

MEDIA AND MIGRATION: X-RAYING THE FAILURE OF THE PRESS IN ADDRESSING THE PLIGHT OF IDPS IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

The gruesome attack of unsuspecting members of the public, incessant shelling of military formations and destruction of property taking place in the North-Eastern part of Nigeria has left thousands of Internally Displaced Persons (IPDs) helpless victims. The guerrilla tactics of the insurgents which enables them to take advantage of civilian populations by using mostly women and schoolgirls as sex slaves, cooks, suicide bombers and human-shields has further made the Boko Haram insurgency a dire humanitarian crisis. With no ancestral home to call their own, those who have been adversely affected by the insurgency have had to rely on relations in far-flung states by migrating to those places or simply remaining in open camps. With this background, the researcher embarked on a qualitative investigation: "Media and Migration: X-Raying the Failure of the Press in Addressing the Plight of IDPs in Nigeria" to investigate the matter. With the aid of the social migration, mutual and collective interest theories, the study discovered complacency, lack of professionalism and synergy amongst media corporations as responsible for the menace. It suggested training of journalists as well as rehabilitation and reintegration of victims to their communities as ways out. It concluded that if the press plays its pivotal role as the conscience of society, it would keep government on its toes about the plight of IDPs. Only then can the integration of these victims into society be fully achieved.

Keywords: Boko, Haram, IDPs, Insurgency, Nigeria.

Introduction

Around the world, the war on terror is increasingly becoming a global concern (Jackson, 2019). The sophistication of armaments and upsurge in the smuggling and trading of light and small weapons is threatening peace across the world (Malam, 2014). There are strong indications that Russia, the United States of America, France and China are subtly luring and commandeering developing countries in the way of acquiring armaments (Besenyő, 2019 & Bowler, 2018). While there is nothing wrong with supporting both developing and underdeveloped countries in military hardware and installations, the commercial

side of the story is that most of these arms end up in the hands of dangerous individuals and groups. This is why the researcher is convinced that the proliferation of light and small arms into African countries deserves attention. Perhaps another paper might address that.

What is of paramount importance in this study is the fact that the global war on terror cannot be fought and won if the western world continues to see the African continent as a goldmine. From Democratic Republic of Congo to Central African Republic the story is the same. The apparent international politics which provides a leeway for world-powers to play the big-brother role of winner takes it all, has not helped the situation in Africa.

Aside that, the killing of *Muammar Gaddafi* and dislodgment of fighters from the region as well as the expulsion of members of Islamic State from their former hideouts is taking its toll on West African countries. As things stand, Sub-Saharan Africa seems to provide a safe haven for members of Islamic State of West African Province, a deadly splinter group from Boko Haram, Nigeria's number one public enemy. Boko Haram and their allies like the deadly herdsmen are engaged in gruesome killing of unsuspecting members of the public, continuous shelling of military formations and destruction of property not only in North-Eastern Nigeria but wherever they are able to penetrate.

Their nefarious activities have forced thousands of people to become "refuges" in their own country. The displacement of 541,000 people in Nigeria in 2018 alone (Internal-displacement.org, 2019) is a major cause for alarm. This is why the term "Internally Displaced Persons" (IPDs) reveals the helpless story of these victims. With no ancestral home to call their own, those who have been adversely affected by the insurgency have had to rely on relations in far-flung states by migrating to those places or simply remaining in open camps.

Therefore, this study aims at:

1. Presenting a narrative account of the evolution, tactics and destruction of Boko Haram sect in Nigeria;
2. Investigating how the dangerous activities of Boko Haram has led to the dislodgement and migration of thousands of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) across the country;
3. X-raying the failure of the press in addressing the plight of IDPs in Nigeria;

4. Highlighting the indefectible role of the media in reporting the migration of IDPs from their communities; and,
5. Proposing how the press, government and stakeholders can assist IDPs to fully integrate into society and enjoy meaningful existence.

The study shall employ the historical narrative approach to highlight the plight of IDPs with a view to finding how the press can assist in helping them return to their ancestral homes. The paper is qualitative in nature as it aspires to find the missing link between media and the migration of citizens who have become helpless victims in their home-country.

Conceptual Framework

Media

The media and press are used here interchangeably to mean the instrumentality of radio, television, newspaper, magazine and the internet for the gathering, processing and dissemination of information, education, entertainment and mobilisation to wide audiences. It encompasses traditional and new media which sets the agenda for public discourse.

