

Analysis of Newspaper Framing of Government Policies in the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry (2017-2019)

Silas Uduak Obot¹, Luke Ifeanyi Anorue², Ikechukwuelike³

¹Department of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

² Department of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

³Department of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Corresponding Author: **Luke Ifeanyi Anorue**

Abstract

Issues: Activities in the Nigerian oil and gas industry have significant impact on the national economy. It contributes about 95% of the country's foreign exchange earnings. Information on policies within the sector are crucial for stakeholders to enable them make better decisions and benefit from activities in the industry. The media play a vital role in information gathering and dissemination. It is expected to provide this information within locally intelligible context and considered frames around the issues it addresses. **Methods:** This study analysed newspaper framing of government policies in the Nigerian oil and gas industry. The study was anchored on framing theory. Four national dailies were selected and the stories published within 1,095days, that is from 2017 to 2019 study period formed the sample size. **Findings:** From the data gathered, it was noted that there is a generally low volume of coverage of the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry in comparison with other editorial items in the Nigerian newspapers. **Conclusions:** In terms of reports on the industry, it was noted that policy issues received higher media coverage compared to other issues and events. The dominant frame in reporting these issues was the policy frame, other frames such as community and environment had very low frequency. The study therefore recommends that the media, especially newspapers should strategically increase their level of coverage government policies in the Oil and Gas Industry. This is particularly because it has the potential to boost activities within the industry and ensure derivable benefits for all the stakeholders, especially the host communities.

Keywords: 1. Media 2. Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry 3. Nigerian newspapers 4. Newspaper Framing 5. Government Policies

1. Introduction

Activities in the Nigerian oil and gas industry, otherwise known as the Petroleum Industry, have significant impact on the national economy. This is because the sector is the leading source of revenue generation in the country today with considerable contributions to the national GDP. The petroleum industry contributes about 95% of the country's foreign exchange earnings. The oil and gas companies operating in Nigeria play a significant role in the nation's economy. Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI) Audit Report (2017) says that Nigeria realised about \$21 billion from the oil and gas sector in 2017, the NEITI Report showed the revenue was 23 percent higher than the \$17.05 billion realized in 2016. Details of the report on the various revenue streams showed that crude oil and gas sales raked in about \$10.19 billion, against other earnings of about \$10.13 billion. The 2017 report covered 63 entities, including seven government agencies, 12 joint venture companies (JVs), 13 production sharing contract companies and 16 marginal field operators. Other entities covered included 13 sole risk operators, one service contract and the NLNG Company.

This sector is composed of companies that explore, develop, produce and operate the oil and gas fields. These companies are sometimes referred to as the International Oil Companies (IOCs), National Oil Companies (NOCs), Marginal Fields Operators (MFOs) and the Servicing Companies. In the Nigerian oil and gas industry, companies that are classified under IOCs, are multi-national oil and gas companies that have presence in one or more countries outside Nigeria, they are the western oil and gas giants that play across the entire petroleum value chain, from oil exploration and production (upstream) to pipelines, transport and refining (midstream) and products sales and marketing (downstream). There are 5 IOCs operating in the Nigerian oil and gas industry fields and these include: Mobil Producing Nigeria (MPN), Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC), Chevron Nigeria, Total Energies and NAOC/Eni.

The National Oil Companies and Marginal Field Operators, which are also referred to as “Indigenous companies” in the Nigerian oil and gas industry, are majorly-owned and managed by Nigerians. They also carry out operations in various areas of the Upstream, Midstream and Downstream sectors of the industry, which include: crude exploration, development and production, petroleum products transportation, refining, sales and marketing (Business Day, 2014). They also provide technical services and support within the industry. They are more in numbers than the IOCs in the industry, and these companies include amongst others: NNPC, Dubri Oil Company, Nigerian Production & Development Company (NPDC), Oando, Conoil, Universal Energy Resource Ltd., Oriental Energy Resource Ltd., Nigeria Liquefied Natural Gas (NLNG), Amni International, Tenoil Petroleum, Ardova Plc, YinkaFolawiyo Petroleum, Capital Oil, Zenon Petroleum, etc.

The Nigerian oil and gas industry currently make up something between 7% and 10% Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the national economy (Addeh & Samuel, 2022). After it gained momentum in the mid-1950s due to industrialization which led to the growth of factories and the development of the automobile industry, the petroleum industry has since then been a major backbone for the survival of the Nigerian economy. It can be said to be the pillar on which the Federal Government of Nigeria relies on for its annual budgetary provisions for national development. The petroleum industry does not just fuel the economy, it also provides the fuel on which the plants for most factories are run. For instance, according to Akinlo (2012, p.170) as cited in Ndimele (2018), in general, the industry oils the wheels on which all other sectors of the national economy run.

Nigeria has the 10th biggest oil reserves in the world, with 37.10 billion barrels of crude oil reserves onshore – land, swarm, shallow waters and deep offshore – across the length and breadth of communities of the Niger Delta region. And recently, oil is said to have been found in the North East region too.

These communities inexplicitly or explicitly lay claims to the ownership of the oil and gas deposit in their environment. These communities are also referred to as “host communities”. The name implies that their communities by share providence of nature host the deposit of the natural resources, and for that reason, are entitled for compensation. Therefore, these claims of entitlement, more often than not, pitch the communities against the exploration and production companies (be it the IOCs or NOCs). Over the years, this has caused problems of unimaginable proportion to all stakeholders in the industry, which often times led to destruction of oil and gas installations, pipelines vandalism, huge loss of revenue to both Government and Joint Venture partners, disruption of production process and even, loss of lives.

According to Ibemere (2016, p.72) despite the huge oil and gas reserve in the country, it has never translated to high levels of production of crude oil and its by-products. Nigeria cannot simply produce to meet up with its daily production objectives of at least 1.54 million barrels per day. This partly because of community protests and operational issues at several oil fields, and these have had a sporadic impact on production levels.

To checkmate this ugly trend, various Governments have tried to put in place policies and legislations that would seek to provide and promote harmonious and conducive operating environment for mutually-beneficial relation between stakeholders in the petroleum industry. Chief amongst such policies/legislations, include:

- a) Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry Content Development (NOGICD) Act 2010.
- b) Petroleum Industry Act (PIA) 2021 previously regarded as the Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB)

Whereas, the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry Content Development Act 2010 seeks to increase the participation of Nigerians, Nigerian companies, host communities, contractors in the activities and operations of the Nigerian oil and gas industry, the Act mandate the oil companies to employ Nigerians, engage Nigerian contractors and make use of Nigerian goods and services in their operations in the Nigerian oil and gas industry. On the other hand, the PIA seeks to achieve transparency and accountability on the operations of the Nigerian oil and gas industry. It also mandates the operators to partner with host communities in their operations. The host communities are an integral stakeholder for successful operations in the petroleum industry and as such, the Act has a chapter dedicated to the development of host communities. The Act creates a framework to support this development, foster sustainable prosperity and provide direct social and economic benefits to the host communities from petroleum operations(Oyedele, Omontuemhen, Azobu, & El-Rufai, 2021). It also seeks to enhance harmonious coexistence between the host communities and the operating companies.

The PIA provides that exploration and production companies (referred to as settlors in the Act) will be required to set up a Host Communities Development Trust (HCDDT) for the benefit of the host communities where they operate. The HCDDT will be funded by a contribution from each settlor of an amount equal to 3% of its actual annual operating expenditure in the immediately preceding financial year, with respect to its upstream petroleum operations affecting the host communities.

