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THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IMPACT OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS, IDPs' CAMPS ON THE HOST COMMUNITY IN NIGERIA: A SOCIOLOGICAL EVALUATION.

BY

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THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF PhD IN SOCIOLOGY.

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DEDICATION.

This work is dedicated to all victims of armed conflicts in Nigeria

DECLARATION.

This is to certify that the work I am submitting is my own and has not been submitted to another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. All external references and sources are clearly acknowledged and identified within their contents. I have read and understood the regulations of University College Cork concerning plagiarism and intellectual property.



……

VITALIS JAFLA PONTIANUS.

118220924

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All praise and thanks to the Almighty God who in His infinite mercy has sustained me thus far in my academic struggles. To Him be all glory forever Amen.

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Abstract.

The global displacement of persons through armed conflict, organised crime, ecological degradation from climate change, food shortages and developmental projects has become a common occurrence throughout the world of today. Displaced persons end up either as migrants across borders, refugees seeking asylum or resettlement as internally displaced persons (IDPs) within their own country of origin. Such people cannot easily return to their homes largely because of impending threats to their lives. Most of these IDPs have no choice other than to reside in displaced persons camps that are often ad hoc in nature. These camps are frequently little more than makeshift tents or basic government facilities such as abandoned schools or uncompleted housing estates that cannot satisfactorily provide for them or give them hope for a better future. The primary concern of the international community, governments and international aid agencies typically is the humanitarian needs of those displaced, as well as how best to resolve the major sources of threat that drive displacement on an ongoing basis. Resolving these and attendant issues can be a challenging and arduous task, resolve issues of management, community accommodation and service provision can take several years. Prolonged settlement can lead to the creation of new forms of interaction between host communities and the displaced. Using qualitative in-depth interviews, participant observations and biographical research interviews, this thesis examines the various social and cultural impacts that IDP camps make on host communities in Nigeria. By exploring how such interaction can foster new economies, as well as new patterns of social interaction and cultural understanding between host communities and displaced people, this study highlights the role of IDP camps and exchanges with host communities in Nigeria in advancing the super diversification and cosmopolitanisation of local Nigerian communities. Such processes of change are not the product of deliberate moves to transform local cultural and social identity but, rather, are the consequence of the long-term presence of IDP camps within host communities. These evolving social and cultural trends are documented by this research and can be shown to have a long-standing influence on the erosion of ethno-religious barriers between displaced persons and those within host communities, creating new forms of interaction, identities, relationships, and hierarchies. This thesis further assesses the challenges that increasing levels of displacement are creating for local government. It suggests reasons for why the Nigerian postcolonial state cannot adopt a sustainable approach to displacement management by relying solely on the IDP camp model and proposes that a

postcolonial approach is required that actively involves host communities, constructively utilises African traditions of hospitality and promotes a sense of community living in combination with new social integration strategies. Such a model is considered necessary to address issues arising in relation to the country's economic instability, sources of conflict, environmental risks and heavy dependence on foreign aid, all of which hinder Nigeria's abilities to develop as a socially resilient state and to nurture a politically, ecologically, economically and socially stable country. This study suggest that the African traditions of hospitality, cooperation and community spirit can be better used as a viable means of fostering more effective local solutions to displacement in Africa, in ways that align with the recommendations of the Kampala Convention agreement (2009).

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Description
ACF	Action Against Hunger
AfDB	African Development Bank
AO	African Organisation
AU	African Union
BH	Boko Haram
CAC	Nigerian Corporate Affairs Commission
CAID	Christian Aid
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CC	Camp Coordinators
CCCM	Camp Coordinator and Camp Manager
CDP	Conflict Displaced Persons
CJTF	Civilian Joint Task Force
DTM	Displacement Tracking Matrix
EDP	Environmentally Displaced Persons
EU	European Union
EUT	European Investment Trust
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
GCM	Global Compact for Safe, Regular and Orderly Migration
GCMI	The Global Commission on International Migration
GCR	Global Compact for Refugees
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMI	Internal Migration Institute
IOM	International Organisation on Migration
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
JDPC	Justice Development and Peace Commission
JRS	Jesuits Refugees Services
LGA	Local Government Area
MNC	Multinational Cooperation
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAPA	National Adaptation Programmes of Action
NATO	Northern Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NBS	National Bureau Statistics
NCFRMI	National Commission for Refugees, Migrants, and Internally Displaced Persons
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency

NFI	Non-Food Item
NGO	Non-Government Organisations
NIMBY	Not In My Backyard
NIROMP	New International Regime for the Orderly Movement of People
NPF	Nigerian Police Force
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OAU	Organisation of African Union
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights
RQ	Research Question
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SEMA	State Emergency Management Agency
SGBV	Sexual Gender Base Violence Office
SHI	Smiling Hearts Initiative
SILC	Saving internal lending community
SUV	Sport Utility Vehicle
UCC	University College Cork
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nation
UNEP	United Nation Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nation International Children Education Fund
WASH	Water Sanitation and Hygiene
WHO	World Health Organisation
WRD	World Refugee Day
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WWII	World War II

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This thesis consists of eight chapters. This introductory chapter discusses the general layout of the thesis highlighting the subject matter or the statement of the problem, the research questions, aims and objectives, as well as the methodology employed by this research. This chapter also highlights how forced displacement is contextualised in the research and concludes with an account of the scope and limits of the research. The second chapter offers a critical assessment of the influence of western sociological conceptual reasoning on dominant approaches to the problem of displacement, especially as it manifests itself in Africa. It considers how the dominance of these traditions has contributed to the silencing of African sociological thinking on this issue and has paved the way for the application of largely inadequate western inspired solutions to African problems. The chapter highlights the need for a postcolonial approach to the Nigerian experience of displacement and IDP camp scenario. The third chapter discusses the history of colonialism in Nigeria and paints a wider picture of its colonial past and explores how this past contributes to the problem of displacement in the present. The chapter further discusses the history of Boko Haram and how their terrorist activities gave rise to Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps in Nigeria. The chapter argues that internal displacement in Nigeria is caused by a plethora of reasons that should always be factored into the discussion of displacement while seeking local solutions. The analysis in the third chapter offers a more situated local perspective on displacement and assesses the relevance of sociological theory from the lived experience of the displaced.

The fourth chapter, as the methodology chapter, describes the research approach. It begins with an account of the epistemological framework of the methodology which is centred around oral histories and biographical narratives. The methodological approach acknowledges the rich depth of African oral literature noting how it represents a critical resource for understanding postcolonial Nigerian society and the impact of IDP camps on host communities in Borno state. The research findings are reported in chapters five, six and seven. While chapter five presents research findings based on semi-structured interviews with eight stakeholders online, chapter six and seven discusses the themes raised by IDPs in their account of their lived experiences of displacement and camp life. These three chapters discuss the social and cultural

impact of IDP camps on host communities in Borno state based on the eighteen interviews and participant observations which I carried out.

The global displacement of persons through armed conflict, organised crime, ecological degradation linked to climate change, food shortages, colonial legacies, as well as current developmental projects have become a common trend in the world of today (Sarzin, 2017). Displaced persons fall into a variety of categories of migrants, refugees, including asylum seekers, seeking refuge across borders, or those internally displaced, seeking resettlement within their own country of origin. These displaced persons cannot easily return to their homelands on account of the impending threats to their lives, leaving them with little choice but to make dangerous journeys and /or reside in camps that are mostly ad hoc in nature. Asylum seekers and displaced people are housed in these camps which are often a collection of makeshift tents or in government facilities such as schools or uncompleted housing estates that cannot satisfactorily give them hope for a better future. According to Adelman & Barkan (2011), the African continent has in the last sixty years experienced extensive conflicts and displacement that have made the IDP camp scenario a prevailing reality on the continent of Africa. The Dadaab camp in Kenya is a clear example of this reality. Such camps can be found in other parts of the world including camps in Greece, France, Turkey, Ethiopia (Jahre, Kembro, Adjahossou & Altay, 2018) and more recently Ukraine, Poland, Beirut and Palestine. Bauman (2007) as cited by Seal & O'Neill (2019) notes how with the advancement of globalisation, more people are being displaced and that the numbers of homeless and stateless people are expeditiously growing, making it a necessity for governments to plan and construct camps to accommodate them. With the recent political instability growing in some states in Africa, the need for more IDP camps may arise as tension continues to rise in the continent. The unanswered question to all these realities is focused on 'the prospects for these displaced people in a world where economic factors, colonial, and neocolonial exploitation, and/or political and religious ethnic differences and climate change effects exacerbate differences and push vulnerable groups to the margins of society or into camps' (Adelman & Barkan, 2011).

A common concern of the international community, governments and agencies is focused on the humanitarian needs of displaced persons and how major sources of threats to displacement can be addressed. Resolving these threats and attendant issues can take months or years to resolve, if at all, whilst issues of management, community accommodation and the experience of living long-term in temporary accommodation, as well as its impact on the host

communities are largely neglected. One such issue is for instance the way that prolonged camp settlement creates new forms of interaction between the host community and the displaced. These concerns prompted the United Nations Secretary-General Anthony Guterres to call for a series of new measures to address these issues (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2015). The research conducted for this thesis is concerned with these issues and uses a non-western, post-colonial approach to examine this issue as it affects the Nigerian society. O'Neill (2010) however, opined that the asylum, migration, and community integration of migrants is a complex global concern and, therefore, cannot be addressed by policies and state bureaucracies alone as this could lead to humiliation of migrants. O'Neill is of the view that individual migrant case scenarios and situations should be considered within their merits and context. The unfortunate thing about addressing these questions raised by Guterres is that most approaches adopted at the global level tend to ignore local solutions which is the framework this research is built on. Relying on the works of sociologists like Bhambra (2013) who opined that the globalised nature of the contemporary world which is often western in perception must begin to recognise the epistemological value and contribution of other parts of the world. This is what Mbembe (2019) described as the quest for a connected sociology through a decolonization of sociology. Go (2013) on the other hand acknowledged that postcolonial theory of sociology might have enjoyed wide influence in humanities unscathed, but it must not push the limits of postcolonial sociology to the detriment of mainstream sociology. Go (2013) is of the view that postcolonial theory offers a contemporary critique of sociology and brings related views of sociology into a collective sociological discourse. These and other views informed the theoretical framework of this thesis through the lived experience of the displaced in Borno state.

1.0.1 Historical Sources of Displacement

Before Nigeria became a civil state, the territory known as Nigeria today was a politically and culturally diversified territory with emirates in the north and chiefdoms and kingdoms in the south and east. These communities had at various times experienced different forms of displacement and typically had a way of managing them within their own means and limits. These striving communities were suddenly amalgamated into a British colony in 1914 and named Nigeria. This colonial creation irreversibly changed the socio-political and religious landscape of the region (Crowder, 1979). Since gaining independence in 1960, the Nigerian state has been plagued by a series of crises that, over the years, placed her citizens in a precarious state of incessant upheaval. Starting with The Nigerian Civil War of 1967 which

was the first modern war in sub–Saharan Africa. It devastated the Nigerian state with almost 800,000 people killed and more than one million displaced throughout the country. This war had unique features that made it relevant to the postcolonial present: a) it promoted local people's quest for true identity by the Nigerian people who had been coerced into living in an artificial state; b) it problematised the presence of western influence, especially in promoting the mechanisation of warfare in Nigeria through the use of armoured tanks and fighter jets which led to more casualties and widespread displacement and; c) it highlighted the plight of women and children (Nwoko, 2010; Bird & Ottanelli, 2014). This first displacement has continued to have a massive socio-political effect on Nigerian society due to the distrust, suspicion and ethnic stereotypes that were created from this period onwards (Uchendu, 2007; Akresh, Bhalotra, Leone & Osili, 2012).

The Nigerian civil war was followed by a series of ethno-religious conflicts across the nation, including the Tiv/Jukun crisis in Taraba/Benue states, a conflict that displaced most of the people living in farming communities along the Benue River basin (Ciboh, 2014). The recurring Jos religious crises of 2001, 2004, 2008, 2010 and 2021 resulted in the death of nearly 100,000 Nigerians and the subsequent displacement of more than 500,000 people throughout the state (Uhunmwuangho & Epelle, 2011; Krause, 2011; Olawoyin, Omodunbi & Akinrinde, 2021). This periodic and horrendous conflict forced a lot of people to flee the state making Plateau state one of the most unstable states in the middle belt of Nigeria (Nnabuihe & Onwuzuruigbo, 2021). It should be noted, however, that most of these conflicts occurred during the military regimes that ruled Nigeria in the 1970s and 1980s.

Nigeria in another light, since her return to democratic rule in 1999, has experienced post-election crises in almost every electioneering year with many people killed, properties worth millions of Naira destroyed, and a good proportion of citizens displaced or forced to relocate permanently (Harris, 2013; Angerbrandt, 2018). As much as there seems to be an economic dimension to these crises, the ethnic sentiments and the artificial nature of the Nigerian state has also been adjudged by many as major contributing factors to this lingering crises in Nigeria, along with the inabilities of political elites to deliver on the dividends of an orderly democratic state to all, irrespective of ethnicity, region or religion (Bacho & Abdul-Kadir, 2007; Olanrewaju & Ajayi, 2014).

In the Nigeria of today, Boko Haram, armed Herdsmen, and unknown gunmen have terrorised almost every part of the country, leaving in their path a trail of death and the

destruction of communities, properties, as well as the displacement of more than two million people (Forest, 2012; Smith, 2015; Thurston, 2018; Ajah, Ajah & Obasi, 2020; Igwebuike, 2021). Titilope, Zakuan, & Osman, (2019) posit that the Boko Haram insurgency is the longest insurgency in the history of Nigeria and has led to a prolonged displacement, prompting many scholars to search for a deep understanding of internal displacement and displaced persons in Nigeria. Titilope et al. (2019) suggested that displacement in Nigeria has not only intensified the vulnerability of victims and communities but has also compromised development and increased the poverty rate, threats to national security, loss of property, the incidence of human rights violations, social inequalities, the displacement and abduction of children, child labour, and health challenges due to high levels of malnutrition and widespread disease. Because of these upheavals, children are deprived of access to education and women are regularly victims of rape and abduction by Boko Haram.

Nigeria has also had her own share of the impacts of climate change, including more intense seasonal floodings, and displacement of whole communities in various parts of the country (Olagunju, Adewoye, Adewoye & Opasola, 2021). As climate-related push factors intensify, they exacerbate existing problems of armed conflict, religious terrorism, political instability, and poverty and add further to the problem of displacement. All these factors frequently result in many Nigerians, especially the vulnerable people in rural communities ending up in IDP camps. These IDP camps in Nigeria are regularly erected in public facilities like schools, churches, mosques and uninhabited housing estates. These are converted temporarily to give the IDPs a place of refuge and short-term succour (Olanrewaju, Omotoso & Alabi, 2018). Even so, Nigeria's displacement camps are also plagued by various social problems and offer little support to those traumatised by their experiences of displacement, including problems arising from disruptions to social roles, poverty, conflict, crime, human rights abuses, gender violence, and dehumanizing living conditions. The silver lining to these camps is that, whilst these facilities have been created to accommodate the destitute, they have also inadvertently generated a plethora of new cultural exchanges and opportunities for socio-cultural and economic enterprise in the wider community, including for example the flourishing of local craft production and new cuisine shared between peoples and cultures. The presence of displaced peoples in local communities has added new social dimensions to the host communities which were once homogenous in terms of culture, language, and religion but which are now becoming more heterogenous and super-diversified. This comes with its own opportunities as well as its own challenges, as this research reveals.

Several studies have been conducted exploring the major causes of displacements and a series of efforts have been made to rehabilitate and resettle those displaced (Williams, 1997; Adesote & Peters 2015; Amadi & Mac Ogonor, 2015; Salleh, Ahmad & Jamil, 2018). What has not been sufficiently researched to date, however, especially in Nigeria, is what happens to the displaced persons once settled in IDP camps? What impact does long-term displacement have on the displaced socially, psychologically, culturally, or economically, especially IDPs for whom makeshift camps have become 'home' for so long that the very settings that define them as a people are lost? How do experiences of displacement exacerbate their experiences of trauma, exclusion, and suffering? Furthermore, how does the long-term presence of IDP camps affect host communities? What are the main social and cultural effects of IDP camps on host communities? The experiences, insights and feelings of these people are considered of central importance to this research and have been accounted for through detailed biographical research generating a postcolonial account of displacement in Nigeria which has not been captured in most accounts of displacement to date.

1.0.2 Empirical Focus

Empirically, the focus of this thesis was on the experiences of IDPs living in the Dalori IDP camp, experiences of host community members living around Dalori, Gubio, Shuwari, Bakasi and CAN Jerusalem IDP camps and also experiences of other individuals and agencies/organisations that have been directly or indirectly involved in the running of these IDP camps. While empirical data from IDPs was collected mainly from IDPs living in Dalori IDP camps, participant observation and recruitment of host community members was carried around the above mentioned IDP camps and communities. This was to have a wider understanding of the reality not just within a section of Maiduguri town. The research is empirically grounded and explores the reasons why camps have so often been preferred in Nigeria over other possibilities by both host governments and international assistance organisations (Parekh, 2013; Jayawardhan, 2017; Parekh, 2020). The research examines how members of the IDP camp interact with host communities and how this interaction contributes to the formation of new forms of social, cultural, and human integration retrospectively. The research examines these communities and proposes a postcolonial approach that aims to provide a better understanding of these interactions from the perspective of those living within this specific non-western socio-political, cultural, and economic setting or indeed, from the perspective of the host community.

Considering the need for a strong, empirically grounded postcolonial sociological research perspective, this thesis advances the relevance of a postcolonial sociology to the study of trends in displacement in a Nigerian society. Research has sought to further develop a 'connected sociology' (Bhambra, 2014) that links discussions of capitalism, migration, religious extremism, ecological destruction, colonial histories, and exploitation, theoretically and empirically. The postcolonial sociological analysis was applied using a grounded biographical narrative approach to displacement. In doing so, the intention was to decolonize the understandings of IDP camp life but not from an 'outside' or positivist or distanced perspective (Mbembe, 2015), or what Mbembe refers to as universal knowledge that has been 'westernised' and supportive mainly of a Eurocentric epistemic canon that attributes truth only to the Western way of knowledge production. This Western Eurocentric canon disregards other epistemic traditions and knowledge perspectives and implicitly tries to portray colonialism as a 'normal' form of social relations between human beings, rather than as a deep, historically grounded system of exploitation and oppression. Furthermore, Western epistemic traditions are traditions that claim a detachment must be maintained between the knower and the known. This perspective rests on a division between mind and world, or between reason and nature as an ontological a priori. From a Eurocentric positivist perspective, the knowing subject is an enclosed one that peeks out at a world of objects and produces supposedly objective knowledge on those objects. The knowing subject is thus able, we are told, to know the world without being part of that world and he or she is by all accounts able to produce knowledge that is supposedly universal and independent of context (Mbembe, 2015, 9). However, this type of approach gives little or no regard to the lived experience of the people and the kind of meanings that the people have invested in their lives and culture over the years.

A postcolonial sociological analysis, by contrast, promotes an involved perspective, one that is applied using a grounded biographical narrative approach to displacement. It works against the grain by offering a lived insight into the reality of displacement as experienced in Nigeria. The lived insight shows a society that has been shaped and influenced heavily by colonial rule and shows how her colonial past has continued to shape and influence the country's approach to prevailing social problems of displacement and forced migration. This postcolonial approach through storytelling presents the hidden voice of the Nigerian IDPs and how foreign policies and approaches to their problems have continued to redirect their lives in isolation from their natural settings.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Since 1999, Boko Haram a religious terrorist's group has kept the Nigerian state, especially Northeast Nigeria, in a state of perpetual conflict with religious extremism fuelling violence and the displacement of millions of people across the country. This has led to about 3 million people in Borno, Adamawa, Yobe and Taraba states to live in IDP camps (IOM, 2023). The problem is that there is no reliable account of the lived experience of these IDPs as part of the larger society, and no account of how their lives over the years have been shaped by IDP camp life and further, how the IDPs have shaped host communities either positively or negatively. Stephen Castles an honorary professor of sociology and the founding director of the International Migration Institute (IMI) at the University of Oxford, observed as early as 2003 that there seems to be a lacuna on the sociological front as to how IDP camps, and the evolving trends of global migration (both voluntary and forced) continue to trigger changes in the socio-cultural landscape of the communities that host them. He added that it is important for sociologists to include forced migration, global displacement, IDP camps and the social community in their research and analysis of processes of global social transformation (Castles, 2003). The research presented here was conceived and undertaken to address Castles concerns and investigate what is perceived as gaps in the current state of knowledge especially from a Nigerian perspective.

Forced migration, (intra states especially) is the leading form of migration in most developing countries particularly in Nigeria. Marfleet (2013, 14) observed in refugee studies, that third world migration remains not merely "a foreign country" but one seldom visited by researchers while the few focused historical studies undertaken in the refugee field of study suggest that forced migration has a profound long-term impact. This is because regular migration or and more importantly, forced migration is forcing the society into an unplanned multiculturalism (Barbieri & Masini, 2011). If this assertion is true, then it is essential that scholars begin to develop interest not only in transnational migration but also in looking at internal and forced migration which have become a common trend in Nigeria due to Boko Haram activity, ethnic conflicts, political instability, and the changing climate. King (2012) reiterated this concern when he said that the future challenge of migration lies in theorising migration, and this could be done by embedding the study of migration within global processes of social, economic, and political transformation and within the biographies of migrants' life courses. The research in this thesis was an attempt to do this by undertaking a biographical

interview with forced migrants within Nigeria, to examine how their lives have been shaped over time in relation to social, cultural, and economic structures and processes within their living space in Borno state.

To date, responses to displacement have been reactive rather than proactive in most places. For Nigeria, despite the government's creation of National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) at the federal level and the State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA) at the state level, these organisations have tended to operate only when the country experiences a national disaster. They have not been proactive in their policies or in forestalling human and environmental crises. This has led to scenarios of weak interventions resulting in casualties and loss of properties (Jason & Nickerson, 2013). The UNHCR report for 2015, for instance, acknowledged migration and in particular forced migration, as a raging global threat that needs an overhauling of all national approaches and states legal architecture for proper management in a fast-changing world (UNHCR, 2015). This 'overhauling' should begin with a change in the conceptual understanding of the phenomenon in general and in how every individual community defines and responds in their understanding of displacement. To attain this desirable aim, local communities and victims of forced migration either directly or indirectly should be involved in the rewriting of their stories for effective and reliable policy review. This is particularly the case in a postcolonial society like Nigeria where the colonial created civil society is still struggling to find footing in a traditional society that was heavily defined by ethnicity and culture. Unfortunately, the colonial pattern that Nigeria frequently takes often leads to conflict with local approaches and local ideas.

The importance of critiquing this foreign approach to local issues for a non-western approach was central to this study because it took note of Nigeria's patrimony, history, and sociocultural dynamics as observed by most interviewees. Through these shared views, this study develops a de-colonial analysis in order to address the current lacuna in a postcolonial sociological account of displacement in the global south. Migration study is becoming a strong and advancing field of sociological inquiry, especially as conflict and climate-related factors escalate levels of displacement (Giddens, 2013; Thakor & Boyd 2013; Farrugia & Gerrard, 2016; Hall 2016, Skillington 2017). How these experiences are encountered in local settings and require further investigation. This thesis attempts to assess local experiences of multiple interrelated factors related to displacement in Northern Nigeria.

At the heart of contemporary sociology is the need to find explanations for contemporary societal challenges that move confidently beyond purely western accounts with their roots and origins in Europe (Bhambra, 2011). Much of contemporary western sociological thought continues to be exclusionary in ways that deprive the discipline from presenting a more inclusive understanding of changes occurring in human societies more generally (Adesina, 2002). Bhambra & Santos (2017) advanced this viewpoint and further opined that from its inception; classical sociology was primarily concerned with the European origins of processes of modernity which became global. There was little discussion of how the global aspect might be understood in terms of structures, processes and social movements not directly identifiable as European but nonetheless contributing to modernity. The challenge for sociology therefore has been to consider how these other phenomena of postcolonial internal displacement, migration and conflicts (non-European) influence processes of change and how they demand a rethinking of some of sociology's core categories and concepts. For instance, how do colonial-inspired patterns of change shape responses to global crises in current time, especially considering the current levels of mass displacement.

The peculiarities of Nigerian society, with its challenges of regional war, terrorism, climate change adversity, religious fundamentalism, gender violence, economic displacement, conflict linked to land ownership and other resources, together shape the intensity of displacement taking place within its borders (UNHCR, 2020). Culture has been described as the sum of a people's way of life. This research sets out to assess how the cultural and social life of host communities and IDPs have been mutually shaped by these often historically embedded challenges? The study examines how these events are experienced locally and how they, in turn, lead to, and promote greater levels of socio-cultural hybridisation across the spectrum of Nigerian society (Wagner, 2012; Iyorza & Ekwok, 2014). Furthermore, the study reflects on how this hybridisation encourages a more intense engagement with social difference in terms of cultural, religious, ethnic, and socio-political difference (Pieterse, 2018). This is because the more involuntary migration becomes an inevitable element of contemporary civilization, the more demand for engagement with difference is involuntarily forced upon local communities. Diversity is, therefore, largely a product of involuntary cosmopolitanisation and provokes a fundamental reshaping of public social, cultural, political, and economic life. The study assesses how these changes impact public and private lives in Nigeria (Mills, 2000) by documenting how globally relevant experiences are translated in localised settings in Northern Nigeria (Borno state). It further itemized the type of exchanges and developments that have

emerged over the years from processes of involuntary cosmopolitanisation[1] of migration, particularly the emergence of large-scale displacement in Northern Nigeria, and how their formation has shaped exchanges between IDPs and host communities in Borno state. This exchange between IDPs and host communities has created different forms of social transformation for instance, how the presence of IDPs contributes to the emergence of new hybrid forms of community interaction, social life, crime, economic activities, and new forms of cultural expression in music, cuisine, craft production, sport, values, norms etc. In doing this, the study advances a post-colonial understanding of displacement, accommodation, integration and exclusion in a non-western setting (De Haas, Castles, & Miller, 2019).

