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**Critical Analysis on the Role of Newspaper in the
Resolution of Conflict in the Case of Niger Delta Region**

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APPROVAL

The jury members certify that the study conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Masters in International Relations.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this is my original work and has never been presented for a degree or any award in any university or any academic institution of higher learning. It is all the result of my own effort and under the supervision of **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Didem Aydindag**.

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PREFACE

This thesis topic became interesting because conflict affects the relationship between countries. If the conflict beneficial to the foreign country maybe in terms of supplies of ammunition or tactical support then they will stay for their own benefit. In a case where the conflict is not beneficial to the foreign investors then they will have to withdraw their hands of friendship. My background knowledge in mass communication gave me the edge to look into the media (specifically Newspaper) role in the resolution of conflict as in the case of Niger Delta region in Nigeria.

Therefore, the newspaper use of language and presentation of pictures became more interesting to me not just because of my background in mass communication but as international relations. I was able to carefully conclude from the different newspaper that indeed newspaper plays a role in the resolution of conflict by their usage of language. The knowledge from the University of Kyrenia has indeed shaped me from being “raw materials into finished goods” in international relations. I sincerely appreciate the efforts of my supervisor (Assoc. Prof. Didem Aydindag Bastas) for always encouraging me into doing the very best and making sure my mental health was well protected.

I hope this research will help my country and other international countries in the usage of newspaper in the resolution of conflict. It is my sincere believe that peace is achievable it is just all about looking for how to avoid, control or eliminate conflict.

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ABSTRACT

It is a common ideology in the society that “if the tongue and teeth who have being in the same environment (mouth) for long can have disagreement, then who are we not to disagree over almost everything?” Conflict can not to totally avoided, it is important resolving the conflict when it occurs. A typical picture of conflict is the Niger Delta region in Nigeria. The region is made up of 8 states out of the 36 states in Nigeria. There are several methods of resolving conflict and one of the most employed is negotiation. In this thesis, the research seeks to critically analyze the role of newspaper in the resolution of conflict in the case of Niger Delta region. The newspapers (Punch, Guardian, Vanguard etc) were selected because there are privately owned, popular and widely read in the nation and region. Since the newspaper disseminates information and trusted by the citizens of Nigeria and the indigenes of the region, the research used postmodernism theory as the theory of choice. This was to carefully analyze how the different selected newspaper uses language. This was possible through deconstruction after reading, re-read to properly understand the ideology of the writer and the hidden messages. At the end of the research the causes of the conflict was; quest for power, ownership of oil wells amongst other. After analyzing 16 out of 20 newspapers it was concluded that the selected newspaper are resolving the conflict by changing the minds of the reader. This was possible by painting the Niger Delta avengers/militants bad and enemy to the progress of the people of the region, while the federal governments were seen as the “Saints”. Though further research need to be carried out to ascertain quantitatively and qualitatively the extent of the media roles in resolving the conflict.

Word Count: 300

Keywords: Niger Delta, Militant, Conflict, Conflict Resolution, Newspaper, Postmodernism, Language, Federal government.

ÖZET

Toplumda yaygın bir söyleyiştir: "Uzun süredir aynı ortamda (ağızda) bulunan dil ve dişler anlaşmazlık yaşayabiliyorsa, o zaman biz kimiz ki neredeyse her konuda aynı fikirde olalım?" Çatışmadan tamamen kaçınılmamalıdır, çatışma meydana geldiğinde çözmek önemlidir.Çatışmayı çözenin birkaç yöntemi vardır ve en çok kullanılanlardan biri müzakeredir.Bu tezde araştırma, Nijer Deltası bölgesi durumunda çatışmanın çözümünde gazetenin rolünü eleştirel bir şekilde analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.Çatışmanın tipik bir örneği Nijerya'daki Nijer Deltası bölgesidir.Bölge, Nijerya'daki 36 eyaletten 8 eyaletikapsamaktadır.Seçilmiş olngazeteler (Punch, Guardian, Vanguard vb.) ulusta ve bölgede özel mülkiyete ait, popüler ve yaygın olarak okunduğu için seçildi.Araştırmada, Nijerya vatandaşlarının ve bölgenin yerlilerinin söylemlerine yer verildiği için postmodernizm teorisini kullanıldı.Burada amaç, seçilen farklı gazetelerin dili nasıl kullandığını dikkatlice analiz etmektir.Yapısöküm tekniği ile, yazarların ideolojisini ve altmetinleri doğru bir şekilde analiz etmek mümkün oldu.Araştırmanın sonucunda çatışmanın nedenlerinin; güç arayışı ve petrol kuyularının mülkiyeti olduğu ortaya çıktı.20 gazeteden 16'sının analiz edilmesinin ardından seçilen gazetelerin okuyucunun fikrini değiştirerek çatışmayı çözmede etkili olduğu sonucuna varıldı. Bu etki, federal hükümetlerin "Azizler" olarak yansıtılırken, Nijer Deltası intikamcılarını/militalarını bölge halkının ilerlemesine kötü ve düşman olarak gösterilmesi ile mümkün oldu

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nijer Deltası, Militalan, Çatışma, Çatışma Çözümü, Gazete, Postmodernizm, Dil, Federal hükümet.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BBNaija	Big Brother Nigeria
DAME	Diamond Award for Media Excellence
FAIR	Forum for African Investigative Reporters
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IPE	International Political Economy
IR	International Relation
MTV	Music Television
NBC	National Broadcasting Commission
NDA	Niger Delta Avengers
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Campaign
PAP	Presidential Amnesty Programme
R & B	Rhythm and Blues
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
SPDC	Shell Petroleum Development Company
SSS	State Security Service
UNEA	United Nation Refuge Agency
USD	United State Dollars

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

1.1.1 Conflict and Conflict Management

In almost every region, tribe and country, conflict existed because wherever two or three are found conflict is almost inevitable. Kelley et al., (2003): Deutsch and Coleman (2000) stated that a situation whereby two or more individuals or groups that are interdependent have incompatible outcomes and/or interests is referred to as conflict. Conflict cannot occur or take place in a case where the parties involved have common or compatible in terms of their goals, outcomes and interests that they are homogenous in perception and no one is at risk of losing or being overthrown. According to Von der Dunk et al. (2011) conflict is a term that is used to explain a situation where two or parties or group have separate interest or arguments and is referred to in a number of ways including: clash of interests, dispute, problem or competing interests. Physical assault to an individual or groups, threats, property disagreement and accusations are various form of conflict (Johnson et al., 2010).

It is not just an idea or thought or optimism but a realistic proposition that conflict can be solved. The collaboration, transformation, reconciliation, consensus building, management, cooperation, mitigation and prevention of conflict are the different ways of conflict resolution. Negotiation is the most popular. Coordination is required for the resolution of conflict and this can only be possible when those involved are able to come to a mutual compatibility of interest and/or goal on a general note in respect to the main cause of the conflict (Kelley et al., 2003).

Cohen and Insko, (2008) and Deutsch and Coleman, (2000) asked a fundamental question of the possibilities of strong leaders being able to make peace. It happened to be a rhetorical question because they carefully answered in same publication that a leader who wants to resolve conflict in whatever manner it may come or place it is occurring the leader should be able to grant independence to the actors of conflict resolution in the community or who those involved can speak to freely so that the bodies or individuals involved can cooperate during the whole process. (Cohen and Insko, 2008) mentioned how some leaders will be convinced or influenced to act cooperatively by independence for if those to resolve the conflict are corrupt then they will only focus on the resolution of the conflict base on their own personal interest and which could result to more conflict. A case where there is no corruption then a certain

degree of independence will be quite helpful for negotiating cooperative deals with other groups.

1.1.2 Niger Delta

According to Adeyomo (2019) the population of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria is estimated to about 12 million. The indigenous people of the Niger Delta are of various historical background, languages and way of life (cultures). The Niger Delta have 40 ethnic groups and the most eminent ethnic group are the Adoni, Efik, Ijaw, Isoko, Kalabari, Ogoni and Urhobo, of which Effik, Ijaw and Ogoni are the popular ethnic groups. The Niger Delta is actually not one of the 36 states in Nigeria but rather a combination of eight (8) states which includes; Abia State, Akwa-Ibom State, Bayelsa State, Cross River State, Delta State, Edo State, Imo States and Ondo State. Most of these states in the Niger Delta of Nigeria are located within the coastal area of the country and as a result, a large percentage of the inhabitants of the Niger Delta rely on aquatic business such as fishery as their major source of livelihood (Adeyemo, 2019).

Ogbonna and Ebimobowei, (2012); Fagbadebo and Akinola, (2010) stated that the Niger Delta is a wetland and one of the largest in the world out of the basic twenty major deltas in the world. The Niger Delta is considered as Africa's largest delta, and in the world could possibly be the richest when it comes to oil and gas reserves.

Since the early 1970s the Nigerian oil industry is an economical blessing to Nigeria and have contributed the immensely to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) accounting for the substantial revenue generation for the Federal Government and foreign exchange earnings (Nwoba and Abah, 2017; Bodo, 2018). Abdullahi, (2020) mentioned that the argument in respect to the Niger Delta crisis was aggravated because of the Oil, which the Niger Delta region has in abundance. Findings from the different literature showed that the approach by the Federal Government's to resolving the conflict in the region has not been fruitful because the issues that gave rise to the conflict as not being adequately addressed and because of its emphasis by the Federal Government's on the use of force in the resolution of the conflict. (Bodo, 2018; Abdullahi, 2020)

1.1.3 The Nigeria Media

According to Afamuefuna (2007), the media can be described as concept of technical communication, that is the concept of moving messages or communication of situation(s) across distance and/or time by anyone by the employment of devices. Reverend Henry Townsend in 1859 established the first newspaper “Iwe Irohin” which in turn became the genesis of media in Nigeria. In 1990s the commercialization of the media began, while the operation and management of the Nigerian media organization became upside down (Oso, 2012). Therefore the major means of sending information simultaneously and sometime instantaneously to a large distributed, mixed and unknown audience is the media (Afamuefuna, 2007). Basically there are two types of media;

1. The traditional media
2. The social media

The traditional media consist of the following; newspaper, television, film, radio, magazine of which the list goes on and on. While the social media can be seen as the internet, to be more specific; Twitter, Facebook, Instagram e.t.c.

1.1.4 Most Suitable Theory

The media is the chief actor of passing information which is communication; take away that responsibility from the media then the word “media” will never exist. Graffin, (2003) made it known that in the modern era (world) in which we live in, everything is plural, having two sides and this is as a result of communication. The communication (information) transferred by media are sometimes far from the actual reality of which Baudrillard Jean in 1983 referred to as “Hyperreality” (Baudrillard, 1983).

Hyperreality is the ability to constructively shift the main focus of a subject to an angle that is favorable to the communicator and this is one of the attribute of journalism, especially the editors of news, where their main idea of the subject is reflected is what is send to the public. Then if this is the case, what then becomes the truth when the “truth” is no longer the truth? No wonder Akhyar, (2014) categorically said “the truth is completely a language construction by humans or it comes from social agreement”. One thing Akhyar (2014) did not answer is “who are the key actors of the social agreement for the truth to be seen as the truth?” Therefore having enough space for politicians, selfish individuals and emotional individuals etc. to fill in and if that is the case, should we then say “human expression” is the truth?

In order to answer so many questions that could arise as a result of the role of media in conflict resolution: a case study of Niger Delta Postmodernism theory of international relation is employed as the best suited theory for this research. According to Michael Foucault a postmodernism scholar - "Truth" and "Knowledge" is an illusion created by those in power and therefore reject the progression of society base on the "Truth" and "Knowledge". He said the world in moving away from the truth into the construction of the mind and intention of the human mind, therefore what the world regard as truth is just pure human wisdom (Francalt, 1980).

This research will view media from the postmodern view of "Text" thereby employing method of postmodernism of "deconstruction" and "double reading" in explaining the role of media in Niger Delta conflict resolution as a "Text" (Ashley, 1996).

1.2 Statement of Problem

The presence of conflict in the society is due to the fact that individuals have different ways in which things are done, to their perception of things, their goals and most importantly personal benefit because everyone either wants to be happy or satisfied. A popular situation of conflict in a community is the Niger Delta conflict which as being taking place for about 50 year and has resulted to loose of life and properties. The conflict, most times is not the main problem but rather how the conflict is communicated is a challenge when it comes to conflict resolution, for it will decided if the conflict will be controlled/resolved or escalate beyond community or national control.

Therefore, the media in Nigeria as being playing a crucial role in the resolution of the Niger Delta conflict since its one of the fastest way to draw the attention of international community and locals of the updates in a particular region. The sources of news for most citizens of Nigeria and the international community is the media and those individual will be affected greatly when the media is totally or to a large extent controlled by political individual(s) or government. The focus on media in respect in the resolution of the Niger Delta conflict is totally dependent on which side of the coin that particular media stands and sells that perception to the consumers (innocent) masses in form of information.

Since information is power, the public tends to react or participate in events such as conflict or conflict resolution totally by the knowledge obtained from the media (Mile, 2009). A typical

example amongst many is the media role in the realization of the Nigerian nationalism and the media then used was the newspaper owned by Nigerian (private) who are also politician of different tribes and parties. The newspaper as of then during the British colonist were; Nigerian Tribune and Lagos Daily News owned by Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo who later became Nigeria's First President and minister of finance and budget of Nigeria respectively after independent (Omoera 2014; Guardian Newspaper, 2018).

1.3 Aim

The aim of this research is to critically analyze the role of Newspaper in the resolution of conflict in the case of Niger Delta region.

1.4 Objective

The specific objective of this research is to;

- I. determine the causes of the Niger Delta conflict,
- II. determine the roles of Newspaper in resolving the Niger Delta conflict,
- III. expand the literature of postmodernism theory on media studies related to African region

CHAPTER TWO

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Postmodernism Overview

By understanding the phrase "modernism," which is also referred to as neo-modernism or after modernism, one may more easily explain postmodernism. This is due to the fact that postmodernism is frequently interpreted as a challenge to modernism's eccentricities as well as a subversion of the narrative forms, contents, and structures of conventional media creation, especially with the help of the fresh custom of blending, montage, collage, unpredictability, or sporadic associative narrative, typical of the predominance of signification in television and radio broadcasts (Iji, 2014).

In the creative arts, music, literature, and dramaturgy, modernism represents unique developments that came before the Victorian manner of art creation, consumption, and interpretation. Thus, modernism reframed what poetry and fiction could be and do at its height, which is frequently referred to as the "high modernism" period, which could be traced to the years between 1910 and 1930. They include, among other things, focusing more on how creative arts affect audiences, emphasizing what influences audiences' perceptions, favoring subjectivity over objectivity, and downplaying genre distinctions and other formalities associated with production and consumption (Tarkett, 2022).

Modernism can also be recognized by the artist's characteristic self-reflection, acceptance of simple designs in defiance of deep and formal aesthetics and blatant disregard for the traditional dividing line between high and low arts. These characteristics can be seen not only in the repertoire and production requirements, but also in the actual creation, distribution, and consumption of cultural art products. In light of this, postmodernism has been clarified to portray a variety of meanings that are so absurd that no single definition could possibly capture them (Tarkett, 2022). Giddens (1990), for example, claims that the term "postmodern" frequently describes artistic developments that critique the tenets of both modernism and the Enlightenment, not because its tenets are superior replacements. The postmodernists, according to Bauman (1992), are people who base their beliefs about what is real, objective, and ideal on a wide range of coordinate factors and analytical points of view. The typical postmodernist trends, such as those in architecture that completely overhauled previously rigid structural and formal methods in favor of, so to speak, art for art's sake, have served to support Bauman Zigmunt's position. Yet, this is in contrast to postmodern media like novels, which, despite

their supposedly experimentalist structure, seem to highlight the resurgence of the literary genre's inherent modernist qualities in its texture, all in the name of innovation that gets its inspiration from modernism (Edgar and Sedgwick, 2008).

The explanation provided by Bramam (2003) is suitable as an operational assumption. In particular, it describes postmodernism as a defection from modernist philosophy, arts, architecture, and criticism. It describes postmodernism as a significant development that emerged between the middle and late 20th century. This is especially true because Vianne, et al. (2016), in their explanations, validate the supposition by explaining that postmodernism is a full reframing of past conceptions of philosophies, individual and communal logics, and strategies. So, it is possible that the phrase was used universally to refer to both pre-modernity and the archetypal trends it exhibited. This is made clearer by Berman (1982), who points out that postmodernist proponents frequently describe knowledge and value systems as functions of the environment. As a result, their value system is scarcely free from political, historical, or cultural forces, among other frames of reference. Hence, he asserts, proponents of postmodernism hold that fulfilling one's desires and standards in life is only achievable if the underlying social and cultural conditions are first improved (including distorted and corrupted). Most crucially, by creating a strategy that is more adaptable than modernism's for taking on the problem of existentialism and rejecting the idea that personal preferences and feelings are essential enough to either produce desired outcomes or deserve a discourse.

A typical characteristic of postmodernism is a skepticism, irony, or rejection of what it terms the big standards, narratives, and ideologies connected to modernism. Postmodernist scholarship, when practiced to its highest standard, is frequently at ease with the individual's gradually acquired understanding and knowledge of the world around him. As a result, it frowns upon both logic-driven knowledge and the role played by ideology in political and economic power struggles. As a result, postmodernist sensibilities are expressed to show a total rejection of ideas about objective reality, morality, truth, human nature, rationale, science, language, and social progress (Brown, 2019). As a result, it is common to observe tendencies like self-consciousness, self-preferentiality, epistemological relativism, pluralism, and irreverence recurring in postmodern thought, framework, and practice.

Since the 1980s and 1990s, postmodern critical approaches have gained popularity. Today, as noted by Benhabib (1995), these approaches have unquestionably taken center stage in multidisciplinary conversations. They are represented by ideas like deconstruction,

postmodernism, and institutional critique, which are particularly well-known to followers of philosophers like Jean-Francois Lyotard, Jacques Derrida, and Fredric Jameson. Pastiche, parodistic thrusts, unpredictability of association, anti-heroic tendencies, and repudiation of reasons and logic are postmodernist aspects that significantly affect how facts are treated in this work.

2.2 Perceptions and Foremost Themes of Postmodern Thought

It is feasible to identify some shared presumptions and motifs that characterize postmodern philosophy, despite the fact that doing so would barely do the diversity of perspectives within postmodern thought justice. The thorough critique of epistemological foundationalism and ontological essentialism in social and political theory and analysis is foremost among them (Torfing, 1999). Postmodernism emphasizes the unavailability of a self-determining essence, pre-given, rejecting the idea that things' nature is defined by universal, temporal features. It questions whether it is possible to provide universal reasons and absolute arguments for the veracity of knowledge and value statements. Postmodern theories contend that knowledge creates its own subject of study, abandoning the Enlightenment optimism that reason could lead to the acquisition of objective knowledge of events. They emphasize language as the foundation of human relationships as well as a characteristic that sets humans apart from other animals. They emphasize the arbitrary, contingent aspect of reality and generally reject meta-narratives (complete clarifications of social reality). They contend that history is not a uniform process, progressive, linear of the clarification of a single core, in contrast to modernist conceptions (human reason). Instead, they place an emphasis on the uncertainty, ambiguity, and diversity of historical paths.

1. Language

Language re-conceptualization and the confirmation of its power as the foundation of subjectivity are intertwined with the destruction of the Cartesian subject as the supreme arbiter of truth. Postmodern theorists are greatly influenced by Saussure's challenge to the idea that language is an ahistorical, transparent medium for transmitting meaning in this way (Sarup, 1993). According to Saussure, language is a system of distinctions where each term, which

lacks any essential positive, acquires its existence through its distinction from other terms. According to him, meaning is fashioned through the relationships between the linguistic terms themselves rather than through the relationship between an object, name and word, as the referential theory of significance would imply (Edkins, 2007). In other words, a name and the notion it identifies do not always have to be related, according to Saussure. Instead, their relationship is the result of tradition and usage. An object is made to stand out from other objects through the process of naming, making it possible for speakers to see "it". Saussure challenged "the myth of the given," it holds that it actually exist is given to the subject and that awareness has immediate admission to it, by arguing that the language structure is independent (Edkins, 2007).

The structuralist view of language as a system of distinctions is one that postmodernism endorses. Language serves as the standard via which the social uniqueness of the subject is made possible, not as a tool used by an already-existing subject or as a restriction forced on the subject. Yet, they reject the scientific pretensions of structuralism as well as its associated propensity to decrease diversity and variation to the consequences of an unchangeable configuration (Storper, 2001). They reject modernist arguments that "claims of wholeness and universality and the assumption of double/two modern oppositions function unreservedly to suppress the relentless uncertainty and openness of language and cultural signifying" (Butler, 1990). Conversely, they contend that social institutions cannot exist outside of, or separate from, the discursive sphere and the broader social context. Postmodernism, which values ambiguity and openness, explores "the operative and unlimited difference of language" and draws forth the instant of difference (Butler, 1990).

2. Text, Representation

For postmodern studies of global politics, the concept of text is fundamental. The text promotes the impression that the world is constructed comparable to a text, in that entrance to "reality" is always brought about and can only be understood through informational activities. It does not only relate to the written word or literature. The unbridgeable and unavoidable distance between the representation and its representation is recorded by the textuality of global politics. With the dichotomy between mimetic and aesthetic modes of representation in global politics, Bleiker (2009) clarifies this issue.

Predominant theories of international relations "aim to reflect politics as truthfully and authentically as possible," adhering to a view of depiction as mimesis. Aesthetic approaches, on the other hand, "presuppose that there is continually a vacuum between a representational style and what is embodied therewith" (Sylvester, 2009). Continuing on from this, postmodern methods investigate mediated modes of inscription historically generated as the "pre-text" for global politics—"several reality-making scripts one acquires or inherits from one's adjoining cultural/linguistic condition" (Campbell, 2002). They study representational and meditative activities in unusual contexts, including museums, travelogues, airports, poems, plays, and photography. They approach the world as a rich, multidimensional, interrelated book (Lisle, 2012).

3. Subject and Subjectivity

The modernist ideas developed by philosophers like Claude Levi-Strauss and Ferdinand de Saussure are closely related to postmodern thought. The criticism of the modernist movement as the independent subject of purpose (transparent individual, fully present and an autonomous) is one of the common themes connecting the former to the latter (Sarup, 1993). There is a problem with what White (1997) refers to as the "disengaged self, the assertive, teflon subject, who produces distance from its foundation (embodiment and tradition) and foreground (external characteristics, other subjects) in the name of an increasing mastery over both."