Apparently, the above referenced interventionist policies/legislations, amongst several other policies for the Nigerian oil and gas industry, are put in place by the Federal Government of Nigeria. This is to regulate the operational activities of all stakeholders within the industry, in order to deliver peaceful operational environment that would usher in socio-economic development and mutual-dividends both to the operating companies and the host communities, as well as the Nation.

However, the big question is, to what extent are the people in host communities aware of these government policies & legislations, so as to avail themselves of the opportunities of leveraging on the provisions of the legislations to benefit there from? Because, as the saying goes, “the joy of the pudding is in the eating”, credit must also be given to the government who at all times, when new laws are passed within the Nigerian oil and gas industry, sets up an agency of the government that will be saddled with the responsibility and mandate of implementation of such law(Streamsowers & Kohn, 2022).

The objective isat ensuring 100% compliance to the law by all stakeholders. Part of such agency’s mandate include public sensitisation and awareness creation of the new policy. For instance, when the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry Content Development (NOGICD) Act 2010, was signed into law by former President GoodluckEbele Johnathan, on 22nd April, 2010, the law sets up Nigerian Content Development & Monitoring Board, (NCDMB) as an Agency of Government with the mandate to implement the provisions of the Act.

Section 67 of the Act mandates the Board to “conduct workshops, conferences, seminars, symposia and any other public forum considered appropriate for the benefit of operators, contractors, the public and other stakeholders to enhance the implementation of the provisions of this Act”.

Section 70(n) says the Board shall – “organize conferences, workshops, seminars, symposia, trainings, road shows and other public education for a to further the attainment of the goal of developing Nigerian content in the Nigerian oil and gas industry “

Despite the commendable roles of these agencies of Government in sensitizing its publics on emergent Government policies in the petroleum industry, there seems to be a huge policy-information gap between the not-so-well educated, rural-based host community people and the well-enlightened operators to fill.

Globally, governments at the international, regional and national levels make policies relating to improving and regulating the operations of the oil industry as well as creating a conducive environment for the host communities, one which is both sustainable and mutually beneficial(Vasquez, 2016). These policies mostly revolve around issues of corporate social responsibility and local content management and administration such

that the communities become active participants in the activities within the petroleum industry and beneficiaries of its operations.

According to Tavis (2012), as cited in Makpor and Leite (2016, p. 135) communities within which multinational oil corporations operate respond positively to improved and sustainable conditions, if corporate social responsibility is well implemented. This will also have significant impact on government policy and regulations affecting the sector.

The presence of a well-intended policy of government is as good as its absence, if the essence of such policy was not deliberately communicated to its target audience – the people – who would benefit from its implementation.

Here, the media play a pivotal role in the framing of government policies and interpreting same for the understanding and benefit of the people for which such policies were targeted in the first place.

In Nigeria, for instance, although most organizations operating within the oil-rich Niger Delta region have their regional operations offices in big commercial cities like Lagos and Port-Harcourt, the Nigerian Content law requires that operational offices be located at communities where their significant operations are based and manned by management staff, so that decisions taken in such places can trickle down to benefit the people at the grassroots who are incidentally the residents of the host communities (where the actual petroleum activities take place) and therefore, foster better relationships between the communities and the companies as well as service providers in the industry.

There is therefore, the crucial need for the media to disseminate information relating to government policies in the oil and gas industry as through this the host communities and other stakeholders become well-informed on how best to leverage on the opportunities available within the petroleum industry.

The media play a vital role in information gathering and dissemination but most importantly, as a member of the fourth estate, it needs to provide this information within the locally intelligible context and considered frames of the local communities. Johnson, Williams, & Thompson (2017), noted that the media not just provide the sensitization around government policies but also interpretation and contextualization. This is as one of the ways through which the media shape events is through the act of framing.

Framing describes the ways that media practitioners cast stories, highlight what it considers as figure and ground, and impute meaning and motives. "Figure" is what occupies the centre stage regarding how one sees a situation, while elements that form "ground" fall to the background or the periphery of a situation. Areas of a story that become figure usually influence how media practitioners cast the definition of an issue, problem, or event. Framing a particular situation as a conflict highlights incompatibilities, disagreements, or oppositional tensions between individuals, groups, and institutions (Anyadike, 2015; Okoro&Odoemelam, 2013; Yang, & Ishak, 2012; Dimitrova, & Strömbäck, 2008; Putnam & Shoemaker, 2007).

Framing of media contents has been rigorously investigated, especially among media scholars (De Vreese&Boomgaarden, 2003). Framing describes the process through which the selection or the position of a piece of information presented to a public or an individual render a differential in their attitudes or behaviour with regards to an issue (Frida & Carlos, 2018). According to Wicke and Bolognesi (2020), in communication sciences, a frame is typically defined as consisting of two elements: elements in a text such as words, used as framing devices, and (latent) information used as reasoning devices, through which a problem, cause or evaluation is implied.

However, it can be said that there are strong linkages between the frames of the sender, of the receiver, of the text and of culture (Ardevol-Abreu, 2015). He further adds that frames are "shared schemes underlying the attitudes of journalists, who organize the information; in the receptors, who are able to understand; in the texts that are hidden; and in the culture in which they are generated".

Frames could be regarded as having two main perspectives. First, frames can refer to the content of communication that serves to select or project certain information (frames in communication) or on the other hand, frames can refer to an individual's (cognitive) understanding of a given situation (frames in thought).

Both are concerned with variations in emphasis or salience but they differ in that the former focuses on what the communicator says while the latter focuses on what an individual is thinking (Druckman, 2001).

In this study, attention was paid to the former – frames in contents of communication. The concept of media framing has been referred to as a conceptual tool which the media, as well as journalists use to cover, interpret and evaluate information whereby the media sets the parameters in which citizens discuss public events (Seib, 2008).

Angelo (2002) reveals that more than a decade's worth of investigations of framing reveals three major processes: frame construction, framing effects, and frame definition. Frame construction focuses on the way that journalists cast the elements of news stories, especially the formats that they use, newsmakers' intentions and values, and the devices that journalists use in their work. For instance, a researcher can investigate frame construction like what stories get reported, which sources are cited or not cited, and where a story appears in the layout of the news.

Framing effects research centres on the outcomes of news framing and the interaction between the media and audiences. Thus, the research encompasses studies of two-way flow among media, discourses of public opinion, and prior knowledge of audience members (Angelo, 2002). Finally, frame definition centres on the content of news stories that arise from how the media contributes to defining the situation. This process focuses on the discourse units that convey news frames. Thus, the media construct particular views of reality through limiting the range of information, selecting sources strategically, and setting parameters for policy debates (Putnam & Shoemaker, 2007).

Framing is a strategy that the media adopt to make their audience view issues from a particular perspective. Through the instrument of framing, the media may succeed in directing the attention of their audience to a particular dimension of an issue. Framing does not place attention on the number of stories, but on the angle the story projects. Framing emphasizes to make noteworthy (Patel, Johnson, & Davis, 2014). One poorly framed story is enough to set a whole country ablaze than hundred stories that are properly framed.

A good example here is the 2002 Miss World competition that was scheduled to hold in Nigeria. During the preparation for the event, there were many stories on the events but one article from *ThisDay* newspaper suggesting that Islam's founding prophet, Mohammed, would have approved of the contest and probably found a beautiful bride among the queens, sparked riots from the Muslim adherents who viewed it as a blasphemy against their religion. This resulted to violent protests in Northern Nigeria where over 100 people were reported killed (*The Telegraph*, 2002).

Therefore, framing is an important aspect of news reporting as it helps to couch the story in a way offers the readers perspectives with which to view specific issues. This perspective formation can have significant impact on how people view issues relating to government policies especially in the oil and gas industry in Nigeria as this is a major sector of the economy. Media framing of issues has the potential to shift the direction of the dominant public discourse (Odoemelam, 2022).