It is important to note that most scholars are clear about the conceptual understanding of some keywords on migration study, such as refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, IDPs and EDPs (Mayo, 2017), and the political/legal interplay around them. What is special about these words is that different approaches have been employed by different scholars around the world to develop a deeper understanding of the words and the peculiarities they connote in different regions of the world. Scholars like Ní Laoire, (2000) talk about migration in Ireland as a way of life in the past; Findlay (1997) focuses on Hong Kong emigrants and their quest for identity while Siouti (2016) focuses on transnational migration. Aspects that are often ignored or not properly captured in migration research are the biographical narrative and socio-political dynamics that lead people into these circumstances (Ybema & Byun, 2011; Rodney, 2018; Bank & Fröhlich, 2018; Adamson & Tsourapas, 2020). This biographical approach provides not only data on displacement, but details of how individual lives and historical developments contribute to the prevailing circumstances (O'Neill, 2010). This detailed and better understanding of displacement could help policy makers make more inclusive and enlightened decisions. Adelman & McGrath, (2007, 365) capture this nicely when they observe how the centrepiece of refugee studies should be the person and not just the phenomenon, and that the specifics of the refugee's circumstances do and should matter.

Research conducted by the agencies of the United Nations, on the other hand, is more concerned about migrants, asylum seekers and the global refugee crisis as a social phenomenon (UNHCR, 2018), leaving IDP concerns, including accommodation, primarily to nations and states (Kampala, 2009). The EU Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Management

[1] Cosmopolitanism derives from the Greek word 'kosmopolitês' ('citizen of the world') and suggests that all human beings belong to a sort of worldly community that goes beyond geographical and political borders (Beck, 2006, Kleingeld & Brown,2014)

Christos Stylianides, addressing this concern observed that global displacement of persons has become the new norm, yet their displacement is often managed in old ways (particularly European ways) and that displaced people not only need our emergency help but also need long-term solutions to their problems. Stylianides further acknowledged that humanitarian aid is not a long-term solution to displacement and that we must take steps to end the continuous dependence on emergency assistance, and help displaced persons to become more self-reliant, and provide good access to education and a decent livelihood. Refugees need to be given greater opportunities to realise their full potential for their own futures and for the sake of their host societies (Stylianides, 2016). This understanding was later tweeted by Grace O'Sullivan, a member of the European Parliament who said the 'close and control architecture of the Lesbos refugee camp in Greece have been a source of horrendous crimes committed against the migrants and refugees, and this is not acceptable' (Kennedy, 2023, 1).

Adelman & Barkan (2011) emphasised the reality that refugee displacement is a global phenomenon that has rendered millions of individuals homeless over the past century and that in the 1980s, repatriation of forced migrants was considered a key aspect to forced migration policy. Adelman et al. (2011), however, think that there is a radical disconnect between principle and everyday practice, because the repatriation of refugees and IDPs remains elusive in reality. The authors, therefore, are of the view that the emphasis on repatriation in the recent past has obscured other options, resulting in refugees spending years warehoused in camps. They suggest that we should look for solutions that go beyond the present model of accommodating people in campsites or keeping them confined (Adelman et al. 2011). Solutions to the phenomenon of displacement therefore cannot be based on a 'one-hat-fits-all solution' and that is why a biographical narrative interview arguably, is important for the generation of a deeper understanding of this complex reality of displacement. This thesis via biographical research, attempts to address a missing link in displacement studies by looking at IDPs not only through the conventional lenses of the global community but also through the eyes of those who live this reality and in doing so, provide a space for the expression of the personal life stories of the displaced and their hosts.

1.2 Research Questions

For reasons outlined above, this research critically perceives displacement as a major challenge for Nigeria and Borno State and addresses this via the following core research questions.

- What are the main social and cultural impacts of IDP camps in Borno state? In what way(s) have their presence benefitted or indeed, posed a challenge to the host community (RQ1)?
- In what way do IDP camps create new patterns of social and cultural interaction? What are the lived experiences of a) IDPs in camps and b) the host community representatives (RQ2)?
- Is it possible to build from these interactions a more durable, fair, and holistic approach to the condition of displacement, integration, or safe return, that places all relevant and affected peoples i.e government officials, NGOs, host communities and IDPs at the centre of a future implemented initiative based on a well-developed policy (RQ3)?
- More generally, how does the long-term presence of IDP camps create new patterns of social and cultural interaction between host communities and IDPs? And in what ways has this interaction benefitted host communities and IDPs (RQ4)?
- What has been the impact of COVID-19 on IDPs and host communities? Did it limit interaction and cooperation between them, or intensify it to cope with the situation (RQ5)?

According to Mills (2000), social research is an encounter between private problems and social issues as they impact on the lives of individual members of society (Mills, 2000). Building on Mill's approach, the research presented tried to address these research questions outlined by exploring lived experiences of displacement, noting how IDPs' encounters with the people of host communities have played out over the years. The research entails a real-life examination of the history of IDP camps in Nigeria; as well as the interplay of power, governance, and accommodation amongst those agencies involved in the management of these camps. Arguably, this field of research allows for the development of a better understanding of the type of issues that arise around the lived experience of displacement in Borno state and the challenges that camp life poses, especially during the covid-19 lockdown in Nigeria. The research attempted to explore the neglected traditional approaches to displacement and the understanding that local communities develop of this reality.

The key research questions guiding this inquiry outlined above were formulated following a systematic review of the sociological literature mapping important developments,

exploring key analytic concepts, ideas, and arguments, as well as laws and policy positions, as they have been understood by scholars, politicians, civil society, organisations, and states. All the responses and views shared by interviewees were primarily and systematically designed to achieve the aims outlined below.

1.3 Aims of the study

1. The aim of the research is to document the multiple purposes (cultural, social, economic, and political) that IDP camps have come to serve and assess their impact on some of those most affected. This means recognising and sociologically analysing the positive, as much as the negative aspects of IDP camps, and their impacts on host communities.

2. Secondly, this research aims to highlight the specific nature of forms of interaction between IDPs and members of the host community, noting how these interactions change the social, economic, and cultural landscapes of the host community. While focusing on how barriers are gradually broken down between IDPs and host communities or further reinforced, through various forms of social, economic, cultural, and interpersonal exchange. Olawale (2016) observed that IDP camps are creating new forms of interaction in Borno state. The research findings presented here attempt to test Olawale's assumptions and provide further empirical evidence of the nature and intensity of interaction to support this claim.

3. The third aim of the thesis is to assess displacement as an experience of locals, noting how it is encountered and understood locally, not as an isolated event, but rather within the wider biographical narrative of people's everyday lives lived within a particular Nigerian setting amidst its postcolonial underpinnings. These experiences, as non-western experiences, were documented and analysed taking the peculiarity of Nigeria, conversant of the reality that human experiences of displacement are complex and involve a whole series of factors that may not necessarily be uniform across world regions (Kuhn, 2009). Some of these factors could be related to the historical power dynamics of the place, the prevailing political trends and the social mentality of the people as it has developed over time.

4. fourthly the research elucidated an understanding into how the IDP camp and host community experiences are shaped presently in Nigeria and considers key factors influencing this. In advocating for a postcolonial cosmopolitan perspective on migration and displacement in the Nigeria context, this thesis attempted to clarify some of the limitations of mainstream sociological thinking on migration trends. In particular, the thesis attempts to clarify some of the generalisations that are regularly made regarding the push and pull factors contributing to

current scenarios and understanding of migration trends. Arguably, this research is influenced by assumptions regarding a Marxist analysis of materialism (Panitch & Gindin, 2015), Weberian analysis of idealism (Lindberg, 2017), and a Durkheimian assessment of structuralism (Lehmann, 2013).

This thesis will argue that this perspective is sometimes unbalanced and lacking in sufficient connections with the lived experiences and everyday reality of migration flows and displacement in non-western contexts. Whilst beneficial to understandings of the general picture of societal change, such theory as that of Giddens and his account of globalisation (Giddens, 2013), Beck on risk society (Beck, 2011), or Bauman on liquid modernity (Bauman, 2007) remain highly Eurocentric in their focus and lack local content to authenticate their relevance beyond the West.

The aim of the thesis was to gather biographical accounts of life in and around IDPs and their camps by interviewing representatives of humanitarian agencies and other stakeholders involved in the running of these camps, as well as displaced people living in them, and local community officials overseeing the management of the camps, and, in doing so, develop a more comprehensive understanding of how IDP camps, as spaces of superdiversity in the modern age, impact the social dynamics of host communities and give rise to various, new forms of cultural and social hybridisation. The research recounts how communities negotiate the meaning and consequences of what Stephen Vertovec describes as 'superdiversity' emerging in their midst, one that is not a choice of the people as such but a consequence of multifaceted factors affecting social life including identity and sociocultural values (Fox, 2017; Vertovec, 2019). Lastly, the research presented documents the experiences of the IDPs and host communities during the global pandemic of Covid-19 as a unique time in global history and in the social construction of global risk.

This research attempts to explain in an empirically informed way some of the reasons why camps have so often been preferred over other possibilities by both host governments and international assistance organisations (Parekh, 2013; Jayawardhan, 2017; Parekh, 2020). By assessing IDPs preference for alternative ways of mitigating displacement other than camps. This was also done by assessing how IDPs interact with host communities and how this interaction has contributed to the formation of new forms of social, cultural, and human integration retrospectively.

At the end of the thesis, a postcolonial sociological analysis is applied using a grounded biographical narrative approach to displacement. In doing so, the intention is to decolonise the general understandings of IDP camp life not from an 'outside' or distanced perspective (Mbembe, 2015), or what Mbembe refers to as university knowledge that has been 'westernised' and supportive mainly of a Eurocentric epistemic canon that attributes truth only to the Western way of knowledge production. This Western Eurocentric canon disregards other epistemic traditions and implicitly tries to portray colonialism as a normal form of social relations between human beings, rather than as a deep, historically grounded system of exploitation and oppression that has punctured and continues to puncture the traditional African understanding of her reality. Furthermore, Western epistemic traditions are traditions that claim that a detachment must be maintained between the knower and the known. This perspective rests on a division between mind and world, or between reason and nature as an ontological a priori. From a Eurocentric positivist perspective, the knowing subject is an enclosed one that peeks out at a world of objects and produces supposedly objective knowledge on those objects. The knowing subject is thus able, we are told, to know the world without being part of that world and he or she is by all accounts able to produce knowledge that is supposedly universal and independent of context (Mbembe, 2015, 9). This type of approach gives little or no regard to the lived experience of the people and the kind of meanings the latter have invested in their lives and culture over the years. This research represents a departure from this narrow approach to understanding a people's reality because of its close engagement with multiple stakeholders through biographical interviews, ethnographic research, and through participant observation located in the camps. This is done by working with and IDPs and community members in ways that allowed for an opportunity to build an understanding guided centrally by their interpretation of the reality of displacement.

1.4 Objectives of The Research

1. The primary objective of this research was to develop a local understanding of the emerging scenarios of social and cultural change arising from the interaction between IDPs and host communities in Borno state Nigeria. Based on this research, candid recommendations are proposed by interviewees on how to develop a schema of best practice and guidelines for the management of IDPs in Nigeria. These are based on their lived experience as stakeholders, IDPs and host community members.

Through biographical interviews, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews, the research addressed the questions outlined above and critically examined the current practices in relation to the hosting of internally displaced peoples in Northern Nigeria. 2. Secondly the research opened a pathway to understanding the shared views and opinions of stakeholders (government officials, NGOs, international community representatives, community leaders, IDPs and host community members) involved in the IDP camps with the aim of creating a postcolonial account of displacement with respect to IDP camps in Borno state. The research afforded all stakeholders the opportunity to tell their story as it relates to displacement generally in Nigeria and offers an authentic alternative to the top-to-bottom approach that is employed in most IDP camp studies to date (Koh, Okoye, George, Chukwuemeka & Agbawodikeizu, 2022).

3. Thirdly the research attempted to improve the African understanding of displacement through documented interactions between displaced and host communities in Northern Nigeria, an approach that has been conducted in other parts of the world on migration and global justice (Parekh 2013; Parkin, 2013). By recording research subjects' experiences of camp life, the research investigated those aspects of everyday life subject to change due to interactions between host and displaced communities. This was important because the current gap in sociological understandings of these issues is notable as little is known about the experience of being displaced or being a host to the displaced in non-western settings. Furthermore, the research investigated how these experiences amongst IDPs are further exacerbated by religious affiliation, gender, tribal tensions, and post-traumatic stress amongst IDPs, amidst a postcolonial context.

4. Lastly this research has a significant impact by serving as a reference point for service providers, government agents, religious bodies, social workers, and other NGOs involved in the management of displaced persons or IDPs. It also offers rich insight on the experiences of IDPs and host communities and the dynamic nature of interactions between them. In addition, the research illuminates the complexities inherent in the processes of socio-cultural integration of displaced peoples and offer insight on factors contributing to a super diversified society because of this integration. The findings discussed in this thesis can help policy makers respond to the challenges of displacement from a more informed, non-western perspective. The experience of the IDPs during the Covid-19 global crisis was unique, as captured by their biographical stories. As changing environmental trends forecast an unprecedented future of

pandemics, this research may serve in future as a reference document for health care providers facing pandemics in IDP populations (Srivastava, Khokhar, Madhav, Pembroke, Shetty & Mutreja, 2002; Hughes, Wilson, Pike, Saylors, Fair, LeBreton & Wolfe, 2010; Hall, 2016).

1.5 Methodology Used for the Research

Methodology can be described as ways or academic paths towards the attainment of a goal, particularly systematic knowledge (Bryman, 2016; Huff, 2017). To truly clarify the goal of the research and the choice of method used, the cognate concepts of various ontological assumptions of different kinds of research, and the laws of the society where the research was conducted were considered. This was heavily influenced by the interactive order of social events, and the hidden order of power dynamics in the community noting how they related to epistemology in general in Northern Nigeria (Denzin & Lincoln 2008). The research methodology as observed by Silverman (2015) is essentially the process through which knowledge is generated in a disciplined, speculative, positive, and systematic way. Conscious of the fact that methodology is not just 'research'; but it is also the holistic idea of a long process of inquiry into a wide spectrum of knowledge and a controlled series of steps used for the attainment of knowledge (Schutt, 2019). Research for this thesis aims to be more reflexive and critical at every stage of the study.

A qualitative, ethnographic method of inquiry of the reality of IDP camps in a host community was applied. The choice of an ethnographic approach to the research was informed by the desire to explore the lived reality of displacement for the host communities and how their encounter with IDP camps has impacted on their social and cultural life. The appropriate method for data collection that best suited in-depth study of this issue was the biographical method. The latter not only raised certain themes but demonstrated how these themes have evolved in the lived experiences of the research participants. The interviewees, therefore, were more than just mere research participants. They also articulated some of the concepts and issues that underpin the social systems and institutions within this research setting. The ethnographic method allowed me to observe how these themes emerge overtime and more importantly how they speak to public and private lives today (Mills, 2000).

The research was principally concerned with the way IDPs, and host community members create and maintain a sense of order and intelligibility in their everyday interactions (Norman, 2007). Attention was paid to how ordinary members of society make sense of and

find their way about and act on the circumstances in which they find themselves and in this case the circumstances of displacement leading to loss of home, property and, importantly identity. The research attempted to understand the meaning and understanding of placemaking for IDPs living in an IDP camp and the overt and covered role that the host community members play and how that role might have impacted the host community. The research, in documenting the biographical experiences of these individuals (IDPs and host community members) also took into consideration various underpinnings of displacement, stigmatisation, socio-cultural exchanges, new opportunities, and the social problems created by this encounter.

1.6 Contextualizing Displacement in the Research

Internal displacement in northern Nigeria arises because of multiple factors including religious extremism by Boko Haram, communal clashes, ethnic conflicts, herdsmen/farmers clashes and, occasionally, floods and drought (UNHCR, 2015; Sulaiman, 2016; Hendrix, 2016). It is estimated that more than 120 million people have been displaced globally and 3.1 million of those displaced are Nigerians (UNHCR, 2023). This makes the issue a serious one for Nigeria and necessitates a closer look at these displacement trends from a local perspective. The UNHCR (2023) report speculates that 130 million people are at risk of being displaced globally in the future. Displacement as a social phenomenon can no longer be looked at in isolation or be discussed only in relation to the legal concerns of states alone (McAdam 2012; Kälin, 2014). Apart from push factors giving rise to displacement, the experiences of the displaced, and host community members, as well as major stakeholders charged with the responsibility and wellbeing of displaced persons must be part of the discussion with respect to finding effective solutions. Displacement must also be invariably seen and treated as a major driver of social transformation in society. Yet IDPs are usually accommodated through short-term solutions (camps) that end up being a long-term reality for increasing numbers (Parekh, 2013). When camps are established as a solution to displacement, it often reflects decision-making processes that are influenced by a Western paradigm of thinking, and one that may not be conducive to traditional African or Nigerian ways of life, and that does not consider her ethno-colonial pasts and the high levels of ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity (Dowd, 2016). According to Zoe Walshe (2020) sociological research into these issues is largely dominated by research institutions and researchers of powerful developed countries in the Global North. Be it academic or practitioner-based research into levels of poverty and conflict in Africa, or the unequal distribution of wealth in Latin America, or gender discrimination in

South Asia, researchers from the Global North mostly define the agenda, narrative, and policy discourse of displacement and inequities in the South.

Human displacement has the capacity to usher in new forms of social and cultural change in society (McNevin, 2017). While such change may potentially have negative consequences (Douglas, Bouagga, Trépanier & Fernbach, 2013; Bacchi, 2014) it may also have potentially positive impacts on social relations (Mihálik & Jankoľa 2016). Clearly, displacement (mainly as involuntary migration or what is described as the push-factor migration) is different from pull-factor migration and both have been a hallmark of this century, prompting some to describe this era as the century of migration (Khan, 1974; AFAQ, & SIROHI, 2018; Giddens & Sutton, 2021). The mass displacement of people was instrumental in the creation of the United Nations (UN) and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) (UN, 1951) and these organisations have been at the forefront of the struggle to free the world from refugees, and IDPs. However, a major question remains with respect to how true this effort is when some policies made by the UN are the drivers of global conflict and global injustice (Adelman, 2020). For Hoppe (2011), the problem (of displacement and migration) is a gap between the current situation and a quest for a better society and until key issues of social justice, equality and rule of law are properly implemented and respected, the society might continue to experience these forms of instability.

1.7 Delimitation or Scope of the Research

This research is limited to the experiences of IDPs living in Dalori IDP camp and also experiences of stakeholders, community members and community leaders living around Dalori, Gubio, Shuwari, Bakasi and CAN Jerusalem IDPs camps in Maiduguri, Borno state. This is because Maiduguri is presently the epicentre of internal displacement and is home to most displaced persons in Nigeria (Kamta, Schilling, & Scheffran, 2020). Interviews were conducted with members of the host community living around these camps, as well as individuals and institutions/organisations that have been directly or indirectly involved in the running of IDP camps in Borno states.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This review offers a critical assessment of the influence of western sociological conceptual reasoning on dominant approaches to the problem of displacement, especially as it manifests itself in Africa. It considers how the dominance of these traditions has contributed to the silencing of African sociological thinking on this issue and has paved the way for the application of largely inadequate western inspired solutions to African problems. Meghji (2021) describes how, in most cases, western sociology universalises sociological thoughts to the detriment of the peculiarities of African contexts. This review will identify a number of gaps in mainstream sociological reasoning relating to how a Eurocentric sociology wrongly universalises the issue of displacement, together with the influence of global trends, risks, and transnational power structures. Scholars such as Weber (1864) Durkheim (1973), Marx (1818), Sholte (2000), Held (2007), Sylvia (2009), Giddens (2013), Bauman, (2014), and Beck (2018), to name but a few, express different viewpoints on the themes under investigation here including globalisation, capitalism, colonialism, cosmopolitanism, risk, terrorism, migration, are broadly reflective of biases that characterise western sociological thinking more generally. The question remains as to how 'Africanness' may be accommodated by such theoretical frameworks in ways that account for the distinct histories of African societies, including a postcolonial Nigeria, a society bedevilled by problems of neo-colonialism, poverty, inequality, violence, economic, political, and environmental insecurity and forced migration?

Some of these mainstream sociologists identify globalisation as a broadly uniform experience encompassing processes of rationalisation (Weber, 1864), industrialisation (Marx, 1818), the acceleration of production and consumption (Rosa, 2003), the compression of time and space (Giddens, 2013), the virtualisation of social life, social media (Fuchs, 2015), travel (Urry. 2007), to name but a few processes of change. However, these accounts are often one-sided and the type of changes they discuss generate global discontents and multiple unintended consequences (Ibrahim, 2022). For instance, Durkheim's (1973,63) views on social structure and social facts have helped to furnish an unhelpful understanding of the social and cultural context from a predominantly western perspective with a strong emphasis on social integration via processes of assimilation. Equally, Beck's (2004) thesis on global risk society provides a sociological insightful account of the nature and consequences of global risk but little on how

these manifests themselves in local contexts where variation from the western norm may be evident. Bauman (2007) does concede to a distinct fluid element in contemporary social relations, affecting patterns of migration or differences in how place-based identities and local solidarities are forged. Vertovec (2019) examines the ways in which changing trends in migration patterns give rise to new identity clusters reflecting the growing influence of superdiversity and cultural difference. Indeed, these factors prove to be defining features of the modern globalised age. However, most of the literature on migration, globalisation, superdiversity, risk and cosmopolitanisation tends to ignore the micro trends that jar with their generalised understandings of contemporary social change, including changes occurring in Africa with her rich pre-colonial and post-colonial histories. Indeed, so extensive is this blind spot in sociological reasoning, that it calls for a new phase of sociological understanding of the present.

The analysis below outlines some of the main theoretical arguments shaping a postcolonial critical sociological imagination in more recent years, particularly its critical appraisal of the ongoing validity of often implicit, yet powerful normative assumptions embedded in mainstream western sociological literature. Such assumptions include those of classical sociological thinkers such as Durkheim, Marx and Weber and their reflection on the changing trends of the European society of their time. Some of these thoughts tend to lack empirical evidence in most postcolonial societies where the relevance of western civilisational processes still conflict with many of the local traditional values of the people.

Key forces driving change in postcolonial Nigeria include increasing levels of internal displacement, growing diversity (sometimes referred to as superdiversity), expanding inequalities, cultural trends of exclusion and identity loss, increased risk of terrorism and environmental destruction. While these are trends that are evident across the global stage today, there are distinct qualities to their manifestation in the Nigerian context. This thesis applies a critical postcolonial perspective to an investigation of Nigeria's experience of these trends, noting the interconnections that emerge between histories of capitalism, colonialism, migration, religious extremism, ecological destruction, changing settlement patterns and terrorist networks, as well as enduring forms of extractivism, inequalities and power relations within the region. The thesis also assesses sociological accounts of these trends, noting how issues of exploitation and wrongdoing are framed as explanations for the current realities of migration and displacement in Nigeria. Some push factors, such as cumulative ecological

destruction, economic hardships, land grabs, the threat of conflict and terrorist attacks (Amatya & Dawson, 2020) have been identified as contributing centrally to growing levels of displacement. Using a postcolonial perspective, these factors will be examined in terms of their cumulative impact on a postcolonial Nigerian society.

Falola (2021, 3) describes a postcolonial Nigerian society as one that has undergone a pronounced shift from colonial experiences of exploitation, control, and loss of identity to a postcolonial society of neocolonialism, in search of a distinct identity, plagued with political and cultural instability as well as wanton ethnic and religious crises. Today, Nigeria is faced with high level of poverty running at over 38.8% (PwC Report, 2024), 29.5 million out of school children (UNICEF, 2024), 69% illiteracy, according to the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics (Punch, 2023) and a growing level of fraudsters in the country (Ogunode & Adanna, 2022: Ugowe, 2022). Other concerns include tensions arising from modernity and development, mismanagement of resources and corruption, political apathy, violence, and ethnic and religious rivalries (Falola, 2021, 3). Falola (2021) concludes from this understanding that the postcolonial Nigeria of today is a fragile Nigeria whose reason for existence lies in promises, and not in major achievements, as no single core element defining it as a successful postcolonial country exists. This situation calls for a series of broad and more in-depth inquiries, to develop empirically relevant, Afro-centric accounts of how such problems continue to be shaped by structurally embedded disadvantage. In this thesis, I focus specifically on the issue of displacement, noting how it reflects various elements of disadvantage. Using a historically grounded post-colonial sociological framework, I investigate how displacement has become a regular feature of everyday social life in the Borno state of Nigeria. The situated perspective of the displaced and their host communities will be the central focal point of this post-colonial sociological study.

Some of the defining features of a postcolonial Nigeria today are those that historically emerged from encounters with British colonisers in 1885, the amalgamation of the southern and northern protectorate in 1914 and, the nation's political independence in 1960 (Falola, 2021). The struggle for independence and early years of the young state created certain ambiguities in relation to Nigeria's quest for a distinct self-identity, economic independence, and physical and structural development, all of which were amplified by enduring problems of external control, exploitation, poverty, sustainable government, and geo-political insecurities. Postcolonial contradictions also arose from the 1960s when an artificial fusion was imposed

on communities that had existed independently, creating a nation that today is bedevilled by socio-political and ethnic problems.

Nigeria's postcolonial status demands a rethinking of its thirty-six federation states with Abuja as federal capital territory, the place of the rule of law in this federation where religion and ethnicity still hold a sway in defining her national life and self- presentation (Falola, 2021, 4). This review chapter provides a succinct theoretical framework on which the research for this thesis was built by critically examining what is deemed 'classical' sociological thinking and considers what is often unacknowledged including Nigerian sociology on displacement, the strongly normative assumptions guiding its reasoning on issues of relevant themes, contextual preference of study and valid perspectives which are overwhelmingly western, white, and largely male perspectives. This review aims to establish that western sociology is built on a lopsided stand where a section of global sociology is being presented as a whole. Western sociology was developed around social happenings of the west and in the same light African sociology or connected sociology from Africa must be developed based on the happenings in the African continent, and colonialism is a major reality to that effect. This review therefore opens an opportunity to discuss the lived experience of displacement and IDP camps in Nigeria.

2.1 Classical European Sociological Thought

Those who have developed sociology into an academic discipline historically are often referred to as the 'classical forefathers' of sociology. Not only is this historical representation geographically and gender biased (focused almost exclusively on men in the global north) (Alatas & Sinha, 2017, 3), but it is also racially biased, focused predominantly on the privileged perspective of the western white male. Such bias has greatly hindered the historical development of sociological imagination as inclusive and globally accurate.

