.4%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 62(25.3%) were neutral, 54 (22%) fairly agree that they value their relationship with the oil companies on oil related matters. Forty-four (18%) disagree while 8(3.3%) agree that they value their relationship with oil companies.

Table 5.64 The people would rather work together with government.

Commitment9- I would rather work together with the government on oil related matters than not.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	15	6.1	6.1	6.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	23	9.4	9.4	15.5
	3.00 Neutral	63	25.7	25.7	41.2
	4.00 Fairly disagree	75	30.6	30.6	71.8
	5.00 Disagree	61	24.9	24.9	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.64 confirms that 75(30.6%) of the survey respondents fairly disagree and 61(24.9%) disagree with the claim that they would rather work together with government on oil related matters. Twenty-three (9.4%) fairly agree and 15(6.1%) agree that they would rather work together with government on oil related matters.

Table 5.65 The people would rather work together with oil companies.

Commitment10- I would rather work together with oil companies on oil related matters than not.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	61	24.9	24.9	31.4
	3.00 Neutral	32	13.1	13.1	44.5
	4.00 Fairly disagree	75	30.6	30.6	75.1
	5.00 Disagree	61	24.9	24.9	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above indicates that 75(30.6%) fairly disagree and 61(24.9%) disagree that they would rather work together with oil companies than not on oil related matters. Sixty-one (24.9%) fairly agree and 16(6.5%) agree that they would rather work together with the oil companies than not on oil related matters.

Table 5.66 Government always expect something in return whenever it gives.

Exchange_relationship1- Whenever government gives something to people like me, it usually expects something in return.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	47	19.2	19.2	19.2
	2.00 Fairly agree	48	19.6	19.6	38.8
	3.00 Neutral	23	9.4	9.4	48.2
	4.00 Fairly disagree	67	27.3	27.3	75.5
	5.00 Disagree	60	24.5	24.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows that 67(27.3%) survey respondents fairly disagree and 60(24.5%) disagree with the claim that when government gives something to people like them, it always expects something in return. Forty-eight (19.6%) fairly agree and 47(19.2%) agree that whenever government give something to them, it usually expects something in return.

Table 5.67 Oil companies always expect something in return whenever they give something.

Exchange_relationship2- Whenever the oil companies give something to people like me, they usually expect something in return.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	56	22.9	22.9	22.9
	2.00 Fairly agree	46	18.8	18.8	41.6
	3.00 Neutral	31	12.7	12.7	54.3
	4.00 Fairly disagree	39	15.9	15.9	70.2
	5.00 Disagree	73	29.8	29.8	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.67 indicates that 73(29.8%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 56(22.9%) agree with the assertion that whenever oil companies give something to people like them, they usually expect something in return. Forty-six (18.8%) fairly agree while 39(15.9%) fairly disagree with the claim that oil companies do expect something in return whenever they give something to the oil communities.

Table 5.68 Government still expect something in return for favour it gives.

Exchange_relationship3- Though people like me have had a long standing relationship with the government on oil related matters, it still expects something from me whenever it offers us a favour.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	15	6.1	6.1	6.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	55	22.4	22.4	28.6
	3.00 Neutral	55	22.4	22.4	51.0
	4.00 Fairly disagree	44	18.0	18.0	69.0
	5.00 Disagree	60	24.5	24.5	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The above table confirms that 60 (24.5%) of the survey respondents disagree while 55(22.4%) fairly agree that though they have long standing relationship with government, it still expects something in return for the favour it shows to them. Forty-four (18%) fairly disagree while 15 (6.1%) agree that though they have a long standing relationship with the government, it usually expect something in return for the favour it shows.

Table 5.69 Oil companies expect something in return for favour they show.

Exchange_relationship4 - Though people like me have had a long standing relationship with the oil companies, they still expect something from us whenever they offer us a favour.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	46	18.8	18.8	25.3
	3.00 Neutral	47	19.2	19.2	44.5
	4.00 Fairly disagree	69	28.2	28.2	72.7
	5.00 Disagree	59	24.1	24.1	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows that 69 (28.2%) fairly disagree and 59 (24.1%) disagree with the contention that though they have a long standing relationship with the oil companies, they still expect something in return for favour they give to them. Forty-six (18.8%) fairly agree and 16 (6.5%) agree that though they have had a long standing relationship with the oil companies, they still expect something in return from them for the favour they show.

Table 5.70 Government compromises when it knows it has something to gain.

Exchange_relationship5- Government will compromise with people like me when it knows that it will gain something.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	47	19.2	19.2	19.2
	2.00 Fairly agree	15	6.1	6.1	25.3
	3.00 Neutral	38	15.5	15.5	40.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	83	33.9	33.9	74.7
	5.00 Disagree	54	22.0	22.0	96.7
	6.00 Don't Know	8	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.70 shows that 83 (33.9%) of the survey respondents fairly disagree and 54 (22%) disagree with the statement that government compromises when there is something it has to gain from people like them. Forty-seven (19.2%) agree and 15 (6.1%) fairly agree that government compromises when it has something to gain from them.

Table 5.71 Oil companies compromise when they have something to gain.

Exchange_relationship6- The oil companies will compromise with people like me when they know they will gain something.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	32	13.1	13.1	13.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	62	25.3	25.3	38.4
	3.00 Neutral	22	9.0	9.0	47.3
	4.00 Fairly disagree	54	22.0	22.0	69.4
	5.00 Disagree	51	20.8	20.8	90.2
	6.00 Don't Know	24	9.8	9.8	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above indicates that 62 (25.3%) of the respondents fairly agree while 54(22%) fairly disagree with the assertion that oil companies do compromise when they have something to gain from them. Fifty-one (20.8%) disagree while 32 (13.1%) agree that oil companies compromise when they have something to gain from them.

Table 5.72 Government takes care of those who are likely to reward it.

Exchange_relationship7-7Government takes care of only the people who are likely to reward it.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	47	19.2	19.2	19.2
	2.00 Fairly agree	30	12.2	12.2	31.4
	3.00 Neutral	8	3.3	3.3	34.7
	4.00 Fairly disagree	93	38.0	38.0	72.7
	5.00 Disagree	51	20.8	20.8	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.72 confirms that 93(38%) fairly disagree and 51 (20.8%) disagree with the contention that government takes care of those who are likely to reward it. Forty-seven (19.2%) agree and 30 (12.2%) fairly agree that government do take care of those who are likely to reward it.

Table 5.73 Oil companies take care of those who are likely to reward them.

Exchange_relationship8- The oil companies take care of only the people who are likely to reward them.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	23	9.4	9.4	9.4
	2.00 Fairly agree	64	26.1	26.1	35.5
	3.00 Neutral	31	12.7	12.7	48.2
	4.00 Fairly disagree	44	18.0	18.0	66.1
	5.00 Disagree	67	27.3	27.3	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above reveals that 67(27.3%) disagree while 64(26.1%) fairly agree that oil companies do take care of those who are likely to reward them. Forty-four (18%) fairly disagree while 23(9.4%) agree that oil companies do take care of only those who are likely to reward them.

Table 5.74 Government gives support to people.

Communal_relationship1- The government gives financial support to the people.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	15	6.1	6.1	6.1
	2.00 Fairly agree	63	25.7	25.7	31.8
	3.00 Neutral	16	6.5	6.5	38.4
	4.00 Fairly disagree	89	36.3	36.3	74.7
	5.00 Disagree	46	18.8	18.8	93.5
	6.00 Don't Know	16	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table above indicates that 89(36.3%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 63 (25.7%) fairly agree that government gives financial support to the people. Forty-six (18.8%) disagree while 15(6.1%) agree that government give financial support to the people.

Table 5.75 Oil companies give support to people.

Communal_relationship2- The oil companies do give financial support to people.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	8	3.3	3.3	3.3
	2.00 Fairly agree	55	22.4	22.4	25.7
	3.00 Neutral	15	6.1	6.1	31.8
	4.00 Fairly disagree	85	34.7	34.7	66.5
	5.00 Disagree	82	33.5	33.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above reveals that 85(34.7%) fairly disagree and 82 (33.5%) disagree that oil companies enjoy giving aid to others. Fifty-five (22.4%) fairly-agree and 8 (3.3%) agree that oil companies enjoy giving aid to others.

Table 5.76 Government takes advantage of people who are vulnerable.