Communication is said to be the nerve of the society, and through communication, activities happening at one end of the world can be made to affect or solve problems in another side of the world. Hence, the media is expected to report on government policies, issues and events happening in society, not just for the commercial value of news but also for information impact on the masses and the education it provides which can in turn lead to societal transformation.

Studies such as Amzat (2015), Manohar (2018) and Baum and Zhukov (2015) have revealed the extent of media coverage of diverse spheres of society such as press coverage of elections, government, transformations in the educational sector, media reportage on health and the financial market. These studies have no doubt contributed invaluable to the development of society and enrich the existing body of intellectual works in such fields that they form the foundation for shaping society in such areas that things can be said to have been influenced in certain ways, not just by media reportage but also by the impact of the communication studies in such fields.

While there have been diverse studies Derania and Naidua, (2016),Saha,(2014)related to activities in the Nigerian oil and gas industry, most of such studies tend to focus on corporate social responsibility, communication between the companies and their host communities, the impact of violence on operations of such companies and the economy, oil spillage, environmental issues and restiveness.

Available literature suggests that there is little or no empirical studies on the extent and how the media frame issues relating with government policies in the Nigerian oil and gas sector which play pivotal roles in shaping the economy of Nigeria and the lives of those in the host communities.

There is therefore, a very crucial need to understand how the media frame government policies in the Nigerian oil and gas industry. Such studies will form a nexus between the level of media engagement and the level of audience awareness of such policies within the sector – which would prompt as well as increase host community participation in the activities of the industry. Media framing of government policies in the Nigerian oil and gas industry becomes imperative in filling this gap in literature. Hence, the need for this study so as to provide empirical evidence on how the media present government policies relating to the oil and gas industry in Nigeria between 2017- 2019. Broadly, this study seeks to find out the nature of media framing of issues in the oil and gas industry in Nigeria. Specifically the study sought to: determine level of media coverage of the Nigerian oil and gas industry in selected Nigerian newspapers; ascertain the frequency of newspaper coverage of government policies in the Nigerian oil and gas industry; determine the level of depth of coverage given to stories on government policies in the Nigerian oil and gas sector by Nigerian newspapers; ascertain the dominant frames the newspapers employed in reporting government policies in the oil and gas industry in Nigeria; evaluate the dominant story direction employed in reporting government policies in the oil and gas industry

Research questions

1. What is the frequency of media coverage of government policies in the Nigerian oil and gas industry?
2. How prominent are stories on government policies in the Nigerian oil and gas industry featured in Nigerian newspapers?
3. What are the dominant frames used in reporting government policies in the Nigerian oil and gas industry by the Nigerian newspapers?

2.0 Literature review

2.1 Newspaper coverage of issues relating to the Oil and Gas Sector

Media coverage essentially is the presentation of certain issue in the media. That is, the dissemination of information or the provision of news about a certain content. According to Manohar (2018), media coverage can be defined as the way in which a particular piece of information is presented by media either as news, entertainment or as infotainment. It can affect the extent of information dissemination as well as influence the audience opinion while giving out the information (para. 1).

As Baum & Zhukov (2015) aptly note, citizens primarily learn about their governments' activities via the mass media. The acquisition of information is an individually costly enterprise, and citizens face incentives to transfer these costs to someone else (Baum, & Zhukov, 2019) When people get exposed to certain media contents, their experiences or expectations of the subject of such media might assume new dimensions based on the new level of awareness. The extent of this may vary from person to person based on diverse variables such as personal experiences, the context of awareness and the source of the message. Baum & Zhukov (2015) for instance further stated that, hard news-oriented, thematically framed reporting, with an emphasis on public policy themes and the broader political, or military context –tends to engender a sense of collective responsibility for a given policy problem (p.4).

The Nigerian oil and gas industry is one that for most people has demonstrated an onion-like feature in the media. A Journalist, Benjamin Ezeamalu noted that “The opacity of activities in the sector, the cabal-like

attitudes of the players, and the apparent pervasive corruption have served to fuel (his) interest in Nigeria's oil and gas sector" (Akinniyi, 2017). This feeling is well-shared among journalists and media practitioners. According to Amzat (2015) in his work titled *Poor media coverage of oil-gas industry*, he stated that the petroleum industry remains the most secretive business environment in the country (para. 1). But more worrisome is the ways in which the media present issues relating to the industry. Forbes in a recent report put the situation into better context when it captioned a report thus, *The Oil and Gas Situation: A Mixed Bag of Interesting Developments*. Also, the ways in which issues regarding the industry are presented in the media may seem intended to confound the audience. For instance,

Quentin Fisher, professor of petroleum geoenvironment at the U.K.'s University of Leeds, said he was 'deeply skeptical' about the study. "The results are extremely sensitive to highly questionable assumptions regarding the isotopic composition of methane found in shale. The arguments made by previous studies that increase in methane in the atmosphere is from biogenic sources, such as release from wetlands and agriculture or burning of biomass, seem far more convincing (Blackmon, 2019).

Such technical reports may at best tend to stun rather than inform members of the public. Thereby, leading to less knowledge production regarding the industry. Okoro&Nnaji (2012), suggested that "more interpretation should be given to environmental pollution in the Niger Delta since such would aid better understanding and appreciation of the situation on ground." Their study on *Press Coverage of Environmental Pollution in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria* revealed "low interpretation given to the subject matter (oil pollution) by the 4 newspapers studied. Among the 4 newspapers studied: Guardian, Vanguard and Daily Sun, had no editorial on the subject matter during the study period.

While Vanguard through its feature stories and supplements gave more interpretation on the subject matter, Guardian had no editorial, feature or supplements on the subject matter. Thisday had 1 editorial and 1 letter to the editor (p. 44). Thus, while there may seem to be some degree of newspaper reports, these reports can be said to be marginally useful to the population. The issue of media framing however seem to be more crucial as it first of all highlights dominant issues within the industry.

2.2 Magnitude of Coverage Given to Issues in the Nigerian Oil and Gas Sector

Concerns regarding media coverage can be said to be really imperative as Amzat (2015) puts its "for a country whose budget is funded largely by the proceeds from the sale of crude oil, it is more than likely that the media in such country would constantly demand transparency and accountability in the oil and gas sector". Okoro&Nnaji (2012) in their study found that the 334 editions of the 4 national newspapers studied carried only 25 stories on the issue (oil pollution) (p. 43). However, this is not peculiar to Nigeria. In a study by Penplusbytes (2013) who carried out *A Baseline Study of Oil and Gas Media Reporting: Content Analysis of the 1st Quarter of 2013 oil and gas content of three newspapers* in Ghana, noted that "in January, the *Daily Graphic* and *The Ghanaian Times* literally went to sleep about oil and gas altogether while the *Daily Guide* continued to publish news stories albeit not the type of content that can make any impact in its media watchdog role".

In a study by Al-Mawlawi, MehdiAli, Kareem, & West (2011) titled *Analysis of Iraqi Media Coverage on the Energy Sector*, it was noted that "domestic politics was the most common framework for stories on the Iraqi energy sector, accounting for 34% of news items in the survey, followed by Business (28%), International Relations (20%) and Social Issues (17%). The environmental paradigm is almost totally lacking from Iraqi media coverage of the oil industry" (p. 5).

In Lebanon, Dyke, Nash, Redd, & Sukkarieh (2014) carried a study *Lebanese Media Coverage of the Oil and Gas Sector* and found that "of the 122 stories monitored, 80 discussed politics. Other well-covered topics included the tender process, economics and governance" (p. 20). Generally, there seems to be a pervading difficulty in accessing story contents from the industry and also a sense of inattention on the part of the journalists.