In modernist philosophy, this idea of an abstract, unified subject/author serving as the source of meaning and the arbiter of truth has previously been questioned. For instance, based on Lévi-Strauss, the eventual aim of the scientific disciplines of human is to dissolve man, not to constitute himself (Sarup, 1993). Postmodern methodologies galvanize this criticism by disbanding the subject entirely and leaving "any remaining concept of subjectivity," asserting the illusory nature of a unified self (Edkins, 2007). The humanist perspective of "man" as generated by acts of authority, shaped by the partisan tools and knowledge given to it, is substituted for the idea that "man" has a timeless, universal nature. A pre-constituted, self-transparent subject—the cogito, a mindful of self with a positive essence that exists before or independently from its context—gives place to a de-centered or split subject (Žižek, 1999). Instead of starting with the subject, postmodern approaches turn it into a question and pay

attention to the ways in which people are created as specific political subjects through power dynamics.

4. Deconstruction

The critique of Western philosophy's logocentricity is a topic that runs through postmodern attempts to define difference. Using dichotomies like "meaning or form, soul or body, gut or instinct, literal or metaphorical, nature or culture, comprehensible, serious or non-serious, transcendental or empirical, positive or negative, the outstanding term pertains to the logos and is a greater presence; the inferior term marks a fall," logocentricism operates as a method of reasoning (Culler, 1985). Jacques Derrida asserts that logocentric thought creates hierarchical relationships between the two concepts in addition to producing binary oppositions. The second word is seen as a negation, an impediment, a representation, or a disruption of the first because it "assumes the primacy of the first term and posits the subsequent in alignment to it" (Culler, 1985). Differentiation is a concept that is subsumed and negated in logocentric thinking because of its never-ending pursuit of an unpolluted, self-identical state.

Logocentricism and phonocentricism are closely related, with the former giving speech preference over writing and the latter assuming that speech has direct, instantaneous access to "an order of significance—thought, truth, reason, logic, the Word" (Culler, 1985). A decisive response to the inquiry "what is," such a longing for and persistent pursuit of presence necessitates designating a sovereign voice as the origin of "truth." "Autonomous voice, a voice without politics and outside doubt, out of which power and truth are supposed to radiate as one" is established by it (Ashley and Walker, 1990).

Derrida, however, argues that logocentricism deconstructs itself because the hierarchical structures and dichotomies it legitimizes are unfounded and have a built-in propensity to fall apart. Despite being fortunate, the first term is parasitic on the second term and is tainted by it. As a result of "each term being structurally related to and already harboring the other in totalities, as to if conceptual or social, are almost never present in the moment and properly recognized" (Devetak, 2005). These binaries are taken up by deconstruction as a way of thinking, which aims to reveal their underlying instability and un-tenability.

5. Power

Similar to Derrida, Michel Foucault's writings have had a significant impact on postmodern theories of international relations. The essential tenets of Clarification philosophy about time-based unfolding—the notion of a single history with a beginning and an end—are challenged by the author of counter-histories, who is also a thinker of difference. Foucauldian genealogy often known as "new historicism" charts discontinuities and diversity that are "hidden, veiled, or omitted from view" (Devetak, 2005) by prevalent historical narratives.

The concept of discourse, or "discursive construction," is essential to Foucault's genealogical research. "A series of proclamations which give a vocabulary for talking about—i.e., a manner of representative—a particular type knowledge about a topic" is how discourse is described (Hall, 1992). Together, these assertions shape the subject in a particular way and set restrictions on what can be considered about it. The goal of genealogy is "the constant rupture of the structures of unambiguousness that create both personal and group individualities for persons and peoples," taking Nietzsche's insight that only that which has no history can be characterized as a guide (Shapiro, 1992). It aims to restore the epistemic, historical reversals, and discontinuities in fundamental political conceptions like sovereignty and war (Bartelson, 2018).

Particularly influential in the way people think about and examine power is Foucault. The well-known frameworks of political impact, which challenge "power" along the lines of law and oppression or analyze relationships of power in relation to institutional organizations of the state, are protested by his proposal to "cut off the head of the king" in political belief and examination (Foucault, 1997). These clarifications of the nature of power relations suggest that power is a resource that affects both those who wield it and those who are susceptible to it. It also boosts the abilities of those who wield it. Another implicit presupposition behind such assessments of power is the idea that the people caught up in the balance of power are morally responsible, independent individuals (Hindess, 1996). As a result, concerns about the use of power are linked to issues with legitimacy and consent.

Foucault (1997) differentiates power interactions from other forms of force associations, such as exploiting and supremacy, shifting away from juridico-political theories of issues and power of legitimacy and sovereignty. According to Foucault, power is not something that preexisting entities like a person, a state, or a social class possess. Instead, power refers to a social relation

that is more characterized by the interaction of non-egalitarian and mobile relations than by a clash among two opponents or their mutual engagement. Only when used within this relationship can power exist. Moreover, power is productive in that it "operates on the field of possibilities" rather than "blocking, repressing, or saying 'no'" like the law" (Foucault, 1997). Power produces by organizing the potential fields of activity rather than inhibiting. Such a conception of power necessitates paying attention to the micro-physics of power (technology created to control, shape, monitor and observe the behavior of humans) acting in various institutional contexts. According to Foucault, power relationships should not be seen as oppressive but rather as constructive, producing subjectivity and social action capacities. This characteristic of power relations serves as the foundation for distinguishing them from other kinds of force connections, which are characterized by an unbalanced relationship in which the subordinate has little opportunity for movement. According to Foucault, the issue in this situation of subordination is violence rather than power.

Several forms of power are identified by Foucault in his analysis. Being able to control death is sovereign power. It relates to the ability to take ultimately life, bodies, time and things itself (Foucault, 2003). Other power interactions, such as disciplinary power and biopower, replace sovereign power in modernity. When it comes to these power dynamics, "generating forces, allowing them to develop, and guiding them, instead of one devoted to blocking them, leading them to destruction, or surrendering" (Foucault, 2003) is more appropriate. Discipline techniques, which are widely used in prisons, schools, and military facilities, focus on the "body as a machine" and work to maximize its potential, usefulness, and productive powers. Unlike disciplinary power, biopower is "directed not at 'man-as-body' but at 'man-as-species'" and is concentrated on the well-being of a community, sanitization, birthrate, lifespan, and racial traits. In contrast to disciplines, which represent the individualizing phase of power use, biopower is totalizing since it uses the bulk of living things as its object. The mechanics of sovereign power have changed as a result of the rise of biopower. It transforms what was once a "instrument of deduction," a power that hinders and annihilates into something that facilitates and produces through the command of bodies and the evolution of life.

6. Relativity of the Truth

The significance of truth alters as a result of the formation of plural reality. The positivist paradigm's idea of a single truth is untrue. The truth is now plural. Everything dissolves and flows to different facets of life (Jack Fuller. 2010). The necessity of many realities also calls

for the provision of options in numerous areas. Different decisions cannot be defended as being incorrect. The significance of the human freedom component can be found here. Humans have the ability to choose their reality and the truth they discover. It cannot be coerced and shaped to fit into a particular reality or map of truth. Truth is entirely a product of human creation or derives from social consensus. Truth is a regional and social construct. Although it is not universal, it typically applies to all people in all places at all times. Rather than being discovered by scientists, truth is more often a human creation (Akhyar Yusuf Lubis. 2014). For specific organisms or social groups, there are only a few relative truths.

Truth in community can be seen from two perspectives: as a natural phenomenon and as a product of human endeavor. Truth as something that begins at the beginning or comes from "there" refers to a methodical understanding of the physical and formal objects that are present. This fact is accessible since it comes with natural presumption. In other words, it alludes to a certain thing. Language serves to put the reality as it is constructed into practice. Language is both a personal choice and a social contract because of the names we give things in language, like arbitrator or preference. As a result, the convention's truth is the truth of construction. The postmodern or modern world will be shaped by language construction or language relativity. We employ this pertinent relativity of truth while analyzing contemporary social ideas. Journalism applies to construction. Language is the primary factor in construction.

Construction is always biased (including journalism). It has objectives that must be fulfilled. Language is crafted in political and communication media according to the preferences of stakeholders, particularly editors. The objectives of media editors in shaping the public thinking stand alone as the factors that can be explained.

Truth relativity differs from some fundamental concepts in the postmodern society, including anti-fundamentalism, ultra-subjectivism, and the growth of technology and communication. For instance, reality in journalism has drastically changed in recent years. The history and practice of journalism have altered as a result of advancements in communication and information technology. Once based on events, news is increasingly shifting and starting with networking and social media. Events are being used in both virtual and actual world as the foundation for news reporting. In actuality, shows in literature and film are based on hyperreality and physics rather than virtual reality.

2.3. Postmodernism and Communication

Beginning in the 1960s, postmodernism and communication have had a long history together. It began as a response from critics to the principles of high modernity, particularly in the fields of sculpture and architecture (Jameson, 1991). Critics like Clement Greenberg and Michael Fried insisted on explanations of both low and high creative performances despite the fact that the characteristics of postmodern poetics were somewhat nebulous. These critics had no trouble distinguishing between modernism and postmodernism. They saw postmodern cultural arts in particular as a deviation from modernist aesthetics in a wide range of contexts, encompassing culture, literature and language.

As has been mentioned, there are many arguments against postmodernism, including the claim that it not only encourages the practice of hoarding specific information but also has nothing to contribute to corpus literature in terms of advancing the body of already-existing analytical or descriptive in nature knowledge. They were additionally designed to capture the point where postmodernism and communication converges, allowing for the identification of postmodernism's communication sensibility. Wainscot and Fletcher (2004) assert in their critical analysis that the postmodern artist simultaneously assumes the dual responsibilities of performing and criticizing because, although some critics consider it to be an artistic style, others assert that it is a mind-set, and as a result, a point of view that looks back on the artistic works of earlier eras with cynicism or futility and occasionally despair. In light of this, postmodern communication is frequently used to explain the communication methods and channels that define our modern information society (Brown, 2019). Advertisers, among many other stakeholders, employ postmodernist strategies to take advantage of new communication channels to spread their advertising messages to engaged and significant audiences, who are frequently present in unregulated domains and promotional marketplaces. In addition, many marketers and advertisers, according to Brown (2019), believe that success in contemporary marketing endeavors of the twenty-first century requires a lot of creative thinking in addition to other integrated ways to communication.

The postmodernist model (Braman, 2003), which examined the technical processes for information distribution in particular and human communication processes in general, is credited with helping to define the threshold of postmodern communication. He contends that their target has led to postmodern communication channels that, despite seeming as frameworks, offer themselves as ready-made tools and platforms that enable multiple forms of

communication. In particular, Stephen Brown's explanation of the postmodern marketing model serves as the foundation for the majority of assumptions that touch on postmodern communication (Brown, 2019). He asserted that avoiding established norms and conventions is the only way to approach marketing from a postmodern perspective. He goes on to say that instead, marketers should use creative qualities like intuition, originality, spontaneity, conjecture, emotion, and participation to further their promotional objectives.

Similar to how postmodernism is expressed visually by simultaneous acts using electronic or cybernetic technology, Mambrol (2017) explains that postmodernism is structurally defined by simply repeating and dissecting what was previously thought to be archetypal. Iji, (2014) says that rather than being of the modern, the postmodern critiques, satirizes, or reframes the modern. He continues by pointing out that postmodernism was a protest or rebellion over modernism and everything it accepted as an artistic movement. He went on to explain that there were reactionary movements in the 1970s against modernist representations in the traditional core arts like architecture, painting, music, literature, and theater, and that the new trajectory frequently juxtaposes sensations within the same frame of reference. Edde Iji claims that this "reframing" of human experience through technology, particularly in a communication process, contests realism and naturalism as fundamental theories of artistic production and instead celebrates experience fragmentation, production segmentation, and audience degasification. According to Iji (2014), the fundamental characteristics of postmodernism include a revolt against words, obscure verbal texts, and technically formed visual and aural images that predominate in mediated events but are typically devoid of dramatic flourishes, intrigues, and conflicts, as well as theatrical causation of actions, storylines, and characters.

As a result, it follows that dynamic aspect of new media and media technology that might assist the packaging and repackaging of a significant amount of broadcast information with suitable convergence mechanisms have collectively turned into a facilitator for postmodernism. Iji (2014) claims that the new aesthetic format places actors and performers next to inanimate objects, graphic images, and audio-visual effects in a way that favorably compares to large-scale performances in mainstream media that take longer than a few hours to complete, just like there is a collage and montage of inventive sources (sound, music, light, and technology-scenarios), which, which has been highlighted, effectively increases the same problems as a traditional play.

According to Thompson (2019), changes in the media have led postmodernists to contend that the media is a crucial component of postmodern society that people actively use for consciousness and identity formation. By doing this, they infuse some theatricality, originality, and inconsistency in their artistic production. This may help to explain why proponents of postmodernism frequently find it difficult to accept theories of media effects like the magic bullet model, which not only stresses the passivity of viewers but also rejects the notion of individual differences within the audiences.

2.4 Deride Deconstruction

Textual Analysis of "Valdemar" D. Lodge and N. Wood, *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*. Textual analysis focuses on how the text explodes and disperses rather than what causes the text to be what it is (collects it together as the final term of a causal sequence). The meaning of existence cannot be thought of everything at once (Bello-Kano 2012). It is clear that Derrida launched his critique of Western thought's so-called logocentrism in the middle of the 1960s, but it wasn't until the early 1970s that he truly started to gain the attention of the English-speaking world. Starting at Yale University, wherein Paul de Man (1919–1983) became a significant supporter of Derrida's poststructuralist *Bartens*, he acquired a sizable and vocal following in American English departments over the course of the following 10 years (2002). This suggests that when deconstruction first began, it questioned conventional belief that language is an essential means of communicating the truth. Deconstruction seeks to disassemble texts in order to uncover their contradictions because it is no longer possible to arrive at permanent meaning or absolute truth. It also holds that all use of language is rooted in flux, incoherence, crisis, and conflict. According to Bartens (2002), deconstruction gets its name from Derider's method of dissecting and tearing apart texts or, more commonly, portions of texts, in order to expose their inconsistencies and internal contradictions. The main goal of deconstruction is to expose the fabrications texts make to provide a stable meaning, such as their use of various rhetorical devices to establish "privileged" centers or explicit or implicit binary oppositions.

Given the foregoing, reality cannot be perceived all at once, which helps bring us to another crucial idea in Deride principles: deferral; this theory states that meaning is technically postponed and constantly in deferral. Derrida believes that meaning or reality is relative or

provisional rather than fixed; hence reaching a definitive signification is not feasible. Mohammadi (2013) claims that "this marks the moment of extreme skepticism in western society that Jacques Derrida indicates when language itself is "invaded by the universal issue; that moment in which, in the lack of a center or origin, everything becomes discourse." when everything transitioned into a system outside of a system of distinctions. The domain and interaction of signification and infinity are expanded by the lack of the transcendental signified. This implies that interpretation is always ambiguous or ad hoc. Derrida asserts that any use of language, including texts, is open-ended or devoid of closure; because of this, they may start but never finish. Here is a real-world illustration of how deconstruction is applied to literature. According to Bartens (2002), Derrida highlights the same absence of closure in his reading of Franz Kafka's (1883–1924) short tale "Before the law," which is a short story by Kafka. In Kafka's tale, a man shows up at the entrance to the legal system.

Although the doorkeeper informs him that he is not permitted to enter, he may do it later and that he should avoid using force since there are a lot more doors and numerous doorkeepers who are even more strong than this first one. He waits all his life, and just before he passes away, he inquires with the doorman about whether he is the only one who has attempted to enter. The doorkeeper replies, "This specific was meant for him only," and closes the door on the dying man. Derrida views the narrative as illustrative of difference.

After the initial guardian, there are an infinite number of others—possibly an infinite number—who become gradually stronger and, as a result, prohibitive and equipped with the ability to delay. Since their potency lasts for days, "years," and even till the end of (the) man, it is different, an unending difference. Difference that lasts until death and after death since it has an end. According to the doorman, the legal discourse perpetually says "not yet" rather than "no." (Derrida, 1987). The aforementioned illustration illustrates both a theoretical and practical application of deconstruction as literary theory in the context of literary analysis. This can be observed in Derrida's interpretation of the short story "before the law" by Kafka. This implies that meaning is continuously delayed in any particular structure or text. The search for a clear meaning will never be completed; deconstruction is constantly focused on the impossibility of conclusive meanings. According to Abdullahi (2012), there can never be stable notions of meaning, subjectivity, or individuality because human cognition is always prone to temporal ringing and rupture. As a result, Abdullahi believes that concepts like meaning, subjectivity, and identity are inherently unstable for human thought. After Nietzsche and

Heidegger, this is sometimes referred to as "double de-centering," "the doubling criticism," or just "destructive analysis" (Berlsey2002).

From the foregoing, it is clear that deconstruction maintains the belief that language is subjective and that signifier and signified do not always correspond one to the other. Meaning is thus constantly ad hoc. The border connecting subject and object, system and the subject of the system, writer and text, shape and meaning, sign and symbol, according to Bello-Kano (2012), is not between here and there, neither inside nor outside, but is instead contingent, that is, without an interested stopping-place. Deconstruction deals with the intriguing paradox that an author might say more or less what she did not plan to say or what she would not have intended. (Derrida, 1976). For Derrida, in addition to noting the author's deliberate actions, the reader cannot merely regurgitate what the text says: The author (writer) uses a language and a logic underlying proper structure, laws, and way of life his discourse cannot by definition completely dominate. He only makes use of them by allowing the system to rule him after a period of passion. Also, the reader must always look for a relationship between the writer's demands and what he does not command of the language patterns he employs. This relationship must be invisible to the writer. This relationship is a meaning structure that critical reading should develop rather than a precise quantitative allocation of light and shadow, of weakness or of force.

Therefore, replicating, the effaced and polite double commentary, the intentional, voluntary, intentional connection that the writer establishes in his contacts with history, to which he belongs due to the element of language, cannot produce this meaningful structure. Reading, however, cannot lawfully transgress the text toward something that is not it, forward towards a Reference group (a fact that is metaphysical, historical, psychosiographical, etc.), or toward a signified if reading must go beyond twice the text. Outside of the text whose substance might have occurred outside of language, or, in the sense we use here for that word, from outside writing generally. Therefore nothing exists outside of the text.(Derrida 1976).

We can deduce from the foregoing that any writer or author can write in a syntactic system known as language, and as a result, he or she cannot control or dictate the outcome of their writing. They may have a specific intention when they write something (the so-called authorial intention), but the text may elicit various interpretations from various critics. Because of this, the reader neither assumes whatever the author means nor disputes the author's intention. As a result, according to Bello-Kano (2012), critical reading should instead develop a signifying

structure, one that does not eliminate the author's intentions and does not merely duplicate them, although again, it cannot merely record the conscious, voluntary, purposeful characteristics of the text. This argues that deconstruction falls somewhere between the two, neither for authorial purpose nor for the text, and that it does not in any manner depersonalize the author or defend authorial aim.

Deconstruction guarantees the freedom of mind and permits the open exchange of ideas. The borderline is limitless and open in all directions. In any structural system or while looking for an unchanging reality, deconstruction seeks to uncover the other of language. Deconstruction, in the words of Bello-Kano (2012) “is constantly on the lookout for slips, crisis, cracks, instability, fault lines, because no author can ever completely control the ways in which her text might mean or be read”, and also because, according to Royle (2003), there are “differences, tensions, paradoxes between what a text says or what an author wants to say, or thinks she is saying and what a text does”.

2.5 Postmodernism vs Critical Theory

Postmodernism and critical theory though share similarities but are different in other ways. The differences between both theories are highlighted in the table below.

Table 2.1: The Differences between Postmodernism and Critical Theory

S/N	Items	Postmodernism	Critical Theory
1	Background	Development of communication and information technology	Criticism of hidden agenda / vested-interests (social, economic, political etc.)
2	Truth	Truth depends on interests that tend to be pragmatic	Truth is determined by partisanship

3	Reality	Reality and hyperreality are the results of construction and the results of the fabrication of communication and information technology	The reality is human construction results that have vested interests
4	Value and Ethics	Value and ethics depend on desire; and be a sign, image, and code	Value and ethics are determined by partiality
5	History	Friedrich Nietzsche's criticism to modernism was continued by Martin Heidegger, Michel Foucault, Jean Francois, Lyotard, Richard Rorty, Jean Baudrillard	Frankfurt School with figures like Theodor W. Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Juergen Habermas etc
6	Media	Media as a symbolic exchange tool	Media as a definition of reality
7	Ontology	Historical reality formed by communication and information technology	Virtual historical-reality realism that is shaped by social, political, economic, ethnic and gender values; crystallizes over time
8	Epistemology	Transactional/subjectivist; value-mediated findings	Transactional/subjectivist; technology chained findings
9	Methodology	Hermeneutical/dialectical/semiotic	Dialogical/dialectical
10	Focus	Text, hyper-reality, and mataphysics.	Unequal social reality/social injustice

2.6 Postmodern Approaches in International Relations

Strategies of appearance, discourse, and understanding are important to postmodern investigators' interpretations of global politics. They are motivated by a "common awareness of the 'constitutive essence of language' and an antagonism in the direction of 'closed scheme of knowledge,'" which emphasizes the connections between language, politics, and social structure (George and Campbell, 1990). By attacking the conceptual bounds of the discipline built in the language of modern social sciences, which assumes a unification of the social sciences and characteristics and the ability to discern between values and facts, they question disciplinary boundaries (Smith, 1996). It draws on the distinction between politics and the political, or "which field of social existence that includes established processes, operations, participants believed to be the foundations of political life" (diplomacy, international agreements, policymaking, political parties, elections, etc.). The partisan, or "the context inside which actions, events, and other instances obtain political status in the first place," is the former (Edkins, 1999). They question "exclusive epistemological assertions or unthinking ontological preconceptions about what forms a viable object of scholarly research" by making this change, which brings the political back in (Paipais, 2017).

Postmodern viewpoints dismiss the notion of a subject of knowledge (a universal voice of "truth") unaffected by the biases resulting from power dynamics and the impact of the cultural, political, historical and social contexts it is situated in, demanding the standard precautions of academic knowledge production on global politics (Campbell, 2007). It questions the notion that there may be a common scientific language that enables the objective description of the outside world and denies a rigid distinction between both the subject who knows and the object that is known (Campbell, 2007). They challenge the divisions between value and fact, the objective and the subjective and contend that our ideas of facticity are "culturally produced" rather than inherent in nature (Gregory, 1989).