Communal_relationship3- I feel that government takes advantage of people who are vulnerable.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	8	3.3	3.3	3.3
	2.00 Fairly agree	46	18.8	18.8	22.0
	3.00 Neutral	23	9.4	9.4	31.4
	4.00 Fairly disagree	98	40.0	40.0	71.4
	5.00 Disagree	46	18.8	18.8	90.2
	6.00 Don't Know	24	9.8	9.8	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.76 confirms that 98(40%) fairly disagree and 46(18.8%) disagree with the claim that they feel that government takes advantage of those who vulnerable. Forty-six (18.8%) fairly agree and 8(3.3%) agree that they feel the oil companies do take advantage of those who are vulnerable.

Table 5.77 Oil companies do take advantage of those who are vulnerable.

Communal_relationship4- I feel that oil companies do not take advantage of people who are vulnerable.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	16	6.5	6.5	6.5
	2.00 Fairly agree	23	9.4	9.4	15.9
	3.00 Neutral	40	16.3	16.3	32.2
	4.00 Fairly disagree	91	37.1	37.1	69.4
	5.00 Disagree	51	20.8	20.8	90.2
	6.00 Don't Know	24	9.8	9.8	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above indicates that 91 (37.1%) fairly disagree and 51(20.8%) disagree with the claim that they feel the oil companies do take advantage of those who are vulnerable. Twenty-three (9.4%) fairly agree and 16(6.5%) agree that they feel the oil companies do take advantage of those who are vulnerable.

Table 5.78 Government succeeds by stepping on other people.

Communal_relationship5- I think that government succeeds by stepping on other people's toes on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	40	16.3	16.3	16.3
	2.00 Fairly agree	47	19.2	19.2	35.5
	3.00 Neutral	15	6.1	6.1	41.6
	4.00 Fairly disagree	46	18.8	18.8	60.4
	5.00 Disagree	65	26.5	26.5	86.9
	6.00 Don't Know	32	13.1	13.1	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above shows that 65 (26.5%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 47(19.2%) fairly agree that they think that government do step on other people's toes to succeed. Forty-six (18.8%) fairly disagree while 40(16.3%) agree that they think that government succeeds by stepping on other people's toes.

Table 5.79 Oil companies step on people's toes to succeed.

Communal_relationship6- I think that oil companies step on other people's toes to succeed.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1.00 Agree	8	3.3	3.3	3.3
	2.00 Fairly agree	40	16.3	16.3	19.6
	3.00 Neutral	24	9.8	9.8	29.4
	4.00 Fairly disagree	118	48.2	48.2	77.6
	5.00 Disagree	31	12.7	12.7	90.2
	6.00 Don't Know	24	9.8	9.8	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

Table 5.79 indicates that 118 (48.2%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 40 (16.3%) fairly agree that they think that oil companies step on people's toes to succeed. Thirty-one (12.7%) disagree while 8(3.3%) agree that they think that oil companies step on people's toes to succeed.

Table 5.80 Government helps without expecting anything in return.

Communal_relationship7- Government helps people like me without expecting anything in return.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2.00 Fairly agree	31	12.7	12.7	12.7
	3.00 Neutral	61	24.9	24.9	37.6
	4.00 Fairly disagree	62	25.3	25.3	62.9
	5.00 Disagree	91	37.1	37.1	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above reveals that 91(37.1%) disagree and 61(25.3%) fairly disagree with the assertion that government helps people like them without expecting anything in return. Thirty-one (12.7%) fairly agree that government helps people like them without expecting anything in return.

Table 5.81 Oil companies help the oil communities without expecting anything in return.

Communal_relationship8- Oil companies help people like me without expecting anything in return.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2.00 Fairly agree	31	12.7	12.7	12.7
	3.00 Neutral	79	32.2	32.2	44.9
	4.00 Fairly disagree	97	39.6	39.6	84.5
	5.00 Disagree	38	15.5	15.5	100.0
	Total	245	100.0	100.0	

The table above reveals that 97 (39.6%) fairly disagree and 38(15.5%) disagree with the contention that oil companies help people like them without expecting anything in return. Thirty (12.7%) fairly agree that oil companies help people like them without expecting anything in return.

Part 2- Survey on Government and Oil Companies representatives
This part measures 82 variables in the survey on the government and oil companies' representatives. This survey which uses purposive sampling presents the perspective of government and the oil producing companies on the status of relationship between the stakeholders to the Niger Delta oil economy. The part 2 is divided into two sections which include *demographics* and *relationship measurement.*

Return Rate
For the purpose of this survey, 150 copies of the questionnaire were distributed but 144 copies representing 96% were returned. This rate of return was achieved after repeated reminders and follow-up mails. The percentage of the return rate is considered significant hence the process of data analysis was endorsed.

Frequency Tables
Demography of Government and Oil Companies' representatives

Table 5.83 Age distribution of government and oil companies' representatives

Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 20years	19	12.7	13.2	13.2
	21-30	22	14.7	15.3	28.5
	31-40	63	42.0	43.8	72.2
	41-50	35	23.3	24.3	96.5
	51and above	5	3.3	3.5	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The above table reveals that 63(42%) of the respondents are between the ages of 31 and 40. Thirty-five (23.3%) are between 41 and 50; twenty-two (14.7%) are between 21 and 30. While 19 (12.7%) are less than 20years, 5(3.3%) are 51 and above in age.

Table 5.84 Gender distribution of the government and oil companies' representatives

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Gender				
Valid	Male	83	55.3	57.6	57.6
	Female	61	40.7	42.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.84 shows that 83(55.3%) are males while 61(40.7%) are females.

Table 5.85 Marital status of the government and oil companies' representatives

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Marital status				
Valid	Married	57	38.0	39.6	39.6
	Single	65	43.3	45.1	84.7
	Widow	18	12.0	12.5	97.2
	Widower	1	.7	.7	97.9
	Living partner	3	2.0	2.1	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above indicates 65(43.3%) are single, 57(38%) are married and 18(12%) are widows. Living partner are 3(2%) and 1(0.7%) are widowers.

Table 5.86 Occupational distribution of the government and oil companies' representatives

Occupation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Full time work	28	18.7	19.4	19.4
	Part time work	64	42.7	44.4	63.9
	Contract staff	52	34.7	36.1	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The above table confirms that 64(42.7%) are on part-time, 52(34.7%) are on contract and 28(18.7%) are on full time work. It implies that a large percentage of the respondents are on part time work.

Table 5.87 the belief system of the government and oil companies' representatives.

Religion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Christianity	99	66.0	68.8	68.8
	Muslim	23	15.3	16.0	84.7
	Traditional	9	6.0	6.3	91.0
	Freethinker	13	8.7	9.0	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above points out that 99(66%) of the respondents are Christians, 23(15.3%) are Muslims, 23(6.0%) are traditional religion and 13(8.7%) are freethinkers.

Relationship Measurement of the government and oil companies' representatives

Table 5.88 Government and the oil communities are attentive to what each other say.

Control_mutuality_1- Government and the oil communities are attentive to what each other say on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	29	19.3	20.1	20.1
	Fairly agree	58	38.7	40.3	60.4
	Neutral	9	6.0	6.3	66.7
	Fairly disagree	22	14.7	15.3	81.9
	Disagree	21	14.0	14.6	96.5
	Don't Know	5	3.3	3.5	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The above table declares that 58 (38.7%) fairly agree and 29 (19.3%) agree that government and the oil communities are attentive to what each other says on oil related matters. Twenty-two (14.7%) fairly disagree and 21(14%) disagree that government and the oil communities are attentive to what each other says on oil related matters.

Table 5.89 Oil companies and the oil communities are attentive to what each other say.

Control_mutuality_2- Oil companies and the oil communities are attentive to what each other say on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	24	16.0	16.7	16.7
	Fairly agree	51	34.0	35.4	52.1
	Neutral	23	15.3	16.0	68.1
	Fairly disagree	38	25.3	26.4	94.4
	Disagree	8	5.3	5.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.89 shows that 51(34%) fairly agree while 38 (25.3%) fairly disagree that oil companies and the oil communities are attentive to what each other say. Twenty-four (16.2%) agree while 8(5.3%) disagree that oil companies and the oil communities are attentive to what each other say.

Table 5.90 Government has the tendency to when dealing with the oil communities.

