

MEDIA SECTOR MAPPING

NIGERIA'S NIGER DELTA: BAYELSA, DELTA AND RIVERS



Final Report, May 2009

**Search for Common Ground
Funded by the British Department for International Development**

Notes

Search for Common Ground would like to thank the British Department for International Development for its support for this project and the vision that peace is possible in the Niger Delta.

The Media Sector Mapping research was undertaken by Uzezi Agbor, Yusufu Atang, Ishmael Atorudibo, Bridget Affiah, Oscar Bloh, Olalekan Hassan, Evelyn Mere, and Summer Brown-Glees.

Over a thousand individuals contributed to this report by expressing their expertise and opinions on the Niger Delta, a region that struggles to meet the needs of the majority of its people. This report makes Next Step Recommendations that were direct extrapolations from the research. Perhaps, more importantly, this report represents the views of many who want the Niger Delta to thrive and lasting peace sustained.

This report was written by Summer Brown-Glees, Project Director, Nigeria, with substantial input from Frances Fortune, Africa Director and Oscar Bloh, Country Director, Liberia along with input and advice from many others.

Photo Credits: *Ishmael Atorudibo*

Contact information

www.sfcg.org

Summer Brown-Glees

Project Director, Nigeria
Search for Common Ground
+234 7027854757
sglees@sfcg.org

Frances Fortune

Director, Africa
Search for Common Ground
+232 22223479
ffortune@sfcg.org

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
I. INTRODUCTION.....	3
II. COMMUNICATION AS A DRIVER FOR CHANGE.....	4
III. SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY	5
IV. CONTEXT.....	6
Media Environment	6
Federal Government Development Policies.....	8
V. ANALYSIS	10
Access to information	10
Media Credibility.....	12
Government Development Agendas	13
Community Structures	15
VI. OVERALL FINDINGS / RESEARCH OUTCOMES.....	18
Access to information	18
Leadership.....	19
Media	20
Community Structure.....	21
VII. RECOMMENDATIONS	21
Access to information and communication	21
Media.....	22
Leadership.....	23
Community Structure.....	24
VIII. CONCLUSION.....	24
IX. ANNEXES	26
ANNEX A: FOCUS GROUP BREAKDOWN: (OCTOBER – NOVEMBER 2008)	26
ANNEX B: SURVEY DATA: (OCTOBER – NOVEMBER 2008)	27
ANNEX C: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS: (OCTOBER – NOVEMBER 2008)	27
Annex D: Newspaper Topical Breakdown of Occurrences	28

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers states, which together are home to over 15 million people,¹ the local population continues to be marginalized and the impact of peacebuilding efforts is difficult to see. The tensions are rooted in deeply entrenched, self-perpetuating factors. To effectively address their root causes would require institutional and structural changes toward a new inclusive communication system at all levels of society. The Media Sector Mapping (MSM) study can start the transition from a unilateral information dissemination system to a bilateral process with mechanisms through which citizens and government can communicate with each other.

Conducted from October to December 2008, the MSM study utilized purposive sampling to identify participants for 816 quantitative surveys, 33 focus groups and 67 key informant interviews from various sectors of society. Survey instruments solicited information concerning communication channels, trust and credibility in media and government, government development policies, issues surrounding tension and conflict, and individual concerns. The overall goal of the MSM is to measure the communication flow between the government and the people, and identify communication successes and challenges.

The study places effective communication at the heart of the strategy to address conflict. Using information as a driver for positive social change and positioning communities at the centre of the information flow will build firm foundations for a strong democracy and a vibrant civil society. Undertaken in a participatory manner, the MSM study can be used to challenge the

status quo and transform the relationship of the media, government and the general population from a top-down one-way system emphasising power to a more constructive dialogue that can build civil society, create an understanding of key policies, and improve access to information.

Data from the MSM study illustrates that the vast majority of communities in Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers are disconnected from government at the local, state and federal levels. A primary concern of focus group participants is that elected officials often leave their communities for capital cities after they are elected and are usually never seen until the next elections. The breakdown of trust among elders, youth and women is another common theme uncovered by the MSM. Once these groups come together to build community consensus and strengthen democratic processes, they can then make demands on the government. Until this trust is restored, community divisions will limit demands for government accountability in the region.

The most critical problems affecting individuals include unemployment, lack of development and insecurity. When asked about ever having felt threatened by violence in the region, 40% of survey participants responded affirmatively. Communication within and between groups is necessary in order to address these and other issues. Programmes that build networks and trust are key to mitigating future violent conflicts.

The media can also be harnessed to build peace and support stability. The MSM study found that most media sources are seen as largely covering politics without focusing on

issue-based reporting. Balanced media programmes presenting diverse viewpoints increase the likelihood of information being credible and trustworthy. Community radio has been used throughout the world to broaden the space for dialogue. By directly addressing issues relevant to citizens, it encourages participation in civil society and creates social capital by bridging gaps between groups. It further provides a platform for views that otherwise would be left out of the media.

Findings from the MSM study reveal that most people receive information from the radio and television; however, the information disseminated is not what is demanded. This imbalance has resulted in a

lack of trust in the media and a one-way flow of information to the people with no feedback mechanism in place.

Moving the Niger Delta forward will take a cohesive communication strategy centred on the voice and participation of citizens. Such a strategy should include town-hall meetings within communities and between government and citizens. More diverse viewpoints on radio and television programmes and better training of media to report fair and balanced information are also needed. This participatory communication process will build trust in leaders if promises of development are kept.



I. INTRODUCTION

Search for Common Ground (SFCG) has been working in Nigeria since 2004 with goals of “*improving access to information about policies and decisions that affect communities’ welfare*” and “*promoting peacebuilding in areas of tension.*” The Niger Delta is a major pressure point that affects the entire country because of the economic resources that both bless and vex it. The Peace Process has, to date, been arguably unsuccessful in finding a solution to the general discontent of the region, but this is not without efforts by the government, civil society and development partners.

With funding from the British Government’s Department for International Development (DFID), SFCG undertook a seven-month Media Sector Mapping (MSM) evaluation and analysis in the Niger Delta states of Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers states, which combined have an estimated population of approximately 15 million inhabitants.² These states were chosen because of their location and instability. Other states with similar issues were considered, but because of budgetary and logistical constraints this research and report is focused on Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers.

The overall objectives of the Media Sector Mapping (MSM) are to study how information is accessed by citizens and to assess how the process of communication is or is not functioning in a location (country, region, state, and community). More precisely, the MSM is a study and analysis of the vertical and horizontal information flows in a predetermined area, the consistency of information in terms of specific or particular issues, the extent to which that information is understood, the

actions/reactions elicited by that information, and the perceived reliability/credibility of the different sources and channels. The MSM provides answers to some of the questions that are critical to understanding how the population and the government are engaging each other in terms of communication in the following areas:

- What information is in circulation and available on the regional and national policies required for building peace? (Specifically: The Niger Delta Peace Process, Vision 2020, federal government’s 7-Point Agenda , the Youth Policy, state agendas)
- What are people reading, watching and listening to?
- What are the qualities that constitute a credible source?
- What type of information is available?
- Who has access to various levels of information?
- How do people access information and make use of it?
- Are there patterns/distinctions of accessing information for different populations—women/men, rural/urban, youth/older, literate/non-literate, and others?

This report outlines the importance of communication in building a strong interactive civil society and democratic process. It gives a background of the purpose of a Media Sector Mapping, a review of the methodology, an outline of key findings from the data and recommendations for moving forward to improving communication in the region.

II. COMMUNICATION AS A DRIVER FOR CHANGE

Information and its effective communication by government to citizens are key to the attainment of development goals and the establishment and consolidation of democracy. In many countries, information dissemination is favoured at the expense of information communication. In the context of the Media Sector Mapping, information dissemination is the one-way flow of information, usually from the government to the people. Communication, in contrast, is the two-way flow of information that involves a dialogue within and among groups. The media can facilitate this dialogue by offering a platform through which individual can be heard and the foundations of democracy reinforced. Effective communication has been successful in altering systems that have historically left citizens feeling marginalized and in some cases led to violence.