Generally, sociology is seen as owing its emergence to 19th and early 20th century thinkers such as Conte, Durkheim, Marx and Weber and periods of revolution in the modern sciences, in technology, industry, and cities, and in the emergence of liberal democratic states and the global advancement of capitalist economies. All these changes are portrayed as mainly western in origin. Against this backdrop, sociology is said to be strongly shaped by the western civilising forces of change, western methods of investigation as well as rational western systems of knowledge and cultural transmission. Little or no attention has been given to

scholarship emerging from the global south. To begin the discussion proper, some of the dominant ideas of western sociology (Durkheim, Weber, Marx, and in the more contemporary period, Giddens, Beck and Bauman) are considered, including how the influence of these thinkers' ideas have developed over the years, often in ways with little or no recourse to the micro contexts of social interaction. Whilst acknowledging the value of many critical insights generated by this tradition of sociological thinking, the aim here is to develop the relevance of particularly critical Marxist insights more from a grounded postcolonial African perspective and in that, move beyond their limits and western bias. The postcolonial theoretical framework, such as that developed here, therefore seeks to overcome blindness to the African experience of global risk scenarios and colonial legacies, and, in doing so, contribute to the general development of a more genuinely global sociology perspective sensitive to differences as much as commonalities.

2.2 Social and Cultural Facts

Mainstream sociological research is heavily focused on what Durkheim (1973) describes as 'social facts', a concept that dominates much of the mainstream sociological literature (Gilbert, 1992). For many years, sociology was widely considered to be the science of social facts (Durkheim 1982). Durkheim who developed the concept described social fact as any form of acting that can constrain an individual within a given society and is at the same time independent of the individual. Social facts are the collective consciousness of society and are living beings in their own right (Smith, 2014, 149). Social facts could be social, economic, moral, political, religious, or cultural (Worrell, 2018). This simplistic, positivistic understanding of social facts equates any form of social interaction either at the micro or macro level with a standard (western) understanding. This tendency towards sociological standardisation of social and cultural life has been detrimental to understanding differences that arise across communities and societies. Giddens & Philip (2013a, 473), for instance, present an overly deterministic account of how everyday life consists of routine enactments of social facts based on continuous interactions with other, like-minded individuals, facts that acquire a 'structuring' influence over the nature and pace of social change (Giddens et al, 2013). The role of creative acts on the part of humans in reshaping social realities; or challenging the authority of larger social institutions such as those of religion, politic, economy, health, social and traditional institutions, is thereby played down or indeed lost completely in this tendency to look for commonalities across difference (i.e. social facts). For Schutz & Embree (2011), social facts are better understood when defined in terms of their influence over structures of

experience and consciousness. Durkheim (1982, 50) posits ‘when I perform my duties as a brother, a husband or a citizen and carry out the commitments I have entered, I fulfil obligations which are defined in law and custom and which are external to myself and my actions. Even when they conform to my own sentiments and when I feel their reality within me, that reality does not cease to be objective, for it is not I who have prescribed these duties; I have received them through education”.

Culture is an important aspect of social life. It is also a multidimensional word denoting the sum of a people’s way of life (Cahoone, 2005; Lentz, 2017), expressed in two major ways namely, material, and non-material. Material culture is expressed in peoples’ crafts, arts, furniture, clothes, cuisine, and all the socio-physical aspects of their life. Non- material culture entails a peoples’ history, belief systems, language, myths, and general understanding of reality (Lentz, 2017). Culture is basically a social phenomenon that explicates most features of a particular society, comprising social habits, values, art, music, beliefs, knowledge, etc. that cannot be accounted for through general theory of facts. Culture is not a biologically inherited phenomenon; it is socially acquired and continues to evolve over time (Pediaa, 2015; Desmet, Ortuño-Ortín & Wacziarg, 2017). The dynamic, and evolving nature of culture and indeed the increasingly fluid nature of social life, makes delineations of culture as a social fact somewhat problematic. This nebulous interpretation of culture as fixed or uniform does not allow sufficient room for the possibility of variation across contexts. The absence of variation means that African voices are eclipsed by mainstream and largely western sociological reasoning.

In this way, social facts are seen as extensions of the socio-cultural beliefs and practices of a society (the norms and values). According to Geertz (1973), man is an animal suspended in webs of significance which he himself has spun, and culture is one element of these webs. The analysis of this web should therefore not be an experimental science in search of general laws but, rather, an interpretive one in search of contextual meaning. This interpretive aspect of culture defines a people’s reality and how that reality becomes a tool for self-presentation. Social facts, therefore, exercise a degree of coercive social force. They inform and organise broad and diverse institutions and the practice of the legal, religious, economic, aesthetic, and cultural lifestyle of the community (Billow, 2012).

Western understandings of social facts over the years have influenced understandings in Nigeria of what shapes society. For instance, the Durkheimian grasp of culture as a series of social facts portrays culture predominantly as a mechanism of social integration. This

understanding does not establish a coherent perspective on evolving trends or the enduring psycho-spiritual dimension of African culture. According to Durkheim (2002) as cited by Smith, (2011), our social being is shaped by the norms and expectations of society through the socialisation process. However, as Law (1994) points out, the social world is, in fact, heterogenous but with growing levels of individuality and nonbinary affiliations becoming the norm, placing the standard relevance of Durkheim's thesis in serious doubt. However, such an understanding undermines the validity of African community spirit where an individual is believed to live for society and society for the individual. The individual and the community become a composite reality in African culture where one subsists in the other (Okhonmina, 2009). The sociology of transcendental, acontextual social facts and unquestioned support for individualistic instrumental reasoning (associated with the historical development of western rationalised modernity, Weber, (1978) offer little in the way of an explanation of otherness or difference in the societal development process. Instead, this sociological perspective reduces social values to wealth accumulation or religion as an opium used by the rich masses of society to control the poor. This understanding falls short of experiences in African society where mythological beliefs and ancestral worship still feature strongly in social epistemology (Mawere, 2011). Western understanding of social fact as presented by these classical sociologists do not fit easily into this understanding of a postcolonial Africa. Charity and donor agencies or tokenism become the bases through which these donor and charity organisations thrive. This understanding has over the years played a major part in how the displaced are treated in western society and in Nigeria in particular.

By highlighting these differences, this research challenges mainstream western sociological assumptions regarding the influence of trans-contextual social facts by highlighting differences in the experiences and historical developments of displacement patterns in Northern Nigeria. It explores both the immediate and historical environment of the Dalori/Shuwari internal displacement camps, as well as the views of the stakeholders involved in the management of these camps. The advent of camp life, the nascent and liminal phase of the IDPs' experiences, the changing regulations that branded IDP camps, as well as the unpredictable departure and arrival of IDPs in camp – all these challenges coupled with the devastating effects of religious insurgency in the Borno state makes the structure of daily social life more unpredictable. It also undermines the consistency or uniformity of life experiences of growing numbers of residents of internally displaced camps (IDPs) as well as those of the peoples of host communities to these camps.

2.3 Understanding the relationship between Globalisation and Migration

2.3.1 *Globalisation*

With this understanding of the need for a more differentiated and context sensitive sociological account of social change, this thesis assesses how the processes of globalisation, risk and cosmopolitanisation mix with the peculiarities of a distinctly African responses to the challenge of hosting growing numbers of internally displaced peoples, including the challenge of maintaining peace and social order. It notes how processes of globalisation foster greater interconnectedness between regions and peoples but simultaneously exacerbate social and economic inequalities between them. As societies grapple with the paradoxes of globalisation, the appetite for insights offered by Karl Marx and Max Weber on the pathological dimensions of capitalism grows. Marx's critique of capitalism, in particular, continue to shed light on how globalisation furthers capitalism's capacities to accumulate wealth and preserve a global system of unequal exchange, while Weber's thesis on the rationalisation of society and value spheres finds new relevance in the globalised world today.

"Globalisation is generally a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities" (Al-Rodhan & Stoudmann, 2006, 2) in ways that result in development in one region having significant consequences for the security and wellbeing of communities in quite distant regions of the globe (Giddens & Sutton, 2013). Globalisation encompasses different social connotations (Holton &Turner, 2015). It is identified and conflated with internationalisation, universalisation, Westernisation, supra territoriality (Scholte 2000), Americanisation, and neoliberalism. It is often treated as if it were effectively the same as the expansion of capitalism (Crouch & Streeck, 1997). Despite the ambiguity that surrounds the concept, it is an important term in social research because of the role it has played in the westernisation of non-western communities, institutions, and structures (Driskell & Lyon, 2006; Bhambra, 2014) especially in postcolonial communities and the manner in which it has impacted on transatlantic migration (Colic-Peisker, 2017).

Increasing global interdependencies today means that conceptualisations of globalisation require a re-thinking on account of the growing boundlessness and change in processes of social formation, integration, and forms of relationship between social systems that are no longer limited to national boundaries (Sylvia, 2009). Globalisation customarily, is treated as a process of increasing density and frequency of contact with the outside worlds. It

is regularly seen as an offshoot of modernity (Sørensen & Christiansen, 2012), which summarily is an assumption that the world is open to transformation through human intervention using economic institutions, industrial production, and global market economy. Modernity relates to a range of political innovations in the emergence of institutions like the nation/state, mass democracy, modern bureaucratic and legal order based on expertise and professionalism (Nadel, 2013). Modernity inspires dynamism on three different fronts of separation of time and space, dis-embedding of the social systems and social reflexivity (Beck, 2018). While modernity divides the world into the developed, developing and underdeveloped world, globalisation thrives on principles of universalisation of time, standardisation of medium of exchange (money) and the dependence of social systems on intellectuals, experts, and professionals. The general claim is that globalisation erodes states demarcations, traditional systems, religions, and economic structures of the patriarchal society giving room for gender equality, social equality, and political reforms (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007, 33; Blitvich, 2018, 120).

Globalisation entails a stretching of social, political, and economic activities across political frontiers, regions, and continents. It suggests a growing magnitude of interconnectedness and flows of trade, investment, finance, migration, culture, religion, language, technology etc. across a wide spectrum. Globalisation creates opportunities for economic integration; the transfer of policies across borders; the transmission of knowledge; culture, relations, and discourses of power. It is a global process, a concept, a revolution, and "an establishment of the global market free from socio-political control (Al-Rodhan, et al, 2006).

2.3.2 *Globalisation as Risk*

Globalisation is perceived in many cases as a positive force that has improved society (Motley, 2022). Globalisation has also induced widespread exploitation and a destruction of traditional community life, exacerbating poverty, conflict, corruption, climate change (Sassen, 2014), inequality, natural resource plunder, displacement and ongoing extractivism (Fanon, 1970; Castles, 2001; Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2015; Fletcher Jr, 2022). The global south has been adjudged as a conflict territory because of the long-term effect of the neo-colonial forced removal of indigenous people from their land to benefit economic corporations in land grabs and production expansion (White, Borras, Hall, Scoones & Wolford, 2012; Domingues & Sauer, 2022). Regions and communities in the global south who may not have been interested

in the economic strategies and expansion policies of colonial powers and global capitalists over the years, have shouldered the problems created by their exploitative ventures. These communities have now started questioning the rationale behind the global connections created by these expansions in the first place (Ozili, 2022; Orhan, 2022; Mariotti, 2022) and the socioeconomic impacts they continue to exact upon them. According to Orhan (2022, 141) because of global interconnectedness, the economic impact of conflicts triggered by colonial and capitalist expansions have rippled through various global channels, including commodity and financial markets, trade and migration links, undermining security and confidence in African regions. It is this questioning that has necessitated research into how African communities can more effectively lend their voice to the global account of displacement and related factors affecting their community. Whatever the case, globalisation is probably feared more than understood because of its strong capitalist ramifications (Appadurai, 1990; Sassen, 2014) and its impact on interregional flows and networks of interaction within all realms of social activity (Ritva, 2005). The dialectical nature of globalisation through which events at one corner of the earth often produce divergent and contrary occurrences at another creates a slippery ground that makes it hard to pin down what globalisation means with precision (Boehle, 2002). It is the elusive nature of globalisation that accounts for Nigeria's scanty triumph in terms of economic development on the one hand and the rise of Boko Haram, and further displacement and widening inequalities on the other.

Boko Haram is a Nigerian based terrorist group with global sponsorship from terror groups across the world (Iyi, 2018; Sethole & Sethole, 2021). Such experiences reaffirm the contradictions of globalisation especially in the global south where we see, simultaneously, both a globalisation and localisation of terrorist activities (Sassen, 2010). Sociologically, globalisation poses a challenge to social theory (Bisley, 2007) because it demands a re-thinking of the notion of the uniformity of experience. In essence the world's societies are constituted by a unique combination of influences and exhibit many features that separate them from the western norm. Globalisation also raises questions about the taken-for-granted equation of society as a nation /state demarcation. Gupta (1992, 68), questions the ambition for global sociocultural homogenisation through the capitalist economy which often comes with consequences, including the silencing of local identities, local trades, technology and invariably narrowing the space for a global sociology perspective (Mbembe, 2019, 249).

In terms of its negative impact, globalisation is sustained through a threefold process of erosion of national/local governance, devaluation of traditions and integration of a global capitalist market (Martin, 2005; Scherer, Andreas, George & Palazzo, 2008). Societies where these western ideals are not embraced and practiced are sometimes presumed to be underdeveloped, backward or primitive. Globalisation in many ways, paradoxically, pushes down power to the states, creating new forces for local identity (Kirby & Murphy, 2011), and for local separation (Giddens, 2013) and creates a power dynamic that becomes the basis of practices of inclusion or exclusion especially for displaced peoples. Most host communities are inclined towards cultural homogeneity for the purpose of self-preservation and identity. This intent forces them to mark out the confines of migrants especially when these communities are economically weak (Kinnvall, 2004). Other times, the quest for local identities is ruptured by the conflation of capitalist goals and local values, thereby robbing communities of their true values through economic domination (Shihade, Fominaya & Cox, 2012).

Promoting greater degrees of social and cultural integration could be seen as the way forward for a postcolonial superdiverse Africa. However, this raises the question as to whether the success of such policies as outlined can be secured and guarantee in a manner that allows these cultures to continue to speak, whilst also promoting a necessary degree of integration to ensure national security and commitment to democratic values (Warf, 2012). The claim often of the Durkheimian approach to social integration is that it must allow for the participation and inclusion of sub-groups in a society in ways that make such groups aware of their dependence on the greater society (Horowitz,1982, 355). This is largely a dependency theorist approach to integration (Reyes, 2001). Durkheim, as cited by Meštrović (2017), believes that our identities and behaviours as individuals and as groups are best studied and explained by reference to forces existing outside and beyond us. Such thinking promotes depoliticization and is often accepted unquestionably and used to inform codes of conduct in some African communities, thereby forcing an artificial model of integration onto pre-existing structures in ways that further exacerbate underlining problems and tensions. In the next section, the implications of such practices in light of the growing problem of forced displacement and the challenges it raises for communities specifically in Nigeria is addressed.

2.3.3 *Migration*

While globalisation is generally thought to signal interconnectedness and the standardisation of time and space, migration relates more to the intensification of movement,

the formation of active networks moving across borders in ways pertinent to individuals with increasingly global connections (Vertovec,1999). While migration studies look at country or territory of origin and destination, globalisation studies focus more on the connections that are established by migrants through diaspora communities, economic links, socio-political and cultural ties. These links and ties are not just networks established between countries of origin and destination but are also connections that flow across countries which create new levels of interaction across borders and new forms of trans-territorial stratification and power dynamics (Vertovec,1999; Nieto, 2020).

Arab The Spring of 2010/2011 led to an unprecedented displacement of more than 2.9 million people in a single year (Mattar & Seikaly, 2014), the war in Ukraine, resulted in the displacement of over 6 million (UNHCR, 2024) and more recently Israel's war against Hamas has resulted in the displacement of 2.3 million Gazans to date (NRC, 2024, Goodarzi, Badri, & Javadzadeh, 2023). These developments have intensified the challenges posed by a global migration crisis and presents a wake-up call to the world on how displacement can disrupt the geo-political and human stability of the whole continents. This is because the present level and drivers of migration present a difficult and hard to discern causes and demands that migration be examined more critically at micro and macro levels. Human migration is generally the movement of people from one place to another with intentions of settling temporarily or permanently. It is usually a movement of persons within a country or across an international border and can be legal as in the case of documented migrants or illegal as in the case of refugees and asylum seekers (IOM, 2022). The International Organisation for Migration (IOM, 2012) estimates that 405 million people will be living outside their native homes by 2050, while Bodvarsson & Van den (2015) calculated that more than 3% of the world's population will be living outside their country of birth by 2030. Despite, this relatively low percentage the discourse on migration is an important one because of the impact it makes on all elements of society (IOM, 2021).

The establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 brought a new impetus for transnational travel. This was because the UN unanimously promulgated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. These rights expressly paved the way for freedom of movement across borders (UDHR, 1948, (Art 13)) with few restrictions by some states on travel regulations (Dolinger, 2016). Migration takes place through four main patterns namely, 1) labour migration, 2) return migration, 3) chain migration, and 4) asylum migration

(Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016). If the above-mentioned patterns persist at the present pace, more than 5% of the world's population is likely to live outside their country of birth by 2050 (UNHCR, 2024). Migration is more transitory and more diverse today than ever, not only in terms of origins, but also in terms of migrants' motives, intentions, trajectories, and status within countries of origin and destination (McDowell, 2013; Vertovec, 2019). This has been understood and treated diversely by different people especially in Nigeria where most communities are still struggling with the effect of colonial rule.

Contemporary international migration is characterised by the acceleration of migration with more people moving more frequently across borders (Castles, Miller & Ammendola, 2005; Giddens & Philip 2013), the diversification of types of migrants and a growing feminisation of migrants with more women migrating (Curran, et al, 2006; Haaken & O'Neill, 2014). Gender has become a fundamental element that has changed the social relations and structures of modern patterns of migration. This has also provoked significant sociological research on gender and migration (Miller, Decker, Silverman & Raj, 2007; Boyd & Grieco, 2014; Awuah, de-Graft Aikins, Dodoo, Meeks, Beune, Klipstein-Grobusch, Addo, Smeeth, Bahendeka & Agyemang, 2022). These changes demand a comprehensive account of the shifting nature of migration flows in different world regions and the impact they make on local communities globally.

The growing discussion around migration in some quarters indicates a growing competition on limited resources, that impact on living costs, and lead to increased rural/urban migration. This situation is further compounded by the effect of climate change and widespread conflicts (UNHCR, 2014; Leckie Scott, 2014; Skillington, 2017) which has caused more displacement. Foresight (2011) estimated that by 2060, 114 to 192 million people could reside in flood plains in urban areas in Africa and Asia. This is because there is a gap between the population growth and growth rate in job opportunities which has become a push factor forcing many people to migrate and settle in these unsafe places (Traublinger, 2014). When communities play host to these migrants, they create a structure that reminds the migrants that they are not insiders and are accommodated only 'provisionally' for instance, through the precarious nature of displacement 'camps' Direct provision and makeshift estates reinforce the outside status of the displaced symbolically as well as structurally (McDonnell, 2009; Lentin, 2016). The Nigerian situation, however, differs somewhat in the sense that there are multiple triggers of forced migration with fewer receiving destinations, the latter are mainly in the larger

urban cities of the country (Kamta, Schilling & Scheffran, 2020). Sadly, a good proportion of these forced migrants are women who have lost family members to conflicts or who have been asked to leave because of raging conflict. Gender is gradually becoming a defining issue in migration discourse (Crawley 2001; Erel 2013; Gutiérrez Rodríguez 2007; O'Neill 2010; Reynolds & Erel 2016; Erel et al. 2018). This is because it accounts for how women are exploited sexually and economically or used for the procreation and survival of diaspora communities. In Nigeria of the 2.3 million displaced persons, women account for 54% of this total population and have been victims of different forms of human rights abuses and exploitation (IOM, 2023). Whatever the case, forced migration is becoming an integral part of migration trends not only at the local level but also in the global north/south relationship (Castles 2003) and is triggered by global risks of war, terrorism, and poverty. Climate change also impacts negatively on globalisation which in effect triggers migration (Bauman 2003; Pickering 2005).

2.3.4 *Drivers of forced migration*

To date, the literature on forced migration displays a strong western bias in terms of how the global south is portrayed as the only region where people migrate from (Lerch, 2020). As Phelps (2014) points out, the world has been blinded to the reality that there is more South-to-South migration than South to North. If this theory is about migration in general, it needs to be more region sensitive and avoid making normative theoretical assumptions about certain world regions. The literature on migration should avoid being reductionist and focused predominantly on economic materialistic analysis (Todaro, 1976; Kothari, 2002). Since 2000 Nigeria as a nation has gone through an unprecedented time of displacement with over 20, 000 people killed and 2.3 million displaced by Boko Haram (IOM, 2023). Despite this reported figure, and amidst the absence of an accurate and comprehensive number of IDPs in the country, insufficient local registration exercises have indicated that the scale of displacement might be significantly larger than estimated as many people have sought shelter and support from family and friends and so have not been counted. While natural disasters such as floods, land and mudslides, earthquakes, droughts, bushfires, and volcanic eruptions also contribute to internal displacement around the world in Nigeria, the major driver of displacement is armed conflicts. In Nigeria, there are several factors identified as being responsible for the growing displacement tragedy, some of these include ethno-religious and sectional diversity that fuels intense competition, weak practice of the rule of law, pervasive corruption and the prevailing effect of a long period of military rule that in the past suppressed national dialogues for

consensus building at the National level for many years (Jacob, 2012; Odoh & Chilaka, 2012; Ikhuoso, Adegbeye, Elghandour, Mellado, Al-Dobaib & Salem, 2020). This will be discussed further in the next chapter of this thesis.

Generalised theories of migration fail to recognise how cumulative histories of slavery, colonialism, war, economic exploitation and extractism have compounded intra generational poverty, resulting in migration becoming the primary escape route to a better life. Some of these theories have been identified and critiqued by Kurekova (2011) as follows.

- The neoclassical theory holds that migration is driven principally by wages and income differentials and the probability of employment. This theory fails to explain some migration incidences such as forced migration due to civic unrest and policies.
- Human capital theory looks at migration based on wages, and the economic benefits individuals make based on their profession or skills alone. This theory, however, does not consider incidences of migration that are not economic based. People migrate sometimes not solely to make money but to join diaspora communities, acquire better education or learn a new language or culture.
- The new economics theory opines that people sometimes migrate because of global wages and income distribution, institutional failures in states and credit/labour market deficiencies. This theory tends to be biased in some respects to the sending states as if all sending states always have economic difficulties. People migrate from blossoming economies to live in simple but peaceful communities.
- The world systems theory which is also known as a historical-structural approach, looks at migration from structural changes induced by the flow of capital in the world. This theory does not address internal migration (Stark, 2003).
- The dual labour market theory. This is often a state sponsored form of migration where nations and states are involved in the recruitment of labour for their states (Sassen, 1988). This theory does not account for forced migration and tends to present migration as a formal state sponsored reality.
- The network theory. This relates to situations where people migrate to certain places and regions because of networks of family and community that have developed over the years e.g diaspora communities. There are scenarios where people still prefer to stay in a certain place or migrate to a place where the diaspora community does not exist.

Kurekova (2011, 8) notes that none of the above theories offer a holistic account of 'the reasons for' migration with all the multifaceted factors taken into consideration. There are other theories that see migration as a process for global development. Whatever theory we might choose to use in the examination of migration, one common denominator is the way these models reinforce patterns of exclusion, non-recognition, stigmatisation, and sectionalism, processes that are further intensified when it comes to displacement. Globalisation sometimes forces traditional structures and social and economic practices that existed for millennia to suddenly collapse, leading to conflicts and forced migration (Held et al, 2007). This is the scenario in Borno state, where Boko Haram aided by transnational terror networks have destroyed local communities with the aim of building an Islamic caliphate (Pérouse de Montclos, 2014; Chukwurah, Okechukwu & Ogbeje, 2015). Hyperglobalists think that the world is a village open to transformation through the application of common principles irrespective of individual differences (Adelman, 2016). Such practices either on religious grounds (Boko Haram), political grounds (colonialism and democracy), or economic grounds (neoliberalism and multinational cooperation) have over the years created serious and irreversible sociocultural changes and problems for local communities. Northern Nigeria is a clear case scenario. To this effect, the concern is that global capitalist expansion creates what Bauman, (2004) described as wastelands, a situation where exploitative capitalism or administrative regimes render once effective modes of livelihood nonviable and impracticable, leading to the displacement of millions (Bauman, 2004; Hosein, 2019).

In these circumstances, the displaced are often treated as a 'surplus population,' a segment of humanity deemed by others to be human excess, bereft of the right to live and beyond the pale of common concern except in terms of a worry about them as an 'outside' threat (Cocks, 2020). In both wastelands and the mainland, humanity is highly connected, and it is difficult to make an explicit distinction between the so-called surplus population and regular citizens in the literal sense of the word. This is because those who are politically united as members of bounded, militarily fortified, and mutually united sovereign states are often divided inside those asymmetrically related or races, ethnicities, and religious sects. This is more worrisome since privileged citizens secured in their states are welcome to travel across borders as tourists, investors, or cosmopolitan elites, and can buy citizenship, if they so choose, while elsewhere, millions are unable to sustain themselves at home and can only do so by assenting to their own illegalisation, hyper-exploitation, or both. Migration is not only about

the doom and gloom of human movement, but also the discovery of the human dynamics of race, culture, language, arts, music, cuisine, and giftedness.

2.3.5 *Types of Migrants*

Miller (2018) identifies three categories of migrants. A migrant could be a refugee who faces threats to their human rights and could possibly lose their life if they remain in the current state (UNHCR, 1951; Fitzpatrick, 1996). A particularity claimant is a migrant who asserts that a particular state owes them admission based on what has happened to them or their nation in the past. The economic migrants are those who have moved from their home state to a new society either for education, job, or to pursue some personal interest. An economic migrant is sometimes described as a regular migrant and their legal status is clearly defined in international law (IOM, 2022). A refugee who has not crossed any international borders but is threatened or persecuted by conditions described in the 1951 UNHCR convention is called an internally displaced person (IDP) (Eweka & Olusegun, 2016). An asylum seeker, on the other hand, is a refugee who wants to make a new start in another country, but whose claim has not yet been legalised (Van Genugten et al 2016; McAdam, 2017). This understanding is important because such a legal framework delineates the terms and conditions on which migrants are processed, treated, and identified both at the local and international level (Olanrewaju, Olanrewaju, Omotoso, Alabi, Amoo, Loromeke & Ajayi, 2019; Regasa, & Lietaert, 2022).

