

New Media as Facilitatory Agents of International Migrations: An African Perspective

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Abstract

From generation to generation, the media remain major societal agents for transmission of social heritage. This unique role of the media, according to Wright (1975:9) focuses on communicating knowledge, values and social norms from one generation to another or from members of a group to newcomers. About four and a half decades ago, a renowned communicator, Marshall McLuhan took a cursory look at the impact of technology on communication and arrived at his widely quoted phrase that “*Mass Communication would turn the world into a Global Village*”, (Dominic 2003:55) Today, going by the globalization trend that attends the world, one could describe McLuhan's statement as a prophecy that has come true. This is a result of modern communication technology whose emergence has made life easy and meaningful. Today, a lot of businesses are being transacted online just as a minute-by-minute unfolding events around the world could be watched live on the television screen. Through ICT, breaking news reported by the broadcast media could also be read by print media audiences few hours after it was reported. The internet too has further widened the horizon of a globalization village. From decade to decades, the mass media has become major facilitatory tool in human decision making process. Through her statutory and professional mandates, the media remain the major agents of societal education, information, enlightenment, and entertainment. Unfortunately, Africa has been marginalized and disempowered as a result of the globalization trend which was engendered by the internet. Thus, this paper seeks to interrogate, historicized and theorized the nature, origin, dimension and implications of the new media and its gains and contradiction to Africa.

Background to the Study

Although many media have focused on humanistic reporting and on telling the stories of refugees, the issue of populations on the move has been highlighted by the Syrian exodus and its impact on Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan and Europe, but is also very evident in the Americas, in East African countries, and in Afghanistan, Iraq and India amongst others. In Introspecting and building awareness of migration, new media are the ideal tool to ask the community to introspect and identify its engagement with the concept of migration. Does the community understand what migration means? Does the community experience out-migration, immigration, or both? Does the community have a broader understanding of how migration contributes to the economic growth of the country, and the challenges associated with migration? How can the listener communities assist the out migrants and in-migrants and share their stories and learn from them?

Examining the communication and information needs of migrants, new media, being community based, are ideally placed to conduct research on the information needs of migrant populations. What are the challenges out-migrants faces? Where the in-migrants coming from and what are are the challenges they face? What is the in-migrants' current level of information about the place they have arrived in? Where do they get their information from? Do they have any informal networks? What kind of information will best assist the migrants in your area? How is this information best provided (entertainment, call-ins, and discussions)?

It is the new media's responsibility to give voice to groups within its community that are too shy to speak up, or are socially challenged or marginalized. New media will use this space to produce content with, by, and for those communities in particular, to redress the imbalances in voice that society has otherwise fostered, this content will be informed by the research processes referred to in the point noted above, and will be supported by inclusive processes within the new media thereby creating a gateway for social inclusion of migrants. Above all, new media should become the place where those without a voice go to talk, engage, introspect and demand their entitlements.

New media are usually built on a foundation of ethics and a vision and mission that are at once liberal, inclusive and equity-based. It is from this perspective that the new media should be the standard against which all other social structures and customs are measured. It should develop an internal policy that places the interests of the marginalized and migrant populations uppermost, and that emphasizes equity and social justice the most. It should be the living example for the social inclusion of every different sub-group within the community. By doing so, new media will slowly create a settled space within the community for those once seen as alien to it, and pave the way to understanding and mutual comprehension instead of suspicion and hostility.

Objectives of Study

The objectives of carrying out this research are numerous part of which are to:

1. Critically examine the roles of news media within the context of globalization

2. To interrogates the inner dynamics of the current changes and why they happen
3. To ponder over the meaning, nature, dimensions and implications for regional development and political development.
4. To devise an appropriate policy and research intervention for the region to prosper in a world that is progressively changing in its disfavour.