The understanding that "countless of the glitches and issues researched in International Relations are still not matters of ontology and epistemology, but of influence and authority; they are difficulties to impose written from the perspective of International Relations" is one of the major influences of postmodern approaches to world politics (Devetak, 2005). Richard Ashley claims that the predominant postmodernist interpretive style in the field expresses a desire for a "securely bound area of truth and clear significance without debate". According to postmodernism, production of knowledge is not merely "a cognitive... but a moral and political

problem" due to the unbreakable connection among knowledge and power (Devetak, 2005). They "investigate the interdependency of authority and symbolic procedures that enhance one truth over another, that valid and subordinate one individuality against the other, that end up making, in brief, one discursively matter more than the next" rather than having taken the social world as provided and moving forward with analyses (Der Derian, 2009).

The binary division between theory and practice is rejected by postmodern perspectives, which instead emphasize the close "connection between social dominance and issues related to how and what, we research international relations" (Smith, 2004). On the contrary, they see "theory as practice" (George and Campbell, 1990). They instead start from the foundation that "all empirical and all philosophical frameworks... constitute a component of the universe that they seek to explain and answer for, and they have an impact in that world," discarding the notion that current knowledge transcends its historicity and contextuality (Edkins, 2007).

International Relations concept is viewed as a unique, privileged location that helps to the creation and perpetuation of dominant worldviews and is therefore essential to some conceptions of international life (in terms of the dual thinking of anarchy and sovereignty, within and outside). For instance, Walker (1995) argues in his seminal work that IR philosophies are "less fascinating for the significant implications they offer than as concepts of the confines of today's partisan imagination" and, as such, can be understood "as manifestations of a particular historical awareness of the character and context of political life in general." Walker contends that the concept of sovereignty is the foundation of this historically distinctive conception of organizing political activity and that, to the extent that IR theories take it for granted, they maintain and reaffirm the limits of the modern political imagination.

1 On Value and Development

Investigations into the international political economy (IPE) incorporate postmodern ideas and discourse analysis in addition to key IR themes and notions like state, sovereignty, and war. The presumption of "a pre-discursive economic materiality"—an economy viewed as a sphere that is produced outside of processes of representations, identities, ideas and culture,—is at the heart of postmodern critique of conventional IPE (DeGoede, 2003). Such criticism, which questions this distinction between the actual and the ideal, places politics of image, performativity, and dissent at the center of studies of socioeconomic relations under

contemporary capitalism. Whereas these studies concentrate on traditional themes, issues, artifacts, and topics of IPE (such as finance, production, transfer, states, firms and socioeconomic classes), they also broaden the analytical field of IPE by challenging rationalist IPE and bringing the intersections among both politics of security and economic practices under critical scrutiny. The growth of cultural political economics as a novel area of study has been aided by these works (Amoore, 2013).

Researchers who approach IPE from a postmodern perspective highlight three themes that run across their work (DeGoede, 2006). The politicization of what is typically thought of as practical knowledge is one of such themes. A concern with "power's operation(s)... inside certain settings to establish a propensity to mainstream and depoliticize—particular their effects and discourses" underpins this issue. Peterson (2006) by de-centering the sovereign, logical actor as the IPE subject, a second topic is the problematization of agency and interest (DeGoede, 2006). Gammon and Palan (2006), for example, employed Freudian concepts to present a fractured subject driven by contentious internal dynamics in their theory of "libidinal political economy." The third theme in postmodern theories of political economy is politics of dissent and resistance. They replace a theory of capital that views it as a totalizing phenomenon with one that views it as "a performative practice in need of ongoing proclamation and reiteration" (DeGoede, 2006). They contend that the ongoing necessity for capital's re-enunciation creates opportunities for resistance and subversion by contesting the conceptual consistency of it and focusing on how it is formed and reproduced in daily life (Gibson-Graham, 2006).

In a related topic, postmodern perspectives have also questioned widely held notions of development as well as the ontological and epistemological presuppositions underlying theories of capitalist and modernization growth (Crush, 1995). They define "growth/improvement as a discourse... as a modernist regime of knowledge and disciplinary authority," which is influenced by postmodern conceptions of the strength nexus, critique of the Cartesian object, and problematization of meta-narratives (Crush, 1995). They present an agenda for "post-development" that focuses on conceiving "a new realm which... leaves behind the fantasy of progress, and surpasses development's reliance on Enlightenment and historicity". More recently, academics have investigated how the issue of climate change is intertwined with Third World countries' ambition for capitalist development and global imbalances (Chakrabarty, 2018).

2 War and Violence

In hegemonic theories of global politics, the relationships between force and law and between violent and politics are problematic. Liberal international theory obligates to the potential of eradicating conflict from national politics through the improvement of liberal institutions and applies globally, in contrast to Realist accounts, which construct conflict to the anarchical realm outside and figure it as a strategic instrument deployed to progress state interest in an arena constantly prone to violence (Frazer and Hutchings, 2011). Postmodern theories contend, however, that modern political reason is not the antidote to violence that it is often believed to be and that it may even be a part of the violence that it is meant to treat. They investigate security and strategic discourses to reveal the methods that the modern state constructs political life as militarized life, keeping as their central argument that violence is a necessary component of contemporary subjectivity and that contemporary political freedom is a deadly affair (Dillon, 2013).

The premise that modern politics arise from an ontology of violence committed by a particular awareness of political subjectivity underpins these analyses. According to Campbell and Dillon (1993), the political subject of modernity—the sovereign man and the sovereign state—is inherently violent. On the one side, the fundamental topic of contemporary political theory is established as the issue of violence, taking violence to be the ultimate ratio of politics. The autonomous thinking subject, on the other hand, is a violent political subject who, in accordance with contemporary political theory, is in conflict with other men because of his characteristics. The involvement of reason in the political subject's violence cannot be ignored since the political subject is a thinking subject. This diagnosis suggests that contemporary political reason is not only unable to offer the means to comprehend and address violent conflicts, but that it is also susceptible to it. The foundation for postmodern encounters with two long-standing issues in the field, such as security and conflict, is the paradoxical nature of modernity.

Scholars have created a significant line of inquiry that draws on Foucault and reframes the issue of obtaining security and peace as a political way of governing existence rather than just a political effort to overcome insecurity (Dillon and Neal, 2008). Safety is shown as a kind of political subjugation, as a political technology of domination, rather than as an objective reality

that needs to be addressed and repaired by the state in order to protect its citizens. Edkins (2007) clarifies on the manner in which modern politics oriented to preserving life is equivalent to the technologization and, as a result, the de-politicization of politics in her examination of the food shortage and the difficulty of hunger. Her investigation exposes how modernist discourses on famine de-politicize hunger and how it should be fought by prioritizing technical fixes through philosophical analysis and the creation of broad principles. Such a strategy only perpetuates the type of politics that caused the hunger in the first place. The findings of Duffield's (2007) investigation on the relationship between modern politics of development and security are consistent with Edkins's assertion that modern trust in development and progress contributes to the issue.

As they investigate modern forms of combat, postmodern examinations also tackle the issue of war and the use of force in international relations (Glezos, 2012). DerDerian (2009), for example, positions innovative technologies of simulated world, monitoring, and pace at the core of his analysis and explores how these factions and the discursive practices encompassing them reshape the nature of global relations and its primary practice—war. He does this by drawing on Paul Virilio. DerDerian claims that the discursive force of chrono-politics and techno-strategy allows for the emergence of fresh types of interstate mediation. Techno-strategy refers to how changes in technology shape how conflicts are resolved and the stakes involved in making war. Chrono-politics describes how geography and spatial determinism are displaced by chronology (overtaken by tempo). DerDerian contends that the postmodern practices of war change from being geographic to being temporal and perceptual phenomena.

Reid (2006) uses Foucault to create a biopolitical criticism of the current War on Terror rather than concentrating on how technology advancements alter conflict. Reid claims that the modern liberal solution to the problem of war requires directly wielding authority over life. By disciplining their people and "turning the life of their societies into... logistical life," which he describes as "a life lived under the constraint of the demand to be competent," liberal regimes suppress internal conflict. They use biopower to inspire people to fight for life as it is understood, as in the circumstance of the War on Terror. He contends that the liberal pursuit of peace "is a polemical and ultimately terrorizing ambition which can succeed only on the basis of most resentful brutality against life."

3 Sovereignty and the State

One of the main themes addressed by postmodern conceptions of international politics is ontological investigations into the defining concepts of political theory and activity in modernity. Michael Dillon elaborates on the significance of the "turn to ontology," saying that one cannot speak about everything that is without first presuming that it is what it is. A secluded ontology is always present with any form of mind (Dillon, 1999); because of this, postmodern methodologies exhibit a "radical curiosity in understanding the underlying concepts of the global community rather than considering them as mechanical givens" (Waever, 2002). These investigations into the "basic ontological givens" of IR place a strong emphasis on the modern state and sovereignty.

From a postmodern perspective, sovereignty is defined as three distinct yet related phenomena: presence in the Derridean sense (representing concepts like foundation, identity, origin and essence); State sovereignty is agreed upon "in the context of consideration that includes a fundamentalist theoretical standpoint of perspective and a large political position that stresses individual autonomy" (Polat, 1998). Individual autonomy is emphasized in the considerable intelligence of politics (compressed in the liberal individual will). In his deconstructive reading of what he names the "paradigm of sovereignty," Ashley (1989) shows how these three phenomena melt into each other on both chronological and epistemological grounds in modernity. In the Foucauldian idea of "a multifaceted system of highly adaptable recognizing tends to follow—interpretive mindsets and practical dispositions... there to govern perform and clarification," modernity is seen as a regime of power. A particular, historically made-up, commonly accepted, and practically useful understanding of man as a sovereign being is referred to as a paradigm of sovereignty. According to Ashley, the metaphysics of existence and logocentric communication, which hold that "some origin, an identical voice... is the sovereign source of all knowledge and meaning," make it possible for man to exist as a sovereign being. The rational man's conception of sovereignty serves as the foundation for the sovereign state's claim to sovereignty. When placed within the larger political and discursive agenda of modernity, authority grows the center of gravity where thinking, autonomous Man, who has been endowed with the ability and the desire to liberate the human race, fuses only with sovereign political sphere (the modern state) as the location of political life. In order to distinguish the individual, who is safe inside, from those around it, who are hazardous outside, discourses of risk attempt to domesticate political activity by policing borders. These limits

include those of identification, political likelihood, and ethical obligation. This story prescribes a political existence within the Separateness universe, which is anarchic (Ashley, 1987; Walker, 1995).

Postmodern theory opposes the notion that the state is in hostility to society, regarding it as a force that is externally forced, and the notion that state authority is something bad, oppressive. This is in line with Foucault. They contest the state's purposeful unity or supremacy over other power relations (Kalyvas, 2002). They reject the idea of describing the state and state power in terms of their inherent, pre-given characteristics and instead see them as "the unpredictable outcome of activities and the outcome of tactical interact between diverse social actors both within and beyond the state". In other words, rather than viewing the state as an ontological fact that exists a priori, they investigate how the sovereign state is produced as a coherent, purposeful actor through ongoing dynamic processes of statecraft. An outstanding illustration of Foucauldian views to the state may be found in Mitchell's (2002) investigation of how the contemporary Egyptian state was created. By examining a range of social practices, including disease prevention, measurement methods, movement, and exchange, Mitchell illustrates how, rather than being externally given or observed, the boundaries among state and society are "internally" produced through "modern methods of power which render the state seem to be an independent organization which somehow stands outside society" (Mitchell, 1991). State becomes an extended construct with "no unity, consistency, and autonomy of its own," or a "structural impact" (Mitchell, 1991).

Textual methods for "to write" the state and subsequently "simulating sovereignty" are heavily emphasized in postmodern ideas (Weber, 1994). These strategies make use of means of representation (such as pictures, symbols, signs, and words) to give the state agency, presence, and a distinct identity. They look at how the implementation of diverse domestic and foreign policies results in particular considerations of the state and shapes one's identity. For instance, Campbell (1998), drawing on Judith Butler's idea of identity as performative and Derrida's theory of language, examines "the way in which the sense of self of "(the United States of) America" has been repeatedly produced and modified through its foreign policy running in its name" in his book *Writing Security*. He examines how "constitution of distinctiveness is accomplished by means of the engraved of constraints that serve to demarcate" a "inside" from a "outside," a "self" from a "other," and a "domestic" from a "foreign," starting from the premise that the state has "no essential nature distinct from the various behaviors that constitute its

reality." The state is thus created by activities that codify and enforce limits and create identity. It is always a work in progress.

There is no common understanding of how difference, the other, and the outside are represented in the making of the self, the identity, and the interior, despite the fact that the relationship among individuality and foreign policy represents an important topic of inquiry. For instance, discourses of risk are crucial for maintaining state identity and establishing the legitimacy of state power, according to theorists like Campbell. According to this interpretation, contemporary statecraft consists of political techniques intended to crush opposition and eradicate everything alien, unusual, or harmful. Other scholars, however, contend that representations of the other do not always lead to the construction of difference as a threat and that there are several ways in which self and other difference might manifest (Hansen, 2006). Others instead concentrate on the time-based forms of othering in the formation of the self, fluctuating the attention away from geographical forms of othering between both the inside and the outside (Diez, 2004).

2.7 Thinking at the Limits

In order to think about the worldwide further than the constraints of the paradigm of a politics, the modern subject and sovereignty, dedicated to safeguarding that subject—a politics that is grounded in a desire for distinctiveness, unity and order—postmodern design method to comprehend a diverse political imagination and create an alternative conceptual language. They contest cosmopolitan arguments as well as state-centric communitarian perspectives through these various conceptions (Lawler, 2008).

1 Critical aesthetics

Postmodern methods proclaim the unbridgeable distance between the two and find the political in that same gap, as opposed to mainstream IR literature which takes for granted the

relationship between the signified and its symbol or image (Bleiker, 2008). They center their investigations on pictures, narratives, sounds, literature, visual art, cinema, and performing arts, adjusting the emphasis from mimetic to aesthetic forms of demonstration (Opondo and Shapiro, 2011; Edkins and Kear, 2013). Investigations into this topic vary from "musical modulations" of political discourse to "types of imagery at work in modern security operations" (Amoore, 2009).

Postmodern concerns about representation in international politics are deeply entwined with issues of scholarly accountability: How does one interact with those they write about and bring into the present? What kind of information does one create about the people they represent? (Zehfuss, 2013). For instance, postmodern literatures place the topic of how one recounts war at the center of their research rather than considering it as a subject of purportedly value-neutral analyses. They debate the relationship between writing about war, responsibility, and accountability (Steele, 2013), experiment with various forms of writing about war (such as storytelling), and challenge the limits of what a scholarly involvement with war and security entails outside a deception of scientific objectivity (Hozic, 2015).

According to Michael (2013), who explains the definition of critical thinking, effectively captures the critical impetus in these research into aesthetics. These involvements aim to upset the established relationships between the sayable and the visible, in keeping with Jacques Rancière's definition of "critical creative practices." Critical aesthetics aims to "question institutionalized methods of replicating and explaining phenomena" in addition to "creating the conditions of possibility for conceiving alternative worlds" through "juxtapositions that detach what are typically thought to belong together."

2. Politics of Ethics

Major topics of study studied by postmodern approaches include the topic of ethics in global politics and how ethical questions may be conceptualized without a moral uniqueness. By employing a nonfoundationalist, immanent framework, they document how the moral has always been already connected with the political without "resort(ing) to a third party or transcendental ideals" (Der-Derian, 2009). According to Zehfuss (2013), it is terrible to think of ethics—what we ought to do that is moral—as separate from political problems, not to

mention the problem of how we come to think that some approaches to these difficulties are more appropriate than others.

The inquiry of political ethos—forms of life, subjective experience, and identity—called forth by specific conceptions of the political replaces the traditional understanding of ethics (the idea that ethics worries going to generate abstract moral norms or universal conduct standards to mediate connections between many autonomous, pre-constituted moral agents). Der-Derian (2009) writes that "the ethics of post-modern is located in along with the formation of subjectivity." By challenging the idea of a stable self—the sovereign reasoning subject—and redefining ethics in terms of an unavoidable relationship between the self and the Other, they changing lifestyle ethics, politics, and the global. The rehabilitation of the political and the restoration of the ethical are inextricably linked. Applying predetermined rules, a math problem, or techno-politics is not what politics is about. It is asserted that the political is a question of "a plural 'how'" rather than the "single what" (Dillon, 1996). In other words, in an environment where life and being human are viewed as verbs—a manner of existence, as a "an individual as such" (Edkins, 2011)—instead of plural forms—an commodity that can be listed or categorized—the political is seen as a method to characterize oneself.

The emphasis of postmodernism's critique of the dominant notion of ethics is the modern subject (the individual in the home realm and the government in the wider global realm), which the former take as the ethical agent. Sovereign political entities, which define the boundary of the cognitive component subject, highlight the boundaries separating identity from diversity, inside from outside, and order from anarchy. When considering the subject of ethics as a complete, fully formed self, conjunction is conceived and conveyed through "a logic of arrangement" (Odysseos, 2007). Coexistence is reduced to the cohabitation of previously autonomous, non-relational, self-sufficient entities (sovereign states, people, and substate groups), according to this line of thinking. The limitation of relationality to the simple co-presence of pre-constituted things is thus the decisive result of the logic of composition. By depicting people as simultaneously being present and not coexisting, the logic of co-presence welcomes coexistence as "an after-thought," as "extrinsic to the subject," eliding the constitutive role of Otherness. The elimination of heteronomy, or the significance of the Other in the development of the self, results in the establishment of a particular ethos of interpersonal relations: In Hobbesian-style tales of a society without social peril, the other is encountered

through a survival mindset. This paradigm reduces accountability to a concern for one's own survival.

Postmodern researchers concentrate on the limit, the "inter," in-between, and relationality, and investigate how it functions as a marker of difference rather than assuming borders that represent the restriction of sovereign community and identity as granted. The limit is rearticulated as a location that reveals what modern subjectivity has obscured: an awareness of one's self that is always already relational and that is created by Otherness. The radical interconnection of existence is revealed when the conceptual distinction between the self and the Other is removed (Campbell and Dillon, 1993; Zehfuss, 2007). The idea that ontological uniqueness is what makes being human unique serves as the foundation for such a shift. It is this distinction that transforms human existence into a plurality "installed inside the being of every human being," rather than merely a variety of human subjects (subjects like the nation, class, race, religion, etc). (Dillon, 1999). In these explanations, the issue of difference and the limit is transferred from the realm of inter, i.e., difference among sovereign subjects (individuals or states), to an account of difference that is intra, i.e., relating to the self as such. It is asserted that the Other, who resides in the self, cannot ever be wrapped into the self, preventing the human from ever feeling at home amongst itself. In other words, the dilemma of the limitation is transformed from being one that just concerns the limit, the line dividing the self from the other, and their interrelation, into a question regarding the fundamental nature of relationality itself. Post-structural and postmodern interrogations argue that what is at issue is an un-integrated Uniqueness divide that prevents any identity from ever getting totally stabilized—rather than just the difference between identities and their constitutional obligation to one another. Being "inevitably implicated and even exposed" (Zehfuss, 2009) transforms existence into responsibility by making the way we behave to the other into an inescapable result of being with them. Based on these foundational ideas, scholars work to create a postmodern political ethic that asserts not only the duty to intervene in conflicts and alleviate suffering for others, but also the pressing need to consider what responding actually entails (Jabri, 1998; Dauphinée, 2007). They formulate an idea of the "ethic of the encounter," which "evokes radical hospitality and a welcome of the other notwithstanding the hazards to the security of the self and the self's identity" (Lawler, 2008).

3 Community, Struggle, and Democracy

Some academics emphasize the necessity to reconsider the issues of the political and democratic communities beyond the paradigm of sovereignty, arguing that contemporary "spatiotemporal processes that are dramatically at conflict with the resolution indicated by the idea of state sovereignty" (Walker, 1995). According to Connolly (2013), the territorial state is "a potential carrier of virulent nationalism" in the setting of the "centrifugal forces" of globalization because of its "strong grip over public notions of democratic accountability, danger, and security." He urges the development of a different political ethos by drawing on Nietzsche and going beyond fundamental notions of ethico-political existence. Political structures, organizations, and practices are driven by the "relational dispositions of individuals," or the traditions, values, customs, and norms (Connolly, 2013). Connolly makes an argument for a distinct "democratic fantasy" that is predicated on a "ethos of pluralization" that transcends the confines of the state.

Others question "how we could reconsider and seek a politics of life" (Evans and Reid, 2014) outside of liberal biopolitics, redefining the current political impasse as more of a problem brought on by the globalization of liberal regimes than a problem stemming from the exclusive implications of liberal democracy. Evans and Reid (2014) claim that "there is a lot more to existence than... continuous survival" and emphasize the need to let go of the past in order to make place for the future. Many claim that we cannot even fathom life on other planets if we cannot accept that this one will eventually perish and vanish. Evans and Reid (2014) elucidates such a politics by conceptualizing it in connection to two interconnected crises (climate change and migration), which are seen as serious challenges to political order and safety and are high on the global political agenda. The study reveals how concerns about climate-induced migration are promoting and aiding in the use of population control measures, such as sterilizing the poor and illiterate. Ultimately, the "fear of rupture that portends in the new," or the worry that the arrival of migrants heralds the dissolution of society as we know it, is what drives these security regimes that regulate migration (Even and Reid, 2014). The development of innovative life forms, new ways of being, and novel worlds that would otherwise be precluded by de-politicizing, securitizing, and catastrophic imaginaries are all possibilities that Reid (2014) envisions through the development of an alternative political conception. The foundation of Reid's political imagining is "a appreciation of the splendor that emerges through the ludicrous merging of life despite climatic limitations."

2.8 Postmodernism and the media

According to some theories, beliefs, cultural norms, and ideologies, the media today play a crucial role in determining and understanding the very essence of the universe. This may be because we frequently interact with the media for information, entertainment, ideas, opinions, and many other things that in some way influence our perspectives.

The postmodern era has begun in today's culture as it is produced by the mass media and ICTs. The age is dominated by popular culture and media images, which also impact our perception of reality. Meanings now cross texts (i.e. simulations, images, copies, and so on are so global that there are no authentic original any more). As a result, modeling has replaced the reality of history and experience, and popular culture has supplanted art and "high" culture (classic, music, art, ballet, opera, symphony, and so forth). What we consume in terms of media has surpassed what we produce in importance.

In the realm of media, postmodernism or postmodern culture includes video games and its offshoots, sexual content in advertising, men's wacky hairstyles, sexy fashion trends, unheard-of love for amusements, body tattoos, homosexuality, popular music, and many more social trends. For instance, popular music has emerged as the period's major art form and has proven to have tremendous potential to effect social change.