Lack of communication, one way communication and unclear communication hinder development and agitate violence especially in relatively newly established democratic governments such as the case of Nigeria. In environments where only dissemination of information is working, citizens are not actively involved in the process of communication, which adversely impacts a society and its citizens because individuals feel left-out. Vectors of communication often include rumours, meetings and official communiqués, unbalanced, unchecked facts and various

formats used by radio, television and the press.

A clear communication strategy in the Niger Delta states could assist in improving the escalating imbalance of power among ethnic groups, gender, geographic location, economic groups and governing powers. This is necessary as competition over access to resources has fuelled violence leading to many deaths, kidnappings, bunkering and communities affected by conflict and unrest. According to a report by the BBC on 10 April 2009, "Violence in Nigeria's oil region left 1000 people dead (in the first 9 months of 2008) and cost \$24bn (£16bn) last year."³ Given the overall world economy and the falling value of the Naira, instability has a high potential of worsening as food prices continue to increase and resources continue to decrease. While support for government in the implementation of its reforms is important, it is not enough.

Strengthening communication between the government and the majority of Nigerians, particularly in this region and especially in communities that feel excluded from the decision-making process, shifts the patron-client paradigm currently in place to an issues-based social discourse to help ensure development plans and reform agendas bring meaningful results. Media is a critical component in providing information and facilitating dialogue on key reform and development issues and the MSM is a starting point from which to

As stated by the 2007 Africa Media Development Initiative, "far too little understanding and appreciation have been given to the way that the media in Africa itself, in all of its different guises, can help advance a country's economic and social development. The media have a critical role to play in aiding good governance, transparency and accountability. A pluralistic and free media sector has always been needed to ensure that all voices in society are heard."

move forward in improving communication in the region.

III. SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

The process of a Media Sector Map (MSM) has been found to raise awareness of the potential role to be played by communications among the people, the media and the government. It also demonstrates to government and civil society the ways in which they could be, but often are not, utilizing the media to reach communities with specific messages, information and ideas. It encourages inclusiveness by demonstrating how the government and media often exclude large sections of a population. A MSM will make clear the information flows to all concerned in the development process and will increase the understanding of the best way to present information, and to whom it should be presented.⁴ This methodology strives to take into account a cross-section of the multi-layers of a society, region or in this case three states – Bayelsa, Delta and

Rivers. Search for Common Ground's team of 8 created a holistic evaluation, which included surveys, focus groups and key informant interviews, an evaluation of three of Nigeria's major newspapers as well as a review of the status of legislative opportunities for improved methods of communication.

Methods used include:

- **Validation meetings** – Two validation meetings were conducted - one in Abuja and one in Warri - to review project terms of reference, surveys and questionnaires to ensure that the data collected is both useful and relevant to different stakeholders, which included federal government, state governments, local governments, community leaders, media, citizens and civil society organisations.
- **Key informant interviews** – 67 interviews were conducted which included a mix of urban, rural, government, media and civil society



organisations in the three states and Abuja. Key informant interviews were conducted from the period of 20 October to 15 December 2008.

These one-on-one interviews are used to gain further insight into the process of how organisations communicate with citizens, what channels they use and how they feel the process of communicating is working in the region.

- **Focus groups** – 33 group discussions were convened in twelve separate locations with a total of 335 participants.
- **Survey of citizens** – A questionnaire was administered to 816 individuals in both rural and urban, oil and non-oil producing communities.

Focus groups and surveys were conducted from 20 October to 17 November 2008. The analysis from surveys shows quantifiable figures regarding which government messages are reaching the people and which issues citizens are concerned about in their communities. This gives government, media and civil society organisations guidance on how to better reach target audiences and illustrates whether stakeholders are actually receiving messages that are currently being disseminated. Focus group discussions deepen the analysis and further explore qualitatively what methods are working and what is lacking in terms of communication.

Once surveys and focus groups are analyzed, results are then compared to key informant interviews to find

methods that are working with specific groups, where there are gaps and what concerns individual stakeholders.

- **Analysis of newspaper articles** – Three of Nigeria's major newspaper, *The Guardian*, *ThisDay* and *Punch* were scanned for articles about the main policy instruments including The Niger Delta Peace Process, the 7-Point Agenda, Vision 2020 and the Millennium Development Goals.

Profiles of participants can be found in the Annexes. Focus Groups - Annex A, Survey Participants - Annex B, Key Informant Interviews - Annex C and Newspaper Topical Review - Annex D.

IV. CONTEXT

Media Environment

Media pluralism has advanced substantially since Nigeria's sixteen years of military rule, but it still faces major hurdles in terms of two-way flows of communication both horizontally and vertically. During President Olusegun Obasanjo's eight years in power, the media contended with suppression of the free flow of and access to information which often resulted in arrests and raids of journalists.⁵ When current President Yar'Adua came to power, there was hope that he would sign the Freedom of Information bill (FOI bill), but this has yet to happen. While the flow of information has improved, arrests and raids are less rampant, there still exist gaps in the voices that are heard, watched and read in media – often, community voices are left out of reports and there is control of what is broadcast by government and those who

own private outlets. The levels of trust of citizens in the media are low.

Nigeria lags behind other smaller West African countries in terms of adopting and implementing laws that promote freedom of information. Two specific examples include: the Freedom of Information bill and the Community Radio Licensing Law. Specifically, the FOI bill has been in the senate since 1999 and was turned down most recently in June 2008. Proponents continue to tweak it in the hopes that it will pass. On one side, advocates believe that the FOI bill will help fight corruption and push for more accountability. The opposition, mostly those in government, believes that if passed, media will misuse information and a FOI bill will potentially lead to the slander of individuals in leadership.⁶ While many journalists interviewed said that they are free to report what they want, in September of 2008, Channels Television station was shutdown and six journalists arrested for reporting that the President might leave office because of his medical condition. Currently, there is no law that gives rights or access of information to citizens, thus excluding individuals from the process of governance, contradicting the definition of democracy.

“Public information is not easily accessible to journalists, though public media receive preferential treatment when seeking information or interviews, provided that the issue or information is not potentially embarrassing for the government or the official. There is no access to information law. On the contrary, some laws, such as the Official Secrets Act and the criminal code, make it a criminal offense punishable with prison terms for public officers to disclose information to any member of the

public...These provisions are also contained in the Public Service Rules at the federal level and in the Civil Service Rules at the state level.”⁷

Nigeria has a rich media landscape, that hosts approximately- 95 regular newspapers, 100 radio stations: 16 privately owned, 45 federal government stations, and 39 state government stations (3 in Lagos), 2 not-for-profit campus radio stations,⁸ “144 television stations (14 privately owned, 98 owned by the federal government and 32 owned by various state governments)”⁹ excluding cable and digital television stations.

Conversely, Nigeria has the lowest number of community radio stations in West Africa. In March 2009, 18 stations were approved for licensing – these were university radios and debatably cater to an elite level of individuals and not

Country	Community Radio Stations
Mali	120
Senegal	44
Liberia	44
Burkina Faso	27
Niger Republic	24
Sierra Leone	23
Benin	22
Ghana	8
Nigeria*	2

Source: Ajilola (2006) – with updated information from 2009. For Liberia and Sierra Leone, information is from Search for Common Ground Country Directors
*These are university radios.

communities that currently lack access to information. A community radio license can take anywhere from 10-15 years to obtain as was the case for Lagos University and Kaduna Teaching College, respectively 15 and 10 years. The President of the

country, Yar'Adua himself, is tasked with approving all licenses.

Another challenge to community radios is that the current provision for community radio and means that a community radio and in the same category as privately owned for profit stations. This structure requires a licensing fee every five years which costs between N20 million (\$150,000) and N1 million (about \$8000)¹⁰ depending on the location and the decision of the regulating body.