Control_mutuality_3- In relating with the oil communities' government has the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	18	12.0	12.5	12.5
	Fairly agree	36	24.0	25.0	37.5
	Neutral	23	15.3	16.0	53.5
	Fairly disagree	41	27.3	28.5	81.9
	Disagree	16	10.7	11.1	93.1
	Don't Know	10	6.7	6.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above points out that 41(27.3%) fairly disagree while 36(24%) fairly agree that in relating with the oil communities, government has the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people on oil related matters. Eighteen (12%) agree while 16(10.7%) disagree that government tries to exercise excessive control over the people when relating dealing with the oil communities.

Table 5.91 Oil companies have the tendency to exercise excessive control.

Control_mutuality_4- In relating with the oil communities oil companies have the tendency to exercise excessive control over the people.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	9	6.0	6.3	6.3
	Fairly agree	48	32.0	33.3	39.6
	Neutral	29	19.3	20.1	59.7
	Fairly disagree	35	23.3	24.3	84.0
	Disagree	18	12.0	12.5	96.5
	Don't Know	5	3.3	3.5	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The above table reveals that 48(32%) agree while 35(23.3%) fairly disagree with the assertion that

oil companies have the tendency of throwing their weight around when dealing with the oil communities. Eighteen (12%) disagree while 9(6%) agree that oil companies do throw their weight around when dealing with the oil communities on oil related matter.

Table 5.92 Government listens to what the oil communities have to say on oil related

Control_mutuality_5- Government listens to what the oil communities -have to say on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	13	8.7	9.0	9.0
	Fairly agree	15	10.0	10.4	19.4
	Neutral	21	14.0	14.6	34.0
	Fairly disagree	31	20.7	21.5	55.6
	Disagree	59	39.3	41.0	96.5
	Don't Know	5	3.3	3.5	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The above table indicates that 59(41%) of the respondents disagree and 31(21.5%) fairly disagree that government listens to what the oil communities have to say on oil related matters. Twenty-one (14.6%) were neutral while 15(10.4%) fairly agree that government listens to what the oil communities say on oil related matters.

Table 5.93 Oil companies really listen to what the oil communities have to say on oil related matters.

Control_mutuality_6- Oil companies listen to what oil communities have to say on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	5	3.3	3.5	3.5
	Fairly agree	44	29.3	30.6	34.0
	Neutral	10	6.7	6.9	41.0
	Fairly disagree	44	29.3	30.6	71.5
	Disagree	31	20.7	21.5	93.1
	Don't Know	10	6.7	6.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.93 illustrates that 44(29.3%) of the respondents fairly agree and fairly disagree

respectively that oil companies listen to what the oil communities have to say on oil related matters. While 31(20.7%) fairly disagree and 5(3.3%) agree that oil companies really listen to what the oil communities have to say on oil related matters.

Table 5.94 Authorities of government give the oil communities enough say in decision making process.

Control_mutuality_7- Authorities of government give people enough say in the decision-making process.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	13	8.7	9.0	9.0
	Fairly agree	9	6.0	6.3	15.3
	Neutral	19	12.7	13.2	28.5
	Fairly disagree	77	51.3	53.5	81.9
	Disagree	26	17.3	18.1	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 77 (51.3%) fairly disagree and 26(17.3%) disagree that government authorities give the oil communities enough say in decision making process. Thirteen (9%) agree and 9(6.3%) fairly agree that government authorities give enough say to the oil communities in decision making process.

Table 5.95 Oil companies give the oil communities enough say in decision making process

Control_mutuality_8- Oil companies give the oil communities enough say in decision-making process.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	8	5.3	5.6	5.6
	Fairly agree	19	12.7	13.2	18.8
	Neutral	18	12.0	12.5	31.3
	Fairly disagree	74	49.3	51.4	82.6
	Disagree	25	16.7	17.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above confirms that 74(49.3%) fairly disagree and 25(16.7%) disagree that oil companies give the oil communities enough say in oil related matters during decision making process.

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Nineteen (12.7%) fairly agree and 8(5.3%) agree that oil companies do give enough say to the oil communities during decision making process.

Table 5.96 Government gives the oil communities a sense of control over oil related matters whenever the opportunity arises.

Control_mutuality_9- When the government has the opportunity to relate with the oil communities on oil related matters it gives them a sense of control over the situation.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	20	13.3	13.9	13.9
	Fairly agree	22	14.7	15.3	29.2
	Neutral	10	6.7	6.9	36.1
	Fairly disagree	56	37.3	38.9	75.0
	Disagree	36	24.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.96 points out that 56(37.3%) fairly disagree and 36(24%) disagree that government gives the oil communities a sense of control over oil related matters whenever the opportunity arises. Twenty-two (14.7%) fairly agree and 20(13.3%) agree that government gives the oil communities a sense of control over oil related matters whenever the opportunity exists.

Table 5.97 Oil companies give the oil communities a sense of control whenever the opportunity arises.

Control_mutuality_10- When the oil companies have the opportunity to relate with the oil communities on oil related matters they give them a sense of control over the situation.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	25	16.7	17.4	17.4
	Fairly agree	26	17.3	18.1	35.4
	Neutral	13	8.7	9.0	44.4
	Fairly disagree	45	30.0	31.3	75.7
	Disagree	35	23.3	24.3	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 45 (30%) fairy disagree and 35(23.3%) disagree with the claim that oil companies give the oil communities a sense of control over oil related matters whenever the opportunity to relate arises. Twenty-six (17.3%) fairly agree and 25(16.7%) agree that oil

companies give the oil communities a sense of control over oil related matters whenever the opportunity arises.

Table 5.98 Government cooperates with the oil communities

Control_mutuality_11- Government cooperates with the oil communities on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	4	2.7	2.8	2.8
	Fairly agree	25	16.7	17.4	20.1
	Neutral	10	6.7	6.9	27.1
	Fairly disagree	62	41.3	43.1	70.1
	Disagree	43	28.7	29.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.98 indicates that 62(41.3%) fairly disagree and 43(28.7%) disagree with the assertion that government cooperates with the oil communities on oil related matters. Twenty-five (16.7%) fairly agree and 4(2.7%) agree that government cooperates with the oil communities on oil related matters.

Table 5.99 Oil companies cooperate with oil communities.

Control_mutuality_12- Oil companies cooperate with the oil communities on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	8	5.3	5.6	5.6
	Fairly agree	28	18.7	19.4	25.0
	Neutral	17	11.3	11.8	36.8
	Fairly disagree	50	33.3	34.7	71.5
	Disagree	41	27.3	28.5	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 50 (33.3%) fairly disagree and 41(27.3%) disagree with the claim that oil companies cooperate with the oil communities on oil related matters. Twenty-eight (18.7%) fairly agree and 8(5.3%) agree that oil companies cooperate with the oil communities on oil related matters.

Table 5.100 Oil communities cooperate with government.

Control_mutuality_13- The oil communities cooperate with government on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	9	6.0	6.3	6.3
	Fairly agree	46	30.7	31.9	38.2
	Neutral	18	12.0	12.5	50.7
	Fairly disagree	47	31.3	32.6	83.3
	Disagree	24	16.0	16.7	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above establishes that 47(31.3%) of the respondents fairly disagree while 46(30.7%) fairly agree with the contention that the oil communities cooperate with the government on oil related matters. Twenty-four (16%) disagree while 9(6%) agree that oil communities cooperate with government on oil related matters.

Table 5.101 Oil communities cooperate with oil companies.

Control_mutuality_14- The oil communities cooperate with oil companies on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	31	20.7	21.5	21.5
	Fairly agree	62	41.3	43.1	64.6
	Neutral	10	6.7	6.9	71.5
	Fairly disagree	21	14.0	14.6	86.1
	Disagree	10	6.7	6.9	93.1
	Don't Know	10	6.7	6.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.101 confirms that 62(41.3%) of the respondents fairly agree and 31(20.7%) agree with the assertion that the oil communities cooperate with the oil companies on oil related matters. Twenty-one (14%) fairly disagree and 10(6.7%) disagree that the people do not cooperate with the oil

companies on oil related matters.