Migration

In the context of this study, migration stands for the dislodgement and dislocation of people from their ancestral homes by Boko Haram insurgents. Although migration is often used for refugees who are forced to leave their home-country because of war or crisis, it is used in this study to indicate the displacement of people from their places of domicile by criminal elements. Here, migration is necessitated by the confiscation or destruction of lives, property and ancestral heritage.

Failure of the Press

The phrase “failure of the media” represents the culpability of the media in addressing the plight of IDPs in Nigeria towards their full integration into society. It also means the inability of the press to exclusively turn their lenses to the masses in the various camps across the country that have been forced from their homes and are now at the mercy of International and Local Non-Governmental Organisations as well as other spirited individuals and groups.

Plight of IDPs

The “Plight of IDPs” in this study stands for the physical, psychological and spiritual trauma which those who have migrated from their homes because of insurgency, and are regarded as Internally Displaced Persons (IPDs), are currently undergoing. It also means their loss of social, economic, political, cultural and religious relevance because of the situation they find themselves in.

Theoretical Frameworks

Social Migration Theory

Social *movement* or *mobilization theory* stems from the analysis of the 1960s' movements analysis (Ryan, 2006). Scholars are of the opinion that “Social movement theories examine the conditions under which collective action emerges and develops to promote social change around a specific issue, and provide a range of analytical tools that help understand and facilitate these processes” (Tremblay, Martin, Macaulay & Pluye, 2017,p.333). These movements are catalyzed by already-existing or newly created organizations which involve leaders, spokespersons and members or followers who often build the movement by garnering support for resources to effect collective action (Jenkins, 1983).

Throughout half of the 20th century, the development of *social movement theory* has brought about waves of paradigm shifts. This is explained by the constantly changing interaction between allied movements and state or bigger global political alignments which underscore the ever-changing nature of society (Ryan, 2006). Expectedly, through mobilization and organization, those involved in social movements often give meaning and ensure that the movement continues (Horn, 2013).

The *social movement theory* explains that compared to IDPs, refugee-flight is usually a collective phenomenon because they migrate because they are persecuted. They often move roughly at the same time to escape a terrifying situation in their current place of domicile. Perhaps why refugee studies do not present analysis of decisions which lead to flight from danger is because such migrations are usually involuntary and are undertaken at a group-level (Zaloznaya & Gerber, 2012).

The choice of *social migration theory* is informed by the position of Jenkins (1983) who highlighted that those who migrate often build the movement by garnering support for resources to effect collective action. This description fits into the

narratives of IDPs in Nigeria. These are people who have been dislocated from their ancestral homes and so have a strong sense of fellow feeling because they have common challenges and fears.

Mutual and Collective Interest Theories

Although *mutual and collective interest theories* have their roots in sociology and economics, they have also found their way into conflict, peace and media studies. Dating back to what Aristotle calls the “Tragedy of the Commons,” the *mutual and collective interest theories* come from the collective action of people who are treated as victims and share a common goal. Sociologists claim that Arthur Bentley’s “Group Theorists” dominated this discussion which began at the beginning of the 20th century. It is important to state that *group theorists* hold the position that where people have a common goal, they are likely to cooperate so as to achieve the common good (Gillinson, 2004).

This discussion took a twist in the 1960s when Mancur Olson came up with a “rational model” which questioned people’s willingness to cooperate. In his seminal work, “The Logic of Collective Action” Olson (1965) argued that where people feel that they can receive the reward of cooperation without contributing to how it came about, they are likely to leave the cooperation to others. Scholars like Schlozman (1995) who took the middle ground insist that people are often motivated by “passion” to act collectively rather than Olson’s “rational position” (Richardson, 1993; Olson, 1965; Schlozman, 1995 cited in Gillinson, 2004). On their part, economics, explain the *mutual and collective interest theories* in the light of the collective action which people place on public goods and common resources to further explain Paul Samuelson’s identification of the public goods problem was prompted by a growing global world with global problems (Samuelson, 1947 cited in Gillinson, 2004).