The proposed legislation which is focused on opening the process for community radio licenses, making them affordable for communities, has been in the Senate for no less than five years. There was hope according to the National Broadcasting Commission of Nigeria (NBC) that the legislation would pass by the end of 2008. However, to date, the draft legislation has not been made public for review or comment. According to a representative from NBC, there is much lobbying, including a working group which is focused on revising the legislation, and which believes that a more open media is good for the country. This has not proven true at the higher levels of government given the current state of play of both the FOI bill and the community radio legislation. When passed, community radio legislation has the potential to give millions of people a voice in their communities and in the country.¹¹ It also gives government a way to reach many

In Abonema, a lot of people were killed and some people taken away. Innocent people, who were not part of whatever was the cause of shooting between militants and the Joint Task Force, were killed as they went about their normal business. People have left their communities and abandoned their fishing and farming activities. If there was peace and security, people could come together to discuss their problems and find solutions. People are afraid of being killed, abducted, and raped. Most of women feel helpless and abandoned. **Focus Group discussion*

remote populations who may not have access to other channels of communication. In this context, the challenge is to work within existing platforms to provide a space for diverse voices, encouraging balanced reporting and an array of views and opinions. This is also an opportunity to work with government and private media to build capacity for more equitable reporting. Additionally, there is an opening to ensure that communities are knowledgeable about their rights for information and participation in governance,

the management of rumours and manipulation and the role of communication in conflict resolution.

Another challenge is the limited channels for citizens to communicate in a place as vast as Nigeria and specifically, the Niger Delta. However, there are alternatives to the structures that exist, such as creating community information centres, working with community drama groups, musicians and creating community groups for communication such as town-hall meetings.

Media pluralism has the potential to create a more vibrant civil society and stronger democracy by giving space to voices and easing tensions.

Federal Government Development Policies

When President Yar'Adua took office in 2007, he established the 7-Point Agenda and Vision 2020. These soon became the talking points of the federal government's

development plans replacing to some extent the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), although many international organisations still discuss NEEDS1 and NEEDS2. The State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (SEEDS) and Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (LEEDS) which were, like NEEDS, instated under Obasanjo, but never took hold and were rarely mentioned or used to give direction to development in states and communities.

The 7-Point Agenda focuses on many of the critical problems that Nigerians face and it flows directly into the Millennium Development Goals. Some argue that the 7-Point Agenda has not made progress and does not outline a path to measure impacts. According to the Africa Peer Review, the 7-Point Agenda “lacks specifications of the structural transformations to be taken. One could categorise Yar’Adua’s 7-Point Agenda as a political party-led government ambition that is even questionable in its realism. Although the document alludes to a Nigerian dream, it does not constitute a long-term vision.”¹²

Within the 7-Point Agenda, there are two additional “special initiatives” to which one is focused on the Niger Delta region.

The Niger Delta region, more than any other region, faces a number of physical and geographical challenges including environmental degradation, pollution, oil spills and human, economic, social and political problems. The 7-Point Agenda aims to address the existing issues in the Niger Delta region through the implementation of the existing Master Plan and appropriate funding of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC). This will result in the diversification of the

*region’s economy by engaging and activating key sectors including agriculture, information and communications technology, tourism and industry. The implementation of the plan will also result in improving the living standards of the people, as well as improved governance at the grassroots level.*¹³

The situation in the Niger Delta is and will continue to be critical for the nation. Given the recent drop in crude oil prices from \$147.27 in July 2008 to \$53.72 in April 2009,¹⁴ the federal budget needs to be substantially reduced and this is sure to aggravate the situation in the region with potentially even smaller levels of funding reaching communities. The 8 oil producing states receive 13% of the oil proceeds accrued to the Federation Account in addition to other monies that are divided among the federal government, all state governments including the oil producing states and all local government councils. Essentially, this means that oil producing states receive funds twice in addition to the money given to the NDDC by the federal government and oil companies. While the amount that reaches communities for development is not tracked and unknown, it is visible that the money is not reaching those who are in most need and on the brink of survival.

Within this context, there are many challenges, but also opportunities to open up communication channels and space.

- The use of soft power – the buy-in of citizens to a policy, a government and its specific agenda – is a process that takes time and the acknowledgement of government of the needs of the people. Additionally, it requires the

population to understand government and its policies. The use of soft power in Nigeria has fallen short in producing results because overall communication is only focused on dissemination and not two-way flows of dialogue. Within this challenge, there exists a great opportunity for government to implement a communication strategy that is focused on engaging citizens in the understanding of the actions of the government and its development agendas. A well developed and implemented communication strategy can be leveraged towards good governance policies if mechanisms are in place for feedback from communities.

The role of the media is not to support one politician or another, it is to support the process of democracy and to inform citizens. Media should report news in a balanced and fair manner that includes diverse voices and opinions. Reports that are paid for by an individual do not generally represent unbiased reporting. The opportunity, therefore, exists in working with the journalist's community and investigating with them the meaning of fair and credible information and reporting.

- A key challenge to increasing media pluralism is the FOI bill and the lack of community radios. Given these hurdles, there is an opportunity to engage government and leaders in the purpose of communication and information in democracy and the importance of media pluralism.

V. ANALYSIS

Access to information

The media landscape in the Niger Delta is quite diverse specifically in urban areas where there is access to television, radio and newspapers. There is a low level of confidence about what is being reported especially with government owned (both federal and state levels) outlets because individuals believe that journalists who

Gender	Radio listeners	Respondent listened yesterday.	Respondent listened in last 7 days.
All (YES)	83.75%	71.03%	23.41%
Men	92.17%	85.19%	8.67%
Women	72.91%	79.15%	8.91%

Gender	Television viewers	Respondent watched yesterday.	Respondent watched in last 7 days.
All (YES)	87.89%	84.26%	13.16%
Men	91.03%	85.75%	12.78%
Women	83.86%	82.19%	13.70%

work for government outlets are manipulated by the needs and desires of the government. Many of the focus groups and key informant interviews state that there is a lack of credibility because many journalists can easily be manipulated to report on a certain issue with the information that the person paying wants reported. The underlying effect of this practice is a low level of trust of media. One person interviewed explains, *"I don't know of anyone who believes reports from the media owned by the government here in Delta. People don't bother to listen to the state radio and television, or to read the state newspaper. People have lost*

confidence and trust in the public media.” Overall, private media is seen as less biased to the views of government, but still influenced by them. Media, national and international, is also seen as exaggerating the situation in the Niger Delta, with coverage focusing predominantly on the negative events and lacking sensitivity around delicate issues. Respondents overall demonstrate a high level of access to television and radio. The majority of individuals own their own radios and televisions. The two main reasons that individuals do not own either a television or a radio are because of cost and electricity.

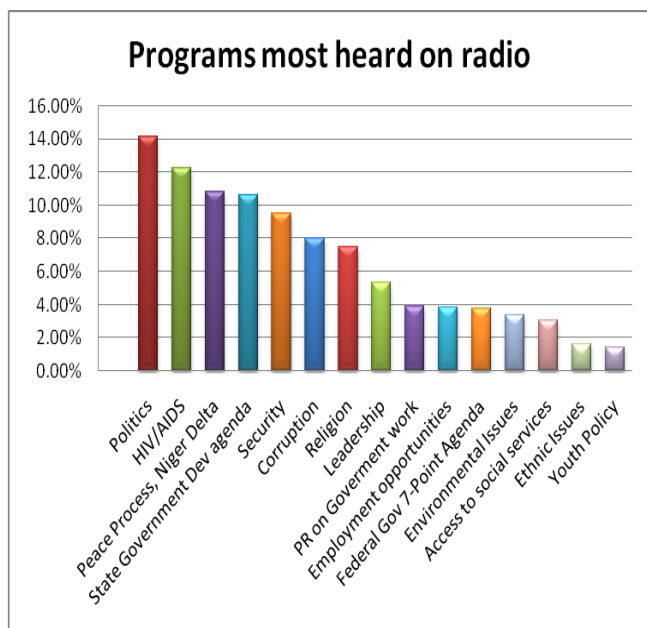
Both men and women who listen to the radio or watch television do so regularly. In fact, over 90% of both men and women who listen to the radio or watch television have done so within the seven last days and in most cases, they have listened the previous day. Access to television is correlated to education level. 53% of respondents who do not have a formal education do not watch television.

The most popular listening time for radio is the time period between 6 – 9 am, with 36% of women and 39% of men listening. The second most popular listening time is between 7 – 10 pm reaching 27% of the total number of radio listeners. For television, the most popular period for viewing is between 7 – 10 pm with 50% of both men and women viewers. The second most popular time for television viewing is

between 5 – 7 pm, but this percentage is 15% for men and women combined. Radio is listened more frequently during the day than television is watched.