Table 5.102 Government believes that the opinion of the people is lawful

Control_mutuality_15- Government believes that the opinion of the people is lawful.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	31	20.7	21.5	21.5
	Fairly agree	62	41.3	43.1	64.6
	Neutral	30	20.0	20.8	85.4
	Fairly disagree	21	14.0	14.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 62(41.3%) fairly agree and 31(20.7%) agree with the declaration that government believe that the opinion of the oil communities is lawful.

Table 5.103 Oil companies believe the opinion of the oil communities is lawful.

Control_mutuality_16- Oil companies believe that the opinion of the people is lawful.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Fairly agree	41	27.3	28.5	35.4
	Neutral	31	20.7	21.5	56.9
	Fairly disagree	40	26.7	27.8	84.7
	Don't Know	22	14.7	15.3	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.103 reveals that 41(27.3%) fairly agree while 40(26.7%) fairly disagree with the contention that oil companies believe that the opinion of the oil communities is lawful. Thirty-one (20.7%) are neutral while 22(14.7%) do not know if the oil companies consider the opinions of the oil communities as lawful.

Table 5.104 Oil communities exercise influence on government decision makers.

Control_mutuality_17- The oil communities   exercise influence on decision-makers of government on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fairly agree	41	27.3	28.5	28.5
	Neutral	50	33.3	34.7	63.2
	Fairly disagree	21	14.0	14.6	77.8
	Disagree	20	13.3	13.9	91.7
	Don't Know	12	8.0	8.3	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above indicates that 50(33.3%) are neutral as to whether the oil communities exercise influence over government decision makers. Forty-one (27.3%) fairly agree while 21(14%) fairly disagree and 20(13.3%) disagree with the claim that the oil communities influence government decision makers.

Table 5.105 Oil communities exercise influence on oil companies' decision makers.

Control_mutuality_18- The oil communities exercise influence on decision-makers of oil companies.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Fairly agree	22	14.7	15.3	22.2
	Neutral	11	7.3	7.6	29.9
	Fairly disagree	30	20.0	20.8	50.7
	Disagree	61	40.7	42.4	93.1
	Don't Know	10	6.7	6.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.105 establishes that 61(40.7%) disagree and 30(20%) fairly disagree with the claim that oil communities exercise influence over decision makers of oil companies. Twenty-two (14.7%) fairly agree and 10(6.7%) agree that the oil communities do influence the decision makers of the

oil companies on oil related matters. The cumulative percentage of those who fairly disagree and disagree at 60.7% is a significant proof that the oil communities do not exercise influence over the decision makers of the oil companies.

Table 5.106 Government treats the oil communities fairly and justly on oil related matters.

Trust1- Government treats the oil communities fairly and justly on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fairly agree	42	28.0	29.2	29.2
	Neutral	20	13.3	13.9	43.1
	Fairly disagree	31	20.7	21.5	64.6
	Disagree	31	20.7	21.5	86.1
	Don't Know	20	13.3	13.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.106 indicates that 42 (28%) fairly agree while 31(20.7%) fairly disagree and disagree respectively with the assertion that government treats the oil communities fairly and justly on oil related matters. The total percentage of those who fairly disagree and disagree 43% is adequate to believe that the government does not treat the oil communities fairly and justly on oil related matters.

Table 5.107 Opinion on how oil companies treat the oil communities.

Trust2- Oil companies treat the oil communities fairly and justly on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Fairly agree	10	6.7	6.9	13.9
	Neutral	33	22.0	22.9	36.8
	Fairly disagree	71	47.3	49.3	86.1
	Disagree	20	13.3	13.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 71(49.3%) fairly disagree and 20(13.9%) disagree with the claim that

oil companies treat the oil communities fairly and justly. The total percentage of those who fairly disagree and disagree at 63.2 % is a reasonable justification to believe that the oil companies do not treat the oil communities fairly and justly on oil related matters.

Table 5.108 Government is concerned about the oil communities.

Trust3- Whenever government makes important decision on oil related matters, it is concerned about the oil communities.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fairly agree	30	20.0	20.8	20.8
	Neutral	23	15.3	16.0	36.8
	Fairly disagree	81	54.0	56.3	93.1
	Disagree	10	6.7	6.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 81(56.3%) fairly disagree while 30(20.8%) fairly agree with the statement that government is concerned about the oil communities when it makes important decision on oil related matters. Twenty-three (16%) are neutral and 10(6.7%) disagree on the issue of government concern for the oil communities when making important decisions on the oil sector.

Table 5.109 Oil companies are concerned about the oil communities.

Trust4- Whenever oil companies make important decision on oil related matters they are concerned about the oil communities.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	31	20.7	21.5	21.5
	Fairly agree	20	13.3	13.9	35.4
	Neutral	20	13.3	13.9	49.3
	Fairly disagree	31	20.7	21.5	70.8
	Disagree	42	28.0	29.2	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 42(29.2%) disagree and 31 (21.5%) fairly disagree with the contention

that oil companies are concerned about the oil communities whenever they make important decision on oil related matters. Thirty-one (21.5%) agree and 20(13.3%) fairly agree that oil companies are concerned about the oil communities when making important decisions.

Table 5.110 Government is reliable in keeping its promises to the oil communities.

Trust5- Government is reliable in keeping its promises to the oil communities on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	41	27.3	28.5	28.5
	Fairly agree	20	13.3	13.9	42.4
	Neutral	11	7.3	7.6	50.0
	Fairly disagree	50	33.3	34.7	84.7
	Disagree	22	14.7	15.3	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 50 (34.7%) fairly disagree while 41(28.5%) agree with the claim that government is reliable in keeping its promises to the oil communities. Twenty-two (15.3%) disagree while 20 (13.9%) fairly agree that government is reliable in keeping its promises to the oil communities.

Table 5.111 Oil companies keep their promises to the oil communities on oil related matters.

Trust6- Oil companies are reliable in keeping their promises to the oil communities on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fairly agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Neutral	21	14.0	14.6	21.5
	Fairly disagree	40	26.7	27.8	49.3
	Disagree	73	48.7	50.7	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The above table indicates that 73(50.7%) disagree and 40(27.8%) fairly disagree with the assertion that oil companies keep their promises to the oil communities on oil related matters.

Table 5.112 Government takes the opinion of the oil communities into consideration when making decision.

Trust7- I believe that government takes opinions of the oil communities into consideration when making decisions on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fairly agree	30	20.0	20.8	20.8
	Neutral	11	7.3	7.6	28.5
	Fairly disagree	50	33.3	34.7	63.2
	Disagree	53	35.3	36.8	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above confirms that 53(36.8%) disagree and 50(34.7%) fairly disagree with the assertion that government representatives believe that government takes the opinion of the oil communities into consideration when making decision on oil related matters.

Table 5.113 Oil companies take opinions of the oil communities into consideration when taking decisions on oil related matters.

Trust8- I believe that oil companies take opinions of the oil communities into consideration when making decisions on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Fairly agree	50	33.3	34.7	41.7
	Neutral	20	13.3	13.9	55.6
	Fairly disagree	21	14.0	14.6	70.1
	Disagree	43	28.7	29.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above establishes that 50(34.7%) fairly agree while 43(29.9%) disagree and 21(14.6%) fairly agree that oil companies' representatives believe that oil companies take the oil communities into consideration when making decision on oil related matters.

Table 5.114 Confidence in government's skills on oil related matters.

Trust9- I feel very confident in government's skills on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	32	21.3	22.2	22.2
	Fairly agree	61	40.7	42.4	64.6
	Neutral	10	6.7	6.9	71.5
	Fairly disagree	20	13.3	13.9	85.4
	Disagree	10	6.7	6.9	92.4
	Don't Know	11	7.3	7.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.114 reveals that 61(42.4%) fairly agree and 32(22.2%) agree that government representatives feel confident in government's skill on oil related matters.

Table 5.115 Confidence in oil companies' skills on oil related matters

Trust10- I feel very confident in oil companies' skills on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	32	21.3	22.2	22.2
	Fairly agree	61	40.7	42.4	64.6
	Neutral	30	20.0	20.8	85.4
	Fairly disagree	21	14.0	14.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 61(42.4%) fairly agree and 32(22.2%) agree with the claim that oil companies' representatives feel confident about oil companies' skills on oil related matters. The percentage of those who fairly agree and disagree at 64.6% is a reasonable ground to affirm that representatives of oil companies feel they have confidence in oil companies' skills to manage oil related matters.