Theoretical Prelude

Through various studies, it has been discovered that a major reason why people migrate are first, economic and secondly, political. Human beings are always in search of a better environment to live while people could also seek asylum in other countries for political reasons. Domestic wars as witnessed in some African Countries in recent past, such as Dafur, Somalia, Angola, to mention a few, could also induce international migrations. Since the collapse of the cold war and apartheid in Africa, Africa Countries are undergoing a profound sea change. This is manifested at the political arenas of the Africa's social formation. The former has taken the form, mainly of political pluralism, while the latter that of economic liberalization and attempts towards greater cooperation. These processes combined with endogenous developments, have their fair share of the nation – states in Africa. Part of the explanation of the disintegration of the African – state can be sought at two levels:

- (i) Cross border migration; and
- (ii) Permeable borders.

Conceptual Framework

Generally, Mass media are channels of communication through which messages flow, produced by a few for consumption by many people. As the messages go through the channels, they are distorted. When people receive mass-media messages, they have no opportunity for immediate feedback with the producers of the messages. Succinctly put, the mass media according to Dominick (1993:28), Bittner (1989:11) and Blake and Harold Seb (1977:38) are avenues or devices of information dissemination. A mass medium makes it possible for a message to be sent far beyond the immediate proximity of the sender. These avenues or devices are: Radio, Television, Newspapers and Magazines. The emergence of these devices shattered and grounded the traditional system of communication Africa as people hurriedly embraced and joyfully celebrated their emergence. The relevance of these devices in the day to day life of Africans has been enhanced by the relentless efforts of these devices to improve on their qualities and through that enhance their utility. For instance, at the time when radio and television came to Nigeria during the colonial era, the Yoruba people in the South Western part of Nigeria styled them a medium of information dissemination that does not take immediate feedback (A SoroMagbesi).

Wikipedia (2006) submit that; Mass media is a term used to denote a section of the media specifically envisioned and designed to reach a very large audience such as the population of a nation state. It was coined in the 1920s with the advent of nationwide

radio networks, mass-circulation newspapers and magazines, although mass media was present centuries before the term became common. The term public media has a similar meaning: it is the sum of the public mass distributors of news and entertainment across mediums such as newspapers, television, radio, broadcasting, which require union membership in large markets such as Newspaper Guild and AFTRA, & text publishers. The concept of mass media is complicated in some internet media as now individuals have a means of potential exposure on a scale comparable to what was previously restricted to select group of mass media producers. These internet media can include personal web pages, podcasts and blogs.

The mass-media audience has been viewed by some commentators as forming a mass society with special characteristics, notably atomization or lack of social connections, which render it especially susceptible to the influence of modern mass-media techniques such as advertising and propaganda. The term "MSM" or "mainstream media" has been widely used in the blogosphere in discussion of the mass media and media bias.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on the Libertarian media theory otherwise known as the Free Press Theory and the uses and gratification theory. According to McQuail, (1987:112) "This relabeled version of Siebet et al's libertarian theory has its origin in the emergence of the printed press from official control in the seventeenth century and is now, widely regarded as the main legitimating principle for print media in liberal democracies". The main gist of the Libertarian Theory, according to Blake and Haroldasen (1975:95) is that "the press functions to uncover and present truth to the people, operating chiefly as a private enterprise, and without government control". The philosophy of the theory is situated within the context of the ideas of renowned writer, Milton and Philosopher, John Locke, among others that man has the right to pursue truth and that truth is best advanced when there is an open market place of ideas. Quoting Milton, Folarin (1998:26) says "Central to this theory was Milton 's idea of the self-rightening process of the free market – place of ideas that good would drive out bad ones if all ideas were guaranteed free expression". of special interest to this paper are five of the eight-point principles of free press listed by Wintour, (1973) quoted by (McQuial 1987:115 – 116) that:

1. Publication should be free from any prior censorship by any third party.
2. There should be no compulsion to publish anything.
3. No restriction should be placed on the collection, by legal means, of information for publication.

There should be no restriction on export or import or sending or receiving 'messages' across national frontiers. Journalist should be able to claim a considerable degree of professional autonomy within their organization.