From survey results, newspapers have the lowest rate of demand when compared with radio and television, 53% of respondents read newspapers regularly. Most respondents state that the cost of reading a newspaper is too high, they do not have time, and/or there is no access in their communities to buy newspapers – this is the same for men and women. Only 7% of respondents report that literacy is a barrier to buying the newspaper. Newspaper distributors in the region confirm that they do not go to many rural communities because of infrastructural problems – such as bad roads or cost of travelling. In urban areas newspapers are read at least once a week by 60% of the population and in rural areas by 39% of the populations.

For radio, the top four issues heard the most included *Politics*, *HIV/AIDS*, *The Peace Process* and the *State Government Development Agenda*. For men and women alike, the top two issues that they hear are programmes on *Politics* and *HIV/AIDS*. Percentage wise, more women listen to programmes on *The Peace Process* and more men listen to programmes on the *State Government Development Agenda*. Respondents state that they would most like to hear more programmes on *Infrastructure*, *Employment* and *Social Service* projects and plans.



The formats that are most preferred by audiences on radio are News, Music and Talk Shows (38%, 25%, and 16% respectively). Radio format preferences are the same among men and women, except in the case of sports where men prefer sports programmes 13% and women only 2%. Other than this difference, both men and women’s format preferences do not vary more than 3% points. While recalling programme names was difficult for most, specific programme preferences include *Na so we see am*, *Tuesday life*, *One thing at a time* and *How una see am* which are features.

When comparing the issues that audiences would like to hear on the radio to those that they would like to watch on television, there are many similarities. As with radio, most television viewers watch television for the news. Overall, viewers prefer to watch the news for national news as compared to state news (58%, 41%, respectively). This figure does not vary substantially between male and female respondents. In terms of television programming, 15% of respondents state

that programmes that are most prominent on television focus on *Politics*; this is even higher than *Entertainment*, 9%. *Vision 2020* and the *National Youth Policy* are covered the least according to respondents (.88% in each instances.) The federal government 7-Point Agenda and the state government agendas were covered according to respondents 7.29% and 7.93%, respectively. The stations that are most watched were NTA and AIT. This alludes to a difference in programming between radio and television since respondents listen to information on state agendas on radio, but do not receive similar information on television.

Media Credibility

Journalists are rarely seen in communities according to respondents. Many community members question why they do not see more journalists and are disappointed that journalists do not have the confidence to come to gather facts directly from the people. Journalists stated that they are fearful of visiting some communities where there are violence and unrest. This perpetuates the low level of credibility and decreased trust of the media because stories are reported with only pieces of information or misinformation.

Radio format preference			
	Women	Men	15-25 years
News programs	39%	37%	35%
Music	27%	25%	26%
Talk shows	18%	14%	17%
Call in	8%	6%	7%
Dramas	5%	3%	3%
Sports	3%	14%	12%

On a positive note, almost all respondents interviewed who work for media outlets are invited to government events and press

conferences and they receive information from the government via press releases, press meetings and information sessions. Thus, the media feels informed by the government. Furthermore, government officials interviewed state that they are very open to talking to media. Journalists, overall, are free to report whatever they want. It is common practice for some journalists to be paid by individuals to report on an issue or to take a certain stance. Established journalists can take articles to different outlets and thus, are harder to “control.” The final decision as to what is printed/broadcasted falls on the Director General or Managing Editor which frustrates some journalists.

Media challenges in Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers are similar and focus on out of date equipment, lack of adequate funding, low salaries and the strong need for more training. One of the reasons given for many journalists being tightly connected to government leaders for payments is because of low salaries, thus, creating an environment where compromise is justified – self-censorship. Additionally, given the unemployment rate of approximately 20%,¹⁵ which does not include underemployment, according to a World Bank report, they do not play by the rules of their media organisations.

Focus groups reveal varying levels of trust for media and often even sympathize with the challenges of covering issues in the region. Most discussants consider government owned media as being biased towards promoting the government and overall left to the caprices of leaders. There is only one focus group in an urban location that states media coverage as being fair in their community. Others claim that the media coverage in their communities is

nonexistent or only present when there is a crisis, but this coverage is often inaccurate.

Focus groups recognize that private media does occasional report views contradictory to the government, but often government control is exercised and there are clampdowns on a specific station or assaults on particular media personnel. One such case was the closure of Jeremi Radio in Delta state when it announced election results that contradicted official government results.

Government Development Agendas

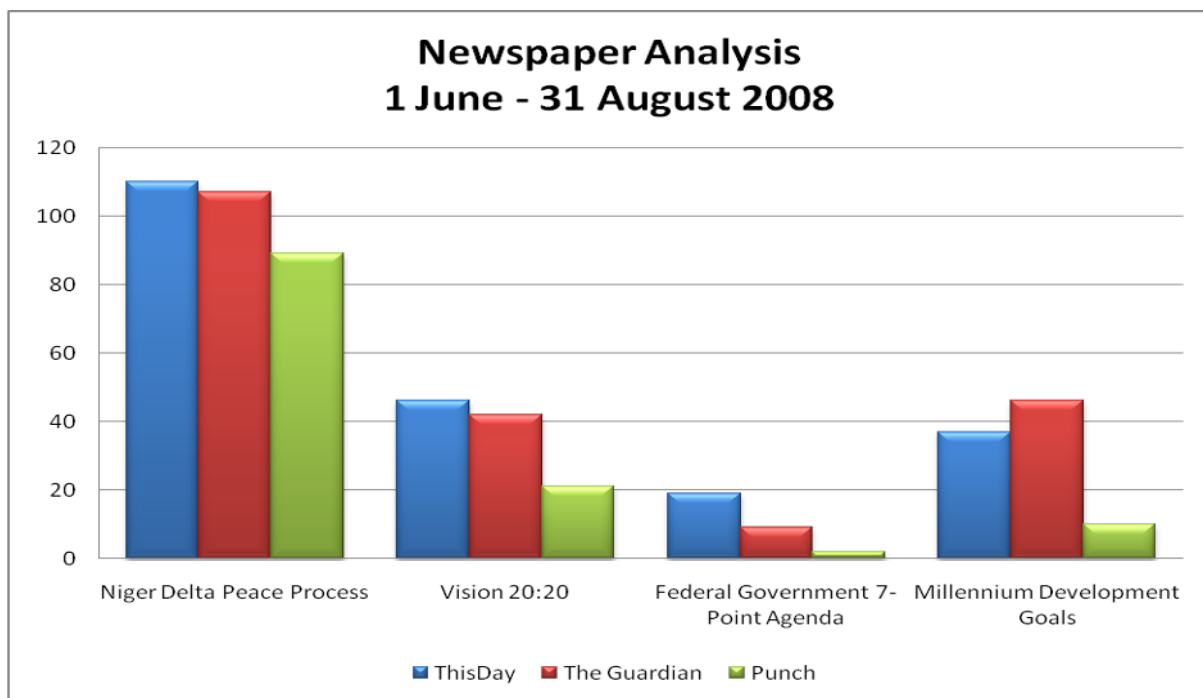
The policies that are most frequently reported by government in the region as driving development initiative are specific state agendas. None of the state government officials stated that the federal government 7-Point Agenda, Vision 2020 and/or the Millennium Goals are driving development in their states and communities. On the other hand, those interviewed in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, and those who work with the federal government in the three states note that these are the driving forces for development, especially, the 7-Point Agenda. Channels for communication including media outlets, Chief Orientation Mobilization Officers of the federal government established National Orientation Agency, town criers, state and local government information officers, political leaders, local government chairmen, supervisors, town-hall meetings, Community Development Committees, socio-cultural associations, press releases to the media and press conferences, bulletins, one-on-one conversations, posters, community leaders, youth leaders, traditional leaders and women leaders. There is an apparent lack of cohesive visions between federal and state

governments and the driving forces of development in Nigeria as a whole and specifically, regionally in the Niger Delta.

The newspaper analysis of The Niger Delta Peace Process, the 7-Point Agenda, the Millennium Development Goals and Vision 2020 from *The Guardian*, *ThisDay* and *Punch* shows that topically, the subject most covered is the Niger Delta Peace Process at the national level. This equates to over 50% in all three newspapers when compared to the other three topics. (See below for number of occurrences and percentages.) The federal government’s 7-Point Agenda equates for only of 6% of occurrences in these newspapers. (Refer to Annex D for specific percentage breakdown by topic.)