Based on submission of the *mutual and collective interest theorists*, what informed this choice is the fact that IDPs have mutual and collective interests. As victims, they share similar stories which put them in a position to achieve the common good for themselves (Gillinson, 2004). What is more, both Olson’s rational and Schlozman’s emotional positions prove the point that those who have been forced out of their homes face similar challenges such as lack of clothing, shelter, water, food, medical care, education, recreational facilities and gainful employment.

Literature Review and Discussion

Brief Historical Evolution of Boko Haram

Boko Haram which literary means “Western education is forbidden” in Hausa Language or *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad* that is “People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad” in Arabic is a militant Islamic working to institute Sharia or Islamic law in Nigeria. The group which existed since the late 1990s under an Islamic cleric Mohammed Yusuf forbids engaging in Nigeria’s political system because of its adherence to a fundamentalist form of Islam (CNN, 2019). From 2002 to 2009, the group vowed to retaliate the killing of its leader and other group members by security forces.

By 2015, the militant group claimed allegiance to the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) which took the name Islamic State or State’s West African Province (ISWAP also referred to as Islamic State in West Africa or ISWA (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2019). Also known as Taliban due its alliance with the Pakistani Taliban, collaborated with Kala-Kato and An-saru locally but had affiliates internally with militant sects such as Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) in Algeria and Mali and Al-Shabaab in Somalia (Akanji, Omoregie, & Baruwa, 2018). The fundamental ideology of ISIS, Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab comes from the eighteenth century Wahhabism or Salafism which views the world in black-and-white. It is traced to a Sunni Muslim scholar Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab who preached orthodox and conservative Islam in Central Arabia, what is today Saudi Arabia. This extreme religious ideology hopes to bring Islam back to its original purity while rejecting religious innovation and polytheism (Mutanda, 2017).

Initially, the group targeted northern states like Bauchi, Borno, Kano and Yobe but by 2010, it attacked buildings in Jos, the Plateau State capital (Ngige, Badekale & HammanJoda, 2016). The sect’s deadliest attacks remain the kidnapping of over 250 girls from their school in Chibok, the bombing of the Abuja market in October 2015 (Obalonye 2015 cited in Ngige, Badekale & HammanJoda, 2016) and the attack on the United Nation’s building in Abuja. Adamawa State has also been a target. In terms of strategy, experts have identified the tactics of members of the sect as: Engaging in the use of fear, killing, creating a sense of mystery around them, exploiting the ideology of religious extremism, taking the form of a mafia gang, using organized-crime strategy, offering money to lure their victims, employing propaganda as well as

hostage-taking to press home their demands or make a statement (Chinda, Shuaibu & Dyikuk, 2018).

Media and Migration in Boko Haram Discourse: Unravelling the IDP-Narrative in Nigeria

While the story of the abducted Chibok and Dapchi schoolgirls gained the attention of the internal media, the situation of thousands of people who have become “refugees” in their own country stares us in the face. It was two years ago that over 9000 Nigerian refugees returned home from the Our Lady Queen of the Refugees Camp, Minawoa village in the state of Maroua de mokolo, Cameroon (Dyikuk, 2017). The camp was “home to about 58 thousand refugees from Borno State, Nigeria who fled from the marauding claws of Boko Haram insurgents” (Dyikuk, 2017). These refugees were subjected to untold hardship. For instance, apart from the cry about food and education for their children, some lamented about some unethical practices going on in the camps. They disclosed that they were given “a measure of rice per person for a month plus a pack of condom” (Dyikuk, 2017).

Back home, the situation of most of the former refugees did not change much. If anything, they only took on the new status of becoming Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Because the IDP camps are made up of civilian populations, periodically, the insurgents take advantage of the poor security situation there to launch attack on the camps (Saharareporters.com, 2018 & Punch.com, 2019). At other times, they use guerrilla tactics or recruit women and girls of school age as suicide bombers.

A careful scrutiny of the insurgent’s strategy reveals the use of women and girls as sex slaves, cooks, suicide bombers and human-shields (Aljazeera, 2016). What this means is that most of the women in IDP camps are traumatized because they have been abused through rape and physical torture. Some of the children they have were seized by the militants. The sight of the children often brings back the memories of the untold experience they went through. Because of cultural and religious reasons, many of the women especially those who are either carrying pregnancies or living with HIV aids are suffering in silence. This increases the psychological trauma they are going through.