Irregular migration is a largely misunderstood and under-reported phenomenon (Runde et al. 2019). There is no common definition of the term, though the International Organisation for Migration (IOM, 2019) defines irregular migration as “movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit, and receiving countries (Nawyn, 2016). Irregular migrants are simply described as people who are at risk of being pushed into the shadows because of their legal migratory status or those who face uncertainty in countries of origin, transit, or destination. This includes forced migrants such as certain economic migrants, seasonal labour migrants, and others who do not fit within established regular structures. This may include people who might have moved regularly and have become irregular over time because they are living without appropriate legal papers in a particular place, and working irregularly (Runde, et al, 2019).

All these categories of irregular migrants are shaped by different and somewhat interlinked factors of displacement and reception (Philo et al, 2013). The UNHCR (2023)

midyear report showed that the 100 million marks for global displacement has been crossed which means that 1.2% of the world's population are people now seeking refuge in one way or the other. The 1969 Convention of the Organisation of African Unity, the 1984 Cartagena Declaration in Latin America, and the European Union's 2004 and 2011 Qualification Directives, acknowledges that those suffering from persecution or other grounds and those fleeing generalised violence are to be treated as refugees irrespective of where they are and who they are (Hatton, 2020). When it comes to legislation on displaced persons, documentation is extensive, but the challenge lies in the implementation of this legislation and the overhauling of a system that is currently wanting (Skillington, 2015). To begin this overhauling in Nigeria, a general understanding of the phenomenon of displacement as experienced by both IDPs/host communities is necessary.

2.3.6 *Why Internal Migration in Nigeria: The Pull and Push Factor?*

Like other regions of the world, migration in Africa has transitioned from a periodic seasonal reality to an all-year-round event (Franko, 2007; Gálvez, 2014) driven by various pull and push factors. Some of these factors include employment and educational opportunities, family ties, lifestyle and cultural change, as well as environmental factors (Findlay, 2003; Thorpe, 2015; Skillington, 2015). Chronic poverty is also a major driver of migration with most migrants coming from poorer communities unable to break the poverty cycle. Poverty-driven migration has been in existence for many years and has continued to shape the life of communities for many generations. This has been exacerbated by the capitalist global economic system and its exploitative tenets that offer little opportunity for the survival of local traditional economies (Marfleet, 2004; Vélez Torres, 2012). Migration in this case becomes a strategy for economic and social emancipation, and people are generally forced to embark on this route for survival (Marfleet, 2006). As a driver of migration, the decline in traditional economic practices and related poverty, is exacerbated further by recurring conflict, poor governance, and political corruption, all of which continue to be the bane of African development (Bujra, 2002; Chima & Abdulhamid, 2015).

There are other factors responsible for the pull factor of migration in Nigeria especially from rural areas into the urban cities and this is often the migration of young people for education, white collar jobs, better social life. (often western related) and search for new opportunities (Ghebru, Amare, Mavrotas & Ogunniyi, 2018). This mass movement of young Nigerians from agrarian settlements into the urban cities has affected productivity at the local

level creating food insecurity (Mbah, Ezeano & Agado, 2016). While displacement and migration have far-reaching implications for the world, sociologists are aware that understanding these trends is key to a better understanding of contemporary life (Atkinson, 2015).

2.4 Superdiversity and Integration in Nigeria

Migration and globalisation create a twofold kind of a society; a super diversified one and a cosmopolitan one. While superdiversity entails a coming together of peoples from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds to form a multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-racial community (Back, 2015), its chance of survival lies in its application of a cosmopolitan ethics where everyone within the community is given an opportunity to belong. According to Schinkel (2018), most states in Europe, despite their advancements, have not come to terms with the type of institutional changes required to support a growing heterogeneous society. This, however, is not only common to the West, but also a reality in most communities in Nigeria and explains why ethnic and religious conflicts continue to be a common feature of most diversified communities in Nigeria (Salawu, 2010). These conflicts are a recurring reality because Nigerian society despite its sociocultural and national religious diversity, laws on religious tolerance and inter-ethnic integration have not guarded the nation against such conflicts (Nwankwo, 2015; Dowd, 2016; Falola, 2021) and very often people who fuel these conflicts are not prosecuted by law (Kwaja, 2011).

Superdiversity, a new reality in character, is a product of migration of people from different backgrounds. More importantly, superdiversity produces new hierarchical and social positions, new systems of social stratifications, powers, and governance (Morris, 2003; Nash, 2010; Rask & Verschraegen, 2013; Vertovec 2019). Since the introduction of this term by Vertovec in 2007, Vertovec has provided important insight on factors that shape migration experience today and contribute further to modern-day social complexities (Meissner & Vertovec, 2017). Superdiversity not only describes the dynamics of modern trends in migration. It also demonstrates how these trends enrich and challenge societies with various new forms of interaction, new economies, cultural exchanges as well as new forms of hybridisation of social relations (Vertovec, 2009). These trends are also responsible for amplifying existing problems of inequality, the prejudice of racism, segregation and stigmatisation (Vertovec, 2007). New laws and policy regulations are needed to contain the negative impact of these changes, and the increasing challenges posed by forced migration and

displacement. In Borno state, superdiversity has demonstrated how ethnic, tribal, and religious diversity if not properly harnessed can become a recipe for conflict and mass displacement. The reality today is that cosmopolitanisation and hybridisation have become hallmarks of many modern societies (Vertovec 2019). Equally common experiences of forced migration and the creation of IDP camps in the state of Borno can ignite processes of cosmopolitanisation. This is the common experience of most host communities of IDP camps as they gradually become super diversified by the influx of people fleeing conflicts, and displaced due to desertification or poverty. These communities are frequently forced to assume a new status and social character in the absence of mental or infrastructural preparedness. This sudden change leads to the creation of a crisis of identity and places an unsustainable burden on both the new members of the community and those of the host community. This is one of the major challenges facing most communities in Maiduguri as they become super diversified due to displacement in a setting that is largely deficient in material and/or psychological readiness for this reality. This challenge has been evident since Nigeria's independence (Davis & Kalu-Nwiwu, 2001). More recent expressions of involuntary 'cosmopolitanisation', superdiversity and forced displacement prove complex and an overlapping of several crises at once are frequently seen, making efforts at mitigation and accommodation of IDPs difficult. Frequently, attitudes of negligence towards the displaced overshadow legal duties to the same when IDPs or migrants are being considered for resettlement by state officials (Asiama, Lengoiboni & Van der Molen, 2017).

The French political philosopher Jean Jack Rousseau once said 'man is born free but everywhere is in chains' (Lazar, 2013). Some of these chains are created by the society as civil structures for social inclusion or exclusion (Allman, 2013) or as symbolic forms of belonging (Morrison, 2006). Social integration serves several key functions. It creates social duties that connect individuals to society by ensuring social attachment to commonly held beliefs, rules and collective purposes that focus the individual's interests outside the self and generate social bonds between individuals, institutions, and groups. It also creates links of dependency and ties of social obligation. Integration is an important element of traditional African societies (Ajani & Fakunle, 2021) and it plays an important role in migration in general. This is because it serves as a watchdog against excessive self-isolation and individualism by imposing limits on how far individuals can withdraw to themselves or be isolated from the community (Morrison, 2006). Every community requires a certain level of homogeneity to guarantee its stability, and this is only possible when migrants from different sociocultural and racial backgrounds

integrate harmoniously (Craig, 2015; Scholten & Penninx, 2016). Integration in a traditional African community is a lifelong endeavour because at every stage of life people are introduced into different strata of the society through various rites which are aimed at creating social bonds and enhancing community spirit. This is what Kanu, (2021) described as Igwebuike which literally means there is power in brotherhood. To foster this brotherhood, integration becomes key to the survival of both the individual and the community in Africa (Aliba, 2019).

There are basically three main forms of integration, social integration, economic integration, and identity integrations (Berkman & Glass, 2000). Blau, (1960) believes that integration prevails in a group if bonds of attraction unite its members. However, when those to be integrated are subjected to some level of pressure this can result in competition for popularity giving rise to defensive tactics that hinders holistic integration (Blau, 1960). Integration entails a social selection because individual giftedness, character, and academic qualification can influence the integration of individuals to some communities (Blau, 1960). This means that skilled migrants might be more integrated than unskilled and people from the same racial, ethnic, cultural, social, and continental background might integrate more easily than others. As Bendix and Bendix (2017) observe, integration is an essential tool for nation building and the level of bureaucracy operational in the state can determine how effective efforts at integration are.

Nigeria is on the verge of collapsing due to ethnic and religious differences in the country exacerbated by underdevelopment, economic hardship, warring factions, and the effects of environmental degradation. These have resulted in an increase in crime, insecurity, competition for resources and secession (Dowd, 2016). Superdiversity and cosmopolitanisation provoked both pull and push migratory trends and as they advance further, they make people like IDPs living at the verge of society victims of these social changes. Integration in Nigeria has been a problem principally because the nation has not been able to articulate and develop a set of legal principles and constitution rules that can be considered genuinely inclusive and oriented towards the good of all (Oni, 2014). Nigerians are still categorised and offered job opportunities based on their indigene certificate which certify one either as belonging to a particular state or local government. Such practice only creates more grounds for social segregation and inequality despite the provision of a Federal Character and quota system which seem moribund (Dibua, 2011). The Federal Character system states that Nigerians from the three main regions must be included in every federal parastatal of the country (Asaju, & Egberi,

2015). The system over the years seems to exist only in writing with low incidences of implementation. It is either the Federal Character system is consolidated for efficiency, or the certification of individuals based on state of origin is abandoned, as the present situation is only a recipe for national disaster and ethnic bigotry.

2.5 Global Risk Society and its implications for African Societies

Global risk generated by modern processes of economic expansion, new scientific developments, military conflict, and environmental hazards produce a series of unintended consequences, including mass displacement (Innerarity & Solana, 2013). Perhaps more than any other social event in recent years, the Covid-19 pandemic has triggered an increased concern for human vulnerability and the need to protect our increasing interconnectedness (Harf, Harf & Lombardi, 2019; Lo, 2020; Emeto, Alele & Ilesanmi, 2021). This vulnerability together with the growing threats of war, economic and ecological collapse, has heightened sensitivity and caution amongst communities, forcing many to barricade their territories and reinforce border control (Luhmann, Barrell, Stehr & Bechmann, 2017). For Nigeria, the Covid-19 pandemic exposed the fragility of the Nigerian health system, her medical dependence on western medical services and more importantly the government's distrust to local solutions to health concern (Shamara, & Jammal, 2023). Secondly the Covid-19 pandemic scenario illustrated Nigeria's unprepared state in confronting risk and unforeseen circumstances like health emergencies, earthquakes tsunamis etc despite her rich oil and solid mineral reserved.

Border reinforcement was one dimension of the response to the Covid-19 pandemic and the need for lockdown that was readily embraced by most countries despite the sociopsychological impacts it had on populations (Pantucci & Ong, 2022). It also created a social consciousness of risk that was omnipresent. (Innerarity & Solana, 2013). Beck (2007) identifies three features of risks which are somewhat relevant to the understanding of internal displacement in Nigeria namely, denial, apathy, and transformation. Denial is largely inscribed in modern cultural responses to growing numbers displaced globally by the effects of poverty. Apathy resembles a post-modern nihilism, while transformation (positive and negative) represents the cosmopolitan moment of the global risk society. Modern risk is also characterised by features of delocalisation, incalculability, and non-compensability due to the severity of such risks. As a consequence, we perpetually live in a state of emergency and preparedness for disaster due to the fact that collapse is regularly anticipated (Beck, 2007).

The September 11 terrorist attack in New York city (2001), the Paris train terrorist attack (2015), the xenophobic attacks in South Africa (2018), and the rise of ISIS in Iraq and Syria (2014) continue to demonstrate how precarious and unsafe life has become (Adelman, 2001; Roche, Streitwieser & Schwartz, 2022). This is further compounded by a rapid population growth. According to the United Nations'1st November 2022 (2022) report, the world's population has crossed a threshold mark of eight billion. This growth has also increased the number of economic and forced migrants worldwide (Radin, 2013; Kah, 2017; Schildkraut, Formica & Malatras, 2018; He & Silliman, 2019; Palinkas, 2020) and IDPs as well (Beck, 2002; Gaby, 2006; IDMC, 2022). Some scholars are of the view that this population growth could trigger civil unrest (Abel, Brottrager, Cuaresma & Muttarak, 2019), because of limited resources and growing capitalist exploitation (Beck, 1992; Beck, 2016a). These economic and population risks scenarios could potentially spin out of our control (Giddens 1991), and usher in a society that is destabilised by widespread displacement through armed conflict, organised crime, ecological degradation, economic crisis, and food and water, shortages (Smith, 2007; Lee, 2009; Refstie, Crisp & Morris, 2012). Amidst these concerns the raging Russia/Ukrainian war, the Israel/Palestinian/Lebanon war continue to divide the world into factions with a growing signs of a third world war.

The United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) has estimated in her third quarter report of 2023, that more than 114 million people have been displaced globally with 36.4 million refugees, 62.5 million IDPs, and 6.1 million asylum seekers and that 120 million people are at risk of displacement from conflict, and climate related causes (UNHCR, 2023). These figures are indicators that society faces more risks today than ever (Beck, 1992; Beck, 2004; UNHCR, 2019). This situation calls for a rethinking of migration (UNHCR, 2015), at both global and local levels (Mills, 2000; Bhambra, 2014), since risk has become an intrinsic element of modernity (Williams, Chuprov, & Zubok, 2018) and is experienced in different forms. The understanding of risk must therefore not be limited to western experiences alone but must be holistic and inclusive of different world regions (Pettifor, 2017).

In terms of Nigeria's experiences of adversity, the country has her own historical encounter with slavery and colonialism (Imbua, 2013; Chimee, 2014). History has it that before the abolishment of the slave trade in 1807, the territory known as Nigeria today had experienced slave trade for more than 300 years with millions of Nigerians taken through the Atlantic Ocean to Britain, Brazil, and the United States of America (Simpson, 2007; Imbua, 2013). According

to Eltis, Lovejoy and Richardson as cited by Imbua (2013), it is estimated that the Calabar/Cross River area alone exported nearly 300,000 slaves between 1650 and 1838 and ranks fourth in total slave exports behind Luanda and Bengula (Angola), Bonny (Nigeria), and Ouidah (Benin). It must be noted that in addition to the slave trade, there were pre-existing ethnic cleansing and genocidal wars in the territory. The slave trade however brought in something new in terms of brain drain, loss of culture and the commercialisation of human life which has continued to challenge the country to this day. The slave trade in this region was principally fuelled by explorers from the global south who traded produce in exchange for slaves (Imbua, 2013). The British in particular, sustained this trade for nearly two hundred years before even conceiving of the idea of seeing Nigeria as a colony for colonial rule (Alme, 2016). Colonialism only became an option when the direct brutal, inhuman exploitation of Nigeria's human and natural resources through slave trade became an issue of global concern with agitations for its abolishment coming from different quarters (Quirk, 2011).

The effects of the slave trade and colonial rule in Nigeria cannot be quantified in terms of the material, human and mental damage it has had on the country. Before the advent of slave trade and colonial rule, there was a growing bronze and metal industries developing in various parts of the country, and a textile and cloth dying industry. All these thriving industries experienced a slowdown due to slave trade which has turned Nigeria into raw material exporter and importer of finished goods (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012), leading to the creation of a weak economy, greater political instability and forced migration (Agbu, 2003; Nunn & Wantchekon, 2011).

Demographically, Nigeria is the most populous black nation in the world with the highest number of out of school children (Ukpong, Ekpebu & Ofem, 2013). Nigeria has also had her own share of civil war and a series of military coup d`etats have undermined her unity as a nation over the years (Obasanjo, 1980). Environmentally, Nigeria is experiencing desertification in the north, gully erosions in the east and the risk of oil spillages in the south, as well as rising levels of pollution due to mining activities across the country, all of which affect the communities and livelihoods of the people (Igwe, 2012; Chinedu, & Chukwuemeka, 2018). Nigeria remains an epicentre of poverty in the world despite being the highest exporter of crude oil in Africa and the 7th in the world (Odey, Areji, Eze & Adejoh, 2023). In Nigeria's sociocultural life, the country is at war since independence in an effort to retain its heritage and identity as a federating state with one nation agenda (Umejesi, 2012). This has metamorphosed

into a full-blown warfare with arm bandits, killer herdsmen and Boko Haram (Iyekekpolo, 2016; Enor, Magor, & Ekpo, 2019; Okoli & Abubakar, 2021). Episodes of displacement in Nigeria are caused by multifaceted factors, including the activities of terrorist groups, ethno-religious conflicts, natural resources and land disputes (Olagunju, 2006; Abdullahi & Saka, 2007; Amalu, 2015; Onah, Diara & Uroko, 2017; Thurston, 2018). These threats heighten the risk of destabilisation scenarios in Nigeria (Habeck, 2014; Coyne & Jennings, 2020) and have created a society that is sensitive to her potential but, more importantly, aware of her exposure to failure as well (Castells, 1996; Beck, 2002; Seargeant & Tagg, 2014; Gabe, 2014).

Nigeria is at risk of becoming a failed state because all indices of a failed state have been experienced in almost every aspect of her national life. Some of these indices include lack of adequate security, corruption, human rights violation, lack of development, weak governance, poor administration, enduring social tensions, violent conflicts, ruins or memories of a civil war, lack of respect for the rule of law and loss of legitimacy (Denis, 2023). These are all indices that can be trace back to the country's experience of slave trade, colonial rule, economic exploitation and more. If the country had developed on a natural path, the question arises as to whether Nigeria would have the type of sociocultural tensions, ethno-religious conflicts, terrorism and political corruption it experiences today (Coleman, 2022).

Prospects for Nigeria finding solutions to her problems lie chiefly with the country. This is because external intervention is likely to compound these problems further, and such intervention is not sustainable. These problems include the rising crisis of internal displacement. As a risk society, Nigeria has been shaped by old (slave trade and colonial rule) and newer kinds of risk (the threat of global ecological, economic, and geopolitical instabilities) with the potential to shake the very foundations of Nigerian society (Innerarity et al. 2013). Many of these risks are non-compensable (e.g. climate disaster). The way forward, therefore, becomes prevention and precaution through reflexivity (Beck, 2007) and careful planning. Adam, Beck and Loon (2000) question what this reflexivity on risk might look like. Fischhoff and Kadvany (2011) acknowledge that while risk is everywhere and has a lot of influence on national and institutional policies, the understanding of risk must be studied in situated settings where influence and circumstances may vary considerably.

The risk concept is important to this research on displacement in the Nigerian context, particularly in how it is interpreted in border policies and in the practical management of IDPs (Coleman, 2007). Nail (2016) writing on this issue, notes how migrants are assessed by host

communities as potential terrorists and the refugee crisis in Europe is said to no longer be understood as separate from the crisis of terrorism after the Paris attacks in 2015. The theoretical framework of this research addresses the impact such perceptions have on how IDPs are treated in Borno state. Joffe, (1999) acknowledges this when he observes the power of labelling and the pervasive tendency to blame outsiders for problems inside one's society. Local people are quick to notice the risk other people pose to them but seldom notice how they could also be agents of risk to others (sources of aggression, inequality, stigmatisation). This is often the lens through which decisions to shut or deny access to refugees, asylum seekers and IDPs are considered and executed (O'Neill, 2013).

2.6 Liquid Times: The Changing Global Landscape

Zygmunt Bauman (2007) in his work *Liquid Times*, explores a series of possible permutations that global migration (forced migration especially) can assume in contemporary times. 'Liquid times' presuppose a ceaseless reordering and re-bordering of the world, a compression of time and space, as well as a greater overlapping of loyalties and affiliations in ways not necessarily bound by the geographical limitations of the nation-states. Instead, society is viewed increasingly as a network, a matrix of random connections and disconnections (Bauman, 2007). This connection often takes a toll on communities in the global south, undermining their social cohesiveness and cultural heritage. The concept of liquid times as proposed by Bauman presents the world as a community of equals without acknowledging the historical damage some communities have endured at the hands of others and continue to endure to the present. These new forms, whether already present or only adumbrated, are unlikely to be given enough time to solidify and therefore, cannot serve as reliable frames of reference for human action and long-term life strategies (Bauman 2007). This is because this utopic form undermines sociocultural values that once sustained communities, forcing communities to rethink how the traditional thread of collective identity can survive. Liquid time in Nigeria undermines the mythological beliefs of the people, desecrate traditional hierarchies built on ethno-religious grounds and expand the world of the secular. The disappearance of these structures invariably entails the disappearance of cultural values and traditions, a growing scenario of the postcolonial Nigerian society today (Odimegwu, 2023). Secondly as politically uncontrolled global (extraterritorial) spaces of authority (Bowler 2010) increase their power both at the local and international level, communities continue to lose their power to plan and control their communities (Bauman, 2010) making local laws and policies irrelevant (Friedmann, 2010; Friedmann, 2017).

2.6.1 *What is Postcolonial Sociology*

Postcolonialism can be traced back to several early writers including Chinua Achebe (1958), C. L. R. James (1937), Edward Said (1994), Homi Bhabha (1949), William Satchell (1914) and Frantz Fanon (1952). These early writers began to look at the issues and problems that plagued most colonies, especially the experience of colonial rule and the discontent that it generated. The writers highlighted how the social facts of once held colonial territories cannot be understood in isolation without factoring in the influence of local history of colonial rule and their ongoing influence on the lives of colonised people. In *Orientalism* (Said, 1978) widely considered a key document to postcolonial studies (Mishra & Hodge, 2005) Said explains how people generally make their own geographies and tell their own stories. As humanly produced entities, both history and geography are heavily textured by the machination of colonial imagination, and encounters with the other and legacies which are still influencing us today. Said (1979, 4) explains how 'to speak of Orientalism therefore is to speak mainly although not exclusively of a British and French cultural enterprise, a project whose dimensions takes in such disparate realms as the imagination itself, the whole of India and the Levant, the Biblical text and the Biblical lands, the spice trade, colonial armies and a long tradition of colonial administration, a formidable scholarly corpus, innumerable Oriental "experts" and "hands', and Oriental professoriate, a complex array of 'Oriental' ideas (Oriental despotism, Oriental splendour, cruelty, sensuality), many Eastern sects, philosophies, and wisdoms domesticated for local European use, the list can be extended more or less indefinitely. For Said (1979, 331) studying the historical dynamics of a people is more demanding than sliding back into stereotypes and to criticize Orientalism is in effect to be a supporter of Islamism or Muslim fundamentalism.

Postcolonial scholarship is about discerning the ongoing effects of colonial encounters, the experience of dispossessions and power dynamics and their collective role in shaping the familiar social, spatial, and political structures of historical colonies and the global interdependencies of the world today. Said, a Palestinian American academic, in his 1978 work *Orientalism* described how the Oriental communities have been pictured and understood by the West with a stereotypical mindset of dominance and superiority, and this was the bases on which colonialism and western power dominance was established and is still thriving today (Said, 1978, 332: Donzé-Magnier, 2017). *Orientalism* therefore is Said's literary effort to

expose the west to a better understanding of the world and the culture of the Orient and how that world has been shaped by colonialism and postcolonialism.

Chinua Achebe (1958) is one of the foremost writers from Africa and his book "*Things Fall Apart*" is widely considered a masterpiece. It offers a critical appraisal of postcolonialism (Askari & Rokni, 2017). The novel is simply summarised as *things fall apart; the centre cannot hold* (Carroll, 1990). *Things Fall Apart* describes the traditional setting and what life was like for an Igbo community before the advent of western influences between 1850 and 1900. Achebe uses a fiction literary style and history to highlight the clash of cultures and belief systems, noting how the west, through power dynamics and domination, reshaped the traditional Igbo society. *Things Fall Apart* offers a perfect assessment of postcolonialism because it sets the stage for what life was before the advent of the colonisers, their establishment of new forms of religion, political and economic systems leading to the banishment of traditional systems and values represented in the novel with the death of Okonkwo, the key character who is both an individual and a representative of the community's spirit (Killam, 1971). Describing this western influence in the novel, Achebe (1958) writes

> Perhaps I have been away too long," Okonkwo said, almost to himself. But I cannot understand these things you tell me. What is it that has happened to our people? Why have they lost the power to fight? "Have you not heard how the white man wiped out Abame?" asked Obierika. "I have heard," said Okonkwo. "But I have also heard that Abame people were weak and foolish. Why did they not fight back? Had they no guns and machetes? We would be cowards to compare ourselves with the men of Abame. Their fathers had never dared to stand before our ancestors. We must fight these men and drive them from the land." "It is already too late," said Obierika sadly. "Our own men and our sons have joined the ranks of the stranger. They have joined his religion, and they help to uphold his government. If we should try to drive out the white men in Umuofia, we should find it easy. There are only two of them. But what of our own people who are following their way and have been given power? They would go to Umuru and bring the soldiers, and we would be like Abame." He paused for a long time and then said: "I told you on my last visit to Mbanta how they hanged Aneto. "What has happened to that piece of land in dispute?" asked Okonkwo. "The white man's court has

> decided that it should belong to Nnama's family, who had given much money to the white man's messengers and interpreter." "Does the white man understand our custom about land?" "How can he when he does not even speak our tongue? But he says that our customs are bad, and our own brothers who have taken up his religion also say that our customs are bad. How do you think we can fight when our own brothers have turned against us? The white man is very clever. He came quietly and peaceably with his religion. We were amused at his foolishness and allowed him to stay. Now he has won our brothers, and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart" (Achebe, 1958, 175-176).

C. L. R. James, in his 1934 theatre play *Toussaint Louverture*, explores the western devaluation of the black people both in the past and present. This work according to Shakes (2013, 38) was a response to colonial and racist thought and engages in debate against the placement of people of African descent outside of the conceptualization of civilization. This play portrays Toussaint Louventure a slave born in the French colony of Saint Domingue in Haiti who led the most successful slave revolt in history and played a key role in the downfall of European colonialism. Such an ambitious theatre project as attempting to put the Haitian revolution on the British stage was something new. For over a century the portrayal of black people on the British stage was in general racial mockery or melodramatic ‘slave plays’ where black people were simply shown as suffering until liberation comes from the arrival of some great white man usually an English imperial hero such as a naval officer (James, 2012, 16). In this play, however, James portrays black people in lead roles, engineering their own liberation and freedom.