2.3 Dominant issues in the oil and gas sector covered by the newspaper

Media coverage is whatever the media decides to cover (Goldberg, 2016). That is, whatever the media considers as being of value. This is referred to as salience. In an early study of media salience, Downs coined the term "issue attention cycle," which referred to the process through which topics/problems emerge, gain public interest, and fade away, only to be replaced by other topics capturing the public interest (Downs, 1972). Hence, the public gets aware of what the media presents and then change awareness in line with newer offerings from the media. Thus, leading to a shift in awareness. However, what is central is that of the verisimilitude of daily occurrences, whatever the media highlights is what the public's awareness is formed around.

Hence, if the media present issues related to the activities of oil producing companies, the central issues among the people within the host communities will be dominated by issues that pertain to such activities. Then if the media shifts to cover issues that relate to government policy, this policy will inform the dominant discourse in the society. Therefore, one can say the media sets the agenda for public discourse through its presentations and omission of daily events.

Going further, Evers (2016), noted that the content of news coverage is also characterized by the tone of voice. Tone, which in framing literature is also designated as valence, maybe positive, neutral or negative (Brunken, 2006). Studies indicate that the tone of voice in the first days after an event is rich in emotional content, but grows distanced and intellectualized as time goes by (Gortner & Pennebaker, 2003).

2.4 Key frames in newspaper reportage of activities in the oil and gas sector

Arguably, there have been media reports that cover the oil and gas industry albeit paltry. The issue then may revolve around the dominants frames with which the media present the industry through their coverage. From a study titled *In the Shadow of Big Oil a Media Content Analysis of the 'Big Oil' Stigma*, Ivy-O'Donnell(2015), found that "attribution of responsibility was one of the most frequently used frames within the articles". For Neuman, Just, & Crigler (1992), economic consequences or economic impact is a common frame within the news media. Discussing the outcome of their study, Bond, Thomas, & Diprose (2018) stated that "our research has focused on the media framing of the debate surrounding oil and gas developments in Aotearoa New Zealand. We found that it shifted discussions towards how drilling should take place, rather than whether it should happen at all".

They went further detailing how the media framed issues surrounding the people protesting for better practices within the industry thus, "the narrative that emerged pitched decent citizens against "unemployable", "disrespectful" protesters, with the police as benign supporters of decency and the bank as an apolitical service provider. Broader debates about climate justice and corporate responsibility were not heard in these media reports (para. 10).

Media framing of critical issues can have grave consequences on the society as it can make a serious problem tend to look trivial or drastically impact people's opinion on matters affecting their environment. McNally, Howley, & Cotton (2018), found that specifically, individuals were much more likely to be against shale gas development when using the word 'fracking' as opposed to when presented with 'using hydraulic pressure'. These different perceptions could manifest out of different assessments of either the risks/costs or the benefits from 'fracking' as opposed to 'using hydraulic pressure to extract natural gas from the ground' (p. 313). In their study of *Framing 'fracking': exploring public perceptions of hydraulic fracturing in the United Kingdom*, Williams, Macnaghten, Davies, & Curtis(2017) were of the opinion that public acceptance of hydraulic fracturing is assumed to be limited only by a lack of transparent communication of the risks and benefits.

It therefore suffices to say that the extent of media coverage of issues regarding the oil and gas industry may impact the level of awareness of the public regarding such issues and the framing of such issues can tremendously impact their perceptions of such.

Therefore, consistency in the presentation of an issue with similar tone of a certain period of time can bring about salience and sustain its valence over such period thereby strengthening public awareness and the prevalence of such issue. This draws to mid the concept of framing. This study therefore seeks to understand the level of newspaper framing of the oil and gas industry in Nigeria to understand how the media have presented activities within the sector and the dominant frames with which they were presented also with regards to members of the host communities and government as well

2.5 Theoretical Framework

Developed by Erving Goffman in the 1970s, framing theory is a communication theory that focuses on how media and communicators strategically shape the perception of events, issues, and topics. This theory was further expanded by scholars like Erving Goffman, Robert Entman, and William Gamson. As a theory of the mass media, framing theory has been largely employed in understanding how media presentation of information influences public opinion and understanding.

This study found expression in the framing theory. It has continued to gain wide acceptance and usage among communication scholars even in recent times. In exploring the central tenets of the theory, Bateson described the idea of frames as “spatial and temporary bounding of set of interactive messages” (Bateson, 1972). Partly because of these vague conceptualizations, the term *framing* has been used repeatedly to label similar but distinctly different approaches (Scheufele, 1999).

In an attempt at clarifying the concept of framing, Chong & Druckman (2007), explain that the major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue (p. 104). This theory basically explains the concept of putting existing subjects within certain perspectives to construct or assign new meanings (frames) to the subjects. This is such that people no longer see the subject as the way they use to but they draw meaning from the relationship created within the new perspective. This can drastically transform perception. For example, when asked whether they would favour or oppose allowing a hate group to hold a political rally, 85% of respondents answered in favour if the question was prefaced with the suggestion. “Given the importance of free speech,” whereas only 45% were in favour when the question was prefaced with the phrase, “Given the risk of violence” (Sniderman & Theriault, 2004).

Frames have tremendous impact in mass media communication. Not only do the media organization as an institution exert its influence on issues but how they construct the issues give it a sense of contextualization. While some people may confuse this as agenda setting, agenda setting arises when the media through repeated coverage emphasize salience. That is, dominant issues in the media then inform public discourse. While in the later the media highlight or set the issues for discourse, in the former the media contextualize the issues by constructing for the audience frames within which these issues are debated.

Hence, how the media choose to present an industry such as the Nigerian oil and gas sector may have significant implications on how the people within and around such industry perceive the activities of its key players. This can also tremendously impact on its relationship with the host communities. Therefore, the researcher adopted framing theory to determine how newspapers highlight activities in the oil and gas sector.

3.0 Methodology

This study adopted content analytical design. Typically, content analysis entails the evaluation of manifest contents of documented materials. The researcher made use of this approach because it is usually the most appropriate approach when a researcher seeks to examine the manifest content of communication. Also, the researcher made use of textual analysis to refer to specific content and link them to some frames in the study. The population of the study was made up of all the national dailies circulated between 2017 and 2019 in Nigeria. There are currently 37 newspapers with national circulation (Peterson, 2016). From this population,

four newspapers 'websites were purposively selected for the study. They are The Nation, The Guardian, Daily Trust and Punch newspapers websites. These newspapers were selected because they are broadly regarded to cover issues pertaining to all facets of the Nigerian society with a national outlook and have daily circulation across the country.

Also, specifically, the reason for studying online editions of these newspapers is because they have rapidly become a means of sharing information amongst people. This is even so in the local communities where the printed newspaper may not be readily available for purchase or may be considered expensive by the local readers. This comprises all the online newspaper editions published by the four selected newspapers within the period of study. That is, 365 days for each year multiplied by the three-year time frame of the study and then multiplied as well by the number of dailies, that is, four daily online publications from the newspapers giving a total of 4,380 expected editions. That is,

$$365 \text{ days} \times \text{number of dailies}(3\text{years}) = \text{sample size}$$

$$365 \times 4(3) = \mathbf{4,380}$$

There were a total of 140 news stories and opinion articles spanning the study period from 2017 to 2019. The table below shows the distribution of the stories across the three years with majority of the stories being reported within 2017 and the least number being published in 2018. However, the disparity in the volume of the stories relating to the oil and gas industry does not reflect the general volume of stories these newspapers publish in any given day.