The fact that the 7-Point Agenda is prominent in the newspapers only 30 times in three months in three newspapers and is considered the leading development document of the nation reveals a need for better promotion of what specifically the

plan is and how the government is working to implement the agenda. This lack of communication about the 7-Point Agenda can be seen throughout the analysis – where state representatives note that the driving document of their state is their development document, not the federal government’s 7-Point Agenda, the MDGs, nor Vision 2020. The balance of power between the federal and state governments and how they work together to communicate with citizens has not yet been found. Focus groups that are aware of specific development agendas are able to communicate a general understanding of state agendas. Specifically, that Bayelsa has a focus on economic strategy, social development and environmental protection; Delta has a focus on peace and security, human capital development and infrastructure; and Rivers on human and infrastructural development. However, most are unable to state specific projects geared towards fulfilling development commitments.



Many groups questioned how the state government can be part of the solution if they are part of the problem. Other groups mention that often traditional rulers and elders no longer have a voice in the community because they are seen as having failed communities. This is expressed especially in groups where there are strong youth councils. Fear also played a role in the responses – the fear that if someone speaks out they will be taken to the police or to the Joint Task Force (JTF) and beaten. Often, communities are informed of an official visit on a given day and the community prepares, but then the official never shows up. Or, an official visitor will come and women will be paid a small amount (N200) to attend for media purposes and promises made. Visitors will lead and promises go unfulfilled. These unfulfilled promises continue to create instability and disenchantment towards leaders, adding to tensions in the region.

Community Structures

There is a general breakdown in community structures because of the lack of trust between different groups. Women and youth see their elders taking funds from oil companies and perhaps state governments for projects that never come to pass. In general, youth no longer have

What is hindering development in the Niger Delta* (Respondents could choose all that were applicable.)				
Age Range of respondents	15 to 25	26 to 45	46 to 55	56 and above
Corruption	72%	78%	65%	67%
Unemployment	67%	64%	66%	77%
Lack of political will	61%	71%	73%	61%
Insecurity	48%	50%	48%	49%
Lack of education	47%	43%	47%	49%
Lack of communication	44%	49%	61%	49%
Violence	31%	26%	23%	30%
Crime	24%	20%	19%	30%
Oil companies	23%	23%	23%	37%
Human Rights Abuses	20%	17%	23%	19%
Environmental degradation	19%	22%	27%	42%
Lack of healthcare	13%	16%	14%	33%
*Only values over 10% are represented on this table.				

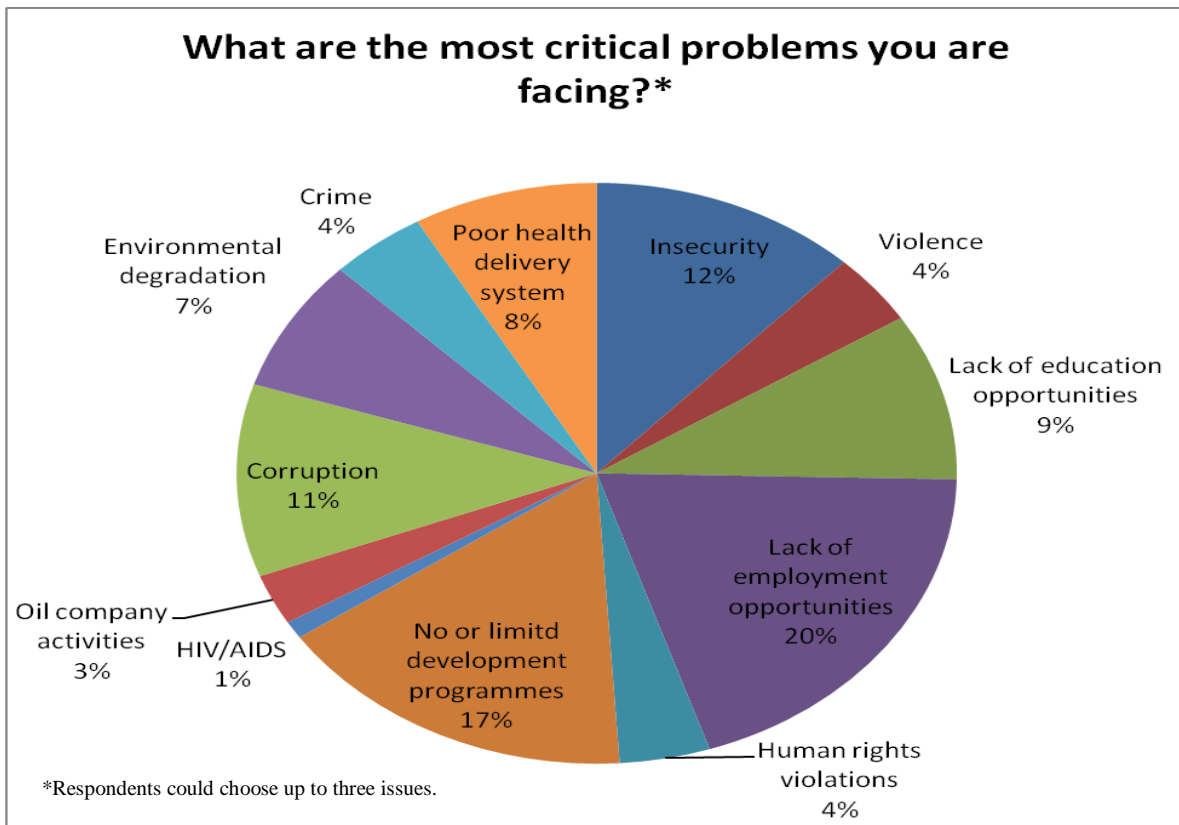
trust in their local leadership because their needs are not being met.

Overall, women have been excluded from development projects, talks between government and communities and between oil companies and communities. Some women are disturbed that men in communities hold meetings in the middle of the night (2 am) with the purpose to exclude community members. In some focus groups, women state do not know what they should do to improve the situation in the region. As a result, they do not know who to talk to, and some women are afraid to speak out because their men are part of the problem. The major difference between female and male responses as to the question: “*What is hindering development in the Niger Delta,*” is that women had a higher concern for crime (28% vs 16%) and lack of health care (22% vs 12%).

In some instances, focus group members state that chiefs and elders are often silent in the process of communication to the government about conditions and problems because if they speak out, they may lose their kickbacks from state government and oil companies which sometimes includes school fees for children abroad. Local leaders are accused of compromising their positions, leading to divided interests in communities. The unrest between youth and elders is another problem brought up in focus groups. Elders, in many cases, fear youth and youth lack confidence in leaders. There are some success stories. One youth focus group reports that after a seminar on leadership, youth are now successfully passing information to leaders. “We have peer groups on conflict resolution. When we get information on impending conflict, we call on the youth to avoid violence in addressing issues that affect the

community. We coordinate within the family groups to avoid violence. We also approach the state government for help.”¹⁶ Another case of a united community finding a common voice, to protest a given circumstance, is the Bonny LNG production area. When Bonny citizens learned that an oil company was going to supply them with generators for electricity, the community refused and instead insisted that they receive the same source of power as the company and its staff camps. In the end, Bonny was successful in its negotiations.

Town criers (often referred to as community radio) play a major role in some communities to disseminate information which is selected by leaders. Town criers are always male and selected by leaders for their voices. Criers disseminate information on current events,



meetings and communal issues as deemed necessary by leadership. Respondents recognize the important role of the crier, but there is not feedback mechanism after the information has been shared with the community

Some discussants state that their communities do not receive any information from oil-companies unless a pipe is blown up or there is violence involving discontent with the companies. Oil companies are purported to promise infrastructure improvements such as water and electricity to communities, but do not fulfil these promises which angers individuals and lowers trust between communities and companies. Oil companies are accused of only dealing with male leaders and disregarding in many instances women who protest environmental degradation or poor community conditions. On the other hand, some focus groups do receive information from Community Liaison Officers (CLO) and through the process of the Global Memorandum of Understanding that some communities have with oil companies. In some cases, oil companies facilitate and fund projects that implement community projects such as roads, potable water and classrooms.