Women and children are often at the receiving end of any crisis. When Boko Haram attacks any village, most men run for their lives leaving their wives and children at the mercy of the attackers. Those of them who are unable to escape

are either killed or conscripted into the ranks of the insurgents. This accounts for why there are more women and children in IDP camps. Besides, some men claim that the pride of an African man would not allow them to stay in camps. This is why they prefer to migrate to neighboring Taraba or Gombe States to stay with other relations than live in the IDP camps with their wives and children. As such, the women are left alone to cater for their children. The loss of ancestral home, absence of a partner who would support her and the tempting environment makes it tough for women in the camps.

Reports have indicated that sexual offenses against women and girls are perpetrated by “by civilian militias, members of the military and the national and state governments’ emergency management cadres” (Read, 2017). Although security agencies have always denied complicity in this matter, there are indications that some of their men sexually harass and molest women and girls. In the midst of this, the lack of good drinking water, food, shelter, education, gainful employment, electricity has made the Boko Haram insurgency a dire humanitarian crisis. Indeed the story of IDPs in Nigeria is a tale of helpless victims seeking for help.

In 2018, *Nigeria Security Tracker Council on Foreign Relations* reported that an estimated number of 30,000 people have lost their lives as a result of the insurgency (cited in *Combating Terrorism Center, 2018*). In its account, the *Combating Terrorism Center, United States Military Academy, Department of Defense, or U.S Government* maintained that: “Boko Haram has devastated much of the countryside in northeastern Nigeria and neighboring regions of Cameroon, Chad, and Niger. Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps are scattered across the border regions of these countries, and the task of returning IDPs to their homes has been as difficult as it has been dangerous” (*Combating Terrorism Center, p.iii, 2018*).

In like manner, a report from the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs titled *Nigeria: 2019 Humanitarian Needs Overview* revealed that approximately, 7.1 million people are in need of humanitarian assistance in 2019 out of a total population of 13.4 million across Borno, Adamawa and Yobe States. It further disclosed that although about 1.6 million people returned home since August 2015, humanitarian organisations are unable to meet the needs of more than 800,000 people in Borno State because of lack of accessibility (United Nations, 2019).

The Internally Displacement Monitoring Centre disclosed that “In 2018, 541,000 new displacements were recorded in Nigeria, 200,000 of which took place in the Middle Belt region and the rest as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency in the North-East. About 2.2 million people remained displaced due to these conflicts as of the end of the year” (Internal-displacement.org, 2019). The centre gave the figures for disasters as 613,000 with new displacements between 1 January - 31 December 2018; for conflict and violence 541,000 with new displacements from 1 January - 31 December 2018; total number of IDPs as at 31 December 2018 as 2,216,000 and number of IDPs who have made partial progress towards a durable solution as 311,000 between 1 January - 31 December 2018. It noted that the drivers of displacement in Nigeria are many and complex. The centre stressed that the appearance of Boko Haram in the north-east has increased the number of displacements since 2014. It emphasized that the Middle Belt region is bedeviled by rivalry between pastoralists and farmers leading to violence and displacements (Internal-displacement.org, 2019).

The Media in Nigeria and Reportage of Crises: Boko Haram Insurgency in View

The media in Nigeria is not a neophyte in terms of reporting crises or insurgences. Right from the days of Ife and Modakeke through the Maitasine uprisings, the press in Nigeria held its head high in terms of exclusive reportage of the crises. According to Albert (2001, cited in Olayiwol & Okorie, 2010) the use of media campaign played a vital role in resolving the Ife and Modakeke crisis. The author described the feat as a significant landmark attempt to find a lasting solution to the age-long conflict between Ife and Modakeke Yoruba communities of Osun State in Southwestern Nigeria which were said to occur as a result of cultural identity, economic and political reasons (Olayiwol & Okorie, 2010).

Another significant effort of the press in Nigeria was during the Maitatsine riots. It is crucial to note that in the case of the Maitatsine movement insurrection which was hatched by one Cameroonian-born Muhammadu Marwa that led to bloody clashes in Northern Nigeria between 1980 and 1984 (Chinda, Shuaibu & Dyikuk, 2018), the media was there to report the matter. It would not be an exaggeration to opine that when history is told about counter narratives and how members of the sect were eventually dislodged, history would be kind to the media in Nigeria.