New types of culture known as cyberculture or media/popular culture are developing as a result of new technology. The American Music Television (MTV) is one example of this. The entire MTV revolution has changed how people think about entertainment; it has now become televisual and hyper-visual. The best example of a virtual world nowadays is MTV. Strong cinematic technology effects can create situations that seem virtually genuine. The mainstream media are observing the dominance of postmodern music, such as hip-hop, pop, rock 'n' roll, and R and B, as opposed to jazz, ballet, and other forms of traditional Western music of the modern era. The current fads among young Africans are popular culture, music, and entertainment. The majority of the programming on broadcast and cables stations in Nigeria are entertainment-based.

In light of this, postmodernism or postmodern is a passing fad, a style that appeals to the senses and is in vogue. It challenges the conventional view of culture as something stable, bureaucratic, and hierarchical and is hedonistic in character. Practical nude artists performing a variety of erotic dances are a hallmark of postmodernism. Love, romance, sex, and violence

are the key themes in postmodern music. It is a culture that values sex and everything related to it, including the clothing used by artists, seductive tones, and sexy appearances. Its nature is therefore unstable, kaleidoscopic, and hedonistic.

Postmodernism is now centered on explicit sexual content in the world of advertising. One of the most effective postmodern marketing, and particularly advertising, tools is regarded to be sexual content in advertisements. It works well for generating attention right away, maintaining that interest, and then introducing a product that somehow links to that interest. In contrast to non-sexual content, advertising that contains sexual content regularly results in increased levels of purchase intention and likely purchasing behavior, according to Reichert (2002). To pique customer interest, a variety of sexual content is used. These are forms of provocative clothing, such as miniskirts, skin-tight tops, low-cut blouses, bikinis, and others that are worn in commercials. Also, there is sexual behavior in the form of cat walking, eye contact, inviting similes, and inviting facial expressions with the audience. Several types of sexual material, such as physical beauty and sexual embedding, are present in postmodern advertising. According to detractors, postmodern marketers and advertisers employed sexual themes in their advertisements to draw in and hold the attention of consumers. According to detractors, the inference is that sex in advertising piques consumers' interest more so than the product itself.

1. ICTs as a Postmodernist Agent

The idea and state of a postmodern civilization depart from the information age. Information societies are simply those that have become "reliant upon complex digital information communication activities," according to Melody (1990). By implication, sophisticated electronic information networks—ICTs—enable a postmodern society. By Nel and Kroeze, (2008), the causes of postmodernism are identified.

2. Information Oversaturation in Society

New knowledge is being produced as a result of the information and communication technology oversaturation of society. Nel and Kroeze (2008) assert that the ability of ICT to maintain and store information makes it simpler to produce and generate new knowledge. Marx (2004) refers to this compounding impact of information as the significance model, where it is

simple to produce additional fresh data and models due to the theoretical underpinnings of knowledge arising through ICTs. According to Capurro (1989), the production, storage, and use of a society's knowledge contribute to the preservation and enhancement of its social character. As knowledge is enhanced via ICTs, society is saturated with new information and changes. The plurality effect is the most visible result of the abundance of information available to society. One is progressively being inundated with knowledge on the same subject that could be different. As a result, one is given access to more knowledge sources. Knowledge is plentiful, then becomes saturated. ICTs' impact on society's information saturation has the result of distorting knowledge and weakening truth. With interactions oriented to maximize the development, manipulation, diffusion, and commercialization of information, information and knowledge are no longer perceived as offering facts and solid foundations but rather as something to be traded and manipulated (Eischen, 2000).

The overabundance of information in society has created a "sea of signals" where information is increasingly perceived differently and understanding is based on what ICT can provide. The oversaturation of society with knowledge has the potential to lead to a deconstructive and analytical worldview, or to a virtualization of the real world. That is hyperreality or virtual reality taking control of reality.

3. Representation's priority over reality

The usage of symbols and depictions of reality are taking on a more significant role as ICT permeates society. ICT emphasizes visuals heavily and uses representation in the majority of its permutations. The idea of representation can be thought of as the simulation or re-representation of reality through different techniques. Although words and data can be used, picture is the main method used to do this. Virtual worlds can create full virtual realities by using ICT to illustrations in a virtual realm. Hence, representation in ICT condenses a subject, idea, or message into a visual form. This can reduce complexity and speed up the process of learning a subject. It's interesting to note that marketing firms utilize representation in their advertising campaigns to promote the concept or design of the brand rather than the real thing itself. In structuring their business processes, organizations are increasingly using representation. Our ideas of reality may be evolving as a result of virtual reality and online communities. Hyper-real is a phrase used by postmodernists to describe our new conceptions of reality. Nowadays, hyper-reality—the significantly increased and amplified usage of simulations and images—is associated with modern advertising. Simulacra in postmodern

advertising lead us to believe that, as long as goods and services are delivered, there is no longer a need to distinguish between images and reality in advertising. Representation is a phenomenon in the ICT world in which the representation of the artifact or image is thought to be superior to the real thing due to its blurring of the actual physical reality. Because of this, people may reject the real world in favor of imaginary worlds or virtual worlds made by computers. According to this perspective, hyper-realities constitute a serious threat to society because they might cause people to lose their sense of authenticity, what is real, and affection for what is not real.

4. The dilation of time and space

Hyper-reality is not just found in realms of enjoyment and entertainment. Virtualized data realities have shown a world in which time and place no longer matter and are only additional factors to be taken into account when pursuing an impact. ICTs have significantly contributed to the removal of barriers resulting from separation and distance. Real-time updates and live information feedback are made possible by the ability of information to be delivered immediately throughout the globe. ICTs have minimized geographic location. Physical location is further diminished by the social interactions that communicate across vast distances and numerous time zones, replacing the conventional social face-to-face interactions. In other words, physical limitations and categories of distance and place are irrelevant when using the Internet.

5. Aiding in the promotion of consumerism

The socioeconomic dynamics of society are being significantly influenced by information technology. ICTs are supplying the tools for mass production, the means for mass marketing interaction, increasing organizational knowledge, enabling dramatic optimization, data storage, and the infrastructure support for the fulfillment of the global economy. For instance, the Internet is the new frontier in product marketing, allowing advertising campaigns to reach a previously unheard-of audience. The Internet also makes it possible to generate enormous volumes of data that can be used to generate statistical information, profile demographics, spot market trends, and better understand consumers.

Consumerism and the world economy are closely related because consumerism would not be able to spread as much as it has in the globe today without the effects of globalization. In addition to providing the informational superhighways for consumerism's rampant marketing efforts, the global networked information society also supplies the technological infrastructure necessary for mass production and distribution. The typical consumer today feels a sense of connection to the world economy. Yet, according to Nel and Kroeze (2008), consumerism is one of ICT and postmodernism's most harmful and divisive consequences. How? They believe that consumerism encourages the development of false identities and hyper-realities, usurps the functions of culture and society, and substitutes superficial and transient ideologies for them. ICT allows for the creation of artificially appealing worlds in advertising that can be used to pique consumers' false and fictitious desires.

6. The rejection and displacement of cultural heritage

People are experiencing fresh, fascinating, and maybe competing viewpoints that are challenging their traditional views of the world because of the power of ICTs to overcome the limitations of distance and time. These alternate viewpoints could go counter to the culturally established value systems, casting doubt on previously held knowledge and realities. Feigenbaum (2001) asserts that this has a profoundly disruptive impact on society and has the power to alter the culturally specific sets of behaviors, viewpoints, communication patterns, and identities. Africans, for instance, are influenced by Western traditions.

Internet and communication technologies not only cast doubt on the diversity of traditional culture, but they also work to advance Western culture and the forces of globalization. Typically, the ideals of Western society become inextricably linked to the adoption of ICTs. Free speech, equal rights, and individuality are democratizing factors that are associated with western civilization. Technology enables community emancipation in this way, weakening the power and impact of oppressive or overbearing cultures. They do constitute the postmodernist tenets. Technology has an impact on cultures that were helpful or constructive, though. Regardless of the characteristics of the recipient culture, the cultural importance systems of some locations are replaced. In this approach, the recipient culture loses its distinctiveness and merges with the single international culture. Because of this, according to Feeberg (1996),

fewer cultures will remain distinct from one another as ICT spreads over more and more cultures.

ICTs' support of postmodern cultures may have a number of grave unexpected effects. The assault of the moral ambiguities of the global community might cause traditional values and knowledge to crumble. Hyperrealities' gloss and glamour can often make conventional systems seem archaic and uninteresting in comparison. Conventional rules of respect and communication are viewed as unnecessary or ineffective. Postmodern technologies have the potential to render recipient or local cultures morally and ethically bankrupt, leading to the complete dissolution of society.

7. The redefining of identity loss

ICTs' cumulative and intertwined affects will eventually have an impact on a person's personality and sense of self, either directly or indirectly. Individuals will start to redefine established values and ethics as they start to see them in new ways. ICT-created ambiguities have compelled people to explore their own understanding universes. Individual worldviews are reinterpreted as a result of information technology's impact on society, and a new identity crisis may result. Individuals currently live in a society that is continuously being changed and reshaped by the effects of ICTs and the desire for identity, claims Pullinger (1999). In other words, information-based reality redefines civilization.

Regular interactions with ICT help to build a person's individuality. The individual must no longer passively accept the meta-narratives that society and culture have imposed on them. Using ICTs, postmodernism encouraged people to learn about and explore the globe, experience various ways of living, meet new people, and be questioned by many paradigms of thought. A person has access to a vast amount of information on the Internet that may conflict with what they previously believed to be true. Also, it can open a doorway into a philosophy or culture that more closely resembles their own personal beliefs and sense of purpose. People use ICTs or multimedia to express themselves, define who they are, or learn about new ways of living. According to Rosenberg (2004), "individuals seeking self-discovery and insight are perceived as predominately populating the virtual worlds of the Internet. It is possible to display one's image exactly as one wants due to the nature of the Internet and the disconnection of the

individual from their physical environs. As a result of ICT exploration or virtual community, individuals identified themselves or created their own culture.

The truth of identity redefinition or loss ultimately depends greatly on each person's moral fortitude. It is useful to notice that society is remaking itself in light of information technology after exhaustively examining information communication technologies as a postmodernist agency. For instance, traditional non-verbal exchanges helped to define or shape pre-literate civilization. The industrialism, the mass media, and the Gutenberg revolution socially defined the modern era. Information and communication technologies are defining and redefining modern society, or postmodern culture. There are unquestionably socio-cultural ramifications to this.

2.9 Postmodernism and Social Media

The term "post modernism" has multiple disciplinary connotations. According to Felluga (2011), postmodernism is "a group of critics who, frequently inspired by the postmodern society they inhabit, try to rethink a number of concepts held by Transcendence humanitarianism and so many modernists, which include subjectivity, temporality, related to application, progress, empiricism, and the rule of law". It refers to "aesthetic/cultural goods that treat and frequently critique features of postmodernity," he adds. In other words, postmodernism is a protest against deeply held beliefs, customs, and ways of acting and seeing the world. In fact, present events seem to indicate that the era of deference to authority, time, and communalism is over. Instead, the social scene is dominated by self-adulation, materialism, and a lack of respect for human life.

According to Haferkamp and Smelser (1992), the growth of the state, the explosion of the information sector, and the emergence of social media are the three sociological factors that have shaped postmodernity. But, we'll focus on the third cultural dynamic—the growth of new media—in order to make our point. We will place the connection between social media and postmodern ideology in more detail. The social media have assisted in "creating" the new social movements, much like the government and the knowledge sector. These movements' internal strategies, organizational structure, and leadership have all been influenced by media coverage of them as well as the immediate attention they have received thanks to current communications technologies (Haferkamp and Smelser, 1992).

Yet, postmodernism emphasizes on individual happiness, which means that man lives for himself (whatever that would make the individual happy). The society in this area has transitioned from communism to individualism. Nowadays, many feel the urge to achieve popularity at all costs, regardless of morality—mindless celebrity. We have observed the actions of the LGBT community, the transgender community, and several other movements that support free thought. Social media had a major role in this movement by creating a forum for the growth of such ideas.

According to Hawthorn (2005), postmodernism has an air of novelty and is characterized by unique realities that are largely extreme, non-traditional, and idealistic in terms of culture, economy, and ideology. The postmodernist society is now a troubled place in and of itself. Postmodernism's commitment to the queer, which is by definition anything at conflict with the norm, the legal, and the dominant, is one of its issues. The philosophy encourages socially unacceptable behavior and praises all forms of deviation (Selden, 2005). But according to Freud's theory of the pleasure principle as presented in "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" from 1923, the primary goal of a human being is to want the freedom to do as they like, which is typically to do evil. It makes sense that social media networks have grown in popularity within this postmodernist era (Kumwenda, 2014).

This brings to mind Caitlyn Jenner, a guy with six children from three different spouses who underwent gender transition at the age of 69. William Bruce Jenner, an American television personality and former decathlete who won an Olympic gold medal, was born on October 28, 1949. She had sex reassignment surgery in January 2017. The most well-known transgender person in the world is Jenner, according to some (Pilkington, 2015). Idris Okuneye, popularly known as Bobrisky, is a cross-dresser who has been dubbed a Nigerian internet personality and philanthropist in the new media realm. She dresses like a lady but "he" is a "men," as a result of "his" controversial lifestyles, which have been giving off another impression. ‘ On social media networking platforms like Snapchat and Instagram, where she has been begging for money to create "his" ideology despite Nigerian law being against Homosexual groups, he has amassed a cult-like following.

Todd Gitlin concluded that the media eventually evolved into the movement, serving as the voice of the student body, in his study on "the influence of the mass media on the growth of the student movement in the United States" (Gitlin 1980). Gitlin showed how the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a relatively small group of well-educated students, gained

notoriety through media attention, which changed not only the organization and its governance, giving precedence to the colorful and violent, but also its goals and its ideology, giving precedence to "radical" ideas and positions, despite the fact that such views had previously only had a negligible status within the group. The majority of movements (students, workers, celebrities, etc.) now have greater effect on society than they had when conventional media was in vogue thanks to the revolution in new media.

By repeatedly exposing the general public to unrealistic lifestyles through commercials, postmodern theorists have promoted their views in another way. The effort to further debase the subconsciously disadvantaged through commercials has gained steam, and today we observe that the majority of young people are worried about buying expensive automobiles, skyscrapers, and internet-enabled mobile phones even though they cannot afford to do so. The iPhone series fits into this category since the majority of young people in undeveloped countries will go to any lengths to purchase the smartphone, which costs more than \$1,500 USD.

The spread of internet scammers and young drug usage have also been connected to the postmodernist concepts of a free society that social media has been promoting. Hip hop performers' use of affluence, money, and drugs in their music videos is proof of this. Few singers have been promoting postmodernism ideals in their songs more than Jay-Z, Kanye West, and Olamide in the West and Davido, Naira Marley, and Olamide in Africa. For instance, a young Nigerian musician named Naira Marley allegedly encouraged his followers to engage in everyday intercourse, smoke marijuana, drop out of school, dress without a belt, and for women, to go braless. The bad consequence is that they tutor the majority of young people in Africa. In the majority of their videos, these artists flaunt their affluence and drug use, and the authorities really have little recourse. A recent Instagram remark from one of them stated: "A woman getting a behind (large buttocks) is better than a Master's Degree." After 15 minutes, the tweet received over 27,000 likes and shares from the majority of his followers, who are primarily young people. The cost of text messages sent by viewers, mostly young people, during the recently finished reality television program BBNaija - pepper dem gang in Nigeria, was estimated to be over 7 billion naira.

The argument that social media destroys society's members is supported further by the fact that each person's identity is fragmented, inconsistent, and unstable. Borgmann (1992) made this claim when he observed that some social media platforms subvert or replace organic social

reality by allowing users to present stylized versions of themselves to one another, a phenomenon he refers to as hyper-reality rather than allowing users to engage with the fullness and complexity of their true identities (Kumwenda, 2014).

2.10 Truth, freedom and the postmodernist rabbit hole

Truth and freedom, which have long been at the core of both religious belief and scholarly inquiry, are two perceptions that are undoubtedly essential to the social sciences. It follows that, like German idealism before it, the postmodernist canon completely emphasizes the latter while negating (to varying degrees) the former. We learn from the investigations of active scholars in organizational lessons and management/business studies that all "meanings" are "fictively constructed" with regard to perceptions of verifiable truths (Munslow, 2015), the notions that "every story we might have to tell is contestable" (Jacques and Durepos, 2015), "rooted fictionalism" (Suddaby and Foster, 2017), "an responsibility" of forgetting (Taylor et al., 2009), and "writing of economics, sociology, or history is rhetorical discourse" (Godfrey et al., 2016) can all be built on; one "has no faith in the notion of truth" as a "postmodernist" (quoted Bowden, 2018). Even if we look at representations from ANTi-History, which accepts a significant amount of "relativism" in postmodernist theory, each "body of knowledge" is considered as "relational," that is, it demonstrates "the principles and desires of those who create it" (Jacques and Durepos, 2015). On the other hand, when we consult the identical research, we frequently hear to write with "emancipatory" and "liberationist" need (Durepos and Mills, 2012), to alter "the limitations with regard to what administration could mean," and to provide "a bottom-up, plurality remedy" to "managerialism" (Maclean et al., 2016). We are also frequently told that we must "decentre" the "manager-as-author".

Without a doubt, the "emancipatory" asserts of postmodernist-informed research contribute significantly to explaining its success. This success is largely attributable to Foucault's (1991) assertion that modern societies are, in every way, psychological prisons, with "carceral" networks built on "institutions of oppression, disapproval, marginalization, and marginalization." With Foucault, oppression and power are no longer associated with capitalism in general, as they had been with Marxism. Rather, discrimination and suppression are practiced wherever power exists and is frequently found in "micro-power" institutions, such as the workplace or the home. Foucault (1978) asserted that "more centers of power" had never

existed, with each one being marked by "infinitesimal surveillances." Foucault (1991) asserted in his lectures on "Governmentality" that developed economies had seen a transition from a "society of sovereignty"—one built around police, courts, etc.—to a "disciplinary society," where individuals internalized repressive ideas.

The main strength of postmodernism seems to be Foucauldian hostility to all disparities in power because of its seeming universal applicability and ostensible appeal. In actuality, it traps all adherents within its conceptual boundaries, sending them down a philosophical rabbit hole where there is no escape. In spite of its self-proclaimed opposition to inequalities and injustices, postmodernism in all of its forms has two serious flaws. The logical offspring of German idealist viewpoint, postmodernism is primarily concerned with "representation," "consciousness," "freedom," "will," and the individual being and is largely unconcerned with issues pertaining to material existence, such as the field of economics demographics, logistics, manufacturing costs and earnings, wage rates, and the like. Foucauldian proponents of organizational and business history advocate complete abstinence from the "imperialism of economics" rather than embracing economics, the lifeblood of every society that shapes the material boundaries of what is possible (Godfrey et al., 2016; Rowlinson and Carter, 2002). The founding fathers of British empiricism gave serious consideration to the needed institutional structures that protect individuals and groups from the tyrannical and potentially violent behavior of their fellows.

The second fatal error of postmodernism, which is a result of the first, is to give dimensions to abstract understandings of "power," "repression," and "discrimination without doing the same. Now, it's likely that individuals who read this paper with a "critical" bent will counter that any type of authority, dominance, or power should be resisted and that power imbalances and domination are common in both free democratic society and dictatorships. Any such observation raises the unanswered question of whether "freedom" in the interest of the common good has to be subject to any social restraints. Since Schelling (2006) defined "complete freedom" as the ability to transcend socially established limitations, it follows that an individual's "ideal nature" might be expressed (at least in part) through "evil" deeds. After all, according to Schelling (2006), it is humanity's potential for "rational" evil that sets our species apart from others; this is because a proclivity for evil is not an abnormal trait instead it's a "universal" quality.

If we accept this assumption, it naturally follows that any institutional prohibitions against evil inherently impede individuals from realizing their full artistic and destructive potential (as well as the possibility of a community as a whole). But if one wishes to disagree with Schelling's conclusions - along with those of his student Friedrich Nietzsche (1970), who produced in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* that "evil is man's best strength" and that "Man has to become more effectively and evil" - then one must admit that established harnesses on evil acts (such as laws, courts, educational institutions, etc.) are a necessary part of social existence. After coming to this understanding, it only makes sense that "freedom" is no longer an idealized concept but rather a social construct that can only coexist with established structures that govern rights and responsibilities, systems that place socially acceptable limitations on specific types of behavior, and systems of balance and supervision. Whatever the epistemological flaws of the positivism's founders (Hobbes, Locke, Hume, and Burke), their insights into the sources of personal power and freedom continue to be a steadfast strength. Liberal democracies may achieve this equilibrium more successfully compared to other economic and social systems, according to some..

Though postmodernist understandings of knowledge and power may be incorrect, they are not the result of ideological willfulness, according to others. Instead, they essentially represent the postmodernist movement's fundamental philosophical idealism and an ingrained mistrust of any effort to contain human understanding inside institutional boundaries that are socially supported or epistemological principles that support widely recognized "truths." Postmodernists view the evidence as flexible "representation" rather than as objective facts, continuing the prevailing traditions of German idealism. According to Dutch postmodernist Frank Ankersmit (1989) "Content is a derivative of style," and "postmodernists from Nietzsche up to and including Derrida want to broaden aestheticism over every aspect of the representation of reality." In instance, Foucault (1972) expressed opposition to using "long series" (i.e., databases on demographic, economic, and organizational information) to comprehend history since he believed that doing so denied individual awareness and existence.

Now, in order to debunk such idealist misconceptions that severely constrain our approaches, we must avoid descending into an impoverished positive thinking that places total trust in empirical observations and mental breadth, and contend that "there exists a practical anything real without us," as Kant (1902) proposed. According to Popper (2002), who is correct; people who restrict their study to common and commonsense knowledge, must remain completely

blind to the most important and exciting epistemological concerns. According to Popper (2002), Kant was "the first person to recognize that the impartiality of scientific assertions has an intimate connection with the construction of theories" in terms of epistemology. He also believed that we should structure our beliefs in terms of conceptual comprehension and thesis testing. Even the most fundamental corporate procedures demonstrate the constraints of empirical observation. For instance, if a farmer wants to plant wheat, they must take into account both the direct and derived demands for wheat (such as those for manufacturing pasta, bread, and cookies). Wheat farming necessitate knowledge about a variety of complexities, such as the fact that freight companies experience concurrent demand for their services (i.e., they transport products other than wheat), output in faraway places can make even a "successful" harvest unprofitable, and so on. This is because different types of wheat are well-suited for certain purposes but poorly-suited to others. In other words, empirical observation devoid of a conceptual framework has little theoretical or applied value.