Table 5.116 Government's ability to accomplish what it says it will do.

Trust11-11Government has the ability to accomplish what it says it will do.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Fairly agree	42	28.0	29.2	36.1
	Neutral	30	20.0	20.8	56.9
	Fairly disagree	40	26.7	27.8	84.7
	Don't Know	22	14.7	15.3	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above indicates that 42(29.2%) fairly agree while 40 (27.8%) fairly disagree that government has the ability to accomplish what it says it will do. While 30 (20.8%) are neutral 22 (15.3%) do not know if government has the ability to accomplish what it says it will do.

Table 5.117 Oil companies' ability to accomplish what they say they will do

Trust12- Oil companies have the ability to accomplish what they say they will do.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	19	12.7	13.2	13.2
	Fairly agree	61	40.7	42.4	55.6
	Neutral	20	13.3	13.9	69.4
	Fairly disagree	16	10.7	11.1	80.6
	Disagree	17	11.3	11.8	92.4
	Don't Know	11	7.3	7.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
Total		150	100.0		

The table above shows that 61(42.4%) fairly agree and 19(13.2%) agree that oil companies have the ability to accomplish what they say they will do. With the percentage of those who fairly agree and agree at 55.6% there is sufficient reason to establish that the oil companies have the ability to do what they say they will do for the oil communities.

Table 5.118 Sound principles guide government on oil related matters.

Trust13- Sound principles seem to guide government's behaviour on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Fairly agree	21	14.0	14.6	21.5
	Neutral	10	6.7	6.9	28.5
	Fairly disagree	30	20.0	20.8	49.3
	Disagree	63	42.0	43.8	93.1
	Don't Know	10	6.7	6.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above indicates that 63(43.8%) disagree and 30(20.8%) fairly disagree with the statement that sound principles guide government on oil related matters. This position is buttressed with the cumulative percentage of those who disagree and fairly disagree at 64.6%.

Table 5.119 Sound principles seem to guide oil companies' behaviour on oil related matters.

Trust14- Sound principles seem to guide oil companies' behaviour on oil related matter.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fairly agree	41	27.3	28.5	28.5
	Neutral	20	13.3	13.9	42.4
	Fairly disagree	30	20.0	20.8	63.2
	Disagree	32	21.3	22.2	85.4
	Don't Know	21	14.0	14.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.119 indicates that 41 (28.5%) of the respondents fairly agree while 32(22.2%) disagree with the assertion that sound principles seem to guide the behaviour of oil companies on oil related matters. Twenty-one (14.6%) do not know if sound principles guide the behaviour of the oil companies, 20(13.9%) are neutral.

Table 5.120 Government does not mislead the oil communities on oil related matters.

Trust15- Government does not mislead the people on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	14	9.3	9.7	9.7
	Fairly agree	20	13.3	13.9	23.6
	Neutral	26	17.3	18.1	41.7
	Fairly disagree	63	42.0	43.8	85.4
	Disagree	19	12.7	13.2	98.6
	Don't Know	2	1.3	1.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.120 establishes that 63 (43.8%) fairly disagree while 20(13.9%) fairly agree with the claim that government does not mislead the oil communities on oil related matters. Nineteen (13.2%) disagree while 14(9.7%) agree that government mislead the oil communities in the oil sector. The total percentage of those fairly disagree and disagree at 57% is a reasonable indication that the respondents believe that government misleads the oil communities on oil related matters.

Table 5.121 Oil companies do not mislead the oil communities on oil related matters.

Trust16- Oil companies do not mislead the people on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	6	4.0	4.2	4.2
	Fairly agree	36	24.0	25.0	29.2
	Neutral	24	16.0	16.7	45.8
	Fairly disagree	69	46.0	47.9	93.8
	Disagree	9	6.0	6.3	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 69 (47.9%) fairly disagree while 36(25%) fairly agree with the assertion that oil companies do not mislead the oil communities. The total percentage of those who fairly disagree and disagree at 54.2% suggests that the respondents are of the opinion that the oil companies do mislead the oil communities on oil related matters.

Table 5.122 Oil communities are willing to let government make decision for them

Trust17- The people are very willing to let the government make decisions for them on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	28	18.7	19.4	19.4
	Fairly agree	25	16.7	17.4	36.8
	Neutral	22	14.7	15.3	52.1
	Fairly disagree	32	21.3	22.2	74.3
	Disagree	33	22.0	22.9	97.2
	Don't Know	4	2.7	2.8	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 4.122 points out that 33(22.9%) disagree and 32(22.2%) fairly disagree with the claim that oil communities are willing to let government make decision for them on oil related matters. Twenty-eight (19.4%) agree and 25(17.4%) fairly agree that the oil communities are willing to let government make decision on their behalf.

Table 5.123 Oil communities are willing to let oil companies make decision for them

Trust18- The oil communities are very willing to let oil companies make decision for them on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	34	22.7	23.6	23.6
	Fairly agree	25	16.7	17.4	41.0
	Neutral	17	11.3	11.8	52.8
	Fairly disagree	45	30.0	31.3	84.0
	Disagree	21	14.0	14.6	98.6
	Don't Know	2	1.3	1.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.123 reveals that 45(31.3%) fairly disagree while 34(23.6%) agree with the assertion that oil communities are willing to let oil companies make decision for them. Twenty-five (17.4%)

fairly agree while 21(14.6%) disagree with the statement that the oil communities are willing to let the oil companies make decision for them.

Table 5.124 Oil communities think it is important to know whether government treats them fairly.

Trust19 The oil communities think it is important to know whether government treats them fairly on oil related matters. -

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	23	15.3	16.0	16.0
	Fairly agree	47	31.3	32.6	48.6
	Neutral	13	8.7	9.0	57.6
	Fairly disagree	25	16.7	17.4	75.0
	Disagree	27	18.0	18.8	93.8
	Don't Know	9	6.0	6.3	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 47(32.6%) fairly agree while 27(18%) disagree that oil communities think it is important for them to know that government treat them fairly on oil related matters. Twenty-five (17.4%) fairly disagree while 23(16%) agree that oil communities think it is important for them to know whether government treats them fairly.

Table 5.125 Oil communities think it is important for them to know whether oil companies treat them fairly.

Trust20- The oil communities think it is important to know whether oil companies treat them fairly on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	24	16.0	16.7	16.7
	Fairly agree	57	38.0	39.6	56.3
	Neutral	27	18.0	18.8	75.0
	Fairly disagree	24	16.0	16.7	91.7
	Disagree	7	4.7	4.9	96.5
	Don't Know	5	3.3	3.5	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above indicates that 57(3 9.6%) fairly agree and 24(16.7%) agree while another 24(16.7%) fairly disagree with the contention that oil communities think it is important for them to know whether oil companies treat them fairly.

Table 5.126 Government is known to be successful at things it tries to do in the oil producing areas.

Trust21-Government is known to be successful at things it tries to do in the oil producing areas.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	12	8.0	8.3	8.3
	Fairly agree	36	24.0	25.0	33.3
	Neutral	32	21.3	22.2	55.6
	Fairly disagree	45	30.0	31.3	86.8
	Disagree	5	3.3	3.5	90.3
	Don't Know	14	9.3	9.7	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 45 (31.3%) fairly disagree while 36(25%) fairly agree with the statement that the government is known to be successful at things it tries to do in the oil producing areas.

Table 5.127 Oil companies are known to be successful at things they try to do in the oil producing areas.

Trust22- Oil companies are known to be successful at things they try to do in the oil producing areas.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	1	.7	.7	.7
	Fairly agree	39	26.0	27.1	27.8
	Neutral	42	28.0	29.2	56.9
	Fairly disagree	37	24.7	25.7	82.6
	Disagree	16	10.7	11.1	93.8
	Don't Know	9	6.0	6.3	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.127 establishes that 39(27.1%) fairly agree while 37(25.719.4%) fairly agree that oil companies are known to be successful at things they try to do in the oil producing areas.

Table 5.128 Oil communities are happy with government.

Satisfaction1- The oil communities are happy with the government on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	14	9.3	9.7	9.7
	Fairly agree	23	15.3	16.0	25.7
	Neutral	16	10.7	11.1	36.8
	Fairly disagree	31	20.7	21.5	58.3
	Disagree	52	34.7	36.1	94.4
	Don't Know	8	5.3	5.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above confirms that 59(41%) fairly disagree and 57(39.6%) disagree with the claim that the oil communities are happy with the government on oil related matters.