These early writers had historically witnessed colonial rule in ways that fuelled their desire to begin a new, more truthful discourse on postcolonialism. Walking through the IDP camp in Borno state as recently as 2022, one cannot but be struck by the enduring impact that the colonial past still has on the physical circumstances and psychological mindset of peoples who still believe that the best ideas, goods, culture and language comes from the west. This belief system was used by the colonial master to dethrone traditional customs and structures of administration in most colonies (Maiangwa, Suleiman & Anyaduba, 2018). According to James, “where imperialists do not find disorder, they create it deliberately because they want

an excuse for going in' (Jame, 1938, 9). Some of these excuses are built on principles of superiority and the people's inability to develop their own society, a concept of development that is often materialistic and economic based.

Frantz Fanon one of the earliest writers on postcolonialism is known for his famous book the *Wretched of the Earth* (1961), a masterpiece that has been translated from French into many languages. In this book Fanon (1961) describes the dehumanising effect of colonial rule on the people of the colonies and the enduring effect it continues to have on indigenous people's culture and reality. According to Fanon (1961, 65-66), colonial rule still exists in most colonies in Africa, and he posits.

> in the early days of colonisation a single column could occupy immense stretches of the country… capitalism in its early days saw in the colonies a source of raw materials which once turned into manufactured goods could be distributed on the European market but after a phase of accumulation of capital, capitalism has today come to modify its conception of the profit earning capacity of a commercial enterprise and the colonies have become a market where the colonial population is its customer who is ready to buy goods. What the factory owners and finance magnates of the modern country expect from their government is not that it should decimate the colonial rule people but that it should serve with the help of economic convention their own legitimate interest. That was spelt out in the Berlin conference where the African continent was torn into shreds and divide between 3 or 4 imperial flags but at the moment the important thing is not whether such and such a region in Africa is under French or Belgian sovereignty but rather that the economic zones are respected.

'Post (-) colonialism' simply means 'hereafter'. It is a slippery term that began to circulate in various academic fields in the 1970s but might have existed forever (Mishra & Hodge, 2005). The term is generally treated as a common concept for interdisciplinary studies that covers a wide range of disciplines linked principally by a focus on imperial pasts and postcolonial presents (Said, 2021). Postcolonial theory is a set of critical ways of thinking that tries to explain the circumstances of peoples who have, directly or indirectly, experienced colonial rule (William, Laura, 1993). According to Hall (1999, 207), postcolonialism is not the end of colonialism. There are still remnants of colonial domination that reminds us that

colonialism is not yet a "post" reality as is the case in Nigeria. According to Hall (2023, 3-4) some commentators employ postcolonial as a temporal marker roughly coterminous with the second half of the twentieth century, whilst others use the term to indicate those regions of the world formerly identified as Third World, Hall believes that the term is most useful when employed to describe the rethinking of values and knowledge generated by decolonisation. In other words, postcolonialism describes the process of rethinking attitudes toward colonialism and its aftermath, including the terms and categories in which knowledge of society has been cast (Hall, 2023, 4). Hall (2023, 242) posits 'when was the post-colonial? What should be included and excluded from its frame? Where is the invisible line between it and its 'others' (colonialism, neo-colonialism, third world, imperialism) in relation to whose termination it ceaselessly, but without final supersession, marks itself? If post-colonial time is the time after colonialism and colonialism is defined in terms of the binary division between the colonizers and the colonized, why is post-colonial time also a time of difference? What sort of difference is this and what are its implications for the forms of politics and for the subject formation in this late modern moment.

There are still incidences where the operations of multinational, western-based corporations and international monetary policies exert excessive influence over domestic policies on agriculture, taxation, trade, natural resource management and exploitation, etc. (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2014; Greco, 2020). According to Mishra & Hodge (2005, 378) postcolonialism is a neologism that captures a seemingly unique moment in world history. It is a configuration of experiences and insights, hopes and dreams arising from a hitherto silenced part of the world, taking advantage of new conditions to search for alternatives to the discourses of the colonial era, to create an altogether different vantage point from which to review the past and project the future.

Postcolonialism is a certain kind of colonialism that emerges after a historical moment of high imperialism and colonial occupation has passed but is also one that signal something new (Hall, 1999, 208). Critical analysis assesses postcolonialism as a deliberate effort to examine colonialism and its human, economic, political, and social impacts on people in colonies, noting how it continues to shape their reality and everyday life (Jazeel, 2019). Nigerian society today is a society in search of her true identity. An identity that has been indented with a colonial past and postcolonial present, with problems of national integration, poverty, and community conflict, terrorism, displacement and underdevelopment. The desire

for independence must, therefore, be understood as a complex and ongoing venture. A deeper understanding of the present Nigerian society is required beyond external western observations. Particularly useful in this regard is a postcolonial sociological perspective.

2.6.2 Approaches to Postcolonial Sociology

Postcolonial sociology focuses on at least three different ways of conceptualising a post-colonial state of being:

1. Post-colonialism (with the hyphen) is sometimes seen as denoting a time after the end of colonial rule, one characterised by a physical occupation of the territories and the resources of a peoples, and the forceful imposition of foreign-inspired political and economic systems. This was done under the pretence of bringing development to the colonies. This aspect of post-colonialism holds that if much of the world was once colonial, it is also true then that it is post-colonial. Post-colonialism could also mean colonisation - after colonisation in the case where a territory is occupied by one coloniser and passed on to others. This was the case in World War II (WWII) when colonies that were under German rule were handed over to other colonisers (Child and William, 1996). According to Varanasi, (2022, 2) colonies in Africa and Asia might have gained political independence but colonialism is still on ongoing and, therefore, is not a thing of the past. This is because colonialism continues to oppress and subjugate developing nations and weak economies globally. This means that formally post-colonialism is just an advancement of another version of colonial rule and in this case economic imperialism through multinational corporations and IMF (Mueller, 2010; Arneil, 2023). Michalopoulos et al. (2021,1) captures this succinctly when they explain: ‘by plundering Africa’s resources and carving it up into artificial states, Europes’ colonial powers created vicious cycles of violence, poverty and authoritarianism that are playing out to this day. But overcoming this legacy will require much more than toppling statues in Bristol’.

According to Garfolo & L’Huillier, (2014, 48), colonisation for the most part was motivated by economics as European powers sought to expand their markets and acquire raw materials overseas. After WWII, colonial systems were dismantled in a process referred to as 'decolonisation', but have we really decolonised? or have we substituted one style of colonisation control for another? Today, the term 'neocolonialism' refers to the practice of using capitalism, globalization, and cultural forces to control a country in lieu of direct military or political force. The lending practices of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) are two examples of international lending agencies using their economic clout to ensure certain actions and policy decisions are agreed to by financially vulnerable third world countries (Garfolo, et al, 2014, 48).

2. The second dimension of a postcolonial sociology notes is the enduring influence of colonial bureaucratic administrative structures and ideologies. Postcolonialism in this case does not reflect a period after colonial rule but rather a critical recognition of the continued and troubling pressure and influence of colonialism after its formal departure from the colony in question (Nash, 2003, 435). This sociological perspective on postcolonialism is most relevant to this research and indeed to most postcolonial research. More than 200 years of economic exploitation, mental and physical slavery, religious desecration, as well as the undermining of traditional values and systems cannot be erased from a people's history and mindset by simply pronouncing them 'independent.' Furthermore, years of colonial rule were not followed up by any form of compensation, post-traumatic stress therapy or restitution. Postcolonial sociology seeks to establish the necessity of these important acts of recognition of wrongdoing imposed upon them. The frequent absence of closure and the continuation of the trauma of colonialism are felt as an enduring source of suffering. Historical experiences of colonialism need to be X-rayed and factored into sociological accounts of contemporary patterns of migration, displacement, and conflict (Bulhan, 2015). Rodney (2018), in his argument on how Europe underdeveloped Africa, insists that the colonial master did not only exploit the African continent materially but, more importantly, the colonisers in refusing to recognise the African perspective, and their understanding of the world and ways of life, development, and civilization, imposed real suffering. This refusal has continued to impact the development and growth of the intellectual and mental prowess of the continent to this day (Kalua, 2019).

3. Post-colonial sociology reflexively examines its use of the term 'post', one that is often used in social theory. For instance, post-structuralism, post-positivism, post-modernity (Mishra & Hodge, 2005). In the case of postcolonial sociology, the emphasise is not on chronology but rather on an acknowledgement that the basic premises of the discipline require further re-examination and in ways that transcend prior understanding. Postcolonial sociology promotes a critical re-examination of the colonial underpinnings of sociology, both as a historical reference point and an event affecting the lived experience of people (McLeod, 2020).

Postcolonial sociology encourages the people to tell their own stories. By telling their stories, they unravel every strand of their civilization and how that has been understood and lived out. Go (2013, 28) argues that while a certain strand of postcolonial theory sees sociology and postcolonial studies as fundamentally incompatible, this claim about incompatibility is untenable as other elements of postcolonial theory have a direct relevance to sociology. Specifically, I argue that postcolonial theory also offers a powerful critique of key aspects of sociological reasoning. For instance, tendencies towards analytical bifurcation. I further suggest that a postcolonial sociology can overcome these problems by incorporating relational theories to give new postcolonial accounts of modernity. This sort of postcolonial sociology is not merely studying non-Western societies, postcolonial social formations, or imperialism and colonialism but rather insists upon an overarching theoretical approach and ontology that emphasizes the interactional constitution of all social units, processes, and practices across space. Postcolonial sociology in this sense therefore is not about sociology in isolation but sociology as an interaction of societies and this is situated on insider perspective and challenges western sociological assumptions.

Karari (2018) in discussing this aspect of postcolonialism in Kenya argues that the study of British colonial rule cannot be complete without interrogating transitional justice for the victims and survivors of colonial atrocities and this focus is on the need for facilitating restitution, reparations, healing and closure for victims and survivors of colonial rule. According to Karari (2018, 2) 'the postcolonial ethnopolitical violence in Kenya can be linked to British colonialism because the colonial constitution, which was meant to dominate the natives, was inherited by post-independent elites (sic) and used for ethnic political patronage.

2.6.3 *Postcolonialism and Cosmopolitanism*

Postcolonialism and cosmopolitanism are two ends that when understood properly and applied within context could advance a new sociological front. This is because while some scholars like Hardt and Negri are of the view that postcolonial discourse is already a thing of the past (Jaecheol, 2015), others, however, believe that a postcolonial discussion may be advanced further by fostering a more radical, non-Eurocentric cosmopolitan argument (Rao, 2007; Rao, 2014; Bhambra, 2016). Bhabha, (2023) proposes an encounter of culture between the colonisers and the colonised aimed at producing a hybridisation of culture that recognises both cultures and gives equal opportunity for mutual growth and respect. Sociologist Paul Gilroy (2012, 111-131) summarily posits that to heal the world of European colonial past

crimes and foster an understanding of the silenced voices of the colonies, a postcolonial approach could be applied with this in mind. According to Gilroy (2012, 111) there are positive and negative historical experiences of how European countries dominated the world system. There are also a number of twentieth century issues bound up with Europe's post-1945 political, moral and economic settlement and in particular with the history of decolonization. Contemporary conflicts, suffering and crises can be traced to past colonial experience in many parts of the world, making history a good source of insight on the 'why' of current conflicts and problems.

Research for this thesis builds on the insights of authors outlined above. It specifically embraces post-colonial sociology as a cosmopolitan social science which differs from universalist social science in the sense that it is not based on something supposedly general, but on global variability, global interconnections, entanglements, hybrids and global intercommunication. A postcolonial cosmopolitan sociology does not take given global trends as a single unit, or assume universal generalisations, common symbols or a singular consciousness that can be applied evenly across context. Rather, post-colonial cosmopolitan sociology conceptualises and analyses a multiplicity of global generations, which appear as a set of interwoven features. The relations that emerge between these features are no longer to be seen in terms of a polar star radiating from the North Atlantic segment of the globe, but as something in a wider spectrum of possible interactions amongst several modernities (Harding, 2008, 173; Bhambra, 2014, 19). Sociological knowledge is believed to have an instrumental relation to this world and can be applied to understand it in all of its variety. The findings of such knowledge cannot just be applied to an inert subject matter but must be filtered through the self-understandings of social agents on the ground (in this case host community members, IDPs and stakeholders) (Akena, 2012; Go, 2013).

A postcolonial cosmopolitan sociology, such as that promoted through this research, advocates for a more situated perspective on migration trends, one that is both historically informed and contextually sensitive in its account of the multiple factors, exchanges, entanglement, and conflicts that contribute to growing levels of displacement. This perspective employs both a humanitarian understanding of the reality and at the same time, one that recognises that displaced people are not only arriving in the host community as liabilities, but they are also coming in with sociocultural and economic skills that stand to better the collective

lives of the community including those that play host to them. Mariani, Rosati, Scaramozzino, & d'Errico, (2023, 4) in discussing the Ugandan refugee crisis posit that.

'Large number of refugees are hosted in low-income countries, where they remain for a long time. This has raised concerns about how the refugee communities could support themselves in the long run, especially as aid from national and, particularly, international organizations are far from sufficient and, as time passes, attention tends to be diverted to new emergency situations. It is therefore necessary to assess to what extent the integration of refugees with the local community might lead to the development of economic activities that will facilitate the long-term livelihood of the refugees, and this should happen without harming and possibly benefiting local communities in order to avoid tensions. One possible mechanism through which the presence of refugees might generate (at least partly) a self-sustaining economic environment is through the interactions with the local community contributing craft skills and other talents that generate new social interactions and development of opportunities leading to the expansion and diversification of community activities that their interaction with the local community, generates incentives and leads to an expansion and diversification of economic activities'.

2.7 Postcolonial Sociology Speaks Back to Mainstream Sociology

From the hyperglobalist perspective, globalisation is a widely accepted social and normative truth in sociology (Raikhan, Moldakhmet, Ryskeldy & Alua, 2014; Pieterse, 2019), but when it is observed in real-life situation, its Eurocentric background is limiting with respect to sociological knowledge and critical reasoning for a number of reasons including, 1) it does not address the place of local traditions in most postcolonial communities, 2) it does not give account of the histories of colonial exploitation and the upheaval it induces, 3) the demarcation of the world into first world/third-world divide continues and reflects colonial bias and enduring influences, 4) there is a deliberate absence of an explicit acknowledgement of the impact global north has played in the present condition of the global south and, finally, 5) why these unbalanced, biased and socially unacceptable realities continue to be ignored by social scientists when defining legitimate starting points for the discussion of major social issues? These are some of the issues raised by a postcolonial sociology today and are part of the research agenda of this thesis, as explored in the discussion ahead.

Globalisation, in its early days of conceptualization, presented a ray of hope that people from the global south were going to benefit from the world's resources through its transnational trade, global cooperation which, in turn, would pull people out of poverty and backward thinking. This was fuelled by a neoclassical equilibrium theory with the understanding that more money would go to developing countries, and the rate of economic return would supposedly be higher than in domestic markets. As time passed, it became increasingly clear that these assumptions were largely false (Rodney, 2018). What emerged instead was the flow of wealth and resources out of developing countries, further widening the poverty gap, and destroying the long-established traditional structures that have supported local communities in the past (Jovanović, 2010). In most cases the western approach to development, problem-solving, and peace in most postcolonial states have aggravated these problems because of insufficient understanding of the locals. Often issues are treated with an outsider's perspective and NATOs intervention in Libya is a strong example of this (Kuperman, 2013).

Mlambo, (2006) observes that the problem with western presentations of knowledge is that when knowledge is produced in a place, the power dynamics, social influence, and mentality of the place follows the conceptual framing of that knowledge and its application to a social setting that is completely different and might not yield the same result as the place where this knowledge was initially produced. It is, therefore, important to localise ideologies of development, or humanitarian intervention before implementing them. This means that a more accurate and effective account of displacement, for instance in an African society must be developed in ways informed by the lived experiences of the displaced.

Globalisation continues to be portrayed in much of the sociological literature as a process of social homogenisation (Bauman, 2017), but a postcolonial cosmopolitan perspective, such as that adopted here, also accounts for how globalisation erodes traditional culture and political autonomy. For instance, in many African communities, globalisation has increased levels of social inequalities (Martin & Schumann, 1997) and has perpetually created tensions between communities and states (Uys, 2021). This is clearly seen in the level of corruption endemic in the western democratic system that was introduced to most African states, a system that has given politicians an opportunity to embezzle public wealth and live in great wealth and affluence while the masses wallow in abject poverty and suffering (Ogundiya, 2009; Owoye, & Bissessar, 2013).

When hyperglobalists argue that the particularities of a society (Eisenstadt, 2002), the retention of nation-states (Mann 1997) or local, traditional civilizations (Huntington, 1998) is a problem, they often forget how true modernity implies multiple modernities unique to every people and society (Eisenstadt, 2002). Our world is more a clash of multiple civilisations than a blending into one model. Globalisation theory, in its intellectual arrogance, is deprived of understanding of this connected treasure and presents Western civilisation as the mother of all civilisations (Huntington 1998), and on that basis presumes that western solutions or approaches to social issues are the most effective and reliable. This presumption has made IDP camps a common feature of most African states even though their capacity to address the pressing needs of the displaced or those of host communities is limited.

The 1648 Treaty of Westphalia designed a state system on the twin principles of territoriality and sovereignty. Sovereignty accords the state's unquestionable but legitimate control over the state and polity, and power to decide the future and fate of the people. Globalisation through multinational cooperation has reduced this power, especially in Africa where transnational corporations dominate the economy of these states and indirectly undermine the people's freedom and sovereignty. The result is political independence with economic dependency (Litonjua, 2012; Omeje, 2017). In another light, Durkheim's realist perspective of social realism where he held that collective and structured systems run the social and public life of the society (Chaffee, 2009) may not fit well into a postcolonial Nigerian society that is still trying to recover from the western colonial influence that was built on principles of exploitation and extractivism where objective social relations existed outside the locals with the locals constrained to submit to these foreign structures without questioning their validity (Morrison, 2006). Dowden (1993, 607) commenting on democracy as an inherited ideology of governance in Africa posits that since independence power in Africa had evolved round individuals who often ignore their state's constitutions to follow an inherited apparati of the colonial states of domination and control for their own end. Dowden thinks that had Africans struggled over a long period against a repressive imperialist power, they could have forged an appropriate ideology and developed a constitution based upon it that best suits their situation and reality. As it happened the countries, the state machinery, and the ill-fitting borders were suddenly put into the hands of African nationalists. The one element of colonial inheritance which they seized with both hands was the centralized state and its enforcing agencies. These were some of the colonial legacies and structures that made colonial rule

possible in Nigeria and other colonial territories, a sociology of condescension (Mbembe, 2019, 241).

Postcolonial sociology speaking back to mainstream sociology critiques Beck (2014) who identifies climate change as a global concern and emergency that demands a cosmopolitan mitigation effort. When Western sociologists talk about global risk society in the light of ongoing climate change (Beck, 2014), it is interpreted from a privileged vantage point that is often insensitive to the millions at the cold face of climate disaster living in abject poverty in the global south. These are people who, through no fault of their own, have fallen victim to the 'unintended consequences' of global capitalist expansion, consequences that continue to secure the further impoverishment of the global south. How open and inclusive are the world's environmental and economic policies in terms of granting new opportunities to these people to live a life of dignity and sustainability (Nyiwul, 2019). Some nations in the global north are outsourcing high carbon production to poorer countries to have a low carbon emissions record. They are at the same time the nations with the highest level of plastic and food waste (Pittock, 2013,283), thereby reinforcing historical relations of exploitation and inequality between world regions.

Mainstream sociology remains predominantly western in its focus and ideological preference. It must, therefore, be encouraged to accommodate differences in a manner it has not to date and embrace postcolonialism's call for a connected sociological research agenda (Jalata, 2012, Bhambra, 2014; Mbembe, 2019). Bhambra, (2014, 117) in her book "connected sociology' posits that contemporary society and her normative structures and systems cannot be properly understood without factoring in understanding of postcolonial societies whose world and reality have not been part of mainstream social discourse.

These new considerations should encourage a rethinking of relevant research for social sciences. Postcolonial sociology recognises other facets of society (African, Asian, Middle Eastern) that have always been the building blocks of the contemporary social world but were not explicitly recognised in the past. Bhambra (2014, iv) posits this succinctly by saying 'connected sociology bears a special responsibility in providing the intellectual compass in challenging and engaging sociology'. For Bhambra, sociology has remained a fragmented discipline because there's still a sense in which western sociology has remained hegemonic and continues to be indifferent to dissident and peripheral voices. Sociologists from the rest of

the world are simply not connected with colleagues in the West as equal epistemic communities (Bhambra, 2014, iv).

The absence of postcolonial sociological thought from mainstream sociology gives sociology a weak footing in Nigeria because Nigerian civilisation and understanding of society is principally developed along sociocultural and mythological beliefs (Luyaluka, 2016) expressed for instance in the millions of undocumented stories of slave trade, colonialism and neoliberal extractivism. In an effort to correct this deficiency, my research adopts a biographical method in data collection and analysis to analyse the micro-contexts of displacement and better understand how the social facts of displacement, IDPs and their accommodation by the state in local camps in northern Nigeria are shaped by lived experience of global, national and local forces of change and historical continuities.

Nigerian civilisation does not have the same kind of chronological development that has marked Western civilisation (ancient, medieval/enlightenment, modern and contemporary civilisation) (Straumann, 2008) due mainly to the fact that the Nigerian civilisation process has been truncated by external influences of diverse origin, including religious missionaries. Islamic merchants in the 12th century from Senegal and North Africa which introduced Islam to Northern Nigeria and their Christian counterpart from Portugal who introduced Christianity in the 15th century in southern Nigeria (Ogunbado, 2012, 53-54). According to Ogunbado, (2012), merchants came to Nigeria primarily for reasons of trade and did so at a time when different ethnic groups, kingdoms and chiefdoms had their religious beliefs and practices but were either forced or lured into accepting the religions and cultural values of their oppressors. For instance, the missionary activities of Catholics Missionaries which started in Benin in 1515 saw the establishment of schools for converted princes and children of notable chiefs in Oba's palace (Ogunbado, 2012, 54).

Trans-Saharan slave trade obstructed the civilisation of most communities especially in northern Nigeria where slaves were taken through the desert or through the Mediterranean into mainly Islamic countries around Egypt and North Africa (Wright, 2007). This was happening simultaneously with the trans-Atlantic slave trade with southern Nigeria as a departure port for slaves for the Caribbean, Brazil and United State of America. These experiences along with episodes of colonial domination and neo-colonialism domination (also in the form of punitive IMF policies and multinational trade agreements) shape Nigeria's current reality (Killick, 2003; Abbott, Andersen & Tarp, 2010). Collectively, these harms contribute to ongoing

problems experienced by Nigeria including high levels of inequality, political instability, poverty, displacement, and conflicts. As a case study, Nigeria, offers many rich insights on the question of why a postcolonial cosmopolitan sociological perspective on forced migration and displacement is needed and, indeed, how these issues can be understood better from a situated sociological perspective that addresses issues of bias and ideological imperialism, as well the influence of a series of a connected historical development, which continue to impose their imprint on the reasoning of the postcolonial sociological imagination.

CHAPTER THREE

COLONIALISM AND DISPLACEMENT IN AFRICA (NIGERIA)

3.0 Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief discussion on the history of colonialism in Nigeria to paint a picture of its colonial past and how this past contributes to the problem of displacement in the present. According to the Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) and assessments by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM October 2024), the states most affected by displacement in Nigeria are Adamawa, Benue, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Sokoto, Kaduna, Plateau, Nasarawa, Kano, Zamfara, Katsina, Taraba and Yobe (IOM, 2024). The leading international body monitoring conflict-induced internal displacement worldwide (The Norwegian Refugee Council/Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (NRC/IDMC), Switzerland (2009) in a specific study of the Nigerian situation, argued that internal displacement caused by both communal violence and internal armed conflict is a recurrent phenomenon in most states in Nigeria.

Neoliberal economic policies also force people of African descent into migration either at the international or local level. The analysis below offers a more situated African perspective on displacement and assesses the relevance of sociological theory from the lived experience of the displaced. This discussion aims to contribute to a broader historically informed sociological account of issues of exploitation and wrongdoing as explanations for the current realities of mobility and displacement. It notes how the push factors of displacement and migration has been shaped heavily by colonial histories in the present Nigerian society. Doing so, it criticises sociological perspectives that tend to take account only of immediate factors. For instance, accounts of the economic motives for extractivism that do not consider how the norms of and justification for extractivism are grounded in histories of colonialism. By exploring push factors contributing to displacement from the perspective of the dispossessed, this research seeks to advance the value of a post-colonial, connected sociological approach (Bhambra, 2014) to this problem.

3.1 Colonialism in Nigeria

The story of Nigeria's colonial past can be traced as far back as 1861 when Britain annexed Lagos, and in 1903 when British imperial rule gained a stronghold over the territory known as Nigeria today although at this time Nigeria was still two major separate entities of northern and southern protectorate. These two entities had other independent communities of

different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. While the north, was largely Muslim and Hausa/Fulani speaking ethnic contractions, she had an administrative structure built around the Sokoto caliphate with emirs ruling different regions. The West of Nigeria on the other hand was predominantly Yoruba with kings and chiefs ruling various communities and chiefdoms like Ijebu, Ibadan, Ijaye and the Egba. The Eastern region with largely Igbo people who were ruled by independent village groups. There were also about 250 other minority ethnic group like the Edo, Urhobo Ibibio, Efik, Kanuri, Chamber, Berom, Ijo etc found within these two regions (Obi-Ani, Obi-Ani, & Isiani, 2016). Nigeria today is made up over 300 ethnic groups, and over 1000 dialects, who practiced several religions, with different cultures and histories (Adegbami, & Uche, 2015).

These two entities would eventually be amalgamated as one state in 1914 under the rule of Sir Donald Fredrick Lugard (Ojo, 2014). From 1914 onwards, the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates of Nigeria's territories, cultural traditions, human and natural resources, together with its political system, were recklessly exploited, rewritten, and changed to suit the colonial master's plan and agenda of extractivism (Chimee, 2014). The history of Nigeria today is a history of how the country has over the years tried to integrate and continue the 1914 amalgamation of two communities that before 1914 had shared little or nothing in common politically, religiously and culturally except their humanity and Africanness. It is because of this that the socio-political and religious divide between the south and the north is still very much visible and remains the basis on which most religious and political tensions exist in Nigeria (Ayatse, & Akuva, 2013).