It makes sense that Popper's well-known dislike of the use of empirical (as compared to logical) logic imposes yet another unjustified constraint on the scope of our research if he was aware of the limitations of pure empiricism. In the social sciences, Popper (2002) believed that inductive logic, which develops hypotheses from observation, was unjustifiable and that the only conceptual structures that were viable were those that could be refuted or proven by the application of deductive reasoning. The bulk of the real problems we encounter may be resolved using deductive reasoning, especially all the problems I discussed in relation to wheat agriculture in the preceding section. As Woiceshyn and Daellenbach (2018) do as they ask, "where do the theories originate in the first place if they are not generated from empirical observations?" we should also be careful not to overstate the issues that arise from relying on deductive logic. Because it is in the very nature of research to develop an alternative theory that can be falsified (or verified) in turn when one theory is found to be false.

For instance, Copernicus came to the conclusion that the sun, not the earth, was at the center of the solar system after earlier theories to the contrary were refuted. Deductive logic in the social sciences reaches its limits when one looks past the "piecemeal" social "tinkering" that Popper (1944) liked to analyze big historical or sociological trends—explorations that Popper famously denounced as "historicism"—. Max Weber, who is considered to be the most deductively logical thinker the social sciences have ever produced, stressed that research constantly prompts us to ask questions that are outside the purview of deductive reasoning,

such as the historical significance of charismatic individuals, the reasons behind the Industrial Revolution and the waning of energy in the post-1991 Japanese economy, etc. Because, as Weber (1949) noted in his conclusion, the more "general" the problem, the less amenable it is to a single, obvious solution based on the results of empirical sciences. The best we can expect for when dealing with such issues, according to Weber (1949), is proof that a hypothesis or result is "objectively possible" as opposed to being able to be verified through empirical means. A negative result does not lead us to discount the reliability of the idea, for instance, when determining whether or not a certain corporate or political leader is "charismatic". Instead, it underlines how we still structure our reality according to "ideal" types or representation that are not physically observable, such as circles, charismatic people, authoritarian leaders, free-market systems, and democracies.

Contrarily, positivism (which is based on philosophic empiricism) and postmodernist thought (which is based on philosophical idealism) both share a common trait in that they both distrust inductive logic and big historical narratives. Using a perspective that is entirely true to Hume, who noted that all "events" are "loose and separate," at best "conjoined" in their relationship to one another, "but never connected" (Hume, 1902) the renowned Anglo-German historian G.R. Elton (1969) cautioned readers of his book *The Practical Use of History* against any fruitless "search for laws" in history. Using somewhat different epistemological presumptions, Keith Jenkins (1997) stated in *The Postmodern History Reader* that "In postmodern terms, nothing connects" in order to arrive at a similar conclusion. Postmodernist opposition to "meta-narratives" is also seen in Munslow's (1997) *Deconstructing History*, which asserts that it "now appears almost unbelievable that anyone could have ever trusted in the order of ultimate stories like liberty, science, Marxism, and socialism."

This empiricist/postmodernist opposition to "meta-narratives" has the inherent flaw of focusing our attention only on the "events" that capture the public's imagination, such as elections, wars, organizational crises, industrial strikes, political crises, etc., or what Braudel (1980) called the "fleeting spectacle" of life. The "bigger" questions of humanity's historical experience—namely, the causes of the Industrial Revolution and the dominance of Europe in economics and culture—are left unanswered because they cannot be simply explained in terms of consciousness, will, ideas, and action on both sides. The epistemological questions - time and the ability of individual awareness and will to modify history - that were mentioned as crucial in the introduction of this study are brought to the forefront when discussing these "bigger"

topics. It is important to underline that time and individual activity are interrelated rather than distinct aspects. We cannot think about one without also thinking about the other. Because it is the way we prioritize time that puts variables like personal consciousness and will in the foreground or background.

If we consider the experiences of humanity during the past five years, for instance, situations like Brexit and Donald Trump's election as US president seem to be key; they tend to make individual and group action the deciding element. Brexit and Trump, however, seem insignificant when compared to the fall of the Soviet Union and the advent of new economic giants in Asia, most notably China and Japan, if we look at the events that have changed the human experience since 1945. Even these latter events seem insignificant when compared to the advent of industrial capitalism, a type of economic activity that has predominated in almost every region of the world throughout the past 300 years of humanity's existence. These several temporal aspects of the modern state occur simultaneously, rather than separately, as humans facing the past, the present, and the future. When weighed against inheritable physical circumstances of existence, how may individual actions and will be given the proper weight? Marx (1951) stated that people "make their own history, but they cannot create it just as they would like; they do not make it under situations chosen by one another, but under situations directly faced, given and passed on from the past." This is perhaps the most concise explanation of how history is created.

Given that postmodernist canons of thinking are descendants of German philosophic idealism, if one had to sum them up in one word, it would be "myopic". Foucault (1972) stated that "Discourse have to not be mentioned to the distant existence of origin, but treated as and when it occurs" and that postmodernism is "temporally ill-suited to analysis that includes into the faraway or even near past." Postmodernism is concerned with issues relating to consciousness, will, identity, and power. Foucault (1972), who stated that he had "no great liking for interpretation," advised that postmodernist systems of thinking are similarly unsuited to the task of finding causal linkages. Postmodernist approaches are unsuitable for economic analysis due to hostility toward the use of long-term demographic or economic series, which marginalizes postmodernist influences in many of the most important contemporary disputes.

A tendency toward "deconstruction" and "de-centering" also disqualifies one from being able to recognize overarching patterns in historical experience. In contrast to the notable advocates of German philosophic optimism, particularly Schelling and Nietzsche, postmodernism has

likewise given little thought to the essence of "freedom" and the ways in which any sort of "complete freedom" must embrace behaviors that are both good and evil. Which can we then blame for its clear and enduring appeal? Its assertions that it is the preeminent post-Marxist "critical" school of thought demonstrate its legitimacy in the eyes of academics and the general public. This school of thought advocates, in the words of the top officials of the AOM's Critical Management Studies Division, "the appearance of perceives vital of established management ideas and practices, presumably economic or social demands covering structures and enterprise" (Cummings and Prasad, 2018). Awkwardly for supporters of such critical indulgences, postmodernism is uniquely ill-suited to such desired goals due to its methodological and conceptual limitations.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three will involves the designing of the thesis in relation to the study of various media perspective or ways in the resolution of conflict: the Niger Delta region being the case study. This chapter will be ranging from the research design which will be qualitative, to the study area, instrument and method for the collection of data and data analysis.

3.2 Study Area

Study area refers to the geographical region the research will be looking into. Therefore, the study area for this research is Niger Delta region of Nigeria and particularly how the media have influenced the mindset of the occupants on that region to embrace peace and stop the conflict.

3.3 Research Design

Research design involves the systematic ways to examine data and the frame work that gives information of the type of data to be collected. The research design helps in the actualization

of the thesis objectives as listed in chapter one (Udeagha, 2003). Qualitative analysis will be employed to view how media has resolved or resolving the Niger Delta conflict in Nigeria. Qualitative analysis or research are analysis or research carried out with the goal of understanding words and their meaning by the concept and experience the researchers on the topic. This will involve the analysis, summarization and interpreting of secondary data used in this research. Secondary data will be collected from official websites of recognized newspapers publication in Nigeria, movie(s) and social media trends.

The instrument for data collection in this study will be newspaper publication, film production and social media (trends and post) in respect to the Niger Delta crisis of Nigeria. The Newspaper to be viewed are popular newspapers like Punch Nigeria, Vanguard Newspaper, this Day Live Newspaper, the Sun Newspaper and the Guardian Newspaper with quality publication on the topic in question. This newspapers was picked because there are not owned by government bur rather privates. The Punch Newspaper, was founded in 1970 by Wale Aboderin, the Guardian Newspaper was founded in 1983, the Vanguard Newspaper in 1984 by Sam Amuk-Pemu, this day newspaper was founded in 1995 by Nduka Obaigbena and the Sun Newspaper was founded in 2011 in the layout of the Kirikiri industry in Lagos State, Nigeria. Their years of existence have made them to be involved in various matters that concerns Nigerians and Nigeria. A typical involvement of these newspapers is in the Niger Delta crisis, which has affected the security and economy of the indigenous group.

3.3.1 About Premium Times Newspaper

Editors of Premium Times, Premium Times Services Limited, is an Abuja-based Nigerian media company with an objective to promote and enrich local cultural practices, advance socioeconomic rights and welfare of its audience, and advocate for best practices, honest government, good governance, and human rights, in line with the standards expected of a modern democratic state.

One of the most significant contemporary democratic institutions, according to the organization's owners, is the media. It can support the emergence of resistance-inspired ideals, new communities, and political and social aims for a better society. Unfortunately, the media occasionally has negative consequences that can stifle optimism and vision and cause

interpersonal conflict. Both roles have been filled by the media in our nation at various points throughout its history.

According to Premium Times, which was established in the middle of 2011, Nigeria have to accept the difficulties of progress and development in a significant, tangible way. Premium Times has made a significant commitment to providing Nigeria with the kind of media that will promote the rights of the populace and move our country toward social reengineering and development.

According to Premium Times, modern media that was must be reflective, careful, analytic, and empathetic without having a sense of entitlement or insularity in order to help spur the challenge of the cultural rebirth, educational revolution and economic development in Nigeria. By filling that gap in our media, Premium Times has raised the bar for journalism in Nigeria.

Beginning with this online platform, Premium Times publishes throughout all media with the aim of attracting the majority of young and middle-class Nigerian elites who have a sense of the future and a commitment to social change.

3.3.2 About Vanguard Nigeria Newspaper

Mr. Sam Amuka, a well-known, seasoned writer and columnist of the Sad Sam Fame, founded Vanguard Media Limited, proprietors of Vanguard Newspapers, in 1984. Sam Amuka served as the Sunday Times' editor and the Punch Newspaper's first managing director.) He is from the Itsekiri territory of what is now Nigeria's Delta State.

It published several titles between 1988 and 1995, including Mr. and Mrs. Magazine (a collection of the most well-known comic strips from the paper's front page), Lagos Mirror (an evening newspaper), Vanguard Yellow Pages (a directory), Lagos Law Directory, and Sports Now (a weekly magazine devoted solely to sports).

The Daily Vanguard, Saturday Vanguard, and Sunday Vanguard are currently part of the paper's stable. Since then, new titles that cater to specialized interests have been introduced. Allure, Sweet Crude, Hitech, Financial Vanguard, Sports Vanguard, and Cyber Life are a few of these. No serious policy maker, businessperson, politician, student, or interest group would overlook these titles since they are so product-specific.

Aviation, education, and insurance, business and banking, sports, advertising, management, and marketing, energy, maritime, computer and hi-tech, , tourism, health, labor, human angle, and women's issues, politics are some of Vanguard's key aspects.

The newspaper also includes reputable columnists such as Kola Animasuan, Dele Sobowale, Pini Jason, Tony Momoh, Bisi Lawrence, Ocherome Nnanna, Les Leba, Helen Ovbiagele, Bunmi Sofola, Treena Kwenta, Obi Nwakanma, and many others, as well as Aig-Imoukhuede, who passed away on January 23, 2007, until recently. VANGUARD is an intriguing book for discriminating minds due to these names.

Five editors have been in charge of the Daily's editorial concerns over the course of the paper's history. They are:

- i. Mr. Muyiwa Adetiba 1984 - 1985
- ii. Mr. Akitoye Akiode 1985 - 1991
- iii. Mr. Frank Aigbogun 1991 - 1998
- iv. Mr. Gbenga Adefaye 1998 - 2008.
- v. Mr. Miden Bayagbon 2008 - 2016
- vi. Mr Eze Anaba 2016 to date

One of the top newspapers in Nigeria right now is Vanguard. It has a long history of being the nation's most enjoyable, energizing, authoritative, thorough, and reader-friendly newspaper.

As a result, there are at least ten individuals waiting in line to read one copy of VANGUARD for every copy that is purchased. A family-focused publication, VANGUARD also appeals to upwardly mobile executives and captains of industry.

Very importantly, to meet the growing demands of the market, the paper circulates 20,000 copies (daily) in Lagos, the nation's business heartbeat. Others include North Central 18,000, North-East 7,500, North-west 7,500, South-West 15,000, South-South 25,000, South-East 15,000 and Abuja-12,000 copies. These total 120,000 copies with a print run of 130,000 copies daily.

In general, it is a newspaper that penetrates every corner of Nigeria and is now supplemented by the most affluent, international readership via the website <https://newlive.vanguardngr.com>. Vanguard is a standard in sports writing. Since the food is

served hot, fresh, and with a high level of professionalism in this location, we dare say that this is too obvious to be seriously contested.

The publication sponsored a public lecture by Prof. Bade Onimode in 1995 on the issue of the crisis and reconstruction of the Nigerian economy as part of its mission to improve the lives of Nigerians. Another lecture with the following subject was given in 1996: Understanding the 20th-century Nigerian Economy and Polity. Dr. Yusufu Bala Usman, a distinguished historian, gave the speech. Another lecture on Africa and Global Competitiveness in the Next Millennium (the 21st century) was held to provide a broader viewpoint. Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, Director of Africa Programs and Research at the Harvard Institute for Development Studies in Cambridge, Massachusetts, gave the talk. He is a professor from Ghana. By fostering public discourse and establishing a schedule for discussion, VANGUARD has also made a significant contribution to finding solutions to the Niger Delta crisis. It planned the "ONE VOICE" Conference for South South stakeholders. An occasion that is highly regarded both domestically and abroad, the ANNUAL BANKING AWARDS, was successfully put on by VANGUARD.

3.3.3 About Punch Nigeria Newspaper

PUNCH (Nigeria) Limited was incorporated under the Corporations Act of 1968 on August 8, 1970, with the intention of conducting business as a publisher of newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals. Its goals were to inform, instruct, and amuse Nigerians as well as the rest of the globe.

The company made its debut in 1971 with the release of the glossy, family-focused magazine HAPPY HOME. Bunmi Sofola served as its initial editor. The inaugural issue of its weekly newspaper, SUNDAY PUNCH, debuted on Sunday, March 18, 1973. Ajibade Fashina Thomas served as the initial editor. The newspaper's mission statement is, To provide our nation with a distinctive Sunday paper that brings together the highest standards in serious and popular journalism with exciting news and entertainment.

The Punch, a daily tabloid, debuted on November 1st, 1976. The aim of "the lively paper for lively minds" was to address the majority of the flaws and deficiencies of the established Nigerian media and to be "swingingly elegant as well as socially concerned and seriously responsible." Dayo Wright served as its first editor.

The corporation was repeatedly shut down by the ruling class in its attempts to carry out its legally mandated duties. Numerous of its workers were also subjected to harassment and detention by succeeding military regimes.

The company's top policy-making body is the board of directors. The current chairman of the board is Mrs. Angela Emuwa. Chief James Olubunmi Aboderin, a skilled accountant who passed away in 1984 after a brief illness, served as the inaugural chairman. A management group under the direction of the managing director and editor-in-chief carries out the company's policies and directions. Mr. Joseph Adeyeye is the Managing Director at the moment. Despite being a corporation with a profit-making objective, it supports and upholds democratic principles while advancing the nation's economy.

Since its start, the company has operated out of Onipetesi, Olu Aboderin, and Kudeti streets in Ikeja, Lagos. However, in October 2009, it relocated to its imposing new location at kilometer 14 of the Lagos-Ibadan expressway in Magboro, Ogun state.

The Punch, Saturday Punch, and Sunday Punch have been dominating the Nigerian market for some time. Despite this, the business hasn't sat back and relaxed. It continuously modifies and adapts to contemporary newspaper business practices. It has made significant investments in personnel training and new machinery. The character and content of THE PUNCH in the 1970s and THE PUNCH today are very different. The business intends to continue to dominate the media sector.

3.3.4 About Guardian Newspaper

The Guardian is an independent publication that was started in 1983 with the goals of promoting Nigeria's interests and providing fair coverage of current events. It is not obligated to any political party, racial or ethnic group, religious organization, or other interest group. The integrity and sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Nigeria are its top priorities, followed by the unity and sovereignty of Africa.

The Guardian is a liberal publication dedicated to republican democracy's highest principles and traditions. It holds that the state must not only protect and defend its citizens but also establish the political, social, economic, and cultural frameworks necessary for each one of

them to realize their full human potential. Although it is dedicated to the idea of individual liberty, it considers that all citizens also have obligations.

The Guardian does not, in principle, have a problem with the free market philosophy since to do so would go against its dedication to individual rights and freedom. However, it holds that the government must prudently interfere in the economy of the country in order to limit the negative effects of free enterprise and guarantee that less advantaged persons have reasonable and equitable access to the needs of life.

The Guardian will always advocate for the need for justice, integrity in public life, fair distribution of the nation's resources, and complete equality of protection under the law for all Nigerians. Nigeria is a genuine member of the international community, according to The Guardian, but she can only fulfill her commitments to the world if her security and integrity are guaranteed.

The logo of The Guardian features the conscientiousness emblem from ancient Egypt. The adage "Conscience is an open wound; only truth can heal it" by Uthman Dan Fodio served as the basis for the tagline "Conscience, Nurtured by Truth."

3.3.5 About Daily Post Newspaper

They are a reputable newspaper with a large audience. Local and national news, politics, metro, business, entertainment, sports, and opinions are all covered by them. Daily Trust Newspaper's mission is to be a pioneer in the media sector by producing timely and original material. The newspaper's sections include the following:

1. To be a platform to visit when the news is breaking
2. To use our platform to check societal oppression, injustice and other ills through objective report, analysis and investigation.
3. To hold governments and policymakers accountable on issues that concern the masses
4. To entertain and enlighten the public on trending/topical issues
5. To push for political stability using the vehicle of factual reportage.

The newspaper's primary goals are to keep reporting straightforward, display information clearly, and ensure that news is instructive, interesting, and informative. Upwardly mobile Nigerians, politicians, sports fans, policymakers, the government, and advocates/civil society are their target demographics.

Main categories:

- i. Politics
- ii. Business
- iii. Sports
- iv. Entertainment
- v. Metro
- vi. Headline news

The Newspaper position:

According to the most recent Alexa Ranking, a leading newspaper in Nigeria; one of the best newspapers recognized for its security coverage, particularly when it comes to the Boko Haram conflict. well known for breaking news A newspaper well-known for its regular news summary headlined "10 things you need to know about Nigerian newspapers" Crossing Nigeria's six geopolitical zones, local news is well-liked. a publication renowned for its many human-interest articles. A medium that boast of tremendous traffic across all social media platforms. A newspaper that encourages public responses to topics. Daily Post Nigeria is available to you wherever you are because to our global visibility. Because different rumors circulate in the media, we perform a number of fact checks before releasing information to the press. This has increased the level of confidence that our readers and viewers have in us.

3.4 Method of Data Analysis

The data generated in the study will be presented in tables. The table will contain the media used, year, author, gaps in language and deconstruction. Every publication, trends, post will be viewed as a “TEXT”, as such read several times to find the gaps in the language usage before deconstructing the language.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations in research are a set of guidelines that directs your research designs and methods. Those guiding guidelines are anonymity, confidentiality, the possibility of harm, informed consent, and transmission results. The study paper was well-cited and referenced, and it adhered to all relevant ethical standards. Since neither interviews nor questionnaires were completed, there was no need for ethical approval for this section.

CHAPTER FOUR

LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 Conflict and Conflict Resolution

4.1.1 Background to Conflict

It is a common ideology in the society that “if the tongue and teeth who have being in the same environment (mouth) for long can have disagreement, then who are we not to disagree over almost everything?” Disagreement can be seen as an act of conflict and in the society in which we live in today is so prone to conflict - all it needs is just a spark. Like the saying goes “no smoke without fire”, all conflict the world has experienced are as a result of several factors and all factors can be summarized into “person or individual interest”. Definitely there are different types of conflict ranging from community, state, national etc. and the effect of conflict is colossal to both human life, properties, health and most importantly economy of individual and nation.

According to Chung and Megginson (2004) conflict can simply be described as the state in which two or more individuals are struggling for needs, interest, ideas or wishes. They believed that conflict arises when the actors involved in the conflict are unable to satisfactorily agree to

a particular objectives or goal. These unfortunately are one of the characteristics of individuals in the modern world. The individuals could be community, state officials, federal governments and the politicians are definitely not excluded from the list.

4.1.2 Effects of Conflicts

Conflict can actually lead to war, the world war, civil war, book harm in Nigeria, Niger Delta crisis also in Nigeria are just but few conflict that have affected humanity. In some, if not all of the war, children are affected are affected in several way. It is believed that children are the leaders of tomorrow, but if the leaders are killed today then tomorrow is undefined indeed. Children face challenges such as rape, attacks on their school, kidnapping and sometimes death.

It was reported that 97% of girls abducted during war, crisis are being rape by the actors. These situations most times affect the mindset of these girls (if at all they survive) over time. Wagner et al., (2018) with a broken heart spelt out that the probability of infant to reach 1 year old in region where weapons are used constantly in conflict in 7.7% higher than those infants that are not in conflict region. No wonder Bandavid et al., (2021) in his publication on the effect of armed conflict on the health of children and women stated that in Africa 4.9 million to 5.0 million children below the age of 5 died as a result of conflict and 3.1 to 3.5 infants also died in Africa because of armed conflict (conflict that weapons such as guns, cutlass are used).

The statistics presented by Bandavid et al., (2021) and Wagner et al., (2018) could be way higher. In conflict were ammunitions are used, some mother can throw their baby into the river or leave the infant child in the war zone just to run for safety. While those children that can still work might be abandoned also by parent all in the name of survival. Other factors that could cause the mortality rate to be way higher are case where the water supply becomes low. The adult immune system is way better than the infant child. The adult can handle drinking from the river and still survive but children under the age of 5 cannot be able to survive long on that.

The United Nation Refuge Agency (UNEA), (2020); Balat et al., (2022); Kabir et al., (2018) published on the effect of armed conflict to children in respect to being displaced from homes, parents and/or relations. In their report most developing countries in the world host 85% of refuge. Between 2018 and 2020, 1 (one) million of the displaced children were given birth to out of half the population of refuge that was recorded to be children. Conflict lead to the forceful displacement of 82.4 million individual from where they call home towards the end of

the year 2020 (UNEA, 2020). UNEA, (2020) reported that out of the number recorded at towards the end of 2020, 30.3 million were refugees, 4.1 million seek for asylum and 48 million were internally displaced. In most cases of armed conflict health care such as vaccination becomes very difficult to impossible depending on the gravity of the conflict. If the health care practitioners can have access to the conflict zones then the children can be vaccinated (Kabir et al., 2018).