Aside these principles, (Ibid:116) contends that "free press theory would seem to need no elaboration beyond such a simple statement as contained in the First Amendment to the American Constitution which states that 'congress shall make no law Abridging the

freedom of speech or of the press". Unarguably, the free press theory exists to check excesses of government. However, the truth of the matter is that freedom to publish is not a license to defame, indulge in unbridled obscenity, invade privacy of individuals or publish seditious stories. As a matter of fact, the free press theory does not advocate press immunity to the rule of law and the canons of civilized social conduct. (Ibid, 114): a semblance of this could be found in Article 22 of the Nigerian 1999 Constitution which states that: The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people. The uses and gratification theory on the other hand focuses on what uses people make of media and what gratifications they gain from exposing themselves to the media. According to Blake and Haroldsen, (1975:131) an early advocate of the theory was Katz who argued the need for communication researchers to concentrate less on what the mass media was doing to the people (effects) and to concentrate more on what people were doing with the mass media. Quoting Katz (1959) further Blake and Haroldsen contend that even the most potent of the mass media could not ordinarily influence an individual who has "no use" for it in the social and psychological environment in which he lives".

Quoting another communicator expert, Davidson (1959), Blake and Haroldsen assert that:

The effects of mass communication can be explained in terms of the role they play in enabling people to bring about more satisfying relations between themselves and the world around them.

The lives of people who live amidst both wealth and poverty are being mediated increasingly by information located within the electronic spaces of the internet and by the older media outlets. It is often difficult to make sense of this information, not just because of its quantity or its content, but because it can be very unclear what the provenance of this information is. This is not a new problem. But it is a problem that we must take seriously if there is to be informed public debate about the changing fabric of our social and economic environment (Mansell:2006:73)

Moreso, Thompson (1995) suggests that there is a profound neglect of how specific forms of media influence people. Much of today's discussion about the new media and the internet is not about how or even whether they might augment people's capabilities for changing their lives. In fact, it is often divorced from any consideration of the conditions of their lives.

In addition, Thompson (1995) observes that at the same time the process of identity formation is being enriched by the new media's rich symbolic content, we are becoming more dependent on the media. The vast majority of people have no say over the new media's content, how networks are structured, or whether they are consistent with enabling the majority of people to acquire certain capabilities. One of the major challenges facing Africa today is the indisputable steady collapse of the nation - state

project. Some scholars see this as a result of the changing world order and internal processes of Political Liberalization in the region (Hobsbawa in Matlosia 1996) for others this crisis is derives from the manner in which the nation – state evolved in the region as a colonial project designed along European lines yet not driven by industrialization as the case was in Europe (Davidson, 1992: Vale, 1996 in Matlosa 2001).

The Media and Migration in Africa: Brief Historical Exploration

Historically, Africa was waved together into artificial political units dependent on Europe in various ways. To be sure, migration has however assumed various forms and patterns (matlosa, 1995) which would be outlined later in this paper. Indeed, permeable borders have helped to facilitate cross-border migrations, cultural bonds and economic want push and pull ordinary people together in what appears to be an unending struggle for survival. The stark reality confronting the region as it veers to the twenty – first century, therefore, is that migration and porous border impose a heavy burden on the African – State and compel us to revisit such notions as national sovereignty and territorial integrity – the staple food of conventional international relations theorists. The challenge of analysts is to unravel the driving forces, such as the role of the New Media, behind these processes, unveil the inner dynamics of the current changes and why they happen. Ponder over their meaning and implication for regional development and political stability. And advise on appropriate policy and research intervention for the region to prosper in a world that is progressively changing in its disfavour. This paper was promoted by these concerns. It poses more analytical and political questions than provide answers at this stage. It is assumed that subsequent research would help provide some answers. The goal of this paper therefore is to explore the role of all the existing new media, in shaping the movement of people, especially in African countries to Europe. The study is carried out through content Analysis Method of carrying out research in the Behavioural Sciences.

Contextualizing the Media in Africa: Origins, Nature and Dimensions

An important human activity is that of communication. It has been identified as the first human activity when a child is born. If a new born baby does not cry after coming out of the mother's womb, the Nurses and Doctor handling the delivery would perceive it as portending danger. To avoid the danger, they are professionally expected to affectively induce the baby to cry, following which a smile would immediately follow when the outcome is positive. Thus, from the traditional to modern societies, people cherish communication by sharing information that could be useful and helpful. In traditional societies, messages were transferred across the length and breath of the community through inter-personal channels. Noticeable communication technologies during the period according to Popoola (2004:110-111) include the gong, Folktales Festivals, Mirrows, Gunshots, Toroncriets, Wooden Flntes, Horns, Drums etc. The obvious deficiencies of these technologies notwithstanding, communication scholars are of the view that they were farerunners of modern means of communication. In the word of Batak (1987 : 107) these early technologies no matter how crude, gave impetus to the improvement of these means of communication and development of new ones.