Table 1: Distribution of the number of stories related to oil and gas industry across the three-year study period

	2017	2018	2019
Number of stories	51	41	48

The study adopted multistage sampling technique. These stages are as follows:

At the first, the researcher made use of purposive sampling technique to select four newspapers for the study. These are The Nation, the Guardian, Daily Trust and Punch newspapers. Secondly the researcher sampled the individual newspapers. This was done through use of the motif sampling approach. It is an approach that allows a researcher to sample online contents with the use of key words. As a technique, motif approach allows a researcher to select online contents through the use of keywords. At last, the researcher made use of purposive sampling technique to select the stories from the output of the motif search. This is partly to ensure they are within the frame of the study and are published between January 2017 and December 2019. To source for these stories, some digital tools and platforms were employed such as google search engine, the newspaper websites and excel. First of all, the researcher using specific keywords aided by the code sheet did deep web search incorporating Boolean operators to help filter and get to stories with such keywords and related words or variations of such terms. Then the stories were sorted by date, newspaper sources and headline topic.

Microsoft Excel formula were then generated using Power Query to refine the data and then generate appropriate statistical figures that represent the frequencies and distribution of these terms. This thereby created a statistical representation of the media presentation of policy issues within the industry. It is from this point that analysis was made to examine the data with specific reference to the questions raised within the study. The analysis of data for this study was done with the use of both descriptive and inferential statistics. The analysis was done using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22. The analysed data was then presented in tables and charts.

4.0 Results

This study also sought to find out the frequency of media coverage, how prominent are the stories and dominant frames used in reporting government policies in the Nigerian oil and gas industry. To achieve this, all the issues in the newspapers related to the oil and gas industry within the study period were aggregated. Then from the total number of stories around the oil industry, specific key terms related to government policies such as law, policy, bill and act were used to filter through each story. The reason was that, such words are widely used as a means of describing government policies and are sometimes used interchangeably depending on context.

However, it will be erroneous to aggregate each story containing each one of these terms to form the frequency of coverage of government policies in the newspapers. This is because some of these terms are used collectively in single stories and so such stories will be calculated in multiple times, thereby giving the error of multiple entry. Therefore, all the stories containing at least one of each of these terms were sorted and filtered, such that each story had a chance of being counted just once. The frequency of coverage of issues relating to government policy in the oil and gas industry within the study period is presented in the table below.

Table 2: Distribution of stories related to government policies in the oil and gas industry

Year	2017	2018	2019	Total
Daily Trust	1(0.7%)	1(0.7%)	3(2.1%)	5(3.6%)
Punch	-	5(3.6%)	-	5(3.6%)
The Guardian	17(12.1%)	13(9.6%)	8(5.7%)	38(27.1%)
The Nation	10(7.1%)	4(2.9%)	10(7.1%)	24(17.1%)
Total	28(20.0%)	23(16.4%)	21(15%)	72(51.4%)

This study was also aimed at finding out the depth of coverage given to stories on government policies in the oil and gas industry in the selected newspapers. To achieve this, the stories were categorized based on word count as short, medium and long. Stories with number of words ranging from 1-500 were regarded as short, 501-1,000 as medium length and 1,001 above as long. Long stories are said to be given a significant level of value and thus feature more prominently on the news site as important stories.

From the data gathered in this study, it was noted that short stories had a higher frequency in news reports on government policy in the oil and gas industry while long and medium length stories were relatively less frequent. When comparing the way these stories were presented in the newspapers, it was seen that the stories were given more depth of coverage in the Guardian Newspaper which had most of its stories on the issue given both long and medium length. This was also despite the fact that the data shows that much of the stories on government policies in the industry were reported by the Guardian. This newspaper reported more than half (52.7%) of such stories on the industry. Daily Trust and Punch Newspaper had the least (6.9%) report of such policies.

Overall, we can say that for most of the newspapers, they gave the stories in the oil and gas industry less depth of coverage as most of the stories (37.5%) were treated as short stories. This was more so with Punch and Nation newspapers.

To give a much more vivid illustration of the frequency of media reports on government policies in the oil and gas industry in relation to stories within the industry, the chart below compares both data side by side for the three-year period of the study.

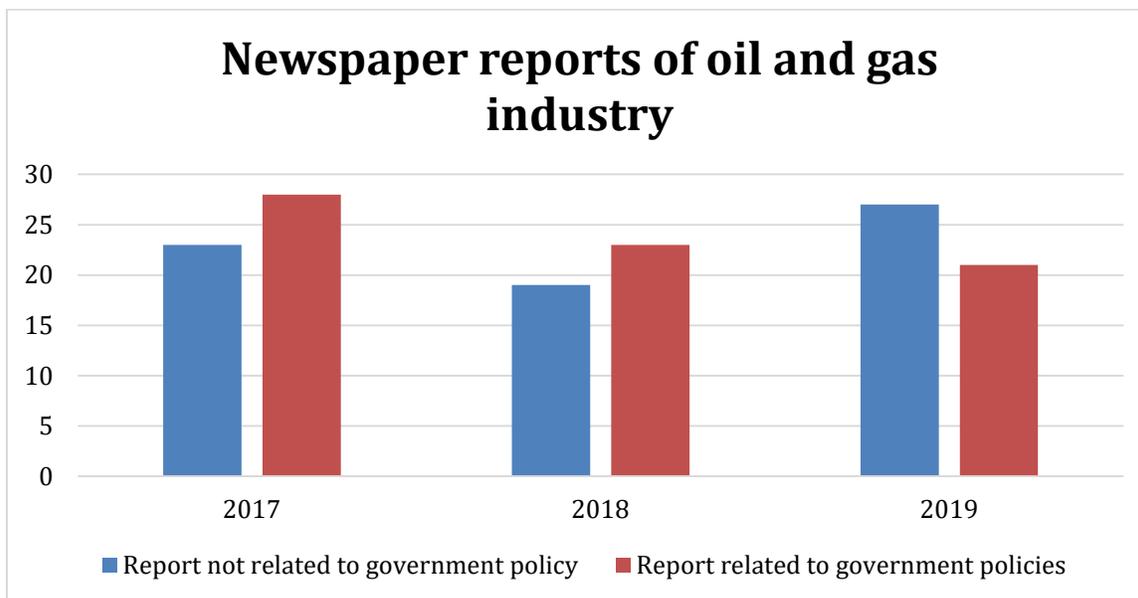


Figure 1: Newspaper reports of the oil and gas industry

From the chart above, we can see that for both 2017 and 2018, the frequency of coverage of issues relating to government policies in the oil and gas industry was higher than other reports of issues within the industry. While the newspapers reported other events and issues relating to activities within the industries, for those three years policy issues dominated. However, 2019 saw a reversal as the media seemed to have shifted its focus on coverage of other activities within the industry, thereby reducing its report on policy issues.

Overall, we can say that issues relating to government policies within the oil and gas industry had high frequency of coverage in terms of media report of issues within the industries. Majority of the issues reported about the industry related to government policies. Though 2019 saw a rise in the coverage of other related events in the industry as opposed to government policy related issues.

The second research objective of this study was aimed at finding out the depth of coverage given to stories on government policies in the oil and gas industry in the selected newspapers. To ascertain this, the stories were categorized based on word count. This is because, unlike printed newspapers where depth of coverage can be ascertained by the story placement and length of story in comparison to other stories within the printed publication, for online news stories, depth of coverage can best be ascertained using word count which determines the length of the story and the use of pictures, graphics and other forms of illustration. This is because a story that is considered valuable is treated with significant level of depth and allocated more resources such as pictures and graphics.