Sever and Balat, (2020) and Schiff et al., (2012) explained the psychological dangers of war to the children. It is no news that soldiers who return from war zone should be placed under psychological evaluation and until they are fit to go back into the social world they will not be cleared. If that is the case for soldiers, now imagine the case of children without any form of pre-psychological training before war and after war. The sounds of the bullets (if bullets are used during the conflict) the sights of dead people, the effects of running at the sound of a loud noise, the darks where they have to hide. All that most times affects the child in their psychological and social life (Schiff et al., 2012).

4.1.3 Types of Conflicts

There are different types of conflict but for the purpose of this work conflict will be grouped into (Stephen, 2004; Thomas, 2005);

1. High Intensity Conflict
2. Low Intensity Conflict

1. High Intensity Conflict

This is a type of conflict which is characterized typically by conflicts between two or more states. It can be referred to as a big conflict or war (Stephen, 2004). Examples of High Intensity Conflict are: In 2003, the United States and Iraq were in a fully blown armed conflict (war) just to remove the Saddam Hussein regime from power in Iraq. In 2022, Russia and Ukraine went to a full-scale war. Possible causes of such conflict could be battle for international boundaries, test of weapons such as nuclear to/on another country's land (sea).

2. Low Intensity Conflict

This is a type of conflict that is characterized when the violence in the conflict is minimal and is trailed by regular armies versus irregular forces (Thomas, 2005). Example of Low intensity conflict is the institution of democratic regime in place of Saddam Hussein's authoritarian regime by the United States. The independence of Nigeria from Britain in 1960 and in 1998; the transfer of power from Military regime to democratic regime in Nigeria Crisis within Nigeria; Jos crisis, Niger Delta region conflict.

When conflict is not handled properly or arrested on time it will result to a communal unrest and mortality might just be inevitable depending on the level of the conflict. The crises as defined above as seen are not the same, so is their resolution. The media can play crucial role in the resolution of low intensity conflict but the probability for the media in high intensity conflict is limited because weapons like guns are needed to hold the conflict a little longer especially in terms of defending pending when solution or possible negotiation will occur.

4.1.4 Conflict Resolution

In as much as conflict between individuals are unavoidable, it is important to know that every conflict has a solution, the process in achieving that solution can be referred to as the resolution of conflict. The process can also be seen as peace making. Over time and space lots of conflicts have taken place between individuals and state of which some of those conflicts were resolved properly. While others persisted due to the leaders of those group being obstinate of their goal of satisfying the purpose of the whole conflicting starting in the first place. Alternatively to the reason why those conflicts were not solved could be that the approach used in solving the conflict is wrong. That is why the knowledge of the condition of the conflict is very important in managing the conflict. Different conflict will demand different approaches (Peter, 2019; Innes and Booher, 2015; Owens and Cowell, 2011).

A conflict resolution between an employee and employer is different from that of war where guns and other weapons of distractions are used. A typical example in Nigeria, is the conflict between The Federal Government of Nigeria (employer) with Academic Staff Union of Nigeria-ASUU (employee). The end result of such conflict is threat and execution of strike, if the case is not handled, after a while a peaceful protest might be the next step of action by the employee. In order to resolve such conflict the military are not involved. Negotiation and meeting so that part, if not all of their demands is met - is the best way of solving the conflict

(Peter, 2019; Asogwa, 2015). The process of negotiation in this case is led by the Minister of Labour Union of Nigeria (Asogwa, 2015).

From all that have being said in subsequent paragraph of this section (2.1.4 Conflict Resolution) it is clear that conflict resolution is way beyond just negotiating, but also involves the use of officials in the locality, international community and possibly usage of force when necessary in the case of terrorism attack. The first approach to conflict resolution is very important in solving the conflict. The first approach states the length at which the crisis will take place, if the right approach is used the crisis will be short. If the wrong approach is used the crisis will definitely stay for a long time and human lives and properties will be lost (Peter, 2019; Butler et al, 2015). A typical example of wrong first step in solving a conflict in an area is the case of Niger Delta region crisis in Nigeria.

4.2 Niger Delta Conflict

4.2.1 Overview of Nigeria and the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria

Nigeria (figure 2.1) is located in the western region of Africa and is popularly known as “the giant of Africa”. It is made up of 36 states and the Federal Capital Abuja. There are 6 geopolitical zones in Nigeria (Information Media Nigeria, 2022);

- i. North Central (FCT, Plateau, Benue, Niger, Kwara, Kogi and Nasarawa State),
- ii. North-West (Kano, Kaduna, Kebbi, Kastina, Zamfara, Sokoto and Jigawa State),
- iii. North-East (Borno, Adamawa, Taraba, Yobe, Bauchi and Gombe State),
- iv. South-East (Enugu, Ebonyi, Imo, Anambra and Abia),
- v. South-West (Lagos, Ondo, Osun, Oyo, Ogun and Ekiti State) and
- vi. South-South (Delta, Akwa Ibom, Edo, Bayelsa, Cross River and Rivers).

Nigeria's major source of income is energy resources which is her natural endowment. One popular energy resource is the crude oil which has vertically help Nigeria economic survival sinve its discovery in the Niger Delta region by Shell Company (Okoh, 2002; This Day Live Newspaper, 2022).

The Niger Delta region is located is the South-South Zone, with a little extension into the South-East (Abia State) and South West (Ondo State) zone of Nigeria. The region is made up of the following states; Abia, Akwa-Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross-Rivers, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo and Rivers states. The Niger Delta region landmass is estimated to be about 75,000 square kilometers and it is one of the largest delta covering. The wetland constitute about one-third of the entire land mass of the Niger Delta region. It is also ranked 3rd largest wood mangrove forest in the world. Base on its ecological and geographical level, the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria is one the notable wetlands in the world both in footings of bio-diversity and expanse.

The population of the Niger Delta region is estimated to be 32 million, which account to 22% of Nigeria total population. There are over 329 settlements and 265 citizens of Nigeria (some are indigenes of the region while other are not) settle per kilometer square in the region. Nigeria though blessed with different ethnic groups and the Niger Delta are contributors to that status by having 40 ethnic groups from 120 language spoken in the region. The basic source of income in the Niger Delta region are; fishing, agriculture, trading, education and other services in reducing order.



Figure 4.1: The Map of Nigeria showing the different geo-political zones and their states

(Source: Daily Trust Newspaper, 2017)

4.2.2 Where the Niger Delta Conflict All Began

The Niger Delta conflict is one of the top conflicts faced in Nigeria and attracted several publications and lectures. The crisis can be said to have being caused not just because of the oil exploration and upstream alone. Activities such as dams, agriculture, and other activities that have affected the ecology and hydrology of the Niger Delta terrifically since 1960s. The injustice and underdevelopment that exploration and exploitation of oil have brought upon the people of Niger Delta is an icing on the cake. It is important that how it all started be understood properly from the very beginning.

The Niger Delta region of Nigeria had been experiencing conflict long time before the discovery of crude oil in the region. It was during the era where the Niger Delta region was well known for their agricultural exploit in palm oil trade. The Niger Delta region exported palm oil and manufactured foods were imported in return. These trades were controlled then by the Royal Niger Company. The company's headquarter was attacked because of the companies marginalization in filling the pockets of the majority ethnic group, while the minority suffered despite their hard work. The sales of slave from the region by the Royal Niger Company were also a reason for the crisis in 1895 (Udosen et al., 2009; Francis et al., 2011).

The agitation of the Niger Delta people over injustice seems to be more of genetic and cultural. The slave trade stop after the Royal Niger Company sold her asset to the British government in 1900. Despite that, 50 (fifty) women of the region were killed due to riots with police. A riot that occurred due to a rumor that have not being established. A rumor of a new tax income (IGG, 2006; Bodo and David, 2018).

Then the era of Isaac Adaka Boro, who was an Ijaw man that was born in Oloibiri (Oloibiri is a place in Niger Delta where crude oil was first produced in commercial quantities in 1956). Isaac Adaka Boro, his friends and some group of individual who were in the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF) put laws into their hands by picking up ammunitions. The NDVF agitation was led by Isaac Adaka Boro from 1965 to 1966 where the military after assuming power (first military coup) interrupted and ended the plights on the 15th January, 1966. Isaac Adaka Boro failed in the plight of the Niger Delta to be an independent state failed (Akpabio and Akpan, 2010; Bodo, 2018; Bodo, 2019).

After the era of Isaac Adaka Boro, lots of agitation kept coming up from the region as the situations of things worsens. The Nigerian government declared that anywhere oil is found in the country belongs the Federal Government in 1979 (Asuni, 2009). The era of Ken Saro Wiwa

- an intellectual man who took the crisis to another level entirely by creating awareness of how the region is blessed with wealth but is still in poverty. Lots of struggle came and another that gained name worldwide was the militant. The militant had sophisticated weapon and decided to fight the government by hijacking and claiming ownership of the oil from the region (Okolie-Osemene and Okanume, 2012). Till date, different unidentified groups' keeps raising for different reasons and each case, lives and properties are lost.

4.2.3 Effects of the Niger Delta Crisis

According to Saro-Wiwa, (1995) the Niger Delta is a region blessed with abundant wealth and excess food right from time memorial, before and during the colonial era. The Niger Delta people had lands to farm and river for fishing. Since the time of crude oil discovery till date, what is to bless the region has caused it. The effect of the Niger Delta crisis can be listed but cannot really be quantified, for the crisis have existed in the region for the past 50 years, takes place almost every day and took different forms.

The rate of mortality is undefined as of the moment but one thing is for sure, to every report that comes up from the Niger Delta crisis, there is always a loss of life and properties. Engulfed in pain and sorrow as she depreciate in the image of her past; now the region find it difficult to farm because the land has being contaminated with oil, so is their water due to activities of companies that manufacture oil in the region (David et al., 2019).

The rate of unemployment continues to increase with a corresponding raise in the level of poverty. Since farming and fishing had being their hereditary trade and their major source of sustenance for a long time. The conflict had led to illegal oil bunkering and oil pipeline vandalization which has also increased the rate of Oil spillage in the region (Gimah and Bodo, 2019). Gimah and Bodo, (2019) expressed that most of the people involved in the bunkering of oil and vandalization of oil pipeline are mostly not educated.

Oil workers are in the region had become a source of cash out for kidnappers. Operating companies, individuals and the state government had paid billions of naira for the release of mostly oil workers that that had been kidnapped in the region. The militants have being implicated several times to be involved in the kidnapping activities with help from some military personnel in the region, which puts a question mark on the security of the region (Bodo, 2019, Watts, 2004).

4.3 Media

4.3.1 Background of Media

Media actually is the plural version of medium. Media as a term simply refers to the system or process of the usage of newspapers, radio, magazines, television, films etc. in the distribution of messages, entertainment, education, news etc. to a large number of people. It can also be said to be the means of transferring information from the source (sender) to the destination (the masses) (Joseph, 2009).

4.3.2 Origin of Media in Nigeria

The origin of media in Nigeria date far back as 1859 when the first newspaper “Iwe Irohin” was established by Reverend Henry Townsend in Abeokuta State. Reverend Henry Townsend main goal of establishing the “Iwe Irohin” newspaper was to help in the propagation of his missionary assignment. As a private newspaper, the Gospel was not the only reason why he established the newspaper, it was also to promote the reading culture among the Yoruba’s. The above mentioned were the major reason behind the establishment of the newspaper initially and as such the colonial masters in Nigeria did not pay attention to the publication in terms of regulations since the publication did not threaten their “governance” in Nigeria. During the “Egba” political uprising, Reverend Henry Townsend went into politics and as the owner of the “Iwe Irohin” newspaper, he was able to use their publication in the political agenda. The colonial master this time around got involved since they felt threatened as they closed the newspaper (Oseni, 2000; Akinfeleye, 2011; Oso, 2012).

Reverend Henry Townsend and his usage of “Iwe Irohin” newspaper for politics agenda served as a foundation for others to build on. It was not long after the shutting down of the “Iwe Irohin” newspaper where several private newspapers started raising between 1880 and 1930. The main purpose of the newspaper within that period was purely political. The nationalist as of then used the newspaper as their weapon to seek for the independence of Nigeria. To list but few of the newspapers that came up during the colonial era owned by Nigerians are shown in Table 2.1. History of the media in Nigeria showed that, the media was indeed a powerful tool in the political strategy for the independence of Nigeria in 1960 (Mass Media Nigeria, 2022; Pate, 2007).

Galadima and Asemah, (2012) and Iwokwagh, (2011) published on how the media has being used for political agenda in Nigeria. The media as being used to shape the perspective of individuals/citizens since it is a source of knowledge. The government knows that the information the citizens gets influences the citizens activity to either be for the government of against the government. The media, right from colonial era, to independence, military regime and now democracy has helped each regime as they come in achieving their goal in the face of her citizens.

Table 4.1: List of Selected Newspaper and Their Establisher before 1930 (Mass Media Nigeria, 2022)

S/N	Newspaper	Establisher	Year of Establishment
1	Iwe Irohin	Reverend Henry Townsend	1859
2	The Anglo-African	Robert Campbell	1863
3	Lagos Times	Richard Beale Blaize	1880
4	Lagos Observer	Robert Campbell	1882
5	The Eagle and Lagos Critic	Owen Macauley	1883
6	The Mirror	Adolphus Marke	1887
7	Iwe Irohin Eko	Andrew Thomas	1880
8	The Nigerian Chronicle	Chris Kumolu Johnson	1908
9	The Nigerian Times	James Bright Davis	1910

10	African Messenger	Ernest Ikoli	1921
11	Nigerian Daily Mail	Ernest Ikoli	1930

4.3.3 Media Ownership

Basically there are 8 types of media which can be summarized into traditional and internet media. The traditional media consist of the print media and the broadcasting, while the internet media refer to the social media. The ownership of media in Nigeria are basically private owned media and the public owned media. The notion of government having their own media in order to counter the publication from the private owned media can be debunked but, it will not be surprising (Pate, 2007).

1. Broadcasting Media

The broadcasting media in Nigeria was established as government affairs. Then it was believed that for a broadcasting center to be established a large land space is needed and the finance of keeping it going was too much for an individual or group to handle. When government started the broadcasting, they had the autonomy of what the citizens' should know and the extent to which they should get to be expose to the information. No individual was allowed to own a broadcasting station until the time of General Ibrahim Babangida in 1992, who passed a decree into the constitution (Decree 38 of 1979 constitution) for individuals to be allowed to own a broadcasting station. Politic will always be politics because it took thirteen years for that decree to actually be effected in Nigeria (Ukonu, 2005).

Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) which were established in 1977 and 1979 respectively are broadcasting station owned in totality by Nigerian federal government till the very day. The number of private owned broadcasting station presently are numerous and they are unhappy of the fact that the federal owned broadcasting stations gets allocation from the national budget despite having other source of income like advertisement (Oso, 2013; Ukonu, 2005). The involvement and deep interest of government in media airways in not a problem of Nigeria alone but most counties in Africa.

2. Print Media

The print media was the first type of media established in Nigeria and started as a private organization until it became political. As seen in table 2.1 after the “iwe Irohin” newspaper was swept under the carpet other newspaper came up and all were private owned during the colonial ere. It is historical that the print media educated Nigerians in their action to push vigorously for independence which was earned. As of 2022 there are more than 300 newspaper publication operators in Nigeria as reported by the Nigeria ministry of information. Majority of the print media (Newspapers) are owned by private by controlled closely by government through the NBC.

4.3.4 Media, Regulatory Bodies, and Political Influences in Nigeria

According to Joseph, (1997), during the dictatorship of the military government, journalist in Nigeria where persecuted for what they publish or say on air. The persecution comes in different forms like; attack on media houses, harassment, arbitrary arrest, detentions, torture and all this led to death of some journalist. The families of the journalist inherited and equivalent portion of the pains in some cases. To add to the aforementioned, journalist were also sacked and humiliated when they refuse to comply with the bidding of the leaders (military).

In order for the government to monitor the happenings in the sensitive media industry she had to establish the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC). The NBC was not just to monitor but also regulate the information passed to the citizens of Nigeria and sanction any media house(s) that act contrary to the governments order. The NBC consist of a wide range of individuals from the State Security Service (SSS) representative, an individual with a record of intimidation and other but 10 in number are led by the chairperson. The NBC is an extended version of the power of Nigeria President (Politicians) because the NBC comes in most times in matters that concerns issuing out license to any particular type of media. In as much as the NBC is seen in the frontline of the battle in Nigeria media, it is controlled totally by the National President on seat in a particular point in time. The President control who comes into the NBC, who stay or leave and also appoints the chairperson of the NBC (Jibo and Okoosi-Simbine, 2003).

Other than the usage of the NBC to control the information received, the government also implore other methods. It has earlier being mention in previous paragraph that some of the media in Nigeria are owned by Government. To add to that, almost every state in Nigeria have their Television and Radio which is also subjected to the ideology of every president and governor in office because the state owns it. Invariably, government television station and radio are nothing but another playing ground for the politicians. (Oso, 2013; Ekpu, 1990).

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULT

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the reports from various newspapers on how they presented the conflict in the Niger delta to their readers. It is an analysis of their language used, picture presented and to whom are the reporters supporting or against (where the different media/newspaper stand in the conflict between Niger Delta citizens and the Federal/State government). Media in particular the newspaper selected are all private newspapers. The researcher decided to select private owned newspaper because it is assumed that the private had the freedom to write what they feel is “true and real”. It was also selected by the researcher because there are popular and widely read in all thirty-six states and the federal capital city Abuja of Nigeria. Therefore these privately owned media being trusted for disseminating information faces postmodernism theory in terms of deconstruction.

5.2 Premium Times Newspaper

5.2.1 Results from Premium Times Newspaper

1. 2015, October 7th by Nicholas Ibekwe

The title of the publication "... conflict may erupt again..." presented to the reader that the Niger Delta conflict which has been in existence for years was suppressed by the previous administration led by President Goodluck Jonathan and as such the present administration should be careful in how the resolution of the conflict is being handled. The readers were meant to understand that there are possible factors why the conflict could erupt and one of which is the complaint over pollution of land with oil and increasing rate of poverty. The publication tactically presented that the government are and should not be blamed for the pains and concerns of the Niger Delta region, especially the present administration led by President Muhammadu Buhari.

The same groups who is believed to be fighting for the people were presented to the readers of this publication to be responsible for the poverty and lack of infrastructure of the community. The group which the publication referred to as "militant", invariably, should be seen as a group of people who are not motivated by political groups or are politically inclined than their concerns for the Niger Delta people. The readers were made to believe that 50% of Nigeria oil output in 2009 which amounted to close to \$19 million per day were lost due to the action of the militants in the Niger Delta is also a factor why the region is complaining about poverty.

Other than poverty, as for the complains in respect to unemployment of the youth in the region, the writer and editor of the publication made it clear that the Ex-militants were paid (#65,000) more than the federal government National acceptable minimum wage (#18,000). The government tagged it "stipends" but the Ex-militants rather depends on the #65,000 that comes monthly doing nothing rather than going out there to find work. The Ex-militants or the militants registered under the amnesty program practically decided to be lazy and unemployed, which is not the doing of the government because other than the stipends, government had made sure 15,451 of the militants that surrendered to government and accepted the amnesty program we're trained and graduated from the training.

Though trained by the government, the publication stated "...many expected to occupy positions in sectors such as aviation, oil and gas...". When the expectations where not meet though companies informed the trained Ex-militants who graduated from the amnesty program of the availability of limited space, the threatened to return to the militants group. This also shows the reader of the selfish nature of the militants who claimed to be fighting for the region. That means if there are given work in those sectors they will not hold weapons and if not given they will hold weapons and continue with the conflict. That do not in any way sounded like one fighting for another but rather self - was the image projected by the publication.

The confirmation to the selfish nature of the militants in the publication was the statement "...many of the leaders in the militants became very wealthy and politically influential...". The term "very wealthy" implies that, before the amnesty program they were not wealthy but during the amnesty program they did not only became wealthy but rather very wealthy and also political influence. The question of how this come to be was answered in same publication to be because in order for the government to pay the militants or give them certain motivation financially, the channel of disbursement was through their leaders.

The readers views of the publication did not just stop in the corruption of the leaders of the militants but also the Niger Delta Development Campaign (NDDC). A community of individuals made up of both government and militants from the region. The publication stated that the complaint made in terms of infrastructure was also not the fault of the government, as the NDDC as of 2015 had achieved only 2,328 out of 6,349 project approved by the government. "This led the former president, to be sad.." being sad implies that the NDDC members (which included those who claimed to be fighting for the region) are corrupt and should be held responsible for the lack of infrastructure in the community.

Another factor presented in the publication to be responsible for the complain of the Niger Delta's is "...donors failed in the \$10 billion multi-stakeholders trust fund...", The trust fund which was to help the community from 2013 to 2023 failed not because the government wanted to but because those who promised to be part of the funding program we're unable to fulfill their own part of the deal.

In conclusion, the publication drifted from the main goal of the publication which was supposed to be reasons why conflict may erupt during the present administration into discussing and defending the government. The publication rather gave reasons why the government should not be blamed for the predicament in the region. Also configured the mindset of the people into seeing the good will of the government to the selfish will of the so called defenders of the region.

2. 2016, May 31st by Ogala Emmanuel

The publication published "...the Nigeria military respond to the group who named themselves the Niger Delta Avengers...". The publication mental picture to the reader was a presentation that the Nigeria military involvement in the Niger Delta conflict was not intentional but a tactics to be able to control the new groups who uses weapon of mass destruction. By the new group, it entails that the militants now turned avengers are not using those weapons to protect the indigences of the region but rather selfish reasons.

This new group "...claimed to he responsible for the attacks on oil and gas infrastructure in the region...". The statement indirectly means, all the results that occurred as a result of the attacks which included abduction of oil workers, oil and gas spillage in the environment and the delay in the implementation of project by oil companies such as Shell and Chevron are all the faults of the new group.

The effect was further listed to be the contribution of 35% of oil and gas to Nigeria gross domestic product, revenue generated from the sector was up to 90% total revenue generation and 1.1 million barrels per day production of oil and gas was delayed. All of the money to be generated here would have being used for the clean up, eradication of poverty and creation of more job opportunity. The publication made it known that the lack of job in the community was because the new group this time around who have taken responsibility scared the life out of the companies that would have provided the opportunities for the region.