The most striking characteristics of the communication process in traditional societies generally made that it was met organized as a distinct system sharply differentiated from other social process. According to Schramm (1972 : 24) traditional systems killed professional communicators and those who participated in the process did so on the basis of their serial or political position in the community or according to their personal ties or association. Another characteristic of the communication system in traditional society is that it could only handle a very limited volume of message, at very uneven rates of speed.

Quoting Schramm (Ibid:28)

Some factual news might be spread very rapidly while more complex information might be disseminated at a much slower pace and with great variety in repetition.

As earlier pointer out, these early forms of communication were of limited application. Thus, as society became more sophisticated, there was the begging need for “new” technologies to be developed to meet the needs of the society, that was gradually, but steadily becoming atomized. Civilization increased the activity of man in the area of commerce, agriculture, and other spheres of human endeavours which necessitated better means of information dissemination. The “seed” of the new media according to Pool (1983 : 18) was subsequently planted by the traditional revolution which swept the whole Europe . According to him,

The mass media revolution was a part of the industrial revolution in which entrepreneurs found that they could drastically cut cost of production by using the factory system power machinery and assembly lines.

Pool further contends that it was that era that ushered in the invention of instrumentation hat could readily be referred to as mass media. This word: The seeds of today's mass media were planted by Gkykebborg and fertilized by constitutional concerns, but no mass media in a modern sense existed before he 1830s, only then did the production and distribution of published works begin their remarkable growth, as a series of devices was invented for the cheap mass production of uniform messages. Hence, Defleur and Dennis (1981:140) observation that the term 'mass media' often is applied to the technical devices through which mass communication takes place. The broad functions of the mass media are: Education, Enlightenment, Information and Entertainment. Thus in furtherance of these functions, people across the world are daily exposed to media messages. Having obtained necessary information through the media, they process such information. He outcome of the processing of information from the media is the subject matter of this paper that is migration. As stated in the first part of this paper, people migrate for a number of reasons, ranging from economic, educational, political, sports and security. Whatever the reason(s) for the migration people require information before any decision could be taken. Many of these decisions are as a result of the information they have obtained through the media.

The Media as Facilitatory Tool in Migration

“Migration” is a new part of speech which symbolically and semantically could be used to explain emigration, relocation, resettlement, travel, journey, pilgrimage, voyage, expedition among others. Strategic and vital to this study is to role of information in shaping peoples thought and actions over whether or not to move. Information, according to people (2003:3) “is the like blood and like wire of human existence”. According to him, “the social psychologists missed a vital point when they nebulously ranked human needs to be food, clothing and shelter without considering the role of information in the attainment of any or all the hierarchically ranked human needs”. Said he: it is inconceivable how human beings could enjoy any of the three basic human needs without necessary information concerning where, when, how they could be obtained, at what price and from who? Thus, human being cannot live without information. Irrespective of the nature of the society, whether developing or developed, the avenues through which people are informed are the radio, television, newspapers and magazines. In addition, the media perform security function. When they report any thing that could endanger lives, people take appropriate steps to escape any impending doom. Articulation the security angle of he role of media among others, Akinfeleye (1988:48), quoting Harold Lasswell says:

Man has always needed something to which over his environment and report to him on dangers discoveries, opportunities opinion, facts, decisions, changes and current trends.

Aside those people that were forcefully emigrated from Africa during slave trade era, all other Africans moving out of Africa to Europe or elsewhere moved as a result of information obtained from the media. The table below showed sample of Nigerians by age and sex, who traveled out of the country in 1990 alone. Although the National Population Commission (NPC) which provided the highest for the Federal Office of Statistics (FOS) failed to disclosed their destinations, however, it is on record that majority of such people which head to Europe and America. The age groups 20 - 59 years constitute the group that may either travel to Europe and America to stidy is in search of below jobs.