That is not all, during sectarian, communal, political and religious classes between various communities in Plateau, Kaduna, Kano, Benue, Taraba, Borno, Bauchi States to mention a few, the media was there to report. Some media outfits went out of their way to engage in media saturation of the sad events through thorough investigative reporting. Most recently, the farmer/herder classes in central Nigeria particularly Plateau, Benue, Kaduna and Taraba States caught the attention of the press in the country. Many media organisations like newspaper houses and radio stations dedicated either their editorial or radio-shows to denounce the wanton killing and sued for peace across the country.

Despite these seeming lofty achievements of the media in Nigeria, a critical assessment of the role of the media in Nigeria in the reportage of the Boko Haram insurgency has not fared well. The high number of displaced persons in various IDPs camps across the country which we highlighted earlier demonstrates that the media in the country has not paid its dues. The surprising part of the discourse is that foreign media appear to present more facts and figures on the insurgency than the local press (Dyikuk & Kanu, 2018). While local journalists prefer to engage in a phenomenon called *Afghanistanism* or *parachute journalism*, a practice where journalists report events which happen in other climes other than their immediate environment or he or she reports issues they are not well grounded in (Lundstrom , 2001 & Brayton, 2008), the foreign press is busy recruiting country-journalists to cover the insurgency.

Although the media in Nigeria has tried to intervene in other crises, its position in giving a voice to IDPs remains in the cooler. This is why the critically minded would like to know why the Nigerian-press has not taken advantage of its Corporate Social Responsibility to assist those chased out of their homes by the insurrectionists. This leads us to the factors responsible for the apparent failure of the press in Nigeria to address the challenges of IDPs towards nipping them in the bud.

Factors Responsible for the Failure of the Press in Nigeria to Address the Plight of IDPs

Here, we shall deal with certain factors that are responsible for the failure of the press in Nigeria to address the plight of IDPs. These are lack of professionalism, lack of synergy/partnership amongst media corporations, vested interest, media-compromise, poor funding and lack of policy framework and exclusive insurance cover. We shall highlight them thus:

Complacency and Mediocrity

Some scholars have identified complacency and mediocrity as the bane of the media in Nigeria (Adeniyi & Suleiman, 2017). This may be responsible for the failure of the press in Nigeria to address the plight of IDPs. The media in Sub-Saharan Africa appears to be dwarfed by a localized thinking that does not seem to produce results. What may be responsible for the mediocrity is that many journalists may be comfortable with the status quo. Truth is, it is this complacent behaviour that limits progress in media studies and career.

Lack of Professionalism

Interestingly, complacency and mediocrity often lead to unprofessional output. The dearth of professionalism in media practice in Nigeria (Adeniyi; Suleiman, 2017 & Talabi; Ogundeji, 2012) is what is keeping many media-houses from reporting human-angle stories which is the heart of journalism. What is clear is that the point at issue is a human interest story which every media organisation that is worth its salt should cover. However, what keeps stalling progress in reporting the story of IDPs is lack of professionalism. Many journalists think that being professional means reporting high profile political stories without knowing that that mentality actually proves lack of professionalism.

Lack of Synergy/Partnership

In many places in Africa like Nigeria, the press has not been able to hold its head high because of lack of teamwork and knowledge-sharing amongst journalists or media corporations (Singer, 2004). This creates an impression that media professionals in the country have not realized the importance of partnerships, co-operatives and collaborations (Rottwilm, 2014) in the industry. A divided media is a weak media which any dictatorial government easily rides on. The case in Nigeria is not different because the expected synergy or partnership amongst

media firms is lacking. This provides way for the fifth columnist to have its way. As it relates to the predicament of Nigerians who are pushed out of their houses by criminal elements, the media has not been able to be of help to them because the much needed synergy to galvanize support for them is lacking.

Vested Interest

Closely related to the lack of synergy is the issue of vested interest. Sometimes, this vested interest is tied to pecuniary reasons: "Majority of journalists are not interested in story that will not enrich their pocket so, pocket first others follow" (Talabi & Ogundeji, 2012,p.3). Every media organisation has its philosophy and guiding principle. It therefore becomes a herculean task to speak with one voice on behalf of the vulnerable. Besides, a careful study reveals that the media in Nigeria is controlled by government, religious organisations and business men and women. Because the saying goes that "He who pays the piper calls the tune," (Collinsdictionary.com, 2019) vested interest prevents the press in the country from fighting for the cause of IDPs.