One method used by individuals and communities to communicate grievances is through paid advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Since posting an ad in newspapers and magazines costs money and distribution of newspapers does not reach many rural communities, this form is used predominately in urban areas and areas that have access to urban centres through roads. Another method of sharing needs with leaders is through written petition. Frequently no response comes from government which adds to frustrations

and can perpetuate violence as communities are left to deal with problems on their own. When responses do come from government and an official comes to investigate complaints, it is only after a problem has escalated to a level where violence has already occurred: "They do not respond until it is too late."¹⁷

These same issues that community members are trying to communicate with leaders are the ones that are the bases of conversations in youth groups. These form the foundation of youth restiveness, confrontations and militancy in the region. Organised communities with strong leaders hold town-hall meetings and facilitate dialogue on conflict prevention and mitigation, but this is not the norm. These community leaders send delegates to government, oil companies or other concerned authorities. Because overall citizens feel marginalized and have a low level of trust in the process of communication with government and/or oil companies, many communities and specific groups use demonstrations and protests to try to effect change. Most protests begin peacefully, but turn violent when there is a negative reaction or no reaction from leaders. Examples of such violence are in communities such as Ahoada and Emohua, where the discovery of oil divides communities and leaders and leads to violent crisis in which lives are lost.

Access to social services

As with the surveys, focus groups' concerns including lack of electricity, lack of potable water, bad or non-existent roads, no access to and lack of markets, lack of hospitals and schools, youth unrest and unemployment. Both men and women cite leadership as a key issue in moving forward on development programmes.

Contrary to the majority of key informant interviews, the information disseminated from the government to communities is in most cases lacking in effectiveness and the messages are not being received. If there is information, it is about development projects which are being promised, but rarely carried out. One example was a road that was promised in a community, but the work was not of a good quality and there was suspicion by community members that the majority of the funds were pocketed by a government leader. Most focus group participants believe that while government leaders know what the issues in the region are they are doing nothing to improve the situation. Of the 33 focus groups conducted, positive sentiments concerning the federal government's efforts in the region were expressed in only two groups. These comments related specifically to the creation and potential of the Ministry of the Niger Delta. In general, participants view all levels of the government as a single entity and do not distinguish between state and federal governments. This is particularly so when there has been no interaction with government.

Citizens want direct access to government leaders and oil companies. In rural communities, many feel that they are manipulated during elections to believe the promises of future leaders. Focus group participants believe that direct dialogue is key to moving communities in a positive direction in terms of development and accountable leadership. Discussants, specifically women, believe that the use of intermediaries like community leaders, youth leaders and traditional chiefs is not favourable to the community because citizens have a low level of trust for these individuals and they are not sure that they are receiving the full story. Overall, women state being left out of decision-

making and at a loss as to how to communicate their needs because past attempts have not produced results. Many youth have organised groups, but are more prone to take violent actions when they feel unheard or frustrated.

Focus group discussants suggest the establishment of information centres in communities, both rural and urban, where information is posted from government and to government, newspapers can be read, informal and formal exchanges of information can take place. One project that is mentioned as being successful is a project funded by ActionAid involving a megaphone (called a community radio). The megaphone is used to communicate with the village. This megaphone gives them a public address system to keep citizens informed. The community is very satisfied with the equipment, which allows citizens to be informed about meetings, problems in the community and news items from around the nation.¹⁸ Overall, focus groups show that community members are adamant about their desire for having a process for discussion within communities and with leaders.

VI. OVERALL FINDINGS / RESEARCH OUTCOMES

The Media Sector Mapping study highlights the significant disconnect at all levels of society both within and among stakeholder groups. This lack of communication and trust continues to divide communities and hinder reconciliation.

Access to information

Access to certain forms of information does exist in the Niger Delta, but respondents

view the information supplied differs from that which is being demanded. This disconnection between supply and demand is creating frustration that is directed towards government and leadership. For instance, the programmes that most people hear on the radio and on television are political, but what they would most like information on is their immediate problems such as infrastructure, education and unemployment. From all of the data gathered, one of the clearest outcomes is that citizens are asking to communicate with government; they want a voice in the process of democracy and governance. This dialogue between government and citizens has the potential to reinforce and/or build the process of democracy and is important to creating lasting peace in a community, society and country.

Additionally, citizens are searching for an outlet to reach government and find out why development in the region is not moving forward. They feel if they had better communication with government through different channels, progress could be made towards a more stable region. For focus groups, disillusionment is directed at government, encompassing federal, state and local levels. Government is seen as uninterested in the needs of citizens, but in the economic benefits that can be gained from the natural resources of the region. The majority of respondents believe that government is aware of the issues, but is not vested in fulfilling development plans and promises. Some question whether government is aware of specific issues because they have no interaction or communication with leaders. Regardless of whether the government is aware of the issues, the conclusion from all focus groups is the same - the government as a whole is

not doing enough to improve the region. This is demonstrated in the survey data when citizens ask for programmes that better address issues of leadership and governance. There is little difference between demographics in terms of issues in the region. Citizens want more issue based programming

Leadership

There are two main findings from the evaluation in regard to leadership and government. The first is that there is a need for better communication between government to/and from citizens. While government views on communication are primarily focused on dissemination, the method of dissemination varies from person to person. One official states that his offices uses only radio to communicate as television fees are too high and town-hall meetings (direct interaction) would be unproductive because of the rumours that people have about how the government operates. Another government official speaks about the well-organised complaint system, with complaint boxes in every ministry. Some local governments say that they have open door policies for individuals to come in and speak their minds about concerns. Thus, within government, there are varying levels of communication with citizens. Some leaders view two-way communication with constituents as key and others see a one-way communication system as the status-quo. Even the method in how information on development agendas reach communities varies from state to state, office to office and person to person.

The second issue is that while government does disseminate information to citizens, citizens still feel uninformed on key state and federal development agendas. Government efforts are misdirected given that only 56% of respondents believe that they are informed about the Peace Process. Visions between federal and state governments are not aligned given that none of the state representative feel that the federal government 7-Point Agenda drives development in their states or in the region as a whole.

This suggests a lack of cohesive vision between federal and state governments, specifically in this case, of the Niger Delta. There is optimism and hope voiced in the establishment of the Ministry of the Niger Delta, but there is also disillusionment as to whether the government will be able to positive change the region.

The lack of trust in leadership is a major problem in moving forward in the region because the majority of leaders are seen as part of the problem. In response to the question of “What issues are hindering development in the region?” out of those surveyed 70% selected leadership including corruption and 67% selected lack of political will as top issues. The only other issue that rated within this range was unemployment, 67%.

Media

There are a number of issues seen in key informant interviews and focus groups in regards to media. One is that community

“The media in a developing country like ours is very important and so their independence is very important. The media should expand their scope, their coverage, in the rural areas. They should also get information from these rural areas from credible sources like the Community Development Committee, women leaders, youth leaders, but especially the CDC which is in charge of development. That is very, very critical. Without the media, the government will not know what is happening in the rural communities and the people will not know what the government is doing.” **Key informant interview, Government Representative*

members would like direct access to media to give their opinions. Journalists stated that they frequently do not go to communities to investigate stories and/or fact check because of the fear of violence. This leads to media coverage which is at times disjointed from the reality in communities. Respondent have a low level of trust in what is reported regardless of the channel used. While there are multiple platforms that are being used for disseminating

information there is a lack of diverse voices specially voices from rural communities, youth and women.

The government is communicating through media as seen in the number of press conferences and the access that the majority of government leaders give to journalists and journalist state that they have access to government information. The problem is the format being used is not what the population is demanding.

It was also stated by a number of participants that journalists and media outlets are all closely linked to either the government or the board members that many believe it was making it easy for journalists to be manipulated and paid to report a specific view and a specific story. There is a lack of trust for the news that is reported although Nigerians prefer the news format of media to all other forms, 38% in the case of radio and 51% for television viewers. The demand is there for

the news, but it needs to be better targeted to the specific issues of the citizens.

Community Structure

There is a breakdown within community in many instances. As with leadership in government, corruption is reported at all levels of society including elders, chiefs, youth, local leaders and religious leaders. Individuals are not focused on community needs, but on meeting their own family needs.