Table 1: Persons Departing from Nigeria by Age Group and Sex, 1990

AGE GROUP	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
0 - 4	3,860	2,335	6,195
5 - 9	1,551	2,613	4,164
10 - 14	4,703	2,693	7,396
15 - 19	5,973	2,743	8,716
20 - 24	18,717	8,936	27,653
25 - 29	43,116	18,783	61,899
30 - 34	57,085	25,444	82,529
35 - 39	43,473	23,124	66,597
40 - 44	35,497	20,745	56,242
45 - 49	25,541	15,841	41,382
50 - 54	18,795	11,755	30,550
55 - 59	10,336	6,496	16,832
60 - 64	5,125	3,044	8,169
65 - 69	1,940	1,081	3,021
70 - 74	645	339	984
75 +	613	335	948
Not Stated	12,123	7,077	19,200

Source: National Population Commission.

Among the new media which have tremendous impact on African audience are: The cable News Network (CNN). According to Dominick (1993:59), the CNN is a pioneer broadcasting station in this era of satellite broadcasting.

CNN international broadcasts to 65 million households and 1000 hotels in 102 countries. CNN also carries World Report, a compilation of uncensored news segments from around the world as reported by local journalists next is the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). In Africa South of the Sahara, this medium is highly reputed as carries of accurate and impartial newscasts. In addition to her incisive and educative news, the medium over the years developed other interesting programmes to the delight of her reaming hisreners across the world. They include music, drama, comedy, sports among others. The station 'Network Africa' programme is like to realist for many Africans. Next to the Network Africa programme is the Itanse service of the BBC which is enjoyed throughout West Africa. According to Dominick (Ibid:59), "The BBC broadcasts in 37 languages and has about 120 million worldwide listeners.

The Voice of America (VOA) is another new media with amazing impact on Africans. The station, just as the BBC broadcasts news, music, editorials, features in more than 40 languages. The VOA, according to Dominick (Ibid:58) "estimates that about 120 million people are regular listeners".

Other powerful new media of note include Radio Moscow (RM) before the dissolution of Soviet Union, Radio Beijing, Deutsche Welle (DIN). The British sky, broadcasting among others mention should also be made of the internet. Today, there is hardly any information that could not be obtained through the internet. It features exhaustively on material for students as well as coverage of recreation, entertainment, sports, shopping and employment opportunities. Through these media, Africans obtained information and consequently decide how best to enjoy such information or how such information which positively affect their lives. In keeping with the libertarian media a theory western media disseminates news including those government policies. Having been given the impression of hospitality to nonnatives, coupled with job or educational prospects, a lot of Africans perceive traveling Europe and America as a life goal to be doggedly pursued. This explains the 'mad' rush for American visa lotteries. The sub - region shares common characteristics. With the exception of Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire, the scale of population and economy of countries are small; so is the private sector, normally the engine of growth and employment generation. Increasingly the limited capacity of the public sector to provide viable employment opportunities for the rapidly growing labour force resulted in large numbers of unemployed youths.

The majorities' lives in rural areas are illiterate and work on subsistence agriculture that employs about 70 per cent of the labour force. In pre-colonial times, migration occurred largely in search of security, new land safe for settlement and fertile for farming. Colonial regime altered the motivation and composition of migration by introducing and enforcing various blends of political and economic structures, imposing tax regimes and establishing territorial boundaries. A series of economic and recruitment policies - compulsory recruitment, contract and forced labour legislation and agreements - were employed to stimulate regional labour migration from Mali, Togo and Upper Volta to road networks, plantations and mines in Gold Coast and Ivory Coast. Transportation development also facilitated labour migration by reducing the distance and hazards of journeys that hitherto hampered long distance migrations. These developments stimulated and altered large-scale population movements, giving rise to the male-dominated, seasonal and cross-border migration which subsequently became institutionalized.