So, in this regard, depth of coverage of a story is determined by the length of each story in the newspaper as well as the use of pictures. Though, depth of coverage for stories in online newspapers websites can also be gauged by other ways. For instance, when videos and other forms of multimedia contents are used, the duration of the content can be used as yardstick. However, from all the reports gathered from the selected newspaper within the period of study, none of them presented stories within the oil and gas industry using videos or other forms of multimedia apart from pictures and texts.

The data presented in the tables and charts below depicts the depth of coverage given to stories on government policies in the oil and gas industry in the selected newspapers. The stories were divided into three categories based on the word count which determined the length of the stories as short, medium and long. Stories with number of words ranging from 1-500 were regarded as short, 501-1,000 as medium length and 1,001 above as

long. Long stories are said to be given a significant level of value and thus feature more prominently on the news site as important stories.

Table 3. Distribution of stories according to story length

	Short	Medium	Long	Total
Daily Trust	1(1.4%)	-	4(5.6%)	5(6.9%)
Punch	3(4.2%)	1(1.4%)	1(1.4%)	5(6.9%)
The Guardian	12(16.7%)	14(19.4%)	12(16.7%)	38(52.8%)
Nation Newspaper	11(15.3%)	5(6.9%)	8(11.1%)	24(33.3%)
Total	27(37.5%)	20(27.8%)	25(34.7%)	72(100%)

From the data gathered in this study, it was noted that short stories had a higher frequency in news reports on government policy in the oil and gas industry while long and medium length stories were relatively less frequent. When comparing the way these stories were presented in the newspapers, it was seen that the stories were given more depth of coverage in the Guardian Newspaper which had most of its stories on the issue given both long and medium length. This was also despite the fact that the data shows that much of the stories on government policies in the industry were reported by the Guardian. This newspaper reported more than half (52.7%) of such stories on the industry. Daily Trust and Punch Newspaper had the least (6.9%) report of such policies.

Overall, we can say that for most of the newspapers, they gave the stories in the oil and gas industry less depth of coverage as most of the stories (37.5%) were treated as short stories. This was more so with Punch and Nation newspapers.

In terms of the use of pictures, it is already widely established that in printed newspaper copies where space allocation is prioritized based on the level of importance assigned to a story, for the online newspapers attempt was made to evaluate the use of pictures and other graphic materials in the stories on government policies in the oil and gas industry. This is because such content will go to show the level of consideration given to such stories which in turn reflect its depth of coverage. This is because stories considered less important are less likely to be accompanied with pictures and other graphic materials. The data gathered from the selected websites of the selected newspapers are presented below.

Table 4. Assessment of stories with and without picture

	Daily Trust	Punch	Guardian	Nation Newspaper	Total
With picture	5(6.9%)	5(6.9%)	37(51.4%)	8(11.1%)	55(76.4%)
Without picture	-	-	1(1.4%)	16(22.2%)	17(23.6%)
Total	5(6.9%)	5(6.9%)	38(52.8%)	24(33.3%)	72(100%)

From the table above, we can see that majority (76.4%) of the news stories on government policies in the oil and gas industry were accompanied with at least one picture or graphic illustration. This shows that in this way the newspapers made effort to make the stories stand out, giving it some level of depth of coverage. This is especially important, however in online publication as having a long string of text for a news story without picture most often seem bare and boring. So, while on one hand the pictures might have to improve the look of the news pages, they also helped to show the level of depth of coverage given to each story as stories with pictures clearly stand apart from those without and they somehow draw the reader's attention due to their pictorial nature.

Therefore, looking at the word count and the use of pictures in the stories on government policies in the oil and gas industry we can infer that such stories were given significant depth of coverage as only few of them were presented in few words as short stories and without pictures.

From the data presented in the table above, we can see the frequency at which stories relating to government policies in the oil and gas industry was reported in relation to stories of the industry in the selected newspapers within specific year period. We can also see that of the total news reported relating to the oil and gas industry, majority of the stories, that is 51.4%, have issues relating to government policies in the oil and gas sector of the economy. This shows a relatively high level of frequency of coverage of such issues given when making a comparison specifically the newspapers' report of the industry.

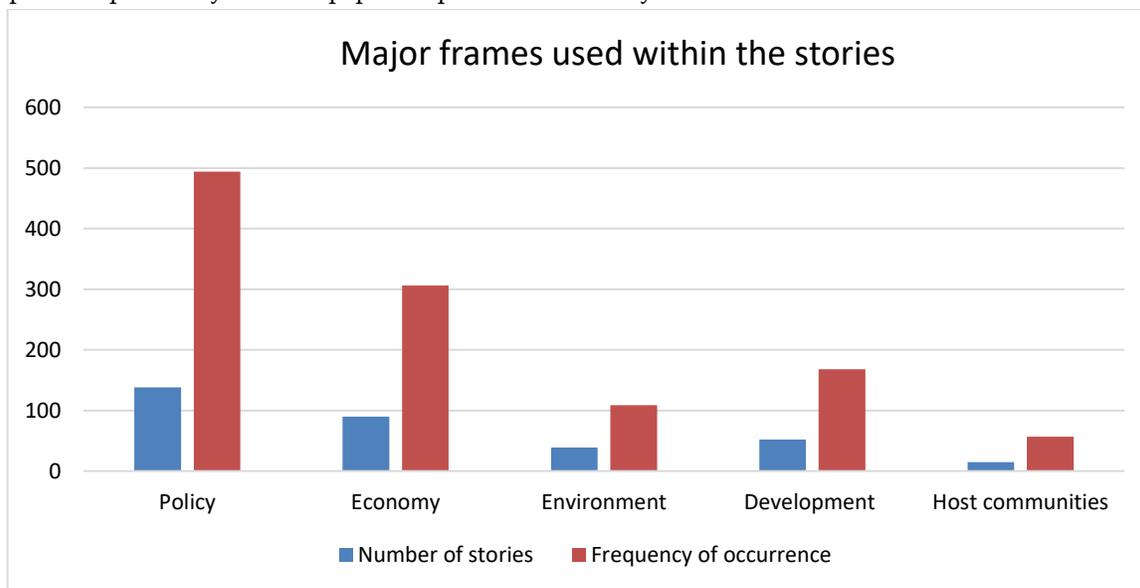


Fig 2. Major frames used within the stories

From the chart above we can see that of the five most recurring frames used in the stories on report of government policies in the oil and gas sector, policy frame stood out much more than the others as it was present in more stories than the others and it was most widely used across the stories. This was followed closely by the economy frame. However, host communities and environment frames had the lowest frequency within the stories. That is to say in reporting issues around government policies in the industry, the host communities and development are not a major aspect of the newspapers' report though they feature quite prominently. Therefore, the dominant frame used in newspapers' report of government policies in the oil and gas industry is the policy frame. Meaning, policy issues are mostly highlighted in the newspapers when discussing government policies in the industry.

Part of the study was focused on ascertaining the dominant story direction employed in reporting government policies in the oil and gas industry. To provide answer to this question, the stories were examined for the following story directions –expository, interpretative, argumentative and human interest.

In assessing for considerations that distinguish a story in the expository direction, the emphasis is on stories that presented factual information, provided context and offered a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter. That means an expository story direction would involve providing clear and concise explanations of the policies and their implications.

When assessing stories for the analytical direction, the emphasis is finding out if the story involves conducting an in-depth analysis of a policy or issue by examining data, trends, patterns, and underlying factors. The stories were examined for contents such as data analysis, identification of patterns and trends, establishment of casual relationships, contextualization of issues and expert opinions.

In this analysis, stories ascribed as having argumentative direction are stories that involve presenting and analysing different viewpoints, opinions, or positions on a specific topic or issue. The argumentative story direction seeks to present a range of perspectives on the policies in question such as viewpoints from policymakers, industry experts, economists, environmentalists, community representatives, and other relevant stakeholders.