For women, they are caught in a situation where they do not know how to move forward and how to communicate their needs. Respondents repeatedly mentioned that they do not believe that when they do speak-out, they are heard which leads to confusion about how to and to whom one should communicate. They are left out of most discussions with leadership and thus must rely on second information from men. This leaves women frustrated and marginalized. When they try, they are often overlooked or in some cases, negotiations are taken to an elder who is purported not to act in the interest of the women. There are also a number of misguided mis-communicated microcredit schemes, which women often buy into, but these are rarely successful because of the lack of understanding between the women and the financier.

The distrust between youth and elders continues to be a point of potential violence within communities. Youth, the majority who are unemployed or underemployed, do not in general know where to address their needs. They often go to oil companies if they are in an oil producing community because the companies are sometimes more responsive than government. When they protest government, violence erupts

because their frustrations. Youth, in many communities have taken leadership into their own hands because in their opinion, the elders of the community have failed them in looking after their interests.

These disjunctions between individuals and groups in specific communities hinder any development progress that is undertaken. The lack of trust and credibility between members in a specific community is a large stumbling block to moving forward to building peace and stability.

“Militants are providing jobs. They provide electricity. They provide leadership. They provide security. Now, if you ask the communities, if government provides these things, is it possible for militants to be effective? Everybody takes for free.” *Key Informant Interview*

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

Access to information and communication

To improve the access to information that citizens are demanding, there should be a refocus on how information is presented (format) and what is being presented. For instance facilitated town-hall meetings between citizens and leaders, gives citizens the opportunity to make requests and ask questions of leaders. Creating direct access that most individuals do not currently have to government provides the opportunity for two-way flow of information.

Additionally, leveraging and building on existing structures within communities, such as town criers and existing groups, are

important to facilitate targeted meetings and discussions. In this fashion, the information that citizens are demanding can begin at the community level of dialogue and build towards direct engagement with leaders. This creates diverse community networks where individuals from the community come together and discuss issues and peaceful ways of moving forward. Individuals within communities need to understand their role in resolving conflicts peacefully, what channels there are for communication with leaders (local, state and federal). Civil society is fundamental in creating this “safe” space for individuals to come together. There should be two levels of meetings: one that includes government, media and communities and one focused solely on community cohesion.

Engaging communities through town-hall meetings and community parliaments gives space to youth, elders and women to come together and discuss concerns and solutions for moving forward. The purpose is to first develop a united community voice before speaking with government and oil companies. This deepens conversations and democratic discourse within communities.

Media

Given that the majority of Nigerians in the region regularly access media – primarily through radio and television – journalists have a great responsibility to their constituents. Through media training that is focused on fair and balanced reporting, a transformation is possible which brings people directly into the process of governance. Trainings focused on increasing the knowledge and skills of

broadcasters, particularly youth broadcasters, in identifying and constructively addressing complex and potentially divisive issues can play a positive role in mitigating further violent conflicts. Trainings that educate key government officials on the importance of open and effective communication with their constituents leads to messages that resonate with populations. Trainings should foster links between policy makers and civil society - including broadcasters - in order to improve the dissemination of and access to information about major governmental policies and decisions, thereby creating a space for the process of dialogue. A media and government that understand the importance of communicating with citizens can foster an environment where individuals feel that they have a role to play in addressing the concerns in their lives, communities and region.

The fact that over 80% of the population surveyed has access to either / or both radio and television, programmes that directly addresses the issues of the population should be leveraged. This space will foster a more pluralistic media in which reports include diverse voices from different demographic backgrounds (urban/rural, age, gender, education level). This expansion of opinion gives citizens the opportunity to be actively engaged in topics that directly affect their lives. Therefore, media outlets need to be engaged in communities. Networks between communities and media should be forged so that the media has trusted individuals in communities in the case that a situation needs to be verified and facts checked.

Creating more platforms for dialogue could also improve social cohesion between groups. This includes creating additional spaces for voices like the use of community radio that can be targeted at marginalized and excluded citizens. This includes most rural communities because it would create an outlet that can effectively meet the needs of a community in a timely fashion. Community radio gives voice to those that are often marginalized in the process of vertical and horizontal communication. In instances of instability, it is a tool to bring people together quickly, to solve problems and to find peaceful solutions before violence has a chance to take hold. The challenge is to ensure that the establishment of community radios are for a community and by a community. These radios should not be run by single individuals because it could be used as a tool for manipulation. Therefore, there is a role for civil society and communication specialists to ensure that the purpose in a community radio is understood and developed. This also leads to more sustainable structures of radio stations because it creates buy-in from

individuals in a community. Community radio is an alternative to the top-down media structures that dominate the sector.

The process of establishing an atmosphere for open communication should be lead by government, but reinforced by media and civil society. This includes establishing legislation that clearly states and is upheld that freedom of information and access to information are key to the advancement of Nigeria and to peace in the Niger Delta. Government, civil society, media and citizens should work together to establish alternative platforms of positive communication, including community radio.

Leadership

Government needs to have a clear communication strategy that consists of more than information dissemination. Within the federal and state levels of government, a cohesive plan should be developed for how development agendas fit



together and how the federal and state governments are working together to meet the needs of citizens. A joint vision with the needs of the people are at the forefront of development agendas should be developed.

Building trust and credibility between leaders and citizens is an important step in building soft power. Development projects that are promised need to be delivered and leaders held accountable for these projects. Community involvement vests individuals in projects and makes completion more likely; however, this means that in areas where corruption is rampant, mechanisms for transparency need to be in place. This can be done through town-hall meetings where leaders come to communities to hear concerns and answer questions about agendas and projects.

Community Structure

Reinforcing and in some cases rebuilding community structures, so that community members are working together and trust one another to deal with the problems that they are facing as individuals and as a group, is important. Networks between groups and within groups need to be (re)established which focus on communication, problem solving and conflict resolution.

Two levels of intervention are recommended. The first are workshops with marginalized groups and community leaders that are focused on communication, conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The second level is town-hall meetings with communities to discuss and determine what are the needs of the community and how they will communicate these with leaders. These town-hall meetings should be facilitated by a trusted neutral third party.

The role of civil society in facilitating community driven governance – where communities develop inclusive decision-making platforms that meet regularly to assess problems and propose solutions - creates a more balanced power equation between leaders and citizens. Replicating successful existing models that are already working, such as community parliaments and successful youth groups in crisis management is key.

Civil society has the potential to bring together individuals at different levels to forge relationships and dialogue between groups so that there are mechanisms in place when peace is being threatened. A major focus of civil society should be to deepen discourse in communities on the democratic process that can lead to lasting sustainable change in communities.

“Our own suffering as a people in the Niger Delta is from within us. If we courageously expose this fact, it will be the beginning of the solution to our problems. The few good intentions and activities by the federal government are hijacked by a few hands and information is not reaching us.” *Focus Group Discussion

VIII. CONCLUSION

The Nigerian government needs to shift the way it engages citizens. The government should find the political to re-establish how it communicates with citizens. While platforms exist for communication, they are not effectively utilized to meet the demands of the people. Both television and radio programmes should move from politics to issue-based content.

Developing a federal government communication strategy with buy-in from all levels of government can assist in developing both cohesion within and between government and constituents. Currently there are many factions struggling to disseminate information while not communicating with one another until a violent conflict erupts and regional stability is threatened.

A reorientation toward the meaning of strategic communication and its role in democracy building is extremely important at all levels of society. A vibrant political discourse has the potential to reinforce and strengthen democratic foundations and build trust between leaders and individuals. Such a discourse can further defuse tensions and reinforce peace.

Media is a critical component to ensuring that information reaches and is understood by citizens. Participants in the MSM study perceive the media as largely controlled by its owners as well as the government. In order to build confidence in the information reported, journalists need to be properly supported and trained in their role in the

democratic process. Information should be balanced, fair and include multiple perspectives, thereby allowing citizens to make informed decisions.

Forums for discourse and dialogue need to be created, and reinforced where they already exist. Such platforms include community radio, town-hall meetings and dialogue with leaders. These tools can be proponents of a strong democratic process in which people are brought to the centre of governance.