Finding a Nigeria that was divided along religion, culture and ethnic lines, the British colonisers adopted a policy of indirect rule for the administration of this amalgamated colony. The policy of indirect rule was basically a strategy where traditional rulers in the south and emirs in the north were delegated to rule certain territories in the colony (Ojo, 2014). This policy didn't work well in the southeast (Richardson, 2019), as there had never been a centralized structure in the territory. In addition, there were complications in the north as Lord Frederick Lugard, in creating the Northern province created a province that existed more in writing than in reality (Apata, 1990). This complication was created because there was no prior thorough study and understanding of the customs and the indigenous administrative system that existed prior to the amalgamation. This created serious problems as ethnic groups found themselves in conflicting provinces from a sociocultural perspective (Apata, 1990; Dudley, 2013). Indeed, this problem continues to exist today in current IDP camp settings, for instance,

where people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds are forced to share a space with no prior understanding of the impact these circumstances will have on their safety. Postcolonial Nigeria is, in essence, a society created historically by colonizers. Boko Haram, the Islamic extremist group responsible for most of the displacement that occurs across the nation today, emerged initially in reaction to this legacy of colonial destruction. They have made repeated claims that northern Nigeria is an Islamic territory and should be allowed to practice only sharia law because that was the law of the territory before the amalgamation of 1914 by British colonisers (Walker, 2012; Iyekekpolo, 2016).

Adeyeri & Adejuwon (2012, 1) capture the impact of colonial rule on Nigeria aptly when they observe how colonial rule did not give rise to a benevolent political system in Nigeria. The colonial record in Nigeria created a more negative heritage than a positive one. Colonial rule left behind a dysfunctional bureaucracy, a rudimentary educational system, albeit an externally oriented one, and a society divided along ethnic and regional lines. British colonial agricultural and industrial policies in Nigeria in particular greatly inhibited the country's economic advancement. Colonial economic policies for instance, actively discouraged the flourishing of indigenous home-grown industries and promoted the exportation of crops and raw materials to service mainly British factories. It also served as the trading hub for Britain and other European merchants, supporting the importation of end-products, providing Britain with a much-desired outlet for the sale of its manufactured products starving off declining domestic consumption and falling profit rates at home. An examination of the Nigerian problems of displacement and conflict today requires that the failures of the colonial system be acknowledged and its negative influence over the years, even after the political independence of Nigeria, be recognized.

3.2 The Nigerian Experience of Displacement and IDP Camps in Nigeria

Nigeria is home to over 229 million people today, with life expectancy of 56 years and primary school enrolment rate of 86% (UNICEF, 2024). Nigeria's gross domestic product (GDP) stands at about 27.36 trillion US dollars with about 88.4 million people living below poverty line (World Bank, 2022). The national average poverty rate is 38.8% and unemployment stands at 33.3% (AfDB, 2022). Nigeria covers a land mass of about 923,768 km2 with agriculture being the lifeline of the country's economy, providing livelihood sources to most of its citizens despite the available oil reserves Nigeria in 2018 was known as the global poverty capital of the world though recently it was overtaken by India (NBS., 2020). The ratio

of different sectors' contribution to the total GDP are agriculture (23.69%), industry (30.78%), and other services (44.04%) (NBS, 2022). Nigeria run a three-tier system of government, and it is made up of 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory: 774 local government areas are at the lowest level of government, and they are all divided into six geopolitical zones.

The reality of forced displacement is a nationwide concern in Nigeria to varying degrees in the six geopolitical zones. Displacement is however experienced the most in the northeast geopolitical zone comprising of Taraba, Adamawa, Bauchi, Yobe, Gombe and Borno states. Most of the displaced persons are from these states with Borno state as the epicentre and headquarters of Boko Haram. This northeast geopolitical zone shares international boundaries with Cameroon, Niger and Chad Republic, and it is clear that there are also IDPs in these neighbouring countries as new members are often recruited from these neighbouring counties to join this terrorist ground and its religious agenda.

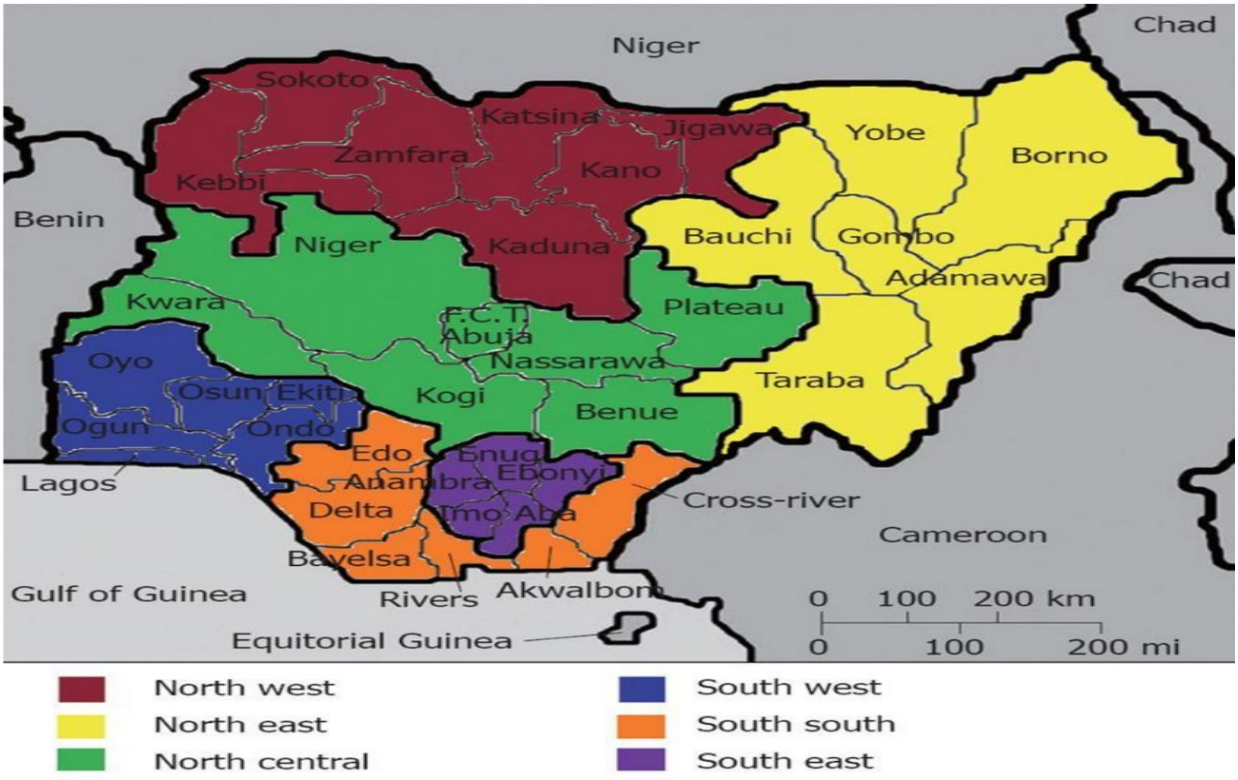


Figure 3.1 Map of Nigeria showing 36 states and 6 geopolitical zone Source: Ogah et al (2012)

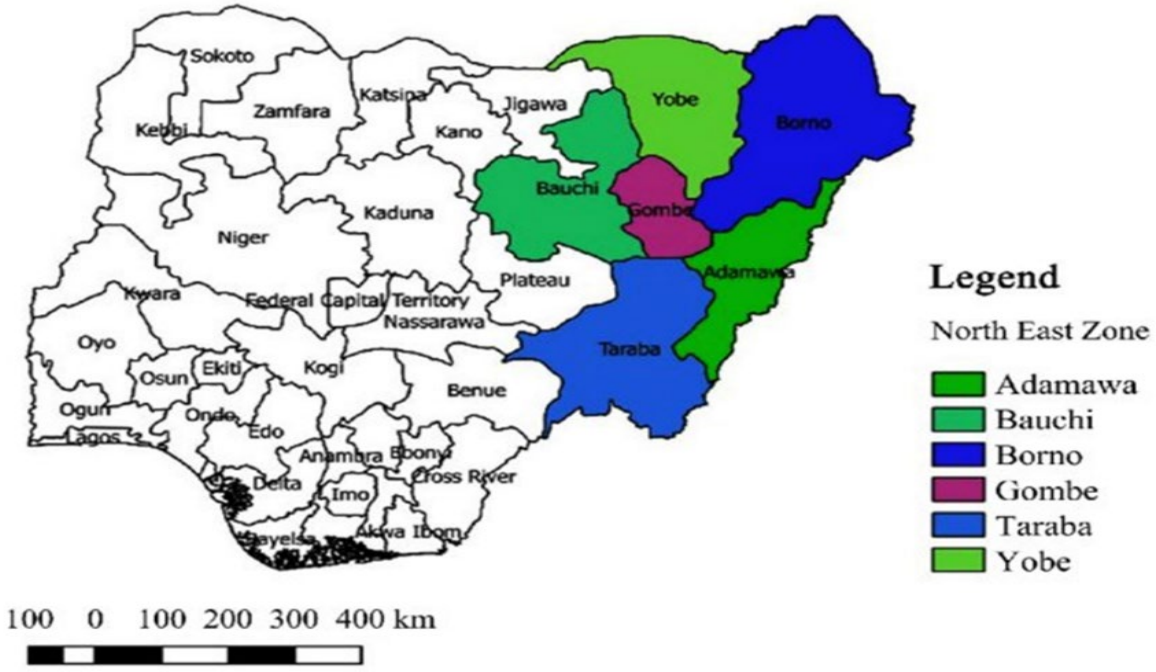


Figure 3. 2 Map of Nigeria highlighting the Northeastern states. Source: Mpazanje and Audu (2019)

Table 3. 1 Northeastern Nigerian states and the current number of displacements

State	Local Government Areas (LGAs)	Total Number of IDPs	IDP %
Adamawa	21	220,886	10%
Bauchi	20	66.291	3%
Borno	22	1.640,408	75%
Gombe	11	47,204	2%
Taraba	16	71,667	3%
Yobe	17	151,366	7%
Grand Total	**107**	**2,197,824**	**100%**

Source: Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) 2022.

3.3 The Historical Emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria

Since 2000, Nigeria has battled the rise and spread of Boko Haram, a terrorist group rated the fourth deadliest militia group in the world. This group has killed over 20,000 people and displaced more than two million people in the name of religion (Thurston, 2018). Nigerian society has become increasingly polarised along religious lines especially as the global reach of this religion-inspired global terror networks expands (Alao, 2013; Suleiman, 2016). Like other terrorist organisations today, the Boko Haram operates on the colonial principle of territorial expansion through conquest and control (Castles, 1998; Doukhan, 2013; Czaika, & De Haas, 2014; Thurston, 2017; Thurston, 2018) in the same manner as the colonial masters transversed the entire world, creating colonies and dispossessing communities of their lands, traditions, and natural resources (Politis & Gollán, 2004). Terrorist groups like `Boko Haram use the same strategy to globalise their operations and influence as those of imperial powers allowing a western homogenisation to thrive (Merry, 2003; Paranjpe, 2006).

In 2009, Boko Haram was established with a name that translates as 'Western Education is Evil or forbidden'. Its Arabic equivalent is Jama'atu Ahl As-Sunnah Li-Da'await wal-Jihad. This group was founded By Mohammed Yusuf in 2009 with the sole aim of establishing an Islamic caliphate in Northeast Nigeria. Mohammed Yusuf was born on 29th January 1970 in Girgir village, in Yobe State. He was a secondary school dropout with oratorical skills and charisma. He had four wives and 12 children. Having dropped out from secondary school in his early age, he settled for Quranic education in Chad and Niger Republic (Salaam, 2013). During these years of his study, he developed his radical ideologies which were propagated in the early 1990s, when he joined the Islamic Movement of Nigeria, an Islamic Shiiate movement with Late Ibrahim El-Zakzakky as its leader (Salaam, 2013). The Boko Haram ideology came into fruition when Yusuf finally joined an Islamic group known as Ahlulsunna wal'jama'ah hijra or Shabaab. In 2002 he became the leader of this group and began to teach that Western education and civilisation is evil. With this teaching, the group became popular with the name 'Boko Haram' (Salaam, 2013).

Mohammed Yusuf's message found wide acceptance amongst vulnerable youths who were already tired of corrupt politicians, widespread unemployment, social uncertainty arising from excruciating poverty, and rising costs of living. This acceptance, along with funds coming from international terror groups, propelled Boko Haram to take off like a wildfire engulfing

every village and community in North-Eastern Nigeria. Boko Haram's primary targets were government agencies and targets including police personnel, police stations, soldiers, military barracks, and security checkpoints. This same year Mohammed Yusuf was arrested and controversially killed by the police on 30th July 2009. In 2010, Abubakar Shekau emerged as the new leader of Boko Haram. He began with a new and brutal strategy of attacking not only government facilities but more importantly Christians and non-Muslims communities. Through this strategy Boko Haram advanced into other parts of the country including Yobe, Adamawa, Taraba, Plateau and Bauchi states with Borno state as its stronghold. In 2010, high levels of armed displacement led to the creation of 16 IDP camps in Maiduguri town and 16 IDP camps outside Maiduguri in other states of Yobe, Adamawa, Taraba, Benue, and Abuja. From 2011 to 2013, the government made a concerted effort to decimate Boko Haram in most cities in Nigeria which forced them to relocate into mainly rural communities. Since August 2011 Boko Haram assumed a vicious approach to this agenda by planting bombs almost weekly in public or in churches in northern Nigeria. In March 2012, the group also broadened its targets and reverted into burning down public schools. Twelve public schools were burned down in Maiduguri leaving more than 10,000 pupils out of school (Walker, 2012). The government's response to this group was brutal and counterproductive as meaningful dialogue between the government and the group seemed impossible because the group's cell-like structure is open to factions and has no guarantee that someone speaking for the group is speaking for all. Government reliance on extrajudicial execution as a tactic in "dealing" with Boko Haram is what has sustained and expanded the movement to what it is today (Walker, 2012, Kendhammer & McCain, 2018).

In these rural communities Boko Haram recruited and radicalised more people. This led to more sophisticated attacks on Christian villages and moderate Islamic communities in Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Taraba, Benue, Gombe, Bauchi, and Plateau states. Between 2011 to 2013 most IDP camps were effectively managed and IDPs were happy with the camp as their living space and what was provided for them. This was because NGOs were new in Nigeria and the numbers of IDPs were relatively small and manageable. Integration of IDPs into the host community was easy as IDPs enjoyed public sympathy and were easily accepted by most people from the host communities. This high incidence of integration generated a growing trend of new forms of social and cultural interactions between the IDPs and host communities.

2014 and 2015 was a peak time for Boko Haram insurgency with daily attacks on all public facilities, rural communities, churches, mosques, schools, police stations and military

barracks. There was a widespread murder, abduction, sexual violence, forced labour, forced conscription of children, looting, and burning of public buildings, and property. This time was also a time of great trauma for survivors, sexual exploitation of young girls and women, rising level of commercial sex workers amongst the IDPs, and stigmatisation. The climax of these attacks came with the abduction of the 276 Chibok girls on 14th April 2014 (Amnesty International, 2014). In 2015, Boko Haram formed an alliance with Isis on 9th March 2015 making their terrorist activities more deadly and widespread both within Nigeria and neighbouring countries like Chad, Niger Republic, and Cameroon.

Due to local and international media coverage of the abducted Chibok girls, there was a heightened interest in the Nigerian story of displacement between 2015-2018 which led to many International NGOs to come into Borno state. On their arrival, there was no proper plan to coordinate their intervention scheme, and this led to organisations competing on the choice of IDP camps to cover or the nature of intervention they could take. The international and local media reporting also pressured the Nigerian government who intensified its effort to bring Boko Haram activities to an end. This effort yielded good results as some initially held territories by BH terrorists were recovered in Adamawa, Yobe and Borno state.

Historically, Boko Haram itself appeared at a time of extreme political and religious tension as some state's governors from the northern part of the country endorsing and introducing sharia law within their states around this time for political gains. Religious extremism has always been part of the Nigeria society especially in Northern Nigeria where Islam has existed for over three centuries (MacEachern, 2018). Walker (2012,1) in his book *Who is Boko Haram?* summarily described Boko Haram as an Islamic sect that believes politics in northern Nigeria has been seized by a group of corrupt, false Muslims and they want to wage war against these corrupt Muslims, and the Nigerian government to create a "pure" Islamic state ruled by sharia law.

Victims of the terrorist activities of Boko Haram are forced to live in IDP camps scattered across the country. These camps are still not safe as Boko Haram members continue to unleash their terror on these camps. According to Olawale (2016) IDPs in Nigeria suffer disproportionately from different problems such as malnutrition, sickness, insecurity in the camps, lack of access to education and idleness. These issues inhibit the effective integration of IDPs into Nigerian society. One major concern of the IDPs is the insufficient understanding of the rights of IDPs as set out in the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement,

reinforced further by the Kampala Convention for Africa (Organisation of African Unity 1969). These rights include the right to life, freedom of movement, association, dignity of human person, personal liberty, right to private and family life etc. IDPs have suffered in many quarters a violation of these rights (Alobo, et al, 2016). Insecurity in IDP camps has also hampered the rehabilitation of IDPs in Nigeria. According to Olawale (2016) in September 2015, Boko Haram, in a suicide mission, attacked an IDP Camp in Madagali and Yola, killing 12 people. In one of the attacks, bombs were reported to have been detonated inside a tent in the camp. This result from insufficient security personnel making the IDP camps vulnerable to attacks from terrorists and armed robbers. Similarly, Ogundamisi (2015) opined that most camps are unguarded and some of the camps are located near terrorist's strongholds like the camp in Dalori which is close to the primary hideout of Boko Haram in the Sambisa Forest.

Alobo and Obaji (2016) show how some IDPs live in churches, mosques, town halls, and abandoned and uncompleted buildings etc. Many of these shelters are not provided by the government but by individual's and NGOs. They are often overcrowded with no toilet facilities, especially for women. There is often no proper waste management or electricity available. This explains the regularity of epidemics arising in camps due to lack of hygiene. Furthermore, Olawale (2016) opines that in February 2016, IDPs in Gwoza were evacuated, even though many of the IDPs had no place to go. Similarly, Omisigunda (2015) states that the camps are overcrowded, and the living conditions are atrocious, unhealthy, and dangerous. Stories abound that many IDPs leave the camp because of being susceptible to attack from Boko Haram, indicating how they would rather risk their lives outside of the displacement camp than endure hardship and humiliation inside the camp.

In February 2016; the news reported that 450 internally displaced persons had died of malnutrition (Olawale, 2016). Ogundamisi (2015) similarly notes how malnutrition in both adults and children is an occurring reality, with children most severely affected. Many children are brought to the camp with physical and mental health conditions and worrying signs of malnutrition. These signs and symptoms are noted by UNICEF in a 2015 report entitled 'Missing Childhoods'. The report stated that children in the camps showed an 18-level threshold of malnutrition, above the globally recognised emergency threshold of 15. This situation is further exacerbated by health problems including malaria, typhoid, cholera, and high blood pressure arising from the ill-equipped and unhygienic camps. Polio and measles are still endemic and a major public health concern for children. Many ailments are undiagnosed as no health checks are carried out in some camps. Alobo and Obaji (2016) elucidated that

camp life is severe because access to health care in most of northeast Nigeria is difficult as most health facilities have been destroyed by Boko Haram and health workers are typically either kidnapped or killed, provoking fear amongst many. The outbreak of disease has increased in areas notably affected by displacement. There is also a lack of access to vaccinations. The number of cholera cases among IDPs is on the increase. More ailments are undiagnosed as there is no regular health checks carried out in unofficial camps. There are also reports of women arriving pregnant, traumatised, and depressed after enduring months of rape from the terrorist group members. Men who are lucky to have survived have nothing but their shattered selves. Interventions from federal and state governments, and other international organisations seem inadequate as measured by the poor state of affected IDPs.

To combat all these problems, more detailed studies of the conditions endured by IDPs in camps in Nigeria is required. statistical measurement is required to improve the strategy, design and implementation of a support system that improves the plight of IDPs. This would help in planning a more effective intervention. In Nigeria, reliable data is lacking in this regard. This constitutes one key constraint that undermines an effective system of protection of IDPs in Nigeria. The capacity to gather relevant data is potentially inefficient due to poor communication, transportation networks and inadequate medical and social support services. Most of the IDPs are uprooted away from their homes and displaced in areas that are not easily accessible. The National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons and National Emergency Management Agency, by virtue of their enabling statutes collate data on IDPs in Nigeria without any agreeable standards in terms of methodology. Therefore, collected data is sometimes questionable, inaccurate, and misleading. For example, after many years, the National Refugee Commission publicly released an estimated figure of 1.5 million persons as internally displaced due to internal crises in Nigeria. This figure is not reliable because it lacks details of gender, age, and place of origin of the IDPs (Shedrack et al, 2016, Fransen, & De Haas, 2022). The cumulative effect of the above developments leads to a continued distortion of the true picture of displacement and understanding of the severity of the problem of internal displacement in Nigeria and undermines already compromised interventions on the part of national authorities and international communities.

Furthermore, there are also challenges that are tied to the lack of well-equipped IDP camps. Consequently, whenever there is an emergency resulting in the displacement of people; victims are hurriedly relocated to available public infrastructures like schools, large conference halls and stadiums on a temporary basis. At the early stages when these people are relocated,

this policy is acceptable to host communities but when factors responsible for the displacement take longer to resolve, long-term stays in camps become a source of tension creating social and communal conflict between the displaced in camps and the members of the host communities whose facilities were used without prior orientation or request (Olukolajo et al, 2014). Agamben, an Italian philosopher known for his work on biopolitics had some years back acknowledged that camps have become a permanent, not a temporary feature of modern social life and a tool used by states to continue to practice acts of exclusion (Agamben, 1997). This idea resonates with the experience of IDPs in Nigeria where these people have been alienated from their own territories within the state and now depend on what is offered to them in the way of support (Eweka & Olusegun, 2016; Alobo & Obaji, 2016; Njiru, 2018). In this sense, IDPs are reduced to 'bare life' in Nigeria.

Even though Nigeria has been struggling with the issue of displacement for many years, there are no permanent IDP camps in Nigeria. For example, in the IOM Round IX Reports (2016), it was reported that out of the 97 IDPs sites in Nigeria's northeastern States of Adamawa, Borno, Taraba and Yobe assessed by the IOM team (i.e., NEMA, IOM and Nigerian Red Cross Society), twenty-two are located in open air settlements described as IDP camps, seventy-three are in collective settlements (pre-existing structures) such as public schools and government buildings, while the remaining two sites are transitional centre which only provide transient accommodation to IDPs (Shedrack et al, 2016). This situation removes any assurance that durable solutions in the form of return, resettlement and rehabilitation can be achieved for IDPs whose numbers and identities are not ascertained. Another concern is that a large proportion of IDPs in Nigeria reside with families and friends who are members of host communities. The situation is further confounded by the fact that in Nigeria there is no specific planned housing development projects for vulnerable populations such as IDPs or returnees. The lack of a functioning legal and policy framework and support services for the protection of IDPs (Adam 2009; Hanafi & Long 2010) is of major concern.

Corruption has been adjudged as one of the major challenges hindering the rehabilitation of IDPs in Nigeria. According to Ogundamisi (2015), funds meant for caring for IDPs are regularly redirected, embezzled, or used for personal gains. The other side of the problem according to Alobo and Obaji (2016) is that presently, Nigeria has no legislation that deals explicitly with IDPs and there is no specific institution equipped to handle matters relating to IDPs. All these problems make the challenge of caring for IDPs more difficult and haphazard.

3.4 A postcolonial sociology of displacement in Africa

As Mbembe (2021, 4) observes, decolonisation entails a quest for a future that will not be written in advance, a future that would mix received and inherited traditions with interpretation, experimentation, and a new understanding of human possibility. This is an understanding that sees western claims to epitomise the language and forms in which any human event could arise only as fiction and proposes instead a more situated perspective that takes the histories, lived experiences and worldviews of local communities seriously.

According to Bhambra (2014), a connected sociology as a decolonised sociology, is about the disciplinary formation of sociology and how that formation understands and presents the world at the academic level. It also addresses the historical narratives that inform sociological conceptions of the contemporary world order and argues for inclusion, including that of modernisation theory which simplifies and reduces the development process to that of industrialization and modernity as simply exemplified by the Western industrialised capitalist order. This understanding has facilitated the establishment and expansion of transnational and multinational economic structures that continue to exploit local communities and ignore the traditional values and practices that have sustained these communities for centuries. What Bhambra (2014) describes as a connected sociology offers a more insightful approach to the study of displacement in Africa and in keeping with what Mahatma Gandhi of India would say 'whatever you do for me without me is not for me' (Gandhi, 2012). A postcolonial approach to displacement in Nigeria demands that the sociocultural dynamics of local communities is understood and taken on board as solutions are proffered to the reality (Benhabib, 2008; Brendon & Hirotaka, 2018). The Dadaab camp in Kenya for instance is one of the largest refugee camps in the world with an estimated population of 232,903 people. This is a place where people are born and live to become grandparents while remaining in the same place (UNHCR, 2019; D'Orsi 2019). This prolonged settlement has over the years created new forms of interaction between the host community and the displaced people. Understanding such dynamics at close range is key to a connected decolonial approach to displacement.

Nigeria's history and postcolonial experiences make her situation unique. Starting from the African epistemology that sees knowledge as a product of the community, the community is seen as the prime custodian of the truth, and everyone submits to its control. This understanding was however, eroded because of the western lifestyle of modernity and knowledge acquisition that was objectified and universalised. Consequently, any non-

conforming knowledge was deemed unworthy of scholarship. This has persisted to the extent that knowledge generation in Africa remains western oriented and that non-Africans as well as some Africans, dismiss the African-oriented epistemology of storytelling, wise sayings, and proverbs as being unscientific and delusory (Museveni & Appiah, 2005; Ani, 2013). The research presented here makes an effort towards recovering that African patrimony of knowledge generation, which is often holistic, intuitive, experiential, religious and mythological. African indigenous knowledge continues to have a profound and meaningful bearing on Africans (Swanson, 2007).