Table 5.129 Oil communities are happy with oil companies on oil related matters

Satisfaction2- The oil communities are happy with the oil companies on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	9	6.0	6.3	6.3
	Fairly agree	36	24.0	25.0	31.3
	Neutral	17	11.3	11.8	43.1
	Fairly disagree	35	23.3	24.3	67.4
	Disagree	32	21.3	22.2	89.6
	Don't Know	15	10.0	10.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above indicates that 36(25%) fairly agree while 35(24.3%) fairly disagree with the claim that oil communities are happy with the oil companies on oil related matters. Thirty-two (22.2%) disagree while 9(6%) agree that the oil communities are happy with the oil companies. The total percentage of those who fairly disagree and disagree at 46.5% tends to suggest that oil communities

are not happy with the oil companies on oil related matters.

Table 5.130 Both the government and the oil communities benefit from the oil related relationship

Satisfaction3- Both the government and the oil communities mutually benefit from the oil related relationship.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	7	4.7	4.9	4.9
	Fairly agree	14	9.3	9.7	14.6
	Neutral	27	18.0	18.8	33.3
	Fairly disagree	62	41.3	43.1	76.4
	Disagree	32	21.3	22.2	98.6
	Don't Know	2	1.3	1.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 62(43.1%) fairly disagree and 32(22.2%) disagree with the contention that both the government and the oil communities mutually benefit from the oil related relationship.

Table 5.131 Both oil companies and oil communities benefit from the oil related relationship

Satisfaction4- Both the oil companies and oil communities mutually benefit from the oil related relationship.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	1	.7	.7	.7
	Fairly agree	28	18.7	19.4	20.1
	Neutral	20	13.3	13.9	34.0
	Fairly disagree	75	50.0	52.1	86.1
	Disagree	20	13.3	13.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The above table shows that 75(52.1%) fairly disagree while 28(19.4%) fairly agree with the assertion that both the oil companies and the oil communities benefit from the oil related

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relationship. Though 20 (13.9%) disagree while 1(0,7%) agree, the percentage of those who fairly disagree and disagree at 66% is a reasonable proof that both oil companies and oil communities do not mutually benefit from the oil related relationship.

Table 5.132 Most oil communities are happy their interaction with the government on oil related matters.

Satisfaction5- Most people are happy in their interaction with the government on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	23	15.3	16.0	16.0
	Fairly agree	27	18.0	18.8	34.7
	Neutral	20	13.3	13.9	48.6
	Fairly disagree	36	24.0	25.0	73.6
	Disagree	38	25.3	26.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.132 confirms that 38(26.4%) disagree and 36(25%) fairly disagree with the statement that most oil communities are happy with the government on oil related matters. Twenty-seven (18.8%) fairly agree and 23(16%) agree that the oil communities are happy with the government.

Table 5.133 Most oil communities are happy in their interaction with the oil companies

Satisfaction6- Most oil communities are happy in their interaction with oil the companies on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	35	23.3	24.3	24.3
	Fairly agree	20	13.3	13.9	38.2
	Neutral	12	8.0	8.3	46.5
	Fairly disagree	48	32.0	33.3	79.9
	Disagree	29	19.3	20.1	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above indicates that 48(33.3%) fairly disagree while 35(24.3%) agree with the claim that the oil communities are happy in their interaction with the oil companies in oil related matters. Twenty-nine (20.1%) disagree while 20(13.9%) fairly agree that the oil communities are happy in

their interaction with the oil companies.

Table 5.134 I am pleased with the relationship government has established with the oil communities

Satisfaction7- I am pleased with the relationship government has established with the oil communities generally speaking.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	8	5.3	5.6	5.6
	Fairly agree	13	8.7	9.0	14.6
	Neutral	18	12.0	12.5	27.1
	Fairly disagree	40	26.7	27.8	54.9
	Disagree	64	42.7	44.4	99.3
	Don't Know	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 64(44.4%) disagree and 40 (27.8%) fairly disagree with the claim that the respondents are pleased with the relationship government has established with the oil communities. The total percentage of those who disagree and fairly disagree at 72.2% is a reasonable ground to suggest that government representatives are not happy with the relationship government has established with the oil communities.

Table 5.135 I am pleased with the relationship oil companies have established with the oil communities

Satisfaction8- I am pleased with the relationship the oil companies have established with the oil communities generally speaking.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	4	2.7	2.8	2.8
	Fairly agree	26	17.3	18.1	20.8
	Neutral	16	10.7	11.1	31.9
	Fairly disagree	47	31.3	32.6	64.6
	Disagree	50	33.3	34.7	99.3
	Don't Know	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 50(34.7%) disagree and 47(32.6%) fairly disagree with the contention that oil companies' representatives are pleased with the relationship oil companies establish with the oil communities. Twenty-six (18.1%) fairly agree while 16(11.1%) are neutral on the claim

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that the oil companies' representatives are pleased with the relationship the oil companies establish with the oil communities.

Table 5.136 Most oil communities like dealing with government on oil related matters.

Satisfaction9- Most oil communities like dealing with the government on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Fairly agree	41	27.3	28.5	35.4
	Neutral	21	14.0	14.6	50.0
	Fairly disagree	31	20.7	21.5	71.5
	Disagree	38	25.3	26.4	97.9
	Don't Know	3	2.0	2.1	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above establishes that 41(28.5%) fairly agree while 38(26.4%) disagree with the statement that the oil communities like dealing with the government on oil related matters. Thirty-one (21.5%) fairly disagree while 10(6.9%) agree that the oil communities like dealing with the government.

Table 5.137 Most oil communities enjoy dealing with the oil companies on oil related matters

Satisfaction10- Most oil communities dealing with oil the companies on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	20	13.3	13.9	13.9
	Fairly agree	24	16.0	16.7	30.6
	Neutral	14	9.3	9.7	40.3
	Fairly disagree	38	25.3	26.4	66.7
	Disagree	46	30.7	31.9	98.6
	Don't Know	2	1.3	1.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.137 shows that 46 (31.9%) disagree and 38(25.3%) fairly disagree with the assertion that most of the oil communities like dealing with the oil companies on oil related matters. Twenty-four (16.7%) fairly agree and 20 (13.9%) agree that the oil communities like dealing with the oil companies on oil related matters.

Table 5.138 The government is trying to maintain a long term relationship with the oil communities

Commitment1- I feel that the government is trying to maintain a long-term positive relationship with the oil communities on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	17	11.3	11.8	11.8
	Fairly agree	36	24.0	25.0	36.8
	Neutral	26	17.3	18.1	54.9
	Fairly disagree	37	24.7	25.7	80.6
	Disagree	13	8.7	9.0	89.6
	Don't Know	15	10.0	10.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above indicates that 37(25.7%) fairly disagree while 36(25%) fairly agree with the statement that the respondents feel that government is trying to maintain a long-term positive relationship with the oil communities. Though 26 (18.1%) are neutral, 17(11.8%) agree while 13(9%) disagree on the claim that government is trying to build a long term positive relationship with the oil communities.

Table 5.139 The oil companies are trying to maintain long term relationship with the oil communities.

Commitment2- I feel that oil companies are trying to maintain a long-term positive relationship with oil communities on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	7	4.7	4.9	4.9
	Fairly agree	39	26.0	27.1	31.9
	Neutral	41	27.3	28.5	60.4
	Fairly disagree	27	18.0	18.8	79.2
	Disagree	18	12.0	12.5	91.7
	Don't Know	12	8.0	8.3	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above confirms that 41(28.5%) are neutral on whether the respondents feel that the oil

companies are trying to maintain a long term positive relationship with the oil communities on oil related matters. Thirty-nine (27.1%) fairly agree while 27 (18.8%) fairly disagree with claim that oil companies are trying to maintain a long term positive relationship with the oil communities.

Table 5.140 The government wants to maintain a relationship with the oil communities

Commitment3- I can see that the government wants to maintain a cordial relationship with the oil communities.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Fairly agree	31	20.7	21.5	28.5
	Neutral	17	11.3	11.8	40.3
	Fairly disagree	26	17.3	18.1	58.3
	Disagree	48	32.0	33.3	91.7
	Don't Know	12	8.0	8.3	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 48(33.3%) disagree while 31(21.5%) fairly agree with the claim that the respondents can see that government wants to maintain a cordial relationship with the oil communities. Twenty-six (18.1%) fairly disagree while 10(6.9%) agree with the statement that the respondents can see that government wants to maintain a long term cordial relationship with the oil communities.