The human-interest stories are stories that focus on highlighting the stories and experiences of individuals and communities directly impacted by these policies. These stories bring a human perspective to the larger policy discussions and aims to create an emotional connection with the readers. They include stories on personal experience, challenges and struggles, community initiatives, cultural and social impact and calls for change.

Table6. Major story direction

Story direction	Expository	Analytical	Argumentative	Human interest	Total
Count	41(30%)	49(35%)	22(15.7%)	27(19.3%)	140(100%)

The data above was generated by examining each story for the leading direction of the story. From the figures we can see that majority of the stories (35%) presented by the newspapers were analytical in nature. They tend to provide critical analysis of policies and events, most often with expert and policy makers inputs and interviews to help put the issues within context. Though a significant amount (30%) of the stories were expository, very few were (15.7%) were seen as argumentative while human interest also featured significantly (19.3%).

Therefore, we can infer that the dominant story direction in the report of government policies in the oil and gas industry in the selected newspaper was analytical. The reports mostly provided analysis on the issues being reported.

Table 7. Distribution of stories according to story length

	Short	Medium	Long	Total
Daily Trust	1(1.4%)	-	4(5.6%)	5(6.9%)
Punch	3(4.2%)	1(1.4%)	1(1.4%)	5(6.9%)
The Guardian	12(16.7%)	14(19.4%)	12(16.7%)	38(52.8%)
Nation Newspaper	11(15.3%)	5(6.9%)	8(11.1%)	24(33.3%)
Total	27(37.5%)	20(27.8%)	25(34.7%)	72(100%)

From the data gathered in this study, it was noted that short stories had a higher frequency in news reports on government policy in the oil and gas industry while long and medium length stories were relatively less frequent. When comparing the way these stories were presented in the newspapers, it was seen that the stories were given more depth of coverage in the Guardian Newspaper which had most of its stories on the issue given both long and medium length. This was also despite the fact that the data shows that much of the stories on government policies in the industry were reported by the Guardian. This newspaper reported more than half (52.7%) of such stories on the industry. Daily Trust and Punch Newspaper had the least (6.9%) report of such policies.

Overall, we can say that for most of the newspapers, they gave the stories in the oil and gas industry less depth of coverage as most of the stories (37.5%) were treated as short stories. This was more so with Punch and Nation newspapers.

In terms of the use of pictures, it is already widely established that in printed newspaper copies where space allocation is prioritized based on the level of importance assigned to a story, for the online newspapers attempt was made to evaluate the use of pictures and other graphic materials in the stories on government policies in the oil and gas industry. This is because such content will go to show the level of consideration given to such stories which in turn reflect its depth of coverage. This is because stories considered less important are less likely to be accompanied with pictures and other graphic materials. The data gathered from the selected websites of the selected newspapers are presented below.

4.1 Discussion of findings

This study set out to investigate newspaper framing of government policies in the Nigerian oil and gas industry in four selected newspapers. It examined the extent of the frequency of coverage, the dominant frame as well as the dominant story direction employed in the newspapers' reports of policies in the industry. The data gathered from the websites of the newspapers are presented above and from these data the findings discussed here have been inferred.

The data gathered and analysed revealed that, in media coverage of issues within the industry, policy issues were given more wider coverage. This is especially as majority of the issues reported on the industry related to government policies. In an effort to understand media coverage of government policies, a study by Johnson, Williams, & Thompson (2017) revealed that media attention to policy issues was relatively limited compared to other news topics. The study emphasized the need for increased media coverage to engage the public and foster informed policy debates.

Patel, Johnson, & Davis (2014) provided some clarity through their study which examined media coverage of economic policy making across different countries. It revealed variations in the extent and tone of media coverage, with some countries having more in-depth reporting, while others focused on political conflicts rather than policy substance. The study underscored the influence of media framing and political dynamics on economic policy coverage.

Also, the data gathered and presented in this study shows that of the five most recurring frames used in the stories, policy frame stood out more frequently. There was less use of the host communities and economic frames which means that the stories paid less attention to issues surrounding the host communities and the environment while framing government policies in the industry.

Odoemelam(2022) study of five news frames used in news coverage on oil pollution differed significantly between the three selected newspapers (The Daily Sun, The Guardian, and The Punch). The Daily Sun newspaper used more of the five news frames of responsibility, economic consequences, conflict, human interest, and morality in framing and coverage of news on oil pollution than The Guardian and The Punch newspapers within the study period. The three selected papers used the five news frames to heighten and convey information about the adverse effects of oil pollution in Nigeria's Niger Delta region. The findings of his study differ quite significantly from the findings in this study as all the newspapers maintained similarities in their framing of issues in the oil and gas industry.

Also, the newspapers in his study emphasized stories around the environment as he noted that they used words, such as pollution of our only source of drinking water, destruction of our means of livelihood, health problems caused by oil pollution, Shell has destroyed our environment, asking for compensation to frame their stories.

Finally, in finding out the dominant direction of the stories, the study evaluated four major directions and found that most of the stories in all of the newspapers employed analytical direction in the reporting government policies in the oil and gas industry. The stories mostly provided analysis on the issues being reported. Most of the stories did not have the human-interest direction.

This finding is related to the argument raised by Parks (2018)who in his study found that analysis suggests that human interest's importance as a news value diminished over the course of the 20th century, in roughly the

proportion that conflict as an explicit value increased. One explanation for this change is the increased journalistic commitment to public affairs news and efforts to explain the world. In this regard, efforts to explain the world in an analytical dimension and most often with bare consideration of the human angle. This is with the consequence that newspaper reports on government policies in the oil and gas industry focus on the metrics of these policy without consideration for the human dimension.

Specifically, people in the host communities who are meant to be stakeholders in these policies. Findings from a study of the reality of local community participation in the natural gas sector in South-eastern Tanzania by Mwanyoka, Mdemu, & Wernstedt(2021) suggest inadequate local community participation. Belated and fast local community engagement by the government and gas companies resulted in unmanageable expectations to local communities. They stressed that local communities have failed to tap the potential provided by the industry. This has further restrained their potentially meaningful participation in this sector.

5.0 Conclusion

From the data gathered and analysed in this study, we can therefore conclude that while there is generally low coverage of the oil and gas industry in Nigerian newspapers, issues related to government policies in the industry get significant amount of coverage. Also, newspapers frame stories of the industry mostly around policies using analytical approach. That is, they focus on policy issues while at the same time making efforts to provide background and expert orientations around these policies. However, issues related to the environment and host communities are most often given very little coverage and the stories presented lack human-interest dimension. That means, in reporting government policies in the oil and gas industry, they are hardly portrayed with the human-interest dimension which has the benefit of offering the stakeholders a sense of belonging and participation in the operationalisation of the policies. This therefore may pose some challenges in perception and appreciation of these policies among stakeholders.

5.1 Recommendations

Based on the findings in this study, the following recommendations are put forward:

1. The media, especially newspapers should deliberately and purposefully initiate strategies towards increasing their level of coverage of government policies in the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry. This is particularly important because of the huge significant contribution the industry makes to the national economy.
2. Government policies and people-oriented information within the oil and gas industry should be reported more with the human-interest dimension. It is by so doing, that relevant stakeholders, especially the host communities' members would become more informed and get to participate and leverage on the benefits of such industry policies. While it is commendable that the newspapers offer analytical perspective in their reportage of government policies in the oil and gas industry, it is also important to champion the human-interest dimensions of these policies.
3. Issues related with host communities and the economy should be given increased attention in newspaper coverage of issues in general but especially in coverage of government policies in the oil and gas industry. This will help shed light on the situation of the economy and the plights and concerns of the people in relation to government policies and the activities of other stakeholders in the industry.
4. Environmental issues should also be given significant level of coverage in the newspapers. This is especially as the world makes efforts towards best practices and environmental conservation. This way, policy makers will be better informed on how to come up with policies that can help preserve and conserve the local environment.
5. The Media, especially the newspapers, should establish a desk to be known as "Oil and Gas Policy Desk" that shall have the mandate to cover and report all relevant oil and gas policies of Government

in the industry. The Desk shall be responsible to monitor, evaluate and report the implementation of oil and gas laws and legislation of government within the industry. Such laws include: NOGICD Act 2010, PIA 2022 and other laws in the industry. The desk shall have the additional responsibility to illuminate the significance and benefits of these policies to the Nigerian people, especially the host communities.