Media-Compromise

Just as we identified that vested interest is a clog in the wheel of progress for the media to defend the vulnerable, media-compromise is another monster. According to media experts: "The media has been accused of contributing in the worsening state of insecurity and conflicts escalation in Nigeria due to their pattern of reportage which primarily aim at maximizing profit by manipulating the audience" (Ngige, Badekale & Hammanjoda, 2016,p.58). There are times that some media organisations compromise the ethical standards of the profession by keeping monies received from donor-agencies for coverage and reportage of the situation of IDP in various camps. Others receive the money but compromise by relaying on other media outfits to report their stories. This may be why some scholars are of the view that: "The death of vibrant and radical journalism is worrisome in Nigeria even those who have attained formal education engage in an unprofessional conduct, turning journalism to "money journalism" (Talabi & Ogundeji, 2012,p.6).

Poor Funding

In Nigeria as is the situation in other sister African countries, the issue of poor funding and remuneration of media workers is a recurrent decimal (Alibbi,

2016). Alibbi (2016) opines that this is often blamed for the rising cases of graft, brown envelope syndrome or qua as it is popularly called among journalists. Media groups that may have the desire to care for the plight of victims of Boko Haram are often constrained. This financial-handicap limits their reportage since they cannot buy equipment or send reporters to the field (camps).

Lack of Policy Framework

The scholarly debate in favour of broader interventions in media-policymaking (Okon, 2014) presupposes a lacuna in media-policy decisions. Aside from the code of ethics for journalists, there is apparently no clear cut policy from academics, the press or government which draws attention to the role of the media in Nigeria in mitigating the migration of IDPs. This presents a lacuna in media and migration and further limits the prospects of the press as the voice of the voiceless. Where there is lack of clear guidelines and media-related policy framework for covering insurgencies, the press cannot thrive in its constitutional duty of surveillance and gatekeeping.

Lack of Insurance Cover

Unlike other climes where journalists are well paid and have exclusive insurance covers, the situation in Nigeria (Garba, cited in Premium Times, 2013) does not encourage the average journalist. Because journalists who engage in risky investigative journalism end up dying without any form of payment or compensation for their families, most journalists would rather not go to IPDs camps to report cases. This is because most of them fear for their lives.

Recommendations and Conclusion

Recommendations

Since the *social migration* as well as the *mutual and collective interest* theoretical frameworks have laid the foundation and reasons upon which people migrate from one location to another, the study proposes ways in which the media can play a key role in mitigating the plight of IDPs in Nigeria through the following recommendations:

Rehabilitation: Experts believe that one of the best ways of helping people who are traumatised by war or insurgency is offering full rehabilitation (Baṣoḍlu, 2006). In most cases, people who live in camps bear a lot of physical and mental pain which demands medication, therapy and counseling. Therefore, it is

expedient for the media to canvass support for all IDPs across the length and breadth of this country to be offered post-insurgency trauma healing help. This is more crucial for women and children who have lost their husbands and parents respectively because it will go a long way in helping them to live beyond their hurt. Since February 2009, the Federal Government approved one of the recommendations which affirmed the expansion of the mandate and a change in the nomenclature of the National Commission for Refugees to include the resettlement and rehabilitation of IDPs (National policy on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), 2012). As it is, that approval is still at the level of nomenclature.

Reconciliation: At the heart of the media is communication and information-sharing. It would amount to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) if the media spearheads the reconciliation of communities with Ex-Boko Haram members. In communities where some members were forcefully conscripted into the sect and later renounced their membership, accepting these former members of the sect has been difficult. This is where media corporations can form focus group discussions or media action groups for ensuring reconciliation in these communities. It behoves on the Federal Government to fulfill one of the recommendations it made on paper that peace-building and conflict mediation/reconciliation is a key strategy for the rehabilitation of IDPs by ensuring implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the process (National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria, 2012).

Reconstruction: Where rehabilitation and reconciliation has taken place, the media can further drum support for the reconstruction of infrastructure such as houses, schools, clinics, markets and the provision of water and electricity. Although the current reconstruction plan of the Federal and State Governments within the north-east is commendable, chances are that there are areas which are neglected in the process. This is where the media as an impartial umpire can come in to ensure that all communities which are affected are given equal treatment by government and donor agencies. To this end, the Federal Government must justify in concrete terms the \$6.7bn it promised to spend on the reconstruction, rehabilitation and resettlement plan of the Northeast (Vanguard.com, 2018).