Table 5.141 The oil companies want to maintain a relationship with the oil communities

Commitment4- I can see that oil companies want to maintain a cordial relationship with the oil communities.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	4	2.7	2.8	2.8
	Fairly agree	41	27.3	28.5	31.3
	Neutral	17	11.3	11.8	43.1
	Fairly disagree	29	19.3	20.1	63.2
	Disagree	35	23.3	24.3	87.5
	Don't Know	18	12.0	12.5	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above indicates that 41(28.5%) of the respondents fairly agree while 35(24.3%) disagree with the assertion that they can see that the oil companies want to maintain a cordial relationship with the oil communities. Twenty-nine (20.1%) fairly disagree while 4(2.8%) agree that they can see that oil companies want to maintain a cordial relationship with the oil producing communities.

Table 5.142 There is a long standing bond between the government and the oil communities.

Commitment5- There is a long standing bond between the government and oil communities.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Fairly agree	24	16.0	16.7	23.6
	Neutral	26	17.3	18.1	41.7
	Fairly disagree	54	36.0	37.5	79.2
	Disagree	23	15.3	16.0	95.1
	Don't Know	7	4.7	4.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.142 establishes that 54(37.5%) fairly disagree and 26(18.1%) are neutral on the assertion that government has a long standing bond with the oil communities. Twenty-four (16.7%) fairly agree while 23(16%) disagree with the claim that government has a long standing bond with the oil communities. The cumulative percentage of those who fairly disagree and disagree at 53.5% tends to suggest that there is no long standing bond between the government and the oil communities.

Table 5.143 There is a long standing bond between the oil companies and the oil communities.

Commitment6- There is a long standing bond between the oil companies and oil communities.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	4	2.7	2.8	2.8
	Fairly agree	31	20.7	21.5	24.3
	Neutral	28	18.7	19.4	43.8
	Fairly disagree	63	42.0	43.8	87.5
	Disagree	17	11.3	11.8	99.3
	Don't Know	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 63(43.8%) fairly disagree while 31(21.5%) fairly agree with the claim that oil companies have a long standing bond with the oil communities. Seventeen (11.8%) disagree while 4(2.8%) agree that the oil companies have a long standing bond with oil communities.

Table 5.144 The oil communities value their relationship with government.

Commitment7- The oil communities value their relationship with the government on oil related matters in the Niger Delta.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	22	14.7	15.3	15.3
	Fairly agree	23	15.3	16.0	31.3
	Neutral	22	14.7	15.3	46.5
	Fairly disagree	41	27.3	28.5	75.0
	Disagree	33	22.0	22.9	97.9
	Don't Know	3	2.0	2.1	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above proves that 41 (27.3%) fairly disagree and 33 (22.9%) disagree with the claim that the oil communities value their relationship with government on oil related matters. Twenty-three (16%) fairly agree and 22(15.3%) agree that the oil communities value their relationship with government on oil related matters.

Table 5.145 The oil communities value their relationship with the oil companies in the Niger Delta.

Commitment8- The oil communities value their relationship with the oil companies in the Niger Delta.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	32	21.3	22.2	22.2
	Fairly agree	26	17.3	18.1	40.3
	Neutral	18	12.0	12.5	52.8
	Fairly disagree	42	28.0	29.2	81.9
	Disagree	23	15.3	16.0	97.9
	Don't Know	3	2.0	2.1	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.146 indicates that 42 (29.2%) fairly disagree while 32 (22.2%) agree with the contention that the oil communities value their relationship with the oil companies in the Niger Delta. Twenty-six (18.1%) fairly agree while 23(16%) disagree with the claim that the oil communities value their relationship with the oil companies.

Table 5.146 Oil communities would rather work with government.

Commitment9- The oil communities would rather work together with the government on oil related matters than not.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	13	8.7	9.0	9.0
	Fairly agree	13	8.7	9.0	18.1
	Neutral	18	12.0	12.5	30.6
	Fairly disagree	40	26.7	27.8	58.3
	Disagree	59	39.3	41.0	99.3
	Don't Know	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 59(41%) disagree and 40(27.8%) fairly disagree with the claim that oil communities would rather work with the government on oil related matters than not.

Table 5.147 Oil communities would rather work with the oil companies.

Commitment10- The oil communities would rather work together with oil companies on oil related matters than not.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	4	2.7	2.8	2.8
	Fairly agree	26	17.3	18.1	20.8
	Neutral	15	10.0	10.4	31.3
	Fairly disagree	45	30.0	31.3	62.5
	Disagree	52	34.7	36.1	98.6
	Don't Know	2	1.3	1.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above establishes that 52(36.1%) disagree and 45(30%) fairly disagree that oil communities would rather work with the oil companies than not on oil related matters. Twenty-six (18.1%) fairly agree and 4(2.8%) agree with the contention that oil communities would rather work with the oil companies than not.

Table 5.148 Government always expect something in return whenever it gives something

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Fairly agree	37	24.7	25.7	32.6
	Neutral	21	14.0	14.6	47.2
	Fairly disagree	28	18.7	19.4	66.7
	Disagree	48	32.0	33.3	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.148 shows that 48(33.3%) disagree while 37(25.7%) fairly agree with the claim that government always expect something in return whenever it gives something to the oil communities.

Table 5.149 Oil companies always expect something in return whenever they give something.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	18	12.0	12.5	12.5
	Fairly agree	24	16.0	16.7	29.2
	Neutral	13	8.7	9.0	38.2
	Fairly disagree	40	26.7	27.8	66.0
	Disagree	49	32.7	34.0	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above indicates that 49(34%) disagree and 40 (27.8%) fairly disagree that oil companies always expect something in return whenever they give something to the oil communities.

5.150 Government always expect something in return for any favour it shows.

Exchange_relationship3- Though the people have had a long standing relationship with the government on oil related matters, it still expects something from them whenever it offers them a favour.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	25	16.7	17.4	17.4
	Fairly agree	50	33.3	34.7	52.1
	Neutral	13	8.7	9.0	61.1
	Fairly disagree	21	14.0	14.6	75.7
	Disagree	28	18.7	19.4	95.1
	Don't Know	7	4.7	4.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 50(34.7%) fairly agree while 28 (19.4%) disagree that government always expect something in return for any favour it shows the oil communities despite the long standing relationship between them. Twenty-five (17.4%) agree while 21(14.6%) fairly disagree with the claim that government always expect the oil communities to return the favour it does for them.

Table 5.151 The oil companies always expect something in return for any favour they show.

Exchange_relationship4- Though the people have had a long standing relationship with the oil companies, they still expect something from them whenever they offer them a favour.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	29	19.3	20.1	20.1
	Fairly agree	55	36.7	38.2	58.3
	Neutral	27	18.0	18.8	77.1
	Fairly disagree	22	14.7	15.3	92.4
	Disagree	11	7.3	7.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 55(38.2%) fairly agree and 29(20.1%) fairly agree that the oil companies always expect the oil communities to return the favour they do for them despite the long standing relationship they have mutually enjoyed. Twenty-seven (18.8%) are neutral, 22(15.3%) fairly disagree and 11(7.6%) disagree with assertion that the oil companies always

expect the oil communities to return the favour they do to them though they have had a long standing relationship together.

Table 5.152 Government compromises when it has something to gain from the oil communities.

Exchange_relationship5- Government will compromise with the people when it knows that it will gain something.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	10	6.7	6.9	6.9
	Fairly agree	43	28.7	29.9	36.8
	Neutral	31	20.7	21.5	58.3
	Fairly disagree	36	24.0	25.0	83.3
	Disagree	4	2.7	2.8	86.1
	Don't Know	20	13.3	13.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above indicates that 43(29.9%) fairly agree while 36(25%) fairly disagree that government compromises when it has something to gain from the oil communities. Thirty-one (21.5%) fairly disagree and 22(15.3%) disagree with the statement that government compromises when it has something to gain from the oil communities.

Table 5.153 Oil companies compromise when they have something to gain from the oil communities.