References

1. Addeh, E., & Samuel, O. (2022, March 2). Wabote: Over \$50bn Oil Industry Projects Unveiled at Oil, Gas Fair. Retrieved from This Day: www.thisdaylive.com
2. Akinniyi, T. (2017, July 17). Corruption, Licensing and negotiation, Measurement of governance, State-owned enterprises. Retrieved from Natural Resource Governance Institute: resourcegovernance.org
3. Al-Mawlawi, A., MehdiAli, R., Kareem, A., & West, J. (2011). Analysis of Iraqi Media Coverage on the Energy Sector. Iraq: Government of Spain through the Iraqi Trust Fund and implemented by UNESCO, UNDP and UNAMI.
4. Anyadike, D. O. (2015). Analysis of newspaper framing of the Nigerian Governors' Forum election crisis of 2013. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(6), 315- 327.
5. Ardèvol-Abreu, A. (2015). Framing theory in communication research in Spain. Origins, development and current situation. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 423-450.
6. Bateson, G. (1972) Steps to an ecology of mind: Collected essays in anthropology, psychology, evolution and epistemology. San Francisco, CA: Chandler.
7. Baum, M. A., & Zhukov, Y. M. (2015, January 28). Media Ownership and News Coverage of International Conflict. Retrieved from Harvard Kennedy School: sites.hks.harvard.edu
8. Baum, M. A., & Zhukov, Y. M. (2019). Media ownership and news coverage of international conflict. *Political Communication*, 36(1), 36-63.
9. Bond, S., Thomas, A., & Diprose, G. (2018, February 23). How media framing limits public debate about oil exploration. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from theconversation.com
10. Derania, N & Naidua, P. (2016). The Impact of Utilizing Social Media as a Communication Platform During a Crisis Within The Oil Industry. *Procedia Economics and Finance*, 35, 650 – 658.
11. Dyke, J., Nash, M., Redd, B., & Sukkarieh, M. (2014). Lebanese Media Coverage of the Oil and Gas Sector. Lebanon: Center for Media and Cultural Freedom.
12. Evers, F. (2016). The Content and Tone of the Media Coverage with regard to the Refugee Crisis in Dutch Popular and Quality Newspapers over time. Masters Thesis, Universiteit Twente, Marketing Communication. Retrieved from essay.utwente.nl
13. Frida, V. R., & Carlos, M. (2018, December 19). Government frames and their influence on news framing: An analysis of cross-lagged correlations in the Mexican context. *Global Media and Communication*.
14. Goldberg, B. (2016, November 29). What is media coverage? How is media coverage performed and what are some examples? Retrieved from Quora: www.quora.com
15. Ivy-O'Donnell, C. N. (2015). In the Shadow of Big Oil A Media Content Analysis of the 'Big Oil' Stigma. Louisiana State University, Agricultural and Mechanical College. Louisiana: Louisiana State University.
16. Johnson, M., Williams, R., & Thompson, S. (2017). Media Coverage of Education Policy: A Quantitative Analysis. *Journal of Education Policy*. 10(3)
17. Manohar, U. (2018, February 26). Different Types of Media Coverage You May Not Have Known Earlier. Retrieved from Tec spirited: techspirited.com

18. McNally, H., Howley, P., & Cotton, M. (2018, December). Public perceptions of shale gas in the UK: framing effects and decision heuristics. *Energy, Ecology and Environment*, 3(6), 305-316.
19. Mwanyoka, I., Mdemu, M., & Wernstedt, K. (2021). The reality of local community participation in the natural gas sector in Southeastern Tanzania. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 303-315.
20. Neuman, W. R., Just, M. R., & Crigler, A. N. (1992). *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
21. Odoemelam, C. E. (2022). Newspaper Framing of Oil Pollution. In W. N. Ghazali, S. Wok, & S. Mohamed, *Journalism - The Ethical Dilemma*.
22. Okoro, N. & Odoemelam, C. (2013) Print Media Framing of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: A Content Analytical Study of the Guardian, DailySun, Vanguard and This day Newspapers. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 11(3), 86-94.
23. Okoro, N., & Nnaji, G. O. (2012). Press Coverage of Environmental Pollution In The Niger Delta Region of Nigeria. A Content Analysis of the Guardian, Vanguard, Daily Sun and Thisday Newspapers. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(2), 34-46.
24. Oyedele, T., Omontuemhen, P., Azobu, C., & El-Rufai, R. (2021). The Petroleum Industry Act. Retrieved from PWC: www.pwc.com
25. Parks, P. (2019). An unnatural split: How 'human interest' sucks the life from significant news. *Media, Culture & Society*, 41(8), 1228-1244.
26. Patel, S., Johnson, K., & Davis, R. (2014). Media Coverage of Economic Policy Making: A Comparative Study. *Journal of Economic Communication*.
27. Penplusbytes. (2013). A Baseline Study of Oil and Gas Media Reporting: Content Analysis of the 1st Quarter of 2013 oil and gas content of three newspapers. *Reportingoilandgas*.
28. Peterson, D. (2016). *African Print Cultures: Newspapers and Their Publics in the Twentieth Century*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
29. Putnam, L. & Shoemaker, M. (2007). Changes in Conflict Framing in the News Coverage of an Environmental Conflict. *Journal of Dispute Resolution*, 168-174.
30. Saha D (2014). The Role of Corporate Communication in Handling Organizational Crisis with 2 Case Studies from the Petroleum and Natural Gas Industry. *Journal of Mass Communication & Journalism*, 4, 173.
31. Sniderman, P., & Theriault, S. M. (2004). The structure of political argument and the logic of issue framing. In P. S. WE Saris, *Studies in Public Opinion* (pp. 133-65). Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.
32. Streamsowers & Kohn. (2022, November 16). A Summary of The Legislative Process In Nigeria: A Guide To Lawmaking In The National Assembly 16 November 2022 by Streamsowers & Köhn Your LinkedIn Connections with the authors. Retrieved from Mondaq: The Telegraph, 100 killed in Miss World Riots in Nigeria. 22 November 2002 Retrieved October, 22, 2014 from www.telegraph.co.uk
33. Vasquez, P. I. (2016). Four Policy Actions to Improve Local Governance of the Oil and Gas Sector. *International Policy Development*. 7(1), 1-48
34. Wicke, P., & Bolognesi, M. M. (2020, September 30). Framing COVID-19: How we conceptualize and discuss the pandemic on Twitter. *Plos One*. 15(9), e0240010.
35. Williams, L., Macnaghten, P., Davies, R., & Curtis, S. (2017, July 13). Framing 'fracking': exploring public perceptions of hydraulic fracturing in the United Kingdom. *Public Understanding of Science*, 26(1), 90-104.
36. Yang, L., & Ishak, M. (2012). Framing interethnic conflict in Malaysia: A comparative analysis of newspaper coverage on the Hindu Rights Action Force (Hindraf), *International Journal of Communication*, 6, 166-189.