Responsibility: Although this paper did not use the *social responsibility or development media theory* as theoretical framework, it is crucial to note that the media has as its core mandate, responsibility for the integral development of

society. In the light of this, the press in Nigeria must live up to its responsibility by canvassing support to make government and other relevant stakeholders responsible for the plight of IDPs across the country. Journalists ought to collaborate with human rights activists to foster a common cause and also help one another out when an arrest is made (Maringues, 2001).

Restitution: Those who have tested the ravages of war, crisis or insurgency often need startup capital to pick up the bits and pieces of their lives. Because the insurgency had negative effects on their business, farms, livestock and other means of livelihood, it behoves on the fourth estate of the realm to do a thorough investigation of the Boko Haram warfare towards finding lasting solution of its effects on the victims. Restitution covers “development at all levels meant to genuinely address widespread poverty, youth unemployment and women empowerment” (Crisis Group Africa Report, 2014,p.46). Failure to ensure restitution or financial help for the victims can make the insurgents to easily lure them to their camps.

Reintegration: Rehabilitation, reconciliation, reconstruction and responsibility should necessarily prepare those who are forced out of their homes for fully reintegrate not only into their communities but into society in general. There are possibilities that other people may be suspicious of them, look down on them or even label them. This is where the press needs to press on government, captains of industries and willful donors to get actively involved in the full reintegration of victims of Boko Haram insurgency into society.

In the light of reintegration and dialogue, community members need support to reintegrate women and girls who escaped Boko Haram captivity by creating public awareness to stop the stigma they and their children born out of sexual violence, face since they escaped from captivity. Through dialogue, the tension in the communities and within families can be resolved (International-alert.org, 2012). On its part, the National Press Council, Nigerian Union of Journalists, National Orientation Agency and National Communications Commission can form a synergy to provide mass mobilisation for sustainable change in the mindset of the citizenry about IPDs and vice versa.

Conclusion

Since this paper draws strength from the *social migration plus mutual and collective interest theories*, it is crucial to state that they fit into the IDP discourse. This because seen from the perspective of media and migration, the two theories present the narrative of people who are “refugees” in their own country because

they have been driven out of their places of abode by a criminal gang. More so, that the IDPs are forced to share their pain and sorrows together demonstrate the strength of the second theory. What is essential to these theoretical frameworks is the fact that we are dealing with unwilful migration - A situation which interrupts the normal sequence of life and makes some citizens dependent on social welfare or peanuts from both international and local NGOs.

On this note, it is necessary to state that no meaningful discussion on media and migration can take place if the press in Nigeria does not censor itself. It is common to hear professors of media and journalism convincing their students that journalism is a noble vocation which requires keeping to the ethical standards of the job and making necessary sacrifice. While this is laudable, the question is, why is it that when graduates go into the field, their commitment seem to remain a promissory note. Otherwise, why has the media in Nigeria not paid its dues in terms of not only exclusively reporting the stories of victims of Boko Haram insurgency but defending the rights of IDPs across the country in general?

Well, in x-raying the failure of the press in addressing the plight of IDPs in the country, we saw that certain factors such as complacency and mediocrity, lack of professionalism, lack of synergy/partnership amongst media corporations, vested interest, media-compromise, poor funding and lack of policy framework as well as exclusive insurance cover, play a major role. An academic scrutiny of this magnitude should be able to probe beyond every pedestrian argument previously held. What this means is that for a country with an exponential growth of media academics and corporations, the first call of duty for the media should be the vulnerable.

Although the UN has maintained that durable solutions are required for addressing the risks and vulnerabilities people most affected by crisis like IDPs and refugees, to reduce humanitarian needs, the body noted that this requires “enhanced coherence and complementarity between humanitarian, stabilization, crisis prevention and development partners, in adherence with their respective mandates” (United Nations, 2019). Expectedly, the “Media should deliberately work to improve upon its performance criteria so by restoring confidence reposed on it by the generality of media users and the media should adopt a more positive approach to newsgathering and reporting” (Ngige, Badekale & Hammanjoda, 2016, p.58). As long as the current Boko Haram uprising continues, the press in Nigeria has the opportunity to write a signature about

what it stands for through focusing properly on media and migration or remain in the annals of shame.

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