3. 2016, November 27th by Bisi Daniels

The picture presented in the publication as shown below and titled "Niger Delta Militant" simply signified that the militants are not looking for a peaceful or calm negotiation but are all out for war. This can be seen from their big guns, bullet wrapped all over their body and face was masked. This picture was to create a mindset to the reader that if the men are for peace and for the people why then arm themselves like terrorist? It is an African, specifically Nigeria's believe that the colour red stands for danger and when wrapped as a piece of clothing around the body signifies an occultic person. The mindset that the militants have also involved in fetish activities were also sold out as a mindset to readers. This will in turn be targeting the religious minded individuals not to side the militants but the good works of the government.



Figure 5.1: Niger Delta Militant (Premiun Times Newspaper, 2016).

The title of the publication was "...Bomb attacks in the Niger Delta: Search for Motives..." Is a signifier that the militants have no reason for the bomb attack on the oil and gas facilities installed in the region. Stress on the easy resolution of peacefully protest by the community signifies that the reason why the crisis is taking this long was because the militants refused to be peaceful but decided to take laws and justice into their own hands in the name of fighting for the community. The fight for freedom was understood from the angles of those who are attend for the Niger Delta region of which the government had to attend to as quick as they could but the 2016 November bomb attack was not justified.

The publication through language, presented this to their readers through the discomfort of the attack expressed by Edwin Clerk. Readers were meant to see that though he was a former minister, well known and respected in the region, an agitator of peace - was frustrated by the bomb attack on the oil and gas facilities. The publication convinced the reader that the elders of the community will revolt against the actions of the militants, especially the bomb attack. If the elders who have stayed in the community for long, have more knowledge of the happenings in the community will say no to violence and conflict, then the younger generation should not think of it - was the perception presented to the readers.

The bomb attack was not the only activities that was carried out but also the abduction of oil workers. Demands were made for the workers who were taken hostage and those demands were met and they were released. The money from the ransom never went to the community but the pocket of the militants, especially the leaders of the militants. This activities was carried out despite the meetings of the elders of the community with the federal government and all the government had done for the community which was mentioned.

Among the benefits received by the region directly from federal government and the oil and gas companies in the region was the scholarship granted to members of the community to school within and outside Nigeria. Those indigenus that were sent to study abroad were celebrated by the community as four (4) of them bagged first class and twenty-three (23) second class upper degree during their scholarship in Britain. This was to encourage members of the community of the possibilities of them also to be celebrated if they be of good behavior and say no to violence and conflict.

In addition in the publication was the 17,322 agitators that we're trained by government in various sector such as the Marine technology, Computer technology, seamanship, welding, aviation, leadership, entrepreneurship and lots more in Nigeria and some were taken outside the country. This will also motivates some militants to drop weapon which could get them killed and surrender to the federal government who will not just equip them but also give them a monthly stipends of #65,000.

In the midst of all the encouragement, the publication made the readers side with the federal government by listing the various consequences of the conflict. The country loosing #51.3 billion, 190 barrels per day production of oil and gas, decrease in state and federal revenue generation by 20% from the bomb attack. This implies that if the militant had not carried out the bombing activities, the region had a lot to gain from federal government and the life,

properties and environment would be much better. Also, oil companies were presented to be innocent of polluting the region but rather the bombing of oil and gas pipeline/facilities and also vandalization of oil pipe had led to the contamination of the land.

4. 2017, November 3rd by Samuel Ogundipe

The title of the publication wrote in bold "...Niger Delta Avengers...", the term avengers can be used to describe a team of skilled personnel who wants to retaliate an action carried out on them (personal), relations (family) or community. From the title the writer and editor presented to the public a view that this group of people have no intentions to hold weapons of mass distraction but the action carried out in their community (Niger Delta) has triggered their action and they must as "avengers" retaliate such action on the federal government as the title entails. The title also beared "... Calls off ceasefire...", by this phrase it entails that the federal government of Nigeria and the Niger Delta "Avengers" came to an agreement for a ceasefire. Ceasefire is duration of truce, where both parties have to agree. If the "Avengers" of Niger of Niger Delta are to call it off, that simply means the term of agreement holding the "peace" between the two parties has being bridged and for the "Avenger" to call if off simple means the opposite party (Nigeria government) is to be blame.

It was not too long before the publication wrote "President Buhari administration who had being in peace talk with the Niger Delta's have not being sincere with their administration promises for the people of the Niger Delta...". This was presented to the readers by Premium Time newspapers that the Nigeria government, specifically the present administration is not serious or lied about their intentions for the Niger Delta but the administration before the present administration had being sincere and serious in the peace talk. The same publication contradicted itself when the publication mentioned an appraisal by the Niger Delta "Avengers" for the Minister of Transportation (Mr. Rotimi Amaechi) who has being sabotaging their "cause" as a loyalist to the government. If the present administration is of whom the minister of transportation is part of is not sincere with their promises, then how is it that the ceasefire lasted from 2016 to November, 2017 of the call off?

In as much as the avengers were present by the publication not to be responsible totally for the attacks as they are only fighting to avenge the governments a tion to their communities. Also presented that their action is responsible while investors are not coming into their community. This was established in the publication when the writer wrote "...The Niger Delta Avengers

successful attacked the oil and gas that sent off Chevron and Shell...". This was a clear message to the people of Niger Delta who are not avengers, who are not holding weapons, who are not thinking or in support of the conflict and possibly those "avengers" who have concerns, that the lack of development of the community is not the fault of the federal government but the avengers. The Shell and Chevron, who are major oil company, had plans for the region in 2016 but the attack on their oil and gas facilities has led to them not carrying them out in 2016 but could carry them out in 2017 and only if the "Avengers" could continue with the ceasefire. In essence, according to the publication, the readers should have the mindset that the avengers are group of selfish individual who are not fighting for the region but rather their personal benefits.

The publication further expressed that "...the avengers have not carried out any major attacks from January 2017 to November 2017 which they announced to call off the ceasefire". This also further contradict their earlier statement of the government are to be blame for not being sincere. The publication implies that the insincerity of the government was as a result of the inability of the avengers to abide by to the ceasefire. Though they have not carried any "major" attacks but they have carried out minor attacks. A major or minor attack is an attack against the federal government.

5.2.2 About the Authors/Report of Premium Times Newspaper

1. Nicholas Ibekwe:

Nicholas Ibekwe is a multi-award-winning journalist and the assistant director of investigation at Premium Times, the top online publication in Nigeria. He has worked as a stringer for the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) of the United States, Voice of America, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and other foreign media. He is a 2016 World Press Institute fellow and a Chevening alumnus from the UK.

Nicholas Ibekwe is a Lagos State University English Language graduate. He graduated from City University in London, United Kingdom, with a master's degree in international journalism.

Nicholas has received numerous honors for his work, including the FAIR (Forum for African Investigative Reporters) Award, Wole Soyinka Prize for Investigative Journalism, and two-time finalist.

His 13 honors which includes the following amongst others;

- Winner of the Diamond Award for Media Excellence (DAME), Diamond Award for Media Excellence Jan 2019.
- Foreign Press Center's International Reporting Tour on Media Literacy and Combatting Misinformation, United States. The Foreign Press Centers Jan 2018.
- Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University Jan 2019.
- Fellow of the World Press Institute, Minnesota, United State. The World Press Institute Jan 2016.
- Thompson Reuters Foundation's Wealth of Nation Illicit Finance Scheme (Fellowship) Thompson Reuters Foundation Jan 2016.
- Draper Hills Summer Fellowship (now The Fisher Family Summer Fellowship Program), Stanford University.
- PwC Media Excellence Award (Business and Economy Reporting Category) Winner. PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP (PwC) Jan 2020.

2. Mr. Ogala Emmanuel

Emmanuel Ogala, a reporter with Premium Times, Nigeria's top investigative publication, was named Nigeria's Investigation Journalist of the Year 2015 on Wednesday. Mr. Ogala, the newspaper's head of digital strategy, won the web category of the Wole Soyinka Investigative Reporting Awards at this year's ceremony in Lagos. But soon after, his entry was selected as the finest of the year, and he was summoned back to the stage to accept the largest award of the evening. A reporter from Premium Times has been named the overall prize winner three times in the last four years.

The judges praised Mr. Ogala's contribution, which focused on the fake contracts for oil that cost Nigeria billions and for which Jonathan, Alison-Madueke, and Tunde Ayeni were named and investigated. Ogala Emmanuel revealed one of the most dishonest crude oil deals from the Goodluck Jonathan administration, in which friends of the president pocketed billions of naira through a national crude transport contract that broke Nigeria's economic and procurement rules.

Later, the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation acknowledged that the contractors were engaged improperly and that the contract was really excessive. The business quickly canceled

the agreement. The judges commended the reporter for his industry, professionalism, and bravery.

3. About Bisi Daniel

Graduate of the University of Ghana, Bisi Daniels began her career as a qualified teacher before deciding to pursue journalism. He served as the Business Editor of The Guardian and THISDAY, two of Nigeria's most important publications, from 1993 to 1996. He had a brief stint as a speech writer in Aso Rock during this time.

As manager of media relations, he joined Elf Petroleum Nigeria Limited in 1996. A year later, he accepted a position as Communications Manager with Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria.

He went back to journalism after spending almost 12 years in the oil business. He has held the positions of Executive Editor, Business Desk and Chairman of the Editorial Board for THISDAY Newspapers. He has authored more than 20 works, including plays, inspirational books, and a textbook on economics for secondary schools. He has also written five children's books and seven novels. In addition to one of his inspiring books, three of his novels were released in London.

4. Samuel Ogundipe

Babs (2022). The 2020-born Peoples Gazette was founded by Samuel Ogundipe. He is an investigative journalist from Nigeria and a former reporter for the well-known online publication Premium Times. Samuel Ogundipe, who still hasn't revealed his birthdate, joined Peoples Gazette after leaving Premium Times. About his early educational history, not much is known. Samuel Ogundipe did, however, graduate from the UK Open University with a degree in politics and international studies.

In 2010, he began working for the Evening Telegraph as an editor and columnist. In the meantime, he relocated to The Scoop in 2012 and worked there as a senior political journalist. Mr. Ogundipe was hired by the Western Post Newspapers in 2014 to report on

politics in and outside of Nigeria. Ogundipe was a Chief Political Reporter while working for the Western Post Newspapers.

Ogundipe was a State House Journalist while still employed by the Western Post Newspaper. He then started reporting for the newspaper from the Aso Rock Presidential Villa on the Nigerian president. But he switched to Premium Times Newspaper in April 2016. Ogundipe was a General Assignment Correspondent for Premium Times, covering the activities of all 469 members of the Nigerian legislature from both houses.

Samuel Ogundipe left the Premium Times Newspaper in September 2020 in order to launch his own news organization, Peoples Gazette. Journalism is a means for Samuel Ogundipe to combat injustice and corruption. He was detained by the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) in Abuja in 2018 for refusing to reveal the author of an article he had written for the premium Times Nigeria, and two years later he was subjected to persecution for writing yet another contentious investigative report. But three days later, he was freed on bail.

Bello El-Rufai, the son of Kaduna State Governor Nasir El-Rufai, allegedly threatened to rape someone's elderly mother in a post that Ogundipe published in 2020. Threatening to deal with Ogundipe, Bello El-Rufai.

A few weeks later, Ogundipe posted about a paper he had gotten from Dangote. He would be punished, according to his editor Musikilu Mojeed. Ogundipe, however, left Premium Times to launch his own news outlet. People's Journal

Young Nigerians do need to comprehend, first of all, that journalism is not a lucrative vocation, Samuel Ogundipe, the current founder of Peoples Gazette, stated when asked for advice for aspiring journalists in a country like Nigeria. Nigeria's poor economy makes the situation there even worse. People need to understand that entering the media is done so for the "glory of service". Make sure you are passionate about exposing corruption and injustice.

As of the time this article was written, Samuel Ogundipe has over 18.3K followers on Twitter and can also be contacted on gmail: samuel@peoplesgazette.com

5.3 Vanguard Nigeria Newspaper

5.3.1 Results from Vanguard Nigeria Newspaper

1. 2009, October 9th by Vanguard Nigeria

This was the year where the amnesty program went into full action and vanguard newspapers made a publication on the "... technical report: roadmap to peace". The term technical used before the roadmap to peace could be the opposite of the main goal. Technically can mean a strategic report that is meant to convince an individual or group of person's as the case of Niger Delta is in the report to accept a new idea. The idea to accept in the report is the pathway to peace. Invariably, if the pathway is not followed then they is no other way to peace and as such, the people in the region alongside militants have to accept and follow the only road to success.

One of such way is "... provision of support to the the federal government...". The chief actors in the resolution of the conflict in the Niger Delta and the actor that have kept on persisting tirelessly for peace to return to the region is the federal government. In as much as the federal government is not in the region, they care for the people in the region and at of this times the people need to realize that government alone can not restored peace. But rather, the people of the Niger Delta have to play their own part in supporting the government. The support as of this point is to listen and follow the instructions of the government which was tagged "roadmap to peace".

Other form of support to be rendered to the government and one of the path to resolving the conflict in the Niger Delta was "...donor assistance in order to have more attentions for the communities and location people...". It's an expression that for the resolution of the conflict to become successful, finance is required and attentions towards the community from the non-commmunity members are necessary. The community members refer to both Nigerian (excluding those in the region) and any international organization. The finance will aid the technological training of the militants and provision of stipends (monthly). The readers were meant to believe that the road man will involve some big international names like "...Interpol, international monetary fund, world bank, international development agencies..." this was basically for two purposes.

The first was the donation "...publish what you pay...", "technically", a big organization is allowed to announce why ever they provide to the people of the Niger Delta as a support to the federal government existing work in the region. This program is mental restructuring in the sense that, a big organization will not donate in small quantities as the name and prestige of the company is on the line. It's a matter of pride because whatever is donated will be publish by

the government and the company (organization) has the right to announce their donation to the hearing of the entire world.

The second purpose of the big names was to "... recovery of stolen wealth and return to the people of the region..". Nothing can be recovered if it has not being identified, as such the federal government will be using the international organization to recover the wealth the people of the region had being deprived off. For international organization to be involved simply means those responsible for the embezzlement or stole the funds most have left Nigeria, if they were within the reach of the government, it would not call for help. The purpose of recovering the find is basically for the region, so wealth can once more created and returned to them as it was meant to be. It is also a signifier that the region is blessed with wealth but are not seeing or living in that reality because of some bad leaders within the region.

The conclusion of the publication was "...oil price are dropping and the government need to balance the price for the interest of the region and the entire country...". This was a direct message to militants, elders and resident of the region to first embrace peace and dropped their weapon. Also, to establish that if they must enjoy all that has being mentioned, they must stop the vandalization of oil pipeline, illegal refinery and distraction of oil facilities in the region installed by government through oil companies.

2. 2016, June 13th by Jimitota Onoyume

The introduction of the publication "Ledum Mitee, a social activist, environmentalist and lawyer. Vice president in the pioneer for the movement for the survival of Ogoni people and now president..." The introduction was more of an advertisement to show how important the personnel was and is. As a lawyers he knows the legal and illegal happenings in the conflict between militants and federal government. As an environmentalist, he knows the effect of the oil spillage to the Niger Delta region and how it came to be and possible ways of correcting it. As a social activist, he stands for the oppressed and speak for them. In summary, Ledum Mitee was presented by Vanguard to be the perfect man to interview when it comes to the conflict in the Niger Delta.

In the interview on "how government missed it in the resolution of the conflict..." depicted that the federal government is doing her best in resolving the conflict but at some point did not put

certain things into consideration but the federal government sincerely wants the conflict to end. "... amnesty program was not as planned..." if what's seen now is not what was in the original plan of for the amnesty program, that means he is in the picture of the planning process or rendered advice on how the amnesty program should be. Questioned how militants are paid but not working, that implies that the amnesty program as of now or executed by the federal government is encouraging laziness of the youth. That implies, anyone who have gun in their respective homes and can be found in the region can submit the gun in the name of being a militant just to collect a monthly stipends of #65,000.

It is assumed that Ex-militants are not employed even though they surrender their gun(s), underwent training by the federal government and empowered with a skill, Ledum Mitee response to the assumption was opposite. The readers were made to understand that a militant is not really a bad person but should he seem as a skilled and empowered Nigerian.

Another point where the federal government missed it was "...let's just bribe them...". Bribe is an act of corruption to either get someone to be on the same side with you or to silence someone. In this case it implies that the government did not and have not really resolved or resolving the Niger Delta conflict but has only being suppressing it with bribe. That implies that the absence of bribery to the militant simply means more or greater conflict. If that becomes the case, then the militant becomes selfish of their true goal of fighting for the freedom of the Niger Delta people but rather fighting for their own pockets. As such, the people should embrace peace and negotiation, give a deaf ear to the recruitment of the Niger Delta Militants for a better community.

The usage of "they" for federal government, "we" for planning committee, an indigenious of the region and "I" for himself, expressed Ledum Mitee intention politically. This was not farfetched when he narrated how a militant "...called me and told me he wants to surrender, contacted the king and governor to help the man but it was rejected...I was helpless because I was only a committee member..." This showed that if a militant can trust him, then should the region and the government trust him in handling position where he can better function in the negotiation processes. This also explains why the introduction of the publication started with an introduction that seems to be curriculum vitae for position. Explaining how he moved from Vice president to president shows that he is committed to duty assigned and responsibilities. He has the necessary knowledge of the environment and the "certificate qualification" that gives him the edge to be a very good conflict revolutionist.

3. 2017, August 17th by Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC)

Shell is one of the most influential company in the Niger Delta, well known in and out of the region specially for the scholarship it gives to students in the university. The publication of vanguard newspaper whose title carried "the reason investors are no longer attracted to the Niger Delta region". From the ending it is of the opinion that long before now, investors were read and willing to put their money into the Niger Delta through business and in return join in the building of the community. "...no longer" implies that news investors are not considering investing in the region and those investors that are in the Niger Delta region are gradually closing their business in the region. The newspapers stated that the statement was "...a claim..." which implies that there is a possibility of investors to still have interest in the Niger Delta region since SPDC representative (Well) was unable to prove his point.

The unattractiveness of investors to the Niger Delta must be as a result of "...partly due to damaging of facilities, unpredictable nature of the business, conflict...", this is a tactical drift also in resolution of the conflict in the region (advertisement of peace). Such that, if the region embraces peace the investors will be attracted to the community and development will become a reality. Also, the term "partly" simple means other than the conflict in the region there are other possible reasons why the investors do not want to come and those in the Niger Delta wants to leave. "...new investors prefer Lagos State due to the policies and choices of the Lagos State government..." The comparison in terms of government action is a signifier that the government of the region is making choices and policies that are opposite to that of the Lagos State government though in the same Nigeria.

The same publication that addressed it as a claim contradicted itself when examples was made with Dangote who "...invested 18 billion refinery in Lagos...14,000 new job creation by Dangote refinery in Lagos..." Ordinary the refinery should have being in the Niger Delta, but the actions of the people and government made 14,000 of their youth/indigenes not to be part of the Dangote employment scheme. Therefore, absence of the conflict would have made 14,000 unemployed youth in the region to be employed. The ideology of the people in the region will have to change in order not to miss the opportunities that may come and those that are in existence in the region.

4. 2021, December 28th by Agbonkhese Oboh

The heat of the Niger Delta conflict was felt during the administration of the former president of Nigeria, in the person of President Olusegun Obasanjo. During a peace conflict insisted that "...I don't hate Niger Delta...". For the publication to have used this as the heading and the central idea of the publication was to refute an accusation. The accusations was made by Edwin Clark, a respected and influential member of the region. For the former president to have replied Edwin Clark in a conference, also published in newspaper and served as heading implies that the public needed a re-education of what has being stated. Also implies that information is powerful when it comes from a respected and influential personnel. The former president during and after must have received lots of open later but that of Clark was sensitive because it has to do with a region that is sensitive and experiencing conflict.

The base of these accusations was the statement made by the former president "...oil found in the Niger Delta region belongs to the country and not the region..." come to look at the statement critically, it has nothing to do with hate or arrogance because the region is located in the Nigeria. For Edwin Clark to have taken the statement serious to heart simply implies that he has an hidden agenda of seeking for attention from the government and sympathy of the Public.

Another response by the former president Olusegun Obasanjo was that Edwin Clark "...hope you think and adjust..." This is a signifier that Edward Clark made the statement of and to the former president without considering the consequences or implication of the statement. It also means that Edwin Clark for years have being use to misunderstanding government officials all in the name of getting attentions. It also implies that Edwin Clark is an impulsive man who speaks out of proportion most of the time and this attitudes have being in existence for long and the former president is looking forward to see that he (Edwin Clark) repent and change in attitude.

The former president in same publication said "... negotiation achieves better results that dictation." The message sent to the readers by the writer is that Edwin Clark is a man that is what he is in the Niger Delta because of his ability not to pay attention to the suggestions of others but prefers giving orders to those around him. It also signified that Edwin Clark is not accepting the negotiation in the resolution of conflict being it in the Niger Delta or personal and the former president is advising him to negotiate more. Negotiation is the way forward in the resolution of the conflict in the Niger Delta, this cannot be achieved by the government

alone, the elders and people of the community must also be willing to resolve the conflict through peaceful negotiation.

5.3.2 About the Authors/Reporter of Vanguard Newspaper Nigeria

1. About Jimitota Onoyume

According to Manpower, (2022), in Nigeria's Edo state on December 22, Jimitota Onoyume was born. He works as a reporter for the Vanguard newspaper. Jimi was raised in the state of Edo and went to Western Boys High School in Benin City. He completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Port Harcourt in the state of Rivers.

Jimitota is currently employed by the Vanguard Newspaper as an assistant news editor and Rivers state correspondent. He is a journalist who has written for a number of periodicals about Nigeria's Niger Delta. He is a passionate advocate for the establishment of popular democracy and sound leadership and is also a human rights campaigner.

In West Africa, Jimi is a leading advocate for press freedom. Several regional and international workshops on reporting, crisis zones, and parliamentary proceedings were attended by Haven. Jimitota is a devout Christian who has tied the knot and has a family. On November 12, 2012, his wife, Mrs. Marian Onoyume, was taken hostage in Eku, Ethiopia East Local Government Area, Delta State. Between 8.30 and 9.00 am, teacher Mrs. Onoyume was being taken hostage by four gunmen who had been loitering nearby as she was leaving her home with her two children in a Nissan Quest bus. Before taking her away, the gunmen allegedly threatened her and forced her two daughters out of the car. On November 15th, Marian and her two small girls were freed unhurt thanks to a ransom payment paid by her husband.