In another light the western presentation of global risk society presents issues that might not be experienced in many African communities' issues like nuclear risks and industrial pollution. Some communities in Africa might be victims of climate change by extension and not because of direct acts of the people. This places them in a completely different sphere with respect to looking and responding to climate change impact, including mass displacement, in a non-western way. Especially in an Africa where community life and family's ties are social value with hospitality as a duty (Seehawer, 2018).

3.5 Enduring Exploitation and External Interference

The decolonisation of Africa which began in the 1950s and 1960s was widely seen as an opportunity for the continent to realise its human, economic and political potentials. Independence had been spurred on by repeated demands for self-governance by leading African nationalists (Adi, 2000) across Africa. For the first time in more than a century, Africans once again had control of their resource-rich continent but within just twenty years after independence, several African countries encountered severe economic complications. Africa's principal development partner, the World Bank, alongside its partner organisation the International Monetary Fund (IMF), stepped in to supply loans to cash-strapped African economies through Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) (Poku, 2005; Sitas, 2014) but the SAPs – and the programme's specific emphasis on neoliberal reform - would further disintegrate Africa's economic capabilities, and entrench poverty even more throughout Africa's region (Rodney, 2014).

The African educational system and epistemology, to a great extent, is still tied to Western structures and understandings of reality, sidelining the continent's traditional approaches to knowledge generation (Capucine, Cohen & Grosfoguel. 2012). It is pertinent to note in migration studies how the western economy and epistemology have continued to

reshape and formulate sociology in Africa, and the research here attempts to depart from this on the IDP camp setting. Tuck and Yang, (2021) observe that as much as colonies must be decolonised for a postcolonial understanding, it should be noted that decolonisation is not a metaphor that has come to replace everything western. Rather, it reflects an effort to promote a connected sociology in which a strand of western reality is not presented as a whole of global reality (Bhambra, 2014).

It should be noted that many African economies had originally performed relatively well after independence especially in the 1960s where gross domestic product (GDP) and exports grew at rates comparable to other main developing regions at the time, and even better than South Asian countries (Poku, 2017). Policies aimed at stimulating economic growth on the continent have since waned due to western interventions, global debt and wider capitalist interests.

Economic growth was short-lived chiefly due to the tightening grip of neoliberal policies championing an opening up of markets to global capital, spearheaded by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan (Guardino, 2011). Add to this the weaknesses of many global agendas such as implementation of the Millennium Development Goals and more recently, Sustainable Development Goals which are often set in place with no recourse to local communities' knowledge structures and traditional ways of living, making many of these goals incompatible with local interests when forcefully implemented, creating social problems that add to the likelihood of civil unrest and crime (Jaiyesimi, 2016). This is also a concern when it comes to the use of camps as a humanitarian strategy for IDPs in Borno state.

3.5.1 *Displacement in Africa*

Almost every country in Africa over the years has had their own experience of displacement (Etienne, El Hadji, Amadou & Cheikh, 2020). Even though historical experiences of slavery, colonialism and civil war have contributed heavily to levels of human displacement (Aremu, 2010), today displacement reaches unprecedented heights with 120 million displaced globally and UNHCR (2024) projects that 130 million people could be displaced globally by the end of 2024 (United Nations report October 2023). Wendy (2019) proposes that the surge in displacement seen in Africa since the mid-2010s is a function of near-term and structural factors that are exerting multiple points of pressure on African households, precipitating the decisions of most Africans to migrate either voluntarily or forcefully. This means that the surge in African displacement and irregular migration is multi-layered and incurs significant human

and security costs (Wendy, 2019). The United Nations in 2023 reported that the African displacement map is fluid and unpredictable but presently there are more than 44 million people displaced with 18 million refugees and 25 million IDPs (UNHCR, 2023). These IDPs are mainly found in Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan. These figures are alarming and show that Africa is home to more than a third of the world's conflicts and approximately 35% of all displaced persons by conflict. This displacement figure represents the accumulated effect of long, drawn-out conflicts as well as the sudden surge of displacement experienced due new crises on the continent arising from further ethno-religious conflicts, activities of global terrorist networks, post-election conflicts and civil unrest that can be trace back to the continent's colonial roots, inherited failed administrative structure and neocolonial exploitation (John, Messina, & Odumegwu, 2023).

The recent report on displacement in Africa shows that Africa is experiencing an upward surge, a recurring trend since 2011 (IOM,2022). In 2021 there were 29 million Africans displaced and by the early part of 2022 these figures had risen to 32 million people. Most of these people are either IDPs, refugees or asylum seekers (IOM, 2022). Out of the 32 million displaced persons in Africa, 24 million are IDPs. These figures have risen to 44 million displaced and 25 million IDPs (UNHCR, 2024). The big question remains: can the African continent accommodate these growing numbers of IDPs in camps as a long-term strategy or can an alternative, more durable measures to remedy this situation be found? Indeed, this question is one of the primary motivations for conducting this research–the need to find a more workable and sustainable path for Africa's growing IDP problem using an African-based sociological approach.

It is true that there is a proportional increase in the number of IDPs (25 million) in Africa as against the number of refugees (18 million) and at the global scale 120 million forcibly displaced people with 36.4 million refugees, 62.5 million IDPs and 6.1 million asylum seekers (Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR), 2024; Fransen, & De Haas, 2022). This could be attributed to more stringent policies on migration and the untold hardships encountered by migrants and refugees outside their native countries (Moore, & Shellman, 2006). Saito (2021,1) also posits that there is a resurgence of Xenophobic attacks on individuals and groups in the world and experts in 2016 warned the United Nations General Assembly of a worldwide resurgence of racism and xenophobia targeting migrants, refugees and people of African descent. Also, the UN's internal effort to control migration within states might also account for this drop of refugees and increase of IDPs (Uzonyi, 2015; Morris, 2021).

These factors along with many others have invariably caused more people to migrate within their states, making internal migration a major driver of migration in general. This geometrical increase of IDPs is one of the reasons why IDP camps have become a common way of managing the displaced (Lang, Tiede, Hölbling, Füreder & Zeil, 2010). The UN, responding to this IDP crisis, set up various provisional settlements for the displaced through the UNICEF, UNHCR and in conjunction with local/international NGOs, governmental institutions, and others. In the case of Nigeria these IDPs come mainly from the northeastern states of Adamawa (10%), Bauchi (3%), Gombe (2%), Taraba (3%), Yobe (7%) and Borno (75%). Most of these IDPs comprise mainly of women and children fleeing religious terrorist group Boko Haram. The emergency response mechanism for IDPs focuses on four key areas of child survival, water/sanitation, education, and protection (Wright, 2010). These approaches are short-term responses to humanitarian needs with no long-term plan. Academic studies and public debates have over the years focused mainly on policies of asylum and immigration in industrialised countries, thereby creating a blind spot on these problems in less industrialised contexts, including regions of Africa (Lassailly, 2010).

3.5.2 *The IDP Camps*

Internal displacement is a condition where persons or a group of persons have been forced or obliged to leave their homes and have remained within the borders of their own countries (Kaushal, 2009). IDPs are persons who have been forced or obligated to flee, their homes or places of habitual residence because of the threat of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights, or natural or man-made disasters, and who have not crossed an international border (Kampala, 2009; McHugh & Gerard 2012; UNHCR, 2018). There are cases where IDPs might have to cross into other states before returning for security reasons (Kalin, 2008). It is concerning to know that IDPs sometimes are forced to stay within their own country's borders and seek protection even from a government that might be responsible for their displacement (UNHCR, 2021). IDPs are in most cases vulnerable to human rights abuses (Adeagbo, & Iyi 2011, Odebiyi, & Elegbe, 2021). Unfortunately, they are protected only by the soft law guiding principles on internal displacement at the global level (Dauda, 2020). There are no clear-cut international laws on the protection of IDPs. They are assisted only through the UN's cluster approaches (Orchard, 2018). IDPs in most cases live in camps and most of these camps are often ad hoc in nature and not equipped for long-term stays (Emmanuelar, 2015; Tafere, 2018) making life for IDPs extremely precarious.

Even though Nigeria has been struggling with the issue of displacement for more than a decade, there are no permanent IDP camps in Nigeria. Another concern is that a large proportion of IDPs in Nigeria reside with families and friends who at times are members of the host communities. For example, 2144 locations have been identified where IDPs live amongst host community members (IOM, 2023). In the IOM Round IX Reports (2016), it was reported that out of the 97 IDPs sites in Nigeria's North Eastern States of Adamawa, Borno, Taraba and Yobe, 22 IDP camps are located in open air settlements, 73 are in collective settlements (pre-existing structures) such as public schools and government buildings, while the remaining 2 sites are transitional centres which only provides transient accommodation to IDPs (Shedrack et al, 2016; IOM, 2016). The IOM (2023) round 43 report stated that there are 2.3 million IDPs in Nigeria identified in 483,467 households. These displaced people live in 304 IDP camps and camp-like settlements. These figures demonstrate that there are many IDPs that may not have been identified or captured by these IOM reports. Furthermore, displacement is an ongoing reality in Nigeria given the raging herdsmen, Boko Haram and ethnic conflicts that are still ongoing in the country (Zubairu, 2020). The complex and extensive nature of the situation and lack of IDP identity ascertainment casts doubts on the prospect of achieving a durable solution in the form of return, resettlement and rehabilitation of IDPs. The situation is further confounded as Nigeria has no special planned housing development projects for vulnerable populations like IDPs, refugees and returnees. The lack of a functional legal framework for the protection of IDPs (Adam 2009; Hanafi & Long 2010) is of major additional concern.

The stories and experiences that arise from such an IDP setting have not been documented in most African states. It should be noted that the impact of displacement on the life of a people and the communities that host them is largely a neglected area of investigation in modern sociology (Castles, Miller, & Ammendola 2005). NGOs sometimes capitalise on stories and experiences in media reports making headlines relating to the humanitarian situation of people in these camps to elicit funds from various donor agencies and individuals, thereby turning the crisis into an exploitative economic enterprise in some regions (Wilkenson, 1997). In Nigeria, this long stay in camp often becomes an avenue for embezzlement of funds by IDP camp officials making life unbearable for IDPs.

A notable feature of reports on IDPs and IDP camps in general focuses mainly on their status, location, means of livelihood, and humanitarian needs. These issues are presented most of the time with a politicised tone that hampers stakeholders and communities finding an effective solution to the problem of displacement (Fagen, 2009). This is because parties may

agree on IDPs' humanitarian needs but often disagree on specific elements of proposed long-term solutions for political reasons. In Nigeria ethno-religious sentiments, state and local government indigene certification proves to be bone of contention. This is also an issue with the Somalian refugees in Kenya (Kumssa, Williams, Jones, & Des Marais, 2014), Italian migrants in the Italian Island of Lampedusa (Garelli, & Tazzioli 2016), and Rohingya refugees' crisis in Bangladesh (Gorlick, 2019), Palestinian refugees in Gaza Strip (Saleh, 2020). While the data globally may suggest that we now have less refugees in proportion to IDPs, the growing number of IDPs should be an issue of great concern as the numbers displaced globally reaches a crisis point. When people have not crossed an international border, it may seem from a global perspective that their displacement has not occurred or has not been reported or taken into consideration. Nonetheless, internally displaced people still pose a huge challenge to global peace and stability as their numbers increase steadily (Phuong, 2005). Adelman (2016) talking on the works of Hannah Arendt, observed that more people are displaced globally now than ever and half of the world's 'unwanted people', as he describes them, are under the age 18 and have spent most of their lives in IDP camps. The humanitarian predicament of most IDPs make their stories a sympathetic one (Smith,2007), but at international levels, IDPs housed in camps are presented as people well cared for in liveable quarters with good infrastructure. In truth, there are many untold stories of stigmatisation, suffering, trauma, and exploitation of IDPs trapped within these camps.

The Nigerian IDP camp situation is particularly severe with multiple issues and problems encountered by the IDPs. According to Ekezie (2022, 4) apart from the experience of being forcefully displaced, IDPs also face the reality of being in camps that may not be recognised by the national authorities, camps with limited access to essential resources, and lack of adequate support. Poor health condition and inadequate healthcare delivery which IDPs associate some of these health conditions with the high volume of rodents and disease-causing vectors present in the camp premises, including mosquitoes, snakes, and scorpions. Another pressing issue in the IDP camps is the reality of trauma, stress, and loss of income sources. Supplies needed by the IDPs were insufficient, and the IDPs declared that the lack of food affected their overall health status and speculated it might have caused a few deaths making hunger the biggest challenge for most IDP camps across the country (Ekezie, 2022).

3.6 Frameworks of legal support and protection of IDPs in Nigeria: The Kampala Convention Document

The barrage of images of millions of people huddled in camps or other makeshift settlements is unsettling and given the prolonged duration of most displacements, it is time to recognize that governments, donors, civil society and the private sector— must evolve from adopting strictly humanitarian, short-term responses and developing more collectively coordinated long-term solutions that promote self-reliance, the integration of refugees, a reduction in aid dependency, and empower and support host countries and communities as well.

In 1998, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights kick started the process that led to the emergence of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. This document became the international standard for the treatment of IDPs as it highlighted relevant norms of international human rights instruments, international humanitarian law and analogous refugee law. These laws and regulations highlighted that the protection of internally displaced persons would be strengthened by identifying, reaffirming and consolidating specific rights for their protection. From this backdrop the United Nations Human Right commission formulated the regulations that have come to form bulk of the Kampala Convention document. A key document in the management of IDPs in Africa. The Commission further obliged states to replicate these Guiding Principles in national laws and policy (Sayne, 2012). Similarly, the African Union Convention for Protection of Internally Displaced Persons reiterated the need for the domestication of these Guiding Principles as a way of strengthening protection and assistance for IDPs (Kampala, 2009). During the 2019 World Refugee Day (WRD), UNHCR in the Nigerian office reminded the government that the African Union's designation of 2019 as the year of Refugees, returnees and IDPs came at a time when forced displacement remained a major issue confronting Nigeria, with an estimated 2.1 million displaced (IDPs, refugees and returnees). A major part of the WRD celebration (2019) was the request by stakeholders that the Nigerian government as a matter of urgency implement the values of the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention (AU. 1969) on its 50th anniversary and localise the 2009 African Convention on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons on its 10th anniversary (Kampala, 2009). In 2003, the Nigerian government set up a committee with a mandate to draft a national policy on IDPs as a means of addressing the gaps in the protection of IDPs. In 2009, the committee came up with a 51-page policy draft that surprisingly has not been implemented (Ashiru, 2010; Sphere Association, 2018).

Thus, while Nigeria has ratified the Kampala Convention agreement (2009), there is still no domestic legislation that adequately mirrors the legal frameworks of the convention regarding the protection of IDPs. Owing to the absence of a clearly delineated area of responsibilities for relevant bodies like the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), National Commission for Refugees, Migrants, and Internally Displaced Persons (NCFRMI, 2010), on IDPs issues, synergy on the humanitarian intervention is typically absent and a lack of connectedness with local challenges and histories often result in wasteful duplication (Higaz, 2010). In 2022 Antonio Guterres, visiting Nigeria for the first time, made a call for the safe and dignified return of the IDPs, stating that these people deserve every help to continue with their lives (Usaini, 2022). This cry has been heeded and implemented by some countries in Africa.

A United Nations report (2024) on internal displacement in Africa observed that the world needs to learn from Africa as Africa has made more progress than any other continent in developing the most progressive legal frameworks on forced displacement by adopting the Kampala convention agreement in 2012, and at the country level, some governments have recognised that the most effective way to deal with refugees is to allow them to participate in the local economy. Countries like Tanzania, granted citizenship to 200,000 refugees, giving them access to land and political life of the state. In Zambia, the Government has granted residency, land access rights and socio-economic integration to long-term former refugees. In Uganda, refugees are given small plots of land in villages and thereby integrated within the host community. At the regional level, African countries are beginning to collaborate and share their respective approaches to improve the living conditions of refugees (United Nations, African report, 2024).

Successive administrations in Nigeria have been largely unsuccessful in applying the appropriate penal laws to ensure that perpetrators of violence in the country which often leads to the displacement of people from their home and lands are dealt with decisively. Several commissions and investigative panels have been set up but little or nothing has actually been achieved in the way of progressive reforms (Shedrack et al, 2016). The UNHCR report (2012) notes that there is clear ‘protection gaps’ which leave people in IDP camps without support (UN, 2012) and as a result, it is difficult to determine precisely what could be done for displaced people. The former United Nation secretary General Ban-ki Moon opined that conflict and human rights abuses, and the traditional drivers of displacement are increasingly intertwined with other factors like over population, food insecurity and resource and water scarcity (UN

Press Release, 2012), As a consequence, he suggests that there should be greater commitment to issues of displacement at all levels. In a measure to improve this situation, the UN's separate but interlinked global compacts framework on migration and refugees were adopted at the end of 2018 (UN, 2018a; 2018b). Both agreements trace back to a seminal UN General Assembly meeting in December 2016 when the international community, with strong backing from the United States (US) and the outgoing Obama administration, adopted the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, recognising the need for a comprehensive approach to human mobility and enhanced cooperation at the global level (UN, 2016). The effect of these agreements and declarations in Nigeria is an unanswered question?

Under the auspices of the UN, two separate intergovernmental negotiation processes have started: the Global Compact for Safe, Regular and Orderly Migration (GCM), and the Global Compact for Refugees (GCR). UNHCR was appointed the lead agency for the latter, and the IOM became the lead agency for the GCM. The two compacts are intertwined with several other UN initiatives like UN, 2018c and UN, 2018d initiative, including the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN 2015: 8, para 29), which also includes a commitment by UN member states to cooperate in facilitating safe, orderly, and regular migration both at local and international level. The problem with displacement or IDPs is not the lack of efforts at the global level but the delay and lack of strong will to localise these deliberations. Amina & Ibrahim (2019,32) in discussing the plight of internally displaced persons in unofficial camps in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria in Abuja observed that there seems to be a limited understanding on the part of the government as to its responsibility to the IDPs as there is no articulated approach laid out to meet its obligations to the IDPs.

Despite this negligence, the UN's Guiding Principles outline the following rights for IDPs; the right to seek safety in another part of the country, the right to leave their country in the event of threats, the right to seek asylum in another country, the right to be protected against forcible return or resettlement in any place where their life, safety, liberty, or health is at risk (ICRC, 2005; UN, 2005; Orchard, 2018). These principles, however, are not binding. Like treaties they are binding only on the bases of human rights law, humanitarian law, and refugee law (UN, 2019). If international laws are promulgated on the principles of justice, equity, protection of human rights, and fairness, the question arises as to why these IDP principles are not enforced at all levels? Secondly, why should national boundaries be the reason of denying these rights to IDPs? And finally, how can the Guiding Principles be recognised as an important

international framework for the protection of IDPs at all levels as well as a working tool for IDP stakeholders (United Nations General assembly, 2005).

The state remains the primary agent for enforcing human rights adherence (Addison & Koh, 2017). The problem with IDP cases lies in the implementation of these principles by various states facing high levels of internal displacement. This is hampered by the lack of a strong structure at the grassroots level partly because most displacement-related issues are usually tackled in a reactive manner with little or no proactive structures on the ground. The Nigerian society and her displacement story bear a similar narrative as most IDPs especially those in unofficial IDP camps, are forced to navigate through help and assistance from mostly NGOs, religious organisations, and well-wishers for their survival. While the Nigerian government may have a formal administrative structure at the state (SEMA) and federal levels (NEMA) charged with the responsibilities of catering for these people, they however seem to be lacking in effecting intervention plans at both humanitarian and legal level. Amina et al (2019) enumerates the following concerns as some of the problems faced by IDPs in Nigeria; non-recognition of the IDPs within the FCT by the Authorities. The foremost violation of the rights of the IDPs is that of their rights as citizens of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Some IDPs in parts of the country are unacknowledged by the government and as a result, no funds have been appropriated for their welfare. Secondly some IDPs camps have no medical care and women are reportedly giving birth without any medical supervision. The spread of disease is rampant in some of these camps. Thirdly water, sanitation and hygiene are essential requirements by the UNICEF protocol but there are camps where water, toilet facilities, sanitation and hygiene are lacking or insufficient. And lastly there is an ongoing forceful return of IDPs to their habitual residence and many IDPs are apprehensive about this as there are still cases of Boko Haram raiding communities in villages and rural settlements.

The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement enumerates responsibilities for both state and international actors with the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) assigned to coordinate international responses. The big question that remains is what level of involvement of local communities do these legislative initiatives facilitate? Even though the African Union (AU) has endorsed the United Nations Guiding Principal on IDPs under the auspices of the Special Summit held in Uganda (Kampala, 2009). The document summarily acknowledges the ravaging impact of displacement in Africa, the enduring suffering of IDPs and how their long stay in camps has become a source of continuing instability and tension in most African states. The document suggests that the African custom of hospitality is a measure that could be better

used to support IDPs reintegration with a view to building more cosmopolitan solutions that comply with appropriate legal frameworks (Kampala, 2009). According to Meffre (2022), since the establishment of the guiding principles, multiple humanitarian efforts have been made to transform soft law into harder laws. The most advanced attempt was the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of IDPs in Africa (Kampala Convention agreement) signed in 2009, in Uganda. The Convention remains the most comprehensive instrument for the protection of IDPs. While the AU is at the forefront of this progress, as only 31 countries (out of 55) in the continent have ratified the document. This reflects substantially on how these policies have been perceived and treated. Either the policies do not reflect the aspirations of the individual states, or most states in Africa see the plight of IDPs not as an urgent concern as most incidences of displacement are ripple effects of poor governance, the embezzlement of public funds, terrorist activities and also environmental threats, etc. (Adefeso, 2018).

However, there are other, historically embedded issues also. When people are displaced, they often flee and go to their ancestral lands, sometimes outside of their own country. In Nigeria, there are ethnic groups with ancestral ties in Cameroon, Chad, Togo, Ghana and even Liberia, making it difficult to categorise belonging amongst these displaced peoples. Legally, they are refugees but culturally they may see themselves as belonging to states across the Nigerian border. Article 2 of the Kampala convention agreement clearly states that the objective of the convention is to 'promote and strengthen regional and national measures to prevent or mitigate, prohibit and eliminate root causes of internal displacement as well as provide for durable solutions. It is also to establish a legal framework for preventing internal displacement and protecting and assisting internally displaced persons in Africa. However, it does not address the problem of cultural affiliation with people, lands and histories beyond an individual state's borders. Instead, it provides for the obligations and responsibilities of individual states parties, with respect to the prevention of internal displacement and protection of and assistance to IDPs, rather than those of a transnational community.

The Kampala Convention document also stipulated some obligations of armed groups, non-state actors and other relevant actors with regards to the prevention of internal displacement and protection of IDPs (Kampala, 2009. 4). Article 3 of the Kampala Convention document clearly lays out the principles of human dignity of IDPs, humane treatment, non-discrimination, equality before the law, humanitarian assistance to IDPs and the provision of the necessary funds to receive international support (Kampala, 2009. 6; Dauda, 2020). Guterres

reemphasised all these when he visited Nigeria and made an appeal to the Nigerian government to safely return IDPs back to their communities (Smyth, 2022), an appeal that shows the level of progress made in the protection of IDPs. Article 4 of the Kampala convention document stipulates that states parties shall strictly adhere to all the obligations of the document relating to the protection, assistance and return or resettlement of IDPs in Africa (Kampala, 2009). The absence of the development of sanctions related to breeching the convention means that most of the policies of the convention are not binding but are mere recommendation. The 2022 IDMC report of 36 million IDPs in Africa indicate that a lot still needs to be done to ensure the rights of IDPs are respected. Understanding IDP camp life, the life histories of camp inmates and experiences of displacement would be a good starting point.

Article 11 of the Kampala Convention document states clearly that State parties shall assist IDPs to make a free and informed choice on whether to return home, integrate locally or relocate following consultation (Kampala, 2009). This is an important aspect of the document owing to the reality that displacement is a serious issue in Africa, and host communities are obligated to think of alternative ways of integrating the displaced. Apart from a few cases in Egypt and Mozambique, most African governments do not view migration as an effective adaptation strategy for displaced persons, and few National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs) consider planned population mobility as a viable option to deal with socio-political and environmental changes. Indeed, some governments characterise migration as a failure of integration, rather than as a form of adaptation as well integrated communities would always collectively harness their limited resources for collective benefits (Sward and Cudjoe, 2012). Policy makers in Africa would benefit from a deeper analysis of the dynamics of migration in and across African communities to devise more effective coping/adaptation mechanisms capable of relieving the pressure created by poverty, conflict and environmental degradation (Foresight, 2011).

3.7 Host Community and Integration of IDPs in a Post-Colonial Nigeria

Integration is a process for identity creation, social control, and creation of social homogeneity. It is an important element in migration studies. Integration is not peculiar to the IDP situation alone because efforts have been made by regional governments in Africa to use economic integration as a pathway towards boosting their economies. The challenge has always been the international border policies (Kayizzi-Mugerwa, Anyanwu & Conceição, 2014). International border control defines how those within perceive those outside. This is same case

scenario with IDPs and host communities (Woosnam, Draper, Jiang, Aleshinloye, & Erul, 2018). The host community, therefore, is not a passive agent in the study of IDP camps. They play a crucial role in the resettlement and integration of IDPs (Robson, 1968). The Liberian Second Civil War broke out in 1999 and lasted four years, resulting in the death of over three hundred thousand people and the displacement of millions to Guinea and Cote Divoire. The Jesuits Refugees Services (JRS, 2003) in their intervention plan adopted a grounded method of camping where makeshifts accommodations were provided for IDPs within living communities and the IDPs were integrated into the community with ease because like their community counterparts, they were not caged in a camp and life went on as normal for them. It was straightforward for these IDPs to continue with normal life and with time some relocated back to Liberia after the war, but most had integrated into the community in Guinea and Cote D'Ivoire (JRS OCHA, 2003). This is an example of how the host community could help in the integration of IDPs. Applying C. Wright Mills' (2000) sociological imagination, it is possible to see how the broader realities beyond the act of displacement condition can shape peoples' lives. Forced migrants may not go far from their home provided they find a safe environment as a temporary refuge but return to home may never prove a viable option (Sert, 2014). There are some historical incidences in Nigeria where host communities have played a leading role in the resettlement of IDPs. This happened after the Nigerian civil war (1967- 1970), where new settlements were created alongside existing communities. Newly created communities, mainly in Northern Nigeria were called Sabon Gari (strangers or visitor's town) (Ubah, 1982; King, 2003; Samuel, 2017). Most displaced people during the civil war were easterners who took refuge in these new towns and gradually integrated into those communities. Nigeria at this time had no NGOs but the local communities in collaboration with their local chiefs were able to find solutions to displacement despite the limited resources available to them. These settlements are now big cities and towns with a cosmopolitan face and a super diversified population (Ubogu, Aya & Nwachukwu, 2010). This is also an idea shared by Cole & Habashi, (2020) who suggest that in order to enhance community resilience minority groups and communities identified with community capabilities to address communities' problems should be more actively supported to play this role which will naturally make better impact for the culture of these identified communities.