The issues in the Niger Delta are multi-layered and a sustainable lasting peace requires that citizens play a role in problem solving and the development process. Government similarly must commit to delivering promises to its citizens. Media should focus on reporting balanced information with diverse voices. Government, citizens, media, civil society organisations and businesses need to take responsibility for the future of the region and its development.

IX. ANNEXES

Annex A: Focus Group Breakdown: (October – November 2008)

Gender	Location	State	Age Range	Number of participants	Date	Education Level
Mixed students	Amasoma	Bayelsa	20-35	8	04-Nov	Formal education
Women	Amasoma	Bayelsa	35-60	7	04-Nov	Non formal education
Women	Odi	Bayelsa	38-60	10	03-Nov	Mixed education
Mixed	Oloibiri Island	Bayelsa	22-40	11	06-Nov	Mixed education
Women	Oloibiri Island	Bayelsa	38-70	43	06-Nov	Mixed education
Elder men	Oloibiri Island	Bayelsa	Elders	4	06-Nov	Mixed education
Men	Yenagoa	Bayelsa	21-46	7	05-Nov	Formal education
Women	Yenagoa	Bayelsa	35-50	10	05-Nov	Formal education
Men	Asaba	Delta	18-30	12	28-Oct	Mixed education
Men	Asaba	Delta	26-45	11	28-Oct	Formal education
Women	Asaba	Delta	28-39	7	28-Oct	Formal education
Youth men	Kwale	Delta	22-38	9	27-Oct	Mixed education
Women	Kwale	Delta	28-45	9	27-Oct	Formal education
Men	Kwale	Delta	36+	9	27-Oct	Mixed education
Men	Obge-Ijoh	Delta	16-46	11	30-Oct	Mixed education
Youth women	Ogbe-Ijoh	Delta	17-30	17	29-Oct	Mixed education
Women	Ogbe-Ijoh	Delta	30-56	8	29-Oct	Non formal education
Men	Warri	Delta	23-27	7	29-Oct	Formal education
Women	Warri	Delta	30-50	8	22-Oct	Formal education
Men	Warri	Delta	36-48	6	22-Oct	Formal education
Men	Warri	Delta	36-48	5	22-Oct	Mixed education
Women	Warri	Delta	46-75	12	22-Oct	Non formal education
Men	Ahoada	Rivers	20-47	4	13-Nov	Mixed education
Women	Ahoada	Rivers	22-35	9	13-Nov	Mixed education
Mixed	Ahoada	Rivers	24-57	13	13-Nov	Formal education
Mixed	Emuoha	Rivers	21-56	16	10-Nov	Formal education
Women	Emuoha	Rivers	29-50	9	10-Nov	Mixed education
Youth men	Okrika	Rivers	26-41	11	12-Nov	Mixed education
Men	Okrika	Rivers	34-56	10	12-Nov	Mixed education
Women	Okrika	Rivers	38-50	8	12-Nov	Mixed education
Youth	Port Harcourt	Rivers	18-22	7	12-Nov	Formal education
Women	Port Harcourt	Rivers	26-41	8	11-Nov	Formal education
Men	Port Harcourt	Rivers	44-52	9	12-Nov	Mixed education
TOTAL	33 total Focus Groups			335		

1. Many observed while others were appointed to speak
2. 14 observers

Annex B: Survey Data: (October – November 2008)

State	Location		Gender			Total
Bayelsa						
	Urban	142	Male	138	Urban	406
	Rural	128	Female	132		
Delta					Rural	389
	Urban	137	Male	145		
	Rural	124	Female	116	Female	349
Rivers						
	Urban	127	Male	163	Male	446
	Rural	137	Female	101		
TOTAL¹		795		795		

1. There were a total of 816 surveys, but 21 did not have completed demographic information and therefore could not be used in the analysis.

Annex C: Key Informant Interviews: (October – November 2008)

Type	State	Where	Urban	Total
Civil Society Organisations	Delta	Warri	Urban	3
Media	Delta	Warri	Urban	4
Government	Delta	Warri	Urban	1
Government	Delta	Asaba	Urban	2
Media	Delta	Asaba	Urban	4
Civil Society Organisations	Delta	Asaba	Urban	1
Government	Delta	Kwale	Rural	3
Civil Society Organisations	Delta	Kwale	Rural	1
Government	Delta	Ogbe-Ijoh	Rural	1
Traditional Ruler	Delta	Ogbe-Ijoh	Rural	1
Government	Bayelsa	Yenagoa	Urban	4
Media	Bayelsa	Yenagoa	Urban	6
Government	Bayelsa	Amassoma	Urban	1
Government	Bayelsa	Odi	Rural	1
Civil Society Organisations	Bayelsa	Odi	Rural	2
Government	Bayelsa	Oloibiri	Rural	1
Civil Society Organisations	Bayelsa	Oloibiri	Rural	1
Government	Rivers	Port Harcourt	Urban	2
Media	Rivers	Port Harcourt	Urban	3
Civil Society Organisations	Rivers	Port Harcourt	Urban	3
Government	Rivers	Ahoada	Urban	1
Civil Society Organisations	Rivers	Ahoada	Urban	1
Government	Rivers	Emohua	Rural	2
Civil Society Organisations	Rivers	Emohua	Rural	3
Civil Society Organisations	Abuja	Abuja	Urban	6
Government	Abuja	Abuja	Urban	5
Media	Abuja	Abuja	Urban	4
Media	21		Rural	16
Government	24		Urban	51
Civil Society Organisations	21			
Traditional Rulers	1			
Total	67		Total	67

Annex D: Newspaper Topical Breakdown of Occurrences
(1 June 2008 – 31 August 2008)

	Niger Delta Peace Process	Vision 2020	Millennium Development Goals	Federal Government 7-Point Agenda	Total
ThisDay	110	46	37	19	212
	52%	22%	17%	9%	
The Guardian	107	42	46	9	204
	52%	21%	23%	4%	
Punch	89	21	10	2	122
	73%	17%	8%	2%	
Total	306	109	93	30	538
	57%	20%	17%	6%	

End Notes

¹ Niger Delta Conflict : Basic Facts & Analysis; Stakeholder Democracy Network; www.stakeholderdemocracy.org

² Niger Delta Conflict : Basic Facts & Analysis; Stakeholder Democracy Network; www.stakeholderdemocracy.org

³ Ledum Mitee, chairman of the Niger Delta Presidential Technical Committee, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7994152.stm>, 10 April 2009.

⁴ *Media Sector Mapping - An Interactive Tool For Development And Conflict Transformation*

⁵ Media Sustainability Index: 2006-2007, IREX, http://www.irex.org/programs/MSI_Africa/nigeria.asp

⁶ <http://mediarightsagenda.org/senpubhear.html>, Senate President, David Mark

⁷ http://www.irex.org/programs/MSI_Africa/nigeria.asp

⁸ 18 university radio stations were recently approved for licenses (March 2009), but these are not yet functioning.

⁹ Information is compiled from a number of different sources including: Media World Yearbook 2004 – A Resource Guide to the Nigerian Media, and National Broadcasting Commission: A Handbook; http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1064557.stm , conversations, and current newspapers. When sources had conflicting numbers, the most recent data was used.

¹⁰ <http://nigeriacommunityradio.org/regulation.htm>

¹¹ It should be mentioned that in the revised legislation the government does not have plans to fund or train focus community radio stations. This capacity development will be left to individual stations, media experts and the international community.

¹² Africa Peer Review, July 2008

¹³ <http://nigeria.gov.ng/NR/exeres/59AA73E9-CEC6-43B3-B153-27D568A56B7D.htm>

¹⁴ <http://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601116&sid=ac4tpQMtcU0w&refer=africa>

¹⁵ *World Bank Study Shows High Unemployment in Nigeria*; 12 March 2009; Voice of America; <http://www.voanews.com/english/Africa/2009-03-12-voa20.cfm>.

¹⁶ Rivers State – Rural Focus Group of Youth, age 21 – 46.

¹⁷ Focus group summary: “What information are you receiving from the Federal Government?”

¹⁸ Focus Group Discussion, Rural, Community Women, age 38-70; Other such systems exist in Odi and Oloibiri communities of Bayelsa state and in other Ijaw communities in the region.