Exchange_relationship6- The oil companies will compromise with the people when they know they will gain something.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	2	1.3	1.4	1.4
	Fairly agree	40	26.7	27.8	29.2
	Neutral	46	30.7	31.9	61.1
	Fairly disagree	23	15.3	16.0	77.1
	Disagree	23	15.3	16.0	93.1
	Don't Know	10	6.7	6.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 46 (31.9%) are neutral and 40(27.8%) fairly agree that oil companies compromise whenever they have something to gain from the oil communities. Twenty-three (16%) each fairly disagree and disagree respectively that oil companies compromise when they have

something to gain from the oil communities.

Table 5.154 Government takes care of only those who are likely to reward it.

Exchange_relationship7-Government takes care of only oil communities that are likely to reward it.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	9	6.0	6.3	6.3
	Fairly agree	23	15.3	16.0	22.2
	Neutral	13	8.7	9.0	31.3
	Fairly disagree	29	19.3	20.1	51.4
	Disagree	59	39.3	41.0	92.4
	Don't Know	11	7.3	7.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.154 indicates that 59(41%) disagree and 29(20.1%) fairly disagree that government takes care of the oil communities that are likely to reward it. Twenty-three (16%) fairly agree while 13(9%) are neutral.

Table 5.155 Oil companies take care of only the oil communities that are likely to reward them.

Exchange_relationship8- The oil companies take care of only the oil communities that are likely to reward them.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	1	.7	.7	.7
	Fairly agree	40	26.7	27.8	28.5
	Neutral	17	11.3	11.8	40.3
	Fairly disagree	30	20.0	20.8	61.1
	Disagree	35	23.3	24.3	85.4
	Don't Know	21	14.0	14.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 40 (27.8%) fairly agree while 35(24.3%) disagree with the claim that oil companies take care of only the oil communities that are likely to reward them. Thirty (20.8%) fairly disagree while 21(14.6%) do not know that oil companies take care of only the oil communities that are likely to reward them.

Table 5.156 Government especially likes giving help.

Communal_relationship1- The government especially likes giving financial support to the oil communities.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	9	6.0	6.3	6.3
	Fairly agree	14	9.3	9.7	16.0
	Neutral	28	18.7	19.4	35.4
	Fairly disagree	69	46.0	47.9	83.3
	Disagree	22	14.7	15.3	98.6
	Don't Know	2	1.3	1.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.156 confirms that 69(47.9%) fairly disagree while 28 (19.4%) are neutral on the statement that government especially enjoys giving aid to others. Twenty-two (15.3%) disagree while 14(9.7%) fairly agree with the claim that government especially enjoys giving aid to others.

Table 5.157 The oil communities especially like giving support.

Communal_relationship2- The oil companies especially like giving financial support to the oil communities.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	1	.7	.7	.7
	Fairly agree	28	18.7	19.4	20.1
	Neutral	22	14.7	15.3	35.4
	Fairly disagree	80	53.3	55.6	91.0
	Disagree	13	8.7	9.0	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above establishes that 80(53.3%) fairly disagree while 28(19.4%) disagree with the statement that oil companies like giving help to the oil communities. Twenty-two (15.3%) are neutral while 13(9%) disagree that oil companies especially like giving help to the oil communities.

Table 5.158 I feel that government takes advantage of the vulnerable.

Communal_relationship3-3 I feel that government takes advantage of the oil communities that are vulnerable.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	29	19.3	20.1	20.1
	Fairly agree	23	15.3	16.0	36.1
	Neutral	18	12.0	12.5	48.6
	Fairly disagree	36	24.0	25.0	73.6
	Disagree	38	25.3	26.4	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above establishes that 38(26.4%) disagree and 36(25%) fairly disagree with the statement that government takes advantage of the oil communities that are vulnerable. Twenty-nine (20.1%) agree and 23(16%) fairly agree that government takes advantage of the oil communities that are vulnerable.

Table 5.159 Oil companies take advantage of the vulnerable people

Communal_relationship4- I feel that oil companies do not take advantage of the oil communities that are vulnerable.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	41	27.3	28.5	28.5
	Fairly agree	22	14.7	15.3	43.8
	Neutral	8	5.3	5.6	49.3
	Fairly disagree	50	33.3	34.7	84.0
	Disagree	23	15.3	16.0	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 41(28.5%) agree while 50(34.7%) fairly disagree with the assertion that oil companies take advantage of the oil communities that are vulnerable. Twenty-three (16%) disagree while 22(15.3%) fairly agree with the claim that oil companies take advantage of the oil communities that are vulnerable.

Table 5.160 Government succeeds by stepping on the toes of the oil communities.

Communal_relationship5- I think that government succeeds by stepping on the toes of the oil communities on oil related matters.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	4	2.7	2.8	2.8
	Fairly agree	12	8.0	8.3	11.1
	Neutral	17	11.3	11.8	22.9
	Fairly disagree	41	27.3	28.5	51.4
	Disagree	70	46.7	48.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

Table 5.160 establishes that 70 (48.6%) of the respondents disagree and 41(28.6%) fairly disagree with the contention that government succeeds by stepping on the toes of the oil communities on oil related matters.

Table 5.161 Oil companies succeed by stepping on the toes of the oil communities.

Communal_relationship6- I think that oil companies step on the toes of the oil communities to succeed.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Fairly agree	28	18.7	19.4	19.4
	Neutral	11	7.3	7.6	27.1
	Fairly disagree	49	32.7	34.0	61.1
	Disagree	56	37.3	38.9	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above reveals that 56(38.9%) disagree and 49(34%) fairly disagree with the statement that oil companies succeed by stepping on the toes of the oil communities on oil related matters.

Table 5.162 Government helps people without expecting anything in return.

Communal_relationship7- Government helps the oil communities without expecting anything in return.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	9	6.0	6.3	6.3
	Fairly agree	51	34.0	35.4	41.7
	Neutral	20	13.3	13.9	55.6
	Fairly disagree	20	13.3	13.9	69.4
	Disagree	44	29.3	30.6	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 51(35.4%) fairly agree while 44(30.6%) disagree with the claim that government helps the oil communities without expecting anything in return. Twenty (13.9%) each fairly disagree and neutral respectively, while 9(6.3%) agree that government helps the oil communities without expecting anything in return.

Table 5.163 Oil companies help without expecting anything in return.

Communal_relationship8- Oil companies help the oil communities without expecting anything in return.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree	21	14.0	14.6	14.6
	Fairly agree	24	16.0	16.7	31.3
	Neutral	12	8.0	8.3	39.6
	Fairly disagree	35	23.3	24.3	63.9
	Disagree	52	34.7	36.1	100.0
	Total	144	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	6	4.0		
	Total	150	100.0		

The table above shows that 52(36.1%) disagree and 35(24.3%) fairly disagree that oil companies help the oil communities without expecting anything in return. Twenty-four (16.7%) fairly agree and 21(14.6%) agree that oil companies help the oil communities without expecting anything in return.

Appendix E: Focus Group Interview Guide

1) Considering the current realities in the Niger Delta what can you say about peaceful co-existence among the stakeholders to oil production in the region?

2) In your opinion, what do you think has been the cause of the grievances of the oil producing communities?

3) In brief, how would you classify the manifestation of the grievances?

4) In your perception, how would you describe government reaction to the grievances?

5) How do the oil companies react to the oil communities' grievances?

6) What are the weaknesses you observe in the way the government and the oil companies deal with oil related issue that affect the oil producing communities?

7) How satisfied are you with the way the oil wealth is distributed?

8) Do you see any linkage between the public relations programmes of the government and the oil related conflicts in the region?

9) How would you describe the relationship between the oil companies' public relations programmes and the oil related conflicts in the Niger Delta?

10) In what way can the government and oil companies improve on their relationship with the oil producing communities for a sustainable peaceful coexistence to exist in the Niger Delta?

Appendix F: Re: Ethical Approval Application – CASS130030

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MANCHESTER

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Room 631 Maxwell Building
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14 July 2014

Harvey Igben
University of Salford

Dear Harvey

Re: Ethical Approval Application – CASS130030

I am pleased to inform you that based on the information provided, the Research Ethics Panel have no objections on ethical grounds to your project.

Yours sincerely

Deborah Woodman
On Behalf of CASS Research Ethics Panel