This study highlights the strengths of a more cosmopolitan postcolonial approach to displacement, working with communities as agents of social change actively shaping responses to displacement and, in turn, being shaped by its positive and negative consequences. The value

of shifting the emphasis away from a centralised, top-down institutional approach to displacement mitigation scheme to a community-based mitigation strategy for Northern Nigeria is of note. Most of the discourse on migration and displacement is about the migrants and their legal and humanitarian concerns. Host communities in Africa have generally played a compassionate role in the resettlement of IDPs (Samuel, 2017) given the enduring cultural importance of cosmopolitan duties of hospitality. This practice has since become moribund because of the advent of a more UN and NGOs humanitarian-based system. As the sociologist Bauman (2007) highlights, global solutions to locally produced problems are no longer viable. All localities now bear the consequences and responsibility of modernity and the need to devise more creative local solutions to globally produced problems.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the research approach taken in this thesis. It begins with a brief overview of the epistemological framework of the methodology that is centred around the oral histories and the biographical narratives of participants in this study setting. This first section acknowledges the rich depth of African oral literature noting how it represents a critical tool for understanding postcolonial Nigeria society and Africa in general. This is followed by a section on research methods, explaining methods adopted and the rationale for use of multiple approaches for data collection. A detailed account is given of the ethnographic approach adopted as well as the four methods used for data collection, namely.

i) 8 semi-structured online interviews with stakeholders,
ii) 10 weeks of participant observation of IDP camps and host communities,
iii) 8 face-to-face biographical interviews with IDPs and host community members,
iv) 2 semi-structured face-to-face interviews with community leaders.

The third section of this chapter explores the issue of participant sampling, recruitment, and criteria applied, with reasons offered as to why these methods were chosen over potential alternatives. The chapter ends with a detailed account of how the data was analysed, the key challenges encountered during the research process, how those challenges were addressed with the degree of reflexivity, as well as various ethical issues.

4.1 Building an epistemological framework, African oral histories of story-telling and biographical narratives.

Prior to colonial rule, Africans as with other people had their own distinct way of interpreting their social reality, generating, and communicating knowledge and interpretation of reality (Higgs, 2010). This was developed around pragmatic experiences and oral practices of storytelling, the use of proverbs, wise sayings, moral tales, riddles, and jokes. This tradition sustained the people in their understanding and communication of the world around them (Etta, & Mogu, 2012; Irwin, 2014; Mirzeler, 2021). Growing up as a young child in Nigeria, I remember learning a lot about my tribal culture and worldviews from ‘twilight tells’ that were

common in almost every household. My parents taught me and my siblings many moral lessons on our beliefs and cultural practices, explaining why and how they are enshrined in our cultural practices. This was done through the use of different types of folklore and moonlight tales. As I got older, I came to the realisation that some of these stories and tales were not historical facts but mythological beliefs that were authenticated by lived experience of the people. As cultural practices and belief systems might be diverse from culture to culture in Africa (Ssentanda, & Andema, 2019), storytelling has always been the obvious medium of passing on these beliefs. As the years have passed, this medium of communicating has largely been ignored or neglected as an instrument of cultural transmission (Owosho, 2020, 127). These practices have been undermined heavily by the influx of uncensored acceptance of foreign cultures and preferences of western lifestyles amongst the younger generation of Africans. The result is that traditional African stories are gradually dying with the aged and even when these stories are told they are relayed as illustrations of western stereotypes about Africa. This is affecting the role and place of storytelling in the formation and transmission of African cultural worldview, and heritage (Sone, 2018).

While Africans may not practice a formal way of writing, they nonetheless have a good understanding of reality around them and how to pass that understanding from one generation to the next. With the dawn of western colonial expansionism, western ways and knowledge generation became objectified and universalised (Ndofirepi & Gwaravanda, 2019). Consequently, most forms of African oral knowledge and religious beliefs and practices that did not conform to the Western Christian model were deemed unworthy of scholarship and denounced as pagan (Bonsu, 2016). Since the ostensible decolonisation of the continent after independence of all states in Africa, education in Africa has remained somewhat western-oriented. Some people still dismiss African-oriented epistemology as 'unscientific' and delusory (Ani, 2013, 295). This is because most African communities have not developed a formal way of writing different from the western system. We however can see that from the wise sayings of the Kikuyu in Kenya to the great riddles of Tanzanian, to the warriors' melodies of the Zulus in South Africa or the thought-provoking proverbs from Nigeria, a tsunami of ideas, sociologies, history, pedagogies, sociologies, and experiences are expressed and preserved through storytelling. The oral tradition of storytelling has always played an integral role in African epistemology, cultural memory, identity, formation, history, and traditional heritage (Asimeng-Boahene, 2009).

This thesis attempts to contribute to a postcolonial understanding of the role of these oral traditions to knowledge communication in Nigerian society and culture by using biographical research methods to capture their vibrancy and relevance to lived experience of displacement and accommodation of the displaced. In bringing this methodological approach to bear on this topic, it seeks to give a voice to that which has been missing in sociological research on forced migration and displacement – a postcolonial Nigerian perspective.

Sagacity is a treasure that has lived with Africans for millennia. Sagacity deals with the ideas and thoughts generated by wise men and women of the African community who are invested with creating critical insight into everyday life experiences and the pattern of their thoughts is considered an outcome of communal realities (Masud, 2011, 875). For example, in West Africa there are community icons known as griots (Chappelle, 2019). A griot is an African elder charged with the responsibility of collecting and keeping the stories, recollection of happenings, and family histories of the community. It is the griot's duty to mentally store these stories and pass them on to younger generations over time to preserve the cultural identity of the community. Whenever a griot dies it is like burying a million copies of unpublished books (Chappelle, 2019). To apply this to the research, biographical research method is an important means of documenting the stories of such community leaders and similarly other key members of the community who contribute to understanding of the collective history, experience, and preferences of the peoples of Borno state.

According to Caetano et al., (2023, 5319) the lexicon of biographical research is being defined, using not only traditional concepts from sociology, but also notions from other social sciences, such as anthropology and history. Life history, life story and biography are the most commonly used concepts in biographical research methods. According to Miller as cited by O'Neill et al (2014, 1) biographical methodologies place emphasis upon the collection and analysis of an intensive account of a whole life or portion of a life. The biographical approach emphasises the placement of the individual within a nexus of social connections, historical events and life experiences. The biographical researcher O'Neill (2014, 1) focuses on the ways in which narratives are constructed and reconstructed in response to social contexts as well as psychosocial 'matterings' and internal dialogues. For this thesis, the narrative is constructed with three different groups namely eight online semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, eight face-to face biographical interviews with IDPs and community members, and two semi-structured face-to-face interviews with two community leaders.

Biographical research methods such as storytelling, life story interviews (Riemann, 2006; Merrill & West, 2009) are particularly useful for documenting the oral traditions in Nigerian culture and these, in turn, shape cultural representations of the camps and their populations in Borno state. Applying such methods was particularly challenging at the time of Covid-19 restrictions as it imposed a need for distance and precaution that made building trust and intimacy with one's respondent more difficult, a situation compounded further by new regulations on human and animal rights, data protection laws (Schutt, 2017; Tikkinen-Piri, Rohunen & Markkula 2018). The challenge therefore was ensuring safety measures and legal restrictions were carefully adhered to whilst data was collected effectively (George, 2020).

My focus was on how respondents drew on a stock of available cultural beliefs and practices to make sense of the reality of displacement. According to Schütze (2007,83) by recollecting one's own past in autobiographical storytelling through certain phases and episodes of one's life or in narrating one's life history as a whole, sees the narrating individual convey a basic order and identity structure relevant to her or his life as it has been lived and experienced up to this point.

Positivist sociological methods, by contrast, tend to be more interested in how the world is comprehended from a distance and, therefore, relies on methods that promote an instrumental relation to the social world in the hope of identifying recurring patterns of behaviour and attitude (Schütze, 2007). Such an approach was thought not to be suited to the type of research to be pursued here. Instead, the preference was for methods that would allow for an understanding of how knowledge of the world is socially constructed and reinforced by the lived experiences of people in their everyday lives in the context under review. This thesis therefore seeks to offer a portrayal of the impact of displacement on the self-understanding and identities of members of communities affected, in various ways, by the reality of mass displacement in Borno State, Nigeria. It draws on various social agents' accounts of life as a member of a displaced community or as a member of a host community, using biographical interviews, participant observations and in-depth interviews to gain a deeper understanding of the situated perspectives of IDPs, host community members and stakeholders in Borno state, Nigeria.

4.2 Methodological Approach

Methodologically, the research takes an interpretive ethnographic approach using participant observation, biographical interviews, semi-structured on-line interviews with

stakeholders, and semi-structured face-to-face interviews with community leaders. It seeks to generate an understanding of how multiple methods approach to research accessing lived experience and biographical understanding that can help to advance the state of knowledge of displacement as a lived social reality in Nigeria. These methods and the interpretive ethnographic approach have been explored by various scholars (UNHCR, 2013; Amaechi, & Tshifhumulo, 2019; Kamta, Schilling, & Scheffran, 2020; Kurtzer, 2020) who point to the dynamics of this method as well as the insight it brings to bear on our understanding of various social issues.

Methodologically, the focus of this research was on what the IDPs, host community members and stakeholders think individually about their setting, and collectively as members of distinct communities and how these in turn, influence their daily interactions (Schutt, 2017). The intention is not only to take their general narrative of the phenomenon into consideration but, rather, to peel off the different layers of sense-making that constitute this narrative (Esin, Fathi, & Squire, 2014).

This strategy demands reflexivity in methodology and findings analysis (Scott, 2014) because it brings multiple approaches of data collection together (Kuper, Lingard & Levinson, 2008; Mafa, Gudhlanga, Manyeruke, Matavire, & Mpofu, 2015). Second, its loose structure creates a necessary degree of freedom to adapt one's methodological design in the event of unforeseen circumstances, such as the unstable circumstances associated with the Covid-19 pandemic, the unpredictable terrorists' attacks within Maiduguri city, or in the event of a sudden closure of the IDP camps in Borno state.

This research adopted an overarching ethnographic approach, where methods such as participant observation, in-depth interviews (some conducted online) and life story/biographical interviews (Porter, 1993; Robert, 2002; Nurse & O'Neill, 2014; Miller, 2017) were employed for the study. This methodological approach is important because the thesis is centred around agents' understanding of IDP camp life. An ethnographic approach was therefore deemed a good starting point in understanding the lives of IDPs/host community members up close because unlike the positivist method, the method offers insight into the personal and agent experience of reality and how that reality has been shaped within their lived experience together along the socioeconomic and political structures around them.

Through this ethnographic approach the research contributes to highlighting how and why the African oral history cultural tradition of telling stories in Nigeria has been eclipsed by western accounts of forced displacement. Moreover, it shows what biographical research can contribute and how these stories relate to reality in a postcolonial Nigerian society (O'Neill, 2019). Assumptions about the study were therefore tested in a lived everyday context and through authentic agent's accounts. Through participant observation and biographical interviews, the research for this thesis presents a picture of how actors' reflexively makes sense of the social changes occurring around them (Turk & Mrozowicki, 2013). In summary, this qualitative study of the social and cultural impact of IDP camps on host communities and camp residents was based on a triangulated method (Tannen, Hamilton, & Schiffrin, 2015) of biographical interviews, online interviews with stakeholders, and an ethnographic study through participant observation of camp life (Manyeruke, Matavire, & Mpofu, 2015). The choice of these methods was guided by the desire to collect enough data to elicit an understanding of the issue under investigation whilst also connecting with the African oral tradition. Kuper, et al. (2008) opined that qualitative research is based on understanding how experience shapes the construction of meaning (Sommer, Baumeister & Stillman, 2013).

Apart from the choice of methods and the overall methodology deeply connected to the epistemology framework of the thesis, another essential consideration was devising the logic of knowledge generation and assessing how effective is the logic which in this case is storytelling. Conscious of this, the research strategies were narrowed down to understanding only the social and cultural dynamics of the IDPs/host community encounter. This inductive research strategy meant that data on IDP camps, host community, and displacement in Borno state was targeted for collection from primary sources through participant observation, biographical interviews, and in-depth interviews. This was planned to be carried out in collaboration with the two gatekeeper organisations (IOM and JDPC) that offered to assist me while in the field especially in areas of logistics and mental support to IDPs who might experience distress as they share their stories. These gatekeepers also enabled me to adapt into the IDP/host community setting without causing any social disorder or creating a new and unusual structure in these communities. Through their experience and suggestions, I was able to restrict myself to ethically acceptable spots within the community and the Dalori IDP camp and the suggestions of these gatekeepers was instrumental in my selection of participants.

The selected organisations and individuals became the primary source from whom the data used for this thesis was collected. They include Action Against Hunger (ACF), International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), Christian Aid (CAID), the Justice Development and Peace Commission of the Catholic Diocese of Maiduguri (JDPC), National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA), community leaders (Hakimi, Bulama), the Nigerian Police Force (NPF), IDPs, host community members and IDP representatives. The next section highlights the rationale for my qualitative, ethnographic, and biographical approach to the methodology. This section also highlights how the postcolonial framework of the study was captured in the research methodological framing.

4.3 Rationale for Choice of Research Approach

This research was based on participants sharing their views and understandings of their setting as well as developments occurring around them and how their lives have been impacted by these trends. The research is concerned with the social and cultural impact of IDP camps on the host community, the study is essentially about the evolving cultural trend between IDPs, host community members and stakeholders. The purpose of using multiple methods therefore was to give IDPs, host community members and other stakeholders the freedom to share their views with no restriction on how much they may wish to say (NCC.UK 2008). More attention was given to the host community of IDP camps as they are the primary place where some of the sociocultural changes are occurring. This is in line with the works of Franceschelli, and Galipò, (2020) whose research on the Italian Island of Lampedusa, focused on the lived life of migrants in the Island by exploring views and experiences of Lampedusans on migrants living on the island. By focusing on the community of residents, the project of Franceschelli et al, (2020) complements other research concerned with migrants' journey, experiences, and testimonies. This research in the same light attempted to find a synergy where the experiences of the host community members meet those of the IDPs within a social and cultural context to create a mutual understanding of the community, the changing trends and the reality of displacement in general. This approach invariably creates a ground opportunity for a postcolonial non-western account of internal displacement and IDP camps in Northern Nigeria. The understanding and experiences of the local communities in hosting and temporarily sustaining these displaced persons, was considered an asset in the building of a better understanding of displacement and IDP camp life. Jane McAdam (2012) observed that, the

manner in which a phenomenon is conceptualized is central to the way its regulation is approached, and this is often predicated by the lived experience of the people who are experiencing the phenomenon. In the same light, an understanding of displacement through the IDPs/host community members account presents an empirical understanding of the forced displacement and multiple themes that comes with it such as human right abuses, social inequality, placemaking, discrimination, stigmatisation, superdiversity, etc.

Biographical interview was considered a strong and reliable approach to this research because it afforded the interviewee an opportunity to tell their hidden stories, and by sharing these stories, they in turn shared the meaning that they have created of this experience (Moran, Green, & Warwick, 2022). Positionality is an essential element to this (Rowles, 2008) because the life and experience of a displaced person cannot be understood in isolation without an understanding of the role played by the host community and through the study of the host community. The research here aims to give IDPs the opportunity to share their stories within a free and non-judgemental setting.

Public issues such as forced migration come to be understood from a media directed, generalised perspective. A better understanding, however, can be attained through documenting the experiences of people living within these settings (Mills, 2000). This is why the biographical narrative by the primary agents of these experiences was ideal in generating an experience-oriented account (Smith, 2012) of IDP camp life. The research also leaned heavily on the narrative of host community members who might be less constrained on their opinion than the IDPs who are often regulated by NGOs and government officials. The host community therefore is in a better position to speak freely on their hospitality and openness to integration of IDPs into a cosmopolitan community (Jacobs & Paviotti, 2017).

4.4 Study Design, Sampling and Selection

The research was exploratory and sought to understand a) how IDPs/host community members interact within their setting, and b) their objective understanding of forced internal migration with its social and cultural impacts. Conscious that most people especially IDPs in Borno state were experiencing some level of post-traumatic stress, the research sampling was designed to recruit only individuals or organisations that were in a position to make a fair representation reflective of the entire population and have indicated interest in participating in the research (Schutt, 2017). According to Bryman (2016) the goal of purposive sampling is to sample cases/participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research

questions. The method used was the purposive sampling where individuals and organisations were carefully selected. Some of the key considerations for selection were, the role of organisations in the management of internal displacement in Nigeria, government agencies involved in IDP related problems, registered NGOs, individuals that at the time of the research had IDP status, legitimate IDP leaders of Dalori camp, the Bulama and Hakimi of the community and people who were living in the host community. This wide participant range was made to ensure robust population sampling and sufficient data collection. All participants should have had a first-hand experience of IDP camps and be able to share their experiences objectively. Following successful completion of recruitment, data collection was carried out.

It was considered important to elaborate on how interviewees were recruited for the research, and to elaborate on some of the difficulties and challenges experienced in recruiting interviewees. This is discussed in the next section.

4.5 Participant Recruitment

Data for this study was collected in four phases as follows.

- Phase one; online semi-structured interviews with stakeholders. Agencies and organisations were selected based on newspaper publications and media reports of NGOs and organisations working with IDPs in Borno state. A total of eight organisations and agencies (five non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and three government agencies) were selected and contacted by email and phone calls.
- Phase two; overt participant observation of Dalori IDP camp and host communities. Having established a good link and working relationship with some NGOs and IDP camp officials in the first phase of the research, two organisations (JDPC and IOM) offered to assist me as gatekeepers to access the IDP camps officially. These two organisations were instrumental in providing the opportunity for a comprehensive participant observation in a reasonable safe manner.
- Phase three; face-to-face biographical interviews with IDPs and host community members. At this stage eight biographical interviews were conducted with three IDPs, three host community members and 2 IDP representatives.
- Phase four; semi- structured interviews with host community leaders. Two community leaders were interviewed, the Bulama and Hakimi of the host community.

In the first phase of data collection, newspaper publications and media reports were the primary sources through which some agencies and organisations directly involved in the IDP

camp management in Nigeria were identified. From a list of about 30 different organisations and agencies, Emails were sent, and phone calls were made to these agencies and organisations expressing a project intention to have an online interview session with them and stating the aims and objectives of the research. Most of these organisations responded positively. Although some were hesitant, and others complained that they were already overwhelmed by the impact of Covid-19 in the IDP camps and were concerned that the interview would create further pressure on their staff. Amongst the organisations that responded eight were selected based on how long they have served at the IDP camp, the level of involvement they have with the IDPs, how neutral and objective they were in their interventions for IDPs and more importantly their willingness to share objectively their experience of IDP camp/host community setting.

In the second phase, participant recruitment was based on the recommendations and suggestions from some stakeholders working in the IDP camps, as well as some IDPs I met during the participant observation. During the ten weeks conducting participant observation I established a significant level of familiarity with the camp community as well as the host community and this facilitated my engagement with the people in conversation. Such occasions afforded the opportunity to directly recruit some participants into the second phase of the research. Others were recruited based on suggestions from other IDPs. Other people who were adjudged to be knowledgeable on IDP camp related issues were directly contacted and those who agreed to participate in the research were issued with participant information sheets and a consent form for signing. Having issued these forms to participants, it was necessary to explain to them the nature of the research and what was expected of them. Also, recommendations from the gatekeepers (JDPC and IOM) were highly instrumental at this time owing to their foreknowledge of the people in the community and IDPs in camp.

Participants for the biographical interviews were recruited with great care and ethical considerations as biographical interviews can be sensitive because of private issues and life scenarios discussed can provoke traumatic feeling. Those who participated in this interview were recruited during my participant observation. As I interacted with IDPs and host community members during the participant observation, I took notes on people whose comments and sense of judgement indicated that they were experienced and had a good understanding of the study setting. By the end of ten weeks of participant observation, I had 18 names of both IDPs and host community members, including those recommended by stakeholders for biographical interviews. Six interviewees were selected from amongst the 18

people initially selected based on the criteria set for this sampling. IDP women and men leaders were recruited based on their position and the leadership roles that they had in the community.

4.6 Data Collection

This section discusses in detail how data was collected, and the criteria used in participant sampling. It also offers a brief description of participants as well as a general overview of every phase of the data collection.

4.6.1. *In-depth Online Interviews*

In March 2020, Covid-19 was declared a global pandemic with many nations imposing travel restrictions (WHO, 2020). The UCC ethics committee in turn suspended field trips that involved face-to-face contact of any sort. This restriction prompted the need for an online data collection and the first data set was collected using in-depth online interviews with 8 different stakeholders. Online research generally has its own challenges especially on anonymising participants, maintaining objectivity in participant selection, and in the impact the setting could have on participants 'responses (Flicker Haans & Skinner, 2004). These changes demanded that all online participants must be people who are familiar with the use of internet, willing and able to give consent through an electronic device and importantly the task of participating in the research was not going to impact on their finances (Bruckman, 2002; Fielding, Blank, & Lee, 2016). As much as these biases could affect the sampling of participants, it did not affect the first phase of the work as the participant subset was drawn from stakeholders who were already familiar with the use of the internet and online medium of communication. Through consultation and review of media reports on IDP camps in Nigeria eight major organisations and government agencies were selected for the on-line interviews using semi-structured in-depth interviews. These organisations and agencies were represented by eight participants comprising two females and six men. More men tend to do social work in Maiduguri due to the influence of Islam and the volatile nature of the city with regards to terrorists 'activities.

According to one of the officers of one of the organisations, the insecurity of Maiduguri town has caused many organisations to prefer employing single men rather than married men or women. While online interviews can be challenging for participants, most of the participants for the study were already familiar with the use of social media apps for online conferences and meetings due to Covid-19 restrictions. This made the online space a relaxing and conducive one for them to respond to the questionnaires.

Participants demonstrated a good understanding of what the study was all about and were highly professional in their dealings with IDP and other host community related issues. Participants were also careful with what they shared especially when it involved the private lives of IDPs. It was clear from some of the responses that most organisations working in the IDP camp had the interest of the IDPs at heart but at the same time acknowledged that there were weaknesses and lapses both within and outside the system that was impeding effective running of the internal displacement mitigation plan. As stated, there were over 30 organisations and agencies involved in the IDP camp management in Borno state. To make an appropriate sample selection from these organisations, certain criteria were used as outlined in the next section.

4.6.2 *Criteria for Participants in Phase One*

In the first phase, data was collected through a series of online interviews with key government officials, NGOs, and stakeholders. Participants were selected based on their level of involvement with the IDPs and IDP camps in Borno state. The criteria for selection were as follows; the NGOs or agency should be working directly in the IDP camp, with a daily or weekly visiting routine to the IDP camp/host community; the organisation or agency should have worked with IDPs for at least three years; the organisation or agency should be recognised and certified by the government. Eight organisation/agencies were selected (table 4.1) namely, Action Against Hunger (ACF), International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), Christian Aid (CAID), the Justice Development and Peace Commission of the Catholic Diocese of Maiduguri (JDPC), National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA), the Nigerian Police Force (NPF). These participants were provided with participant information sheets (see appendix), and informed consent was obtained (see appendix). All interviews were online using a semi-structured questionnaire (see appendix).

Table 4. 1 List and Number of Participants in Phase One

S/N	Number Of Participants	Name Of Organisation, Agency, or Institution
1	1	Action Against Hunger **(ACF).**
2	1	Norwegian Refugee Council **(NRC).**
3	1	International Organisation for Migration **(IOM).**

4	1	The Christian Aid **(CAID)**
5	1	The Justice Development and Peace Commission of the Catholic Diocese of Maiduguri **(JDPC).**
6	1	The National Emergency Management Agency **(NEMA)**
7	1	The State Emergency Management Agency **(SEMA)**
8	1	The Nigerian Police Force **(NPF).**

The table 4.2 below shows the organisations that participated and a profile of the people that represented them and the quality of their responses to the questionnaires. All responses were considered satisfactory for including in the thesis.

Table 4. 2 Anonymised List and names of organisation in Phase One Interviews

S/ No	Name Of Organisation	Age of Participant (Years)	Years of Experience	Gender	Remark
1	Action Against Hunger (ACF),	57	6	Female	Satisfactory
2	International Organisation for Migration (IOM),	48	10	Female	Satisfactory
3	Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)	54	4	Male	Satisfactory
4	Christian Aid (CAID)	51	7	Male	Satisfactory
5	The Justice Development and Peace Commission of the Catholic Diocese of Maiduguri (JDPC)	41	11	Male	Satisfactory
6	National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA)	65	6	Male	Satisfactory
7	State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA)	43	9	Male	Satisfactory
8	The Nigerian Police Force (NPF)	52	6	Male	Satisfactory

This first phase data collection was followed by participant observation in the host community and selected IDP camps.

4.6.3. *Participant Observation: Phase Two*

Participant observation is an important method in ethnographic research (Watson & Till, 2010) because it involves active participation in the field through direct overt or covert observation of the day-to-day events under study (Spradley, 2016). Ethnography etymologically comes from two Greek words 'Ethnos' which means people, and 'Grapho' means to write. Ethnography therefore is the study of a people, their community and culture (Silverman, 2016). Culture is both static and dynamic with varying degrees of development and intensity and through participant observation, researchers can identify changing traits of any culture (Geertz, 1973; Zilber, 2014). Ethnographic research is a family of methods involving direct contact with agents, writing the encounter, recording, and representing the experiences (Roberts, 2009; Jackson, 2015). This method can also be described as the disciplined and deliberate witness-cum-recording of events" (Willis & Trondman 2015:5). There is a divergent understanding of what constitutes ethnographic research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), because in most cases it overlaps with qualitative research broadly in cases of fieldwork, case study, and life histories (Silverman, 2016) and as this study is using biographical interviews participant observation became necessary for data collection.

Participant observation was carried out in Dalori IDP camp for ten weeks. Within these ten weeks a minimum of three visits were made every week to Dalori camp and