Patterns of Migration in Africa

Contemporary patterns of migration in West Africa are therefore rooted in socio-economic, political and historical-cultural factors which have shaped the direction of development and types of economic activities and laid bold imprints on especially international migration. Migration from and within the sub-region includes temporary cross-border workers, female traders and farm labourers, professionals, clandestine workers and refugees and are essentially intra-regional, short term and male dominated, in response to the interdependent economies of neighbouring countries. The emigration configuration is also highly diversified. The sub-region also encompasses countries of immigration and emigration as well as those that combine both; some serve as transit routes for migrants.

The deteriorating socio-economic conditions and deepening poverty in the late sixties and early seventies propelled a wide variety of migration configurations. Macro-economic adjustment measures and a huge increase in the number of entrants into the labour market have fuelled a job crisis, creating a sustained pressure for emigration. A significant amount of brain circulation takes place between Ghana, Gambia and Nigeria; Togo and Cote d'Ivoire ; Burkina Faso and Senegal and Cote d'Ivoire , countries with shared colonial legacy. Since the 70s, highly skilled migrants, including doctors, paramedical personnel, nurses, teachers, lecturers, engineers, scientists and technologists moved from Ghana first to Nigeria and later to other African countries, Europe and North America, attracted by relatively higher salaries and better prospects of living conditions. Many students also remained behind at the end of their training as political, economic and social conditions at home deteriorated.

Women migrants are increasingly drawn to the wage labour market (both formal and informal) as a survival strategy to augment meager family income. Among the educated, emigration of unaccompanied married females has blossomed, this being a particular and recent phenomenon in the sub-region's migratory scene. Traditional male-dominated short-to-long-distance migratory streams in West Africa are increasingly feminised. Independent female migration has become a major survival strategy in response to deepening poverty in the sub-region. The phenomenon of females migrating independently, even internationally, enables them to fulfil their economic needs rather than simply joining their husbands; some professional women are emigrating from Nigeria, Senegal and Ghana leaving husbands behind to cater for their children. This development is a turn-around in traditional sex roles.

Policy Responses to Observed Migration Configurations

The attainment of independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s substantially altered the traditional free movement of persons across West Africa. The new national governments anxious to identify their own national territories as sovereign and independent state, enacted migration laws and regulations governing conditions of entry, residence and employment of non-nationals, the aim being to reduce the flow of immigrants as a whole and limit entry to authorized immigrants who were admitted on the basis of their special skills. Prominent among these regulations are the Immigration Act (1963), Immigration (Amendment) Act (1973) and Immigration Manuals and Regulations (1972) in Nigeria, and the Immigration Quota System and issue of work permits in Sierra Leone. The latter was designed to discourage the inflow of unskilled or unqualified persons into the country for the purpose of taking up employment. The elaborate visa and passport regulation, customs and controls, and the need for "foreign" workers to obtain work permit ushered in a period of restrictions on intra-regional free movement of person across West Africa. These regulations, aimed at preserving available employment opportunities for nationals in fulfillment of election promises, also introduced a subtle distinction between internal and international migration both which once involved free movement across wide space of the sub-region. For once, the enactment of indigenization measures placed restrictions on the participation of aliens in major economic activities; a distinction was made between legal and illegal aliens, based on proof of nationality, passport, visa, residence and work permits which were hitherto irrelevant to the migrants.

Indeed, Post-independence nationalism was manifested in several other ways, including changes in immigration laws that prescribed specific procedures for entry and employment of non-indigenous workers and later xenophobia against immigrants. As unemployment among young educated nationals reached a peak, governments resorted to expelling and deporting so-called illegal immigrants. The most obvious policy responses to undocumented immigration includes regulations governing the issue of visa and passport, laws requiring foreign workers to obtain authorization for work permits and later, residence permits, or at least identity cards. In Nigeria, for instance, residence permit is assumed to have been given when a non-national worker actually applied for employment. In Senegal, employers are obliged to submit regular reports of the number of non-national employed. These policies are aimed in part to restrict the influx of migrants.