5.4 Punch Nigeria Newspaper

5.4.1 Results from Punch Nigeria Newspaper

1. 2017, January 26th by Punchngr

The central idea of the publication is the visitation by the vice president of Nigeria (Professor Yemi Osinbajo) to the Niger Delta, the publication title was "visitation again in February..." the again seems to be a way of convincing the readers that the administration is concerned

about the Niger Delta. "Again", is a message to the reader that the vice president visitation to the region is consistent, this is not his first visitation to the region.

The visitation was "...part of the effort made by the administration to stop the attacks on installed oil pipeline in the region...", the administration have other plans other than the visitation to the Niger Delta to stop the attacks on the oil pipeline. Also, federal government have being making other efforts towards the militants and the residents of the region for them to embrace peace, stop the conflict and also the attack on the pipeline. It also shows how precious the pipeline is to the country for the vice president to leave Abuja to the region. Furthermore, other than the attacks on the pipeline, there is a possibility of the vice president not to have made appointments nor visit the region over and over again.

The publication also through language informed the general public of "...the visitation showed how sincere the federal government is in the resolution of the Niger Delta crisis...", other than the visitation, the government do not have any other way to be sincere or show their sincerity to the people. Also, the people of the region request that for a government to be sincere to them, then the government must constantly visit the region. Also implies that, there must have been an agreement between the region and the administration for a constant presidential visitation, as a sign of concern and respect for what the region is facing. The readers and indigenes of the region would believe this is a step that shows how committed the government are towards stabilizing the region as the "...consider the implementation if Niger Delta Development master plan". The consideration of the federal government implies that the suggestions of the implementation of the plan had being presented to the government and the government had mapped out ways in achieving it. The happenings in the region as of that moment gives the government an avenue to implement the plan which they believe to be the overall plan that should work for the resolution of the conflict.

2. 2022, September 18 by Dele Ogunyemi

The delta communities had a boundary crisis which is also one of the causes of conflict in the region, the publication central idea is the effect of the military (Nigeria Army) and Journalist in the resolution of conflict and reminder of the agreement. "... military officers including the commanding officer of 3rd Battalion of the region intervened in the boundary conflict..." The conflict appeared in the publication to be in existence for quite a period of time not stated; also appeared that different method had been employed to solve the conflict in respect to the

boundary but all failed until the Nigeria Army took up the crisis; sounded like the military initiated the peace talk by inviting leaders from both communities involved.

"...The expression of grievance was allowed from both party leaders..." the central idea here is that either both or one of the parties involved have not being giving the opportunity to express their pain. The moment the communication was established between the two parties they understood the plight of each other and truce was called. The military presence during the signing also meant that a particular community felt the presence of the army to serve as a witness to the signing will be a protection to them. The journalist also present will also use the media as medium to defend the oppressed or victim of any attack from any of the parties.

The publication also should that they is indeed no find meaning to a text and reality is a myth. Some believed that one person was killed during the last attack, while others are of the opinion of two confirmed death. The publication described the situation as a pandemonium. The truth is questioned of the number of death and the publication seems to be exaggerated, else the number of confirm case would have being more than the argued number before the peace signing.

5.5 The Guardian Newspaper

5.5.1 Results from Guardian Newspaper

1. 2016 January, 31st by Kelvin Ebiru

The publication started with a multiple meaning header "Niger Delta and broken promises". The header or tile could send a message to the reader of how the Niger Delta region/people are failing in the agreement they had with the federal government. Another message that could be perceived by the reader is the opposite of the first aforementioned, such that the federal government had failed to keep up to the promises and agreement made to the people of the Niger Delta. The heading alone can cause conflicting ideas depending on the research and what the research is more interested in and how the conflict had been affected by the conflict in as much as the title was to draw attention to the newspaper itself.

The stress and capitalization of the "RENEWED" before the "multiple attacks of militants" signified that the promises was broken by the Niger Delta residents. The term "attacks" is a

signifier that the region (specifically Niger Delta Militants) must have had a ceasefire agreement with the federal government but due to some factors they broke the peace agreement and decided to attack not just one but multiple which basically means two and more attacks. Threatening that "the region" might experience more attacks on the oil pipeline installation.

Another double sidedness of the authors and editors of the Guardian Newspaper in this publication is the statement that the attacks were on "Nigerian gas company facilities" which simply means the oil and gas installation that we're attacked belongs to Nigeria as a country and the purpose of the attack was to make sure federal government feels "their agitations" through national economic losses. The same publication stated that "the region" under high probability will experience attacks on oil pipeline. Niger Delta as a community do not have pipeline of their own since they are states under the umbrella of Nigeria as a country. Therefore, the publication ideology was towards the fact that the people will be affected by the attacks from spillage in oil as an example. They rather presented it as though the militants are "anti-Niger Delta" who are planning on invading their land and peace.

The peace and tranquility experienced by the Niger Delta at some point was "due to the amnesty program by former Nigeria president Goodluck Jonathan) and the publication describe the peace to be "fragile". The phrase "due to" meant that the basic and only factor while the region had experience peace and indirectly, the militants stopped attacking previously was because the former president as mentioned gave the region an amnesty program else they will not be peace. Nevertheless, the peace was described to be "fragile". Any force applied to the existing peace will result to "breaking" of the peace which implies conflict in the region and this force basically can only be applied by the federal government. Therefore, the publication is stating that the key actors to the peace in the Niger Delta are the federal government. They decide when and how the conflict or peace should be.

The failure of Nigeria to re-election the former president Goodluck Jonathan back to offices for the second term was assumed to be one of government failure to continue to the peace in the region. This caused the renewed multiple attacks in the region because the new government "failed to implement fully the report from the technical committee" - this is the order side of the headline as earlier mention. Though, the publication was trying their best to hide the fault from the federal government by mentioning "full implementation" which implies the government are implementing the recommendation and report of the committee but not fully. Merging the ideology behind mentioning the former president in this publication and the failure

of the present administration to implement fully the report simple implies that the present administration are being technical in their approach. This is due to the fact that they were not responsible for the setting up of the committee and as such since the present and previous administration are from different political parties (Former President-People Democratic Party, while present president-All People Congress) therefore different policies and method of approach. Though the former president is "from the Niger Delta region-Delta specifically" as stated by the publication. This means the conflict present could be an ethnic and regional conflict since the present president-is from the northern region

The education process started later on the in publication when the following we're mentioned to be the effect of the multiple attacks to the Nation Economy;

1. \$1.98 million dollars power (electricity) were lost per day
2. \$400,000 was also lost daily in oil and gas,
3. \$600,000 for the repair of damaged oil and gas installation

Further attacks will therefore "leave the Nigeria Economy bleeding". This message was made to educate the readers and members of the region of the gravity of their actions. If the country economy "bleeds" of which a continuous tense was used "bleeding" simply means the economy will "die" over time. If this happens the unemployment in the region will increase, the scholarship presented to the people of the region will also stop, infrastructural development will not be possible and human capacity development program will go to extinction because the resources will not be there to carry them out. It also meant the cleaning up of the land of the pollution from oil bunker will be left pending, the monthly stipends to militants and those who poses as militants will also stop. This is because the federal government of the country will want to revive her economy, as Niger Delta region are not the only region in Nigeria, they are rather just nine (9) out of the thirty-six (36) states and the federal capital. Therefore, if the region needs to enjoy all the plans from the government, then they need to embrace peace.

2. 2021 June 2nd by Matthew Ogune

The guardian newspaper central idea for the publication was supposed to be the meeting of senator Goodwill Akpabio with the ethnic nationalities as the minister of Niger Delta affairs. The news headline reflected the minister of Niger Delta affairs to have called for a meeting during to the "unrest" over agitations in the "oil-rich region". This was significant because it

reveals that the conflict in the Niger Delta region was and is the taking place due to the selfish nature of some group of persons in the region and this was due to the resources in the region (oil); Therefore the aim of having dominance over the wealth available in the region.

The meeting was in respect to the protest carried out by the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) which "disrupted the peace of the area due to government failure to reconstruct a substantial board for the regions development commission (NDDC)". According to the publication, the writer and editor proposed a message that the region is a peaceful region. Though they must have had history of violence which has lead to the lost of life and properties but they were able to experience peace which was altered by the youth of the Ijaw council. Meaning the conflict in the region is the handwork of the Ijaw youth, if the Ijaw youth will be peaceful in their dealings then the region will not be violent or in conflict. Furthermore, the publication stated that the intention of the Ijaw youth was because the structure of Niger Delta development commission substation board by the federal government needed restructuring. The lack of intentions of the federal government to reconstruct the structure led the youth into the protest.

In as much as the the Ijaw youth council embarked on the protest, the out publication made sure that the readers noticed dispute, division and lack of unity in voice and goals for the Ijaw people as the national spokesperson of the Ijaw Youth (Ebilade Ekerefe) advised the youth from the Ijaw community to stop the protest else it can be "highjacked". The term "highjacked" simple means that they are people in the Niger Delta region patiently waiting for opportunities where conflict can be ignited and blames will be passed to the "innocent" federal government for not "meeting up to their demands". This from Guardian newspaper is a message to the people of Niger Delta, that the so called people parading themselves to he fighting for their freedom by causing conflict within the region in other to get to the federal and state government are selfishly oriented. In that regards they should make sure not to support the protesters, avengers or agitators, in respective of the name they come under but listen and appreciate government for their good works.

This was later proven to be right when the same publication stated that the National president of the Ijaw youth (Peter Igbifa) threatening to "shut down" the region if the demands of the Ijaw people of which he leads is not carried out by the federal government. The term "shut down" was followed by re-encouraging the youth to come out for the protest. The term "shut down" can also refer to closure of all business activities, school, health facilities and the list goes on because the youth will not let "their own people" do what they should because of

"demand" of inauguration. The president was against peace in the region as he opposes the action of peace projected by their National spokesperson.

3. 2023 February, 2nd by Guardian Newspaper

This publication was in respect to the lawsuit filed by the Niger Delta region on Shell oil company in London high court. This was due to two factors basically, the first is due to the "devastating impact of oil pollution in the Niger Delta" and the second was because "shell company prepares to leave the Niger Delta region after 86 years of being in the Niger Delta". The term used here "devastating" is an over hyped reality word, the fact that the region was polluted is not false but the "reality" was over hyped (hyperreality) and dramatic in this publication just to attracts the people towards the sympathy of the region.

A typical example of drawings sympathy towards the region was "14,000 Nigerians which included religious body and schools have signed the petition for Shell oil company to clean up the region and compensate them". Furthermore, "mother's who lived close to their life close to the river in the region is most likely to lose their children to death, twice likely than any region in the country" which are the following;

1. First of all is the values "14,000" to have filed the petition for the action makes readers to believe that large population of individuals are with the Niger Delta who appears to be in the moment of "pain" and being "used".
2. The term "Nigerians" implies that the whole country is with the region and anyone reading this, by virtue of being a Nigerian should be supporting the region in the case,
3. As a Nigerian, along side tradition, religion is believed to be the ultimate and as such people (Nigerians) most times build their life and mindset around religion. Everyone believes that religion is supreme and should not be questioned and as such the publication used that "religious bodies" signed the petition also in favor of the Niger Delta. Therefore the readers should not question religious body but rather be for them and as such should not question Niger Delta intentions but rather the "evil/demonic" Shell oil company.
4. The term "child/infant" on its own draws sympathy. Anyone who do not sympathize with the region have no love for children. The key role of the joy of motherhood was used. The readers was intentionally emotional blackmailed to have the thought of "at

least compensation should be given to the region, especially mother's since life can not be restored and no amount of money can buy their life back".

In as much as the publication was supporting the region in the case against Shell, they also found time to let the readers know that the region is partly blamed for what has befallen them. This was due to the statement made by Shell oil spokesperson that "overwhelming majority of the damaged caused in the region was due to oil theft, illegal bunkering of oil, sabotaging of pipeline and illegal refining of oil". This signifies that Shell Oil Company is accepting to have polluted the land but listed careful that other factors which are not controlled by them to have polluted the region. Also, the "overwhelming majority", is a hyperreality since the reality cannot be measured nor proved using data for those listed factors to have being responsible for the pollution. Never the less, the region was also made to understand to be involved in their own predicament.,

5.6 Daily Post Newspaper

5.6.1 Results from Daily Post Newspaper

1. 2016 October, 11 by Daily Post Staff

Daily Post Newspaper staff highlighted on the comment of Governor Tambuwal (Governor of Sokoto State) on the Niger Delta crisis stating that "the country will not use military but rather political strategy". The term "military" implies force, the leaders of the federal government should do well not to use force in the solution of the conflict in the Niger Delta region. The use of "political strategy", in a place like Nigeria when someone says "politics" then the first impression is "like". It's believed that the term used by the governor of Sokoto state implies the use of manipulating the minds of the individuals in the region and the entire country. This political strategy could involve the leaders of the region and stakeholders.

The governor statement in the publication, "President Muhammadu Buhari has good intentions for Nigeria but the country needs to support his idea". If the county do not support the presidents idea being it good or bad then the country will not be able to enjoy in the ideas of

the president. Also the term "has" is a past tense for "have", which also implies that possible due to the regions constant conflict the president no longer have good intentions for the country - the statement is contradictory. The conflict face in the "Niger Delta is not faced only by Nigeria but most places in the world where oil can be found"; Which implies that we should be appreciative of the government efforts to control the crisis because Nigeria experiencing conflict in the Niger Delta region is normal irrespective of the country or administration.

2. 2018 January, 20 by Wale Odunsi

The publication headline was "Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) threatens to blow oil installation". This was a message intentionally for the readers to brace their minds with the thought of placing blame on the Niger Delta avengers for the pollution of the region. On that note, the federal government and oil company are innocent of all accusations to be responsible for the misfortune of the region. Though they threaten to attacks "deep sea oil installation owned by Akpold, EA field, Abami, Britania-U field and Bonga". This deep sea are multi-nationals operators and have played great roles in the clean up of the land, providing scholarship for the region and country, provided employment for the youth and hospital. An attack on this oil company as published means the people of the Niger Delta should be aware of where their problem is coming from when the loss out in all the privileges provided by this company when they decide to leave as a result of their constant conflict. It is also a sign that the federal government knows and the readers should be aware that in the region are the those who are not involved in the attacks (innocent) and those that are (terrorist). Therefore the so called "avengers" are not in any way avenging them but rather responsible for their suffering over the years.

The selfish nature of the Niger Delta avengers was mentioned when they said "oil installation will dance to the fury of the Niger Delta Avengers". In the statement, it showed that the oil spillage will be has large as their (NDA) anger. This means it is not the anger of the people but their own, it is not the pain of need of the people in the region that will be expressed but their own. Therefore, they is need for the "common man/woman" in the region to side with the government whom at least have constantly shown sign for peace in the region.

The effort of the federal government to resolve the crisis was seen when the federal government "pleaded with the avengers and the youth of he region to maintain the prevailing peace" through the coordinator of Presidential Amnesty Program (PAP) Brigadier General Paul Boroh (Rtd).

This showed that though a retired general in the Nigeria Army, would in the name of peace please with the people to embrace peace. The federal government is now (in that statement) pleading not just for the nation but for the damage pollution will cause to the people in the region. Stating that the peace they are enjoying now is through the "amnesty Program" by the federal government; the program which provided the needs and employment to the region.

The retired general through Daily Post Newspaper established that "we cannot move a step further if we are not told how precious peace is" to the region. That means the government have come to the conclusion road and the fate of the people in the Niger Delta are now in their hands. If they embrace peace and be their own advisers then the federal government (we) will be able to go as far as possible to restructure the region and answer to more of their needs.

3. 2021 June 27th by Neikak Nseyan

President of Nigeria, President Muhammadu Buhari reacts to the threat made by Niger Delta avengers on the 26th June, 2021 by Daily Post newspapers. The president "expressed shock and wants to know why the threat came just barely forty-eight (48) hours after meeting with the National youth of the Ijaw council and leaders from the region". For the president to "express shock" and ask questions (curious) sensed that the militants are not out for the peace of the region in any way. This is so because if they were they would listen to their leaders and stakeholders if at all they are fighting for the good of the region.

This avengers according to daily Post Newspaper "plunged Nigeria to recession from 2016-2018". From 2016-2018, a year after the present president of Nigeria took charge of Nigeria affairs experienced great recession where the prices of goods kept increasing with a vertical slope and the publication this time around faults the actions of the avengers to be responsible. That means the possibilities for bag actions of the government like the case of closure of border are not considered to be a factor for the recession; which also implies that the only factor to a nation's economy to plunge into recession is conflict and for Nigeria is the case of the Niger Delta crisis.

The militants also "threaten to clamp down all those politicians that are working in hands with the federal government". The term "clamp down" as used could mean several things such as; impeachment, vote out of office, no second term, kidnapped (since it is not new to the region avengers), frustrate, reject offers when made from them and could also mean assassination, therefore the phrase is not clear. Also "politicians" simple refers to their stakeholders and leaders that mean the militants are not in any way ready to respect the constituted authorities of the region who brace peace.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion, Recommendation, Limitations and Further Research

6.1 Conclusion

The roles that the media play in society best describe them. Via news, features, and commentary in the press, they instruct, inform, and amuse. Also, they create dramas, documentaries, current affairs shows, magazine shows, and other types of radio and television programming. The media serves as a channel for bringing voices, viewpoints, and lifestyles into the public eye if the person is watching, the public ear when listening to voice documentary or radio or movie and mind. In as much as online media has significantly increased in Africa over the past ten years, and both urban and rural groups are making use of it to receive and share content for social and commercial objectives. It has opened a wider range and quick access in the transfer of information to a wider group being it true or false, but as it moves from one individual to another the story line changes and it is dependent on the ideology of whoever is disseminating the information.

Furthermore, the media is vital in promoting social change and forming people's opinions and attitudes. The media can highlight important changes that have an impact on people's lives both badly and positively through its reporting, as well as through bringing to light concerns that are frequently disregarded and voices that are marginalized. The agenda-setting role of the media frequently affects societal discourse, thinking, and priorities.

The media as in the case of Nigeria Delta, the media has indeed proved to be truly as exchange tool and a means of influencing the perception of the readers. This was carried out from in different forms, starting with the picture and the headlines. The media has indeed shown to the people of the Niger Delta that there is need to embrace peace and the people destroying properties are rather "terrorist" and "selfish" groups. Embracing peace is a means on resolving the long lasting crisis in the region. The people were made to understand the negative consequences of the crisis which ranges from; increase in the number of mortality for both young and old, women and men, the opportunities they tend to miss out from if the crisis persist.

The research also proves that the actions of the media in respect to the Niger Delta crisis are indeed working. This is so because the rate at which the crisis took place years back is totally far less than current time. This was possible or achievable because the media was able to transform the minds of the readers the benefits of sticking with the government and their policies. It was possible because the media painted the picture of the government to be saints and the only side in the conflict seeking for peace and the well-being of the region. Indeed, this research has also proven that the media in Nigeria right from creation till date is a tool of the government in technically changing the perception of the people. The government knew this will be possible because the media is widely read and believed in by readers.

6.2 Recommendation

At the end of this thesis, the following are the recommendation of the research on the affectivity of the media in the management and resolution of the conflict;

- i. The media in Nigeria should privates rather than government owned. The agreeability of the information from a government owned media platform by the people will be on the edge of the scale. This is so because they will be able to dictate or assume the government is at it again and they will find reasons not to believe the news, which will in return "most probably" increase the crisis rate.

- ii. The presentation of the "bad boy picture" should be balanced. The people of the Nigeria will tend to believe on the media more when the government is not in all articles published in the newspapers "painted as" the "saints". If the media will be truly and with an high percentage resolve the conflict, then the Niger Delta, including the militants, avengers or whatever name they come under will need to trust the media.
- iii. Furthermore, the media workers (Journalist) and media should ensure a regular interview section with militants that have surrendered his/her arm and granted amnesty. The more the interview the more the ideas have surrendering arms comes into play in the mind of some of the Niger Delta Militants. Some in the sense that, the research believes, not all militants in the region can have a change of heart on the baseline of media information.
- iv. Increase in the rate of newspapers cartoons as a means of enlightenment to the Niger Delta region of the dangers of crisis. As of the moment of this thesis, newspaper cartoons in respect to the conflict in Niger Delta region had being searched and little to nothing reasonable was found on it. The newspapers cartoons section can also send message to the younger generation of the region on the disadvantages of crisis using graphics.
- v. Accessibility of the information by the Niger Delta region people both within the region and out of the region. What is the essence of educating a group of individuals who do not have access to the "educational materials" (media)? Increasing the rate by increasing rate or printings, means of accessibilities of information to possible subsidizing or rendering it free to the people. Increase is accessibility will increase the awareness level and that in return increase the rate at which people perception to embrace peace continues to increase.

6.3 Limitations

At the cause of this research the researcher was able to encounter series of challenges which includes

- i. Time,
- ii. Finance,
- iii. Research publication and
- iv. Availability of newspapers.

i. **Time**

The research time frame was short for the research; else the research would have loved to conduct an interview section with the residents of the region. This will also only be possible if an ethical clearance is obtained from Nigeria and the community leaders which will take a long time before it will be approved.

ii. **Finance**

This was also a limiting factor to the research because if the finance was available, the researcher would have been able to travel to the region (Niger Delta) in Nigeria to carry out an interview then back to Cyprus for studies. The financial strength for such movement is not available since it will include plane tickets, hotel accommodation, feeding, minor transportation and other factors that demand the use of finance that may come up.

iii. **Research Publication**

The researcher encountered serious problem in finding modern literature in respect to the thesis topic to support her literature review. The region in particular had no publication in respect to postmodernism theory, which also affected the researcher's reference in comparing her research with other related materials.

iv. **Availability of Newspapers**

Sorting and finding of newspapers from the archive was on its own a limitation, though it was waived by the persistence and hard work of the researcher. The researcher encountered problem finding newspapers within the region of the year 2000 to 2010 in the newspaper archive. This would have helped the researcher with the full knowledge and progression of how the media has indeed played their roles in the resolution of the Niger Delta crisis.

6.4 Further Research

Further research should be carried out in the following topics;

- a. The extent to which the perception of the Niger Delta region indigenes have been shaped by the media in the resolution of conflict in the region. This through series of

interview will help to know directly from the people how they feel about the media publication and it will also give insight on how to handle the challenge directly in respect to media.

- b. A comparative study on the most effective media in the resolution of the Niger Delta crisis. This research will help to know the lapses of the different type of media: Newspapers, magazine, radio, television program and social media.
- c. The effect of media on the perception of militants that have surrendered their arms to the Federal Government. This will know how media helped the amnesty militants in their conversion from destruction of public and government properties to being good citizens of the country

All the above research along with this thesis, the researcher believes will better help the media in addressing the conflict and help the international image of the country. A good international image will attract foreign investors and increase the exchange rate of the Nigerian currency.

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