Way Forward

In view of the above, we recommended that advocacy and public education campaign should be mounted, possibly simultaneously in all countries of the sub-region in order to halt unwholesome hostility against migrants and refugees amongst traditionally hospitable peoples ready to share their meager resources with strangers. In doing so, accurate information about the positive contribution of immigrants to national development, the causes and consequences of migration at origin and destination, and the fluidity of migration dynamics, turning countries of immigration into sending and transit countries, should be emphasized.

It is obvious that migration cannot be managed effectively by unilateral action: many countries simultaneously serve as origin, transit and destination of a variety of migrations. Hence bilateral relations should be forged between the countries sending and receiving migrants within and outside the sub-region, and also, in this context, multilateral arrangements between ECOWAS, Southern African Development Community (SADC), the European Union (EU), the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, and so on. Attempts should be made to undertake cooperative research and information sharing between countries of origin and destination. In the same vein, it is imperative for law enforcement authorities of recipient countries to share information on numbers and nationalities of trafficked persons, smuggling routes, and methods of interdiction with countries of origin's agencies, and to also institutionalize operational contact between them. Cooperation between researchers in origin and destination countries that focus on, for example, tracer studies of trafficked victims is to be encouraged. Above all, channels of communication between countries of destination and origin must be established and reinforced and information sharing is a major component of cooperation.

The high levels of unemployed, rapidly growing, young population, poverty, internal disorder, mismanaged economy and rural degradation are indicators that the emigration pressures are pervasive in the sub-region. Responsive policy making would have to take this scenario into consideration in designing measures relating to employment

generation, good governance, conflict resolution, sound environmental management and indeed comprehensive migration policies. A system of continuous policy dialogue should be instituted to engage all stakeholders – policy makers, politicians, civil society, the media, migrant associations, etc – in matters of migration management. Above all, a framework for monitoring of the integration scheme, and of the implementation of decisions at national and sub-regional levels should be established. This is especially crucial in view of the need for member countries to cede authority to regional bodies.

Moreso, Information dissemination is essential for potential emigrants in countries having or likely to have a significant potential emigrant population regarding rules and regulations guiding entry, residence and employment abroad is an essential component of the migration management agenda. Government agencies should endeavour to provide their nationals with adequate information on conditions in the receiving countries. Senegal and Mali have set up such mechanisms and their experience should be shared.

Based on the foregoing, it is obvious that the roles which the mass media carry out are virtually the same in every country, irrespective of governmental system, but the press activities appears to be more vibrant in democratic political systems. Suffices to say that the press is more vibrant in a democratic set up where the freedom of expression is guaranteed. In other words, the mass media perform better in societies where their activities have been unfettered. This is attested to by the vibrancy of the press in the western industrialized societies where liberal democratic culture is well entrenched. The press all over the world relishes this culture. This unbridled desire for a democratic political culture may have explained the patriotism and the zeal with which the Nigerian press has supported all the government programmes and policies aimed at moving the nation to civil democracy.

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, we would conclude this paper by aligning with Almond and Powell (1966) and Parsons (1943) whom noted that the place of the mass media in the life of any nation cannot be overemphasized. The roles which the mass media plays in the survival and in the development of nation are inestimable. And because of this, no nation, no matter how autocratic, can afford to ignore the mass media. As an integral part of the political system, the press/mass media has been assigned some roles in the society among them, informing and educating the people, serving as a mirror which reflects the society and the vocal conscience of the nation, as well as setting agenda for the nation. The press as a surveyor of information lets the people know not only about the general issues of the day but more importantly, the activities of government as well as government policies. In turn, the press brings to the attention of the government how the people feel about its policies and programmes. Thus, the press can be said to be the fulcrum and the gate keeper of information flow between the people and government. As an educator the mass media explain the general issues of the policies to the people and specifically the programme and policies of government. The mass media, therefore, performs the vital

role of throwing more light on issues of the day to enable people form an enlightened opinion. What's more, the mass media performs the engenda setting function focusing on critical issues of the day for national discourse. The press equally plays the role of the crusader by advocating specific programmes for the advancement of welfare of members of the polity. In doing this, the mass media become the purveyor of great ideas which have move humanity through the ages. When the mass media cease to perform or default, in the performance of the functions the polity experiences strains and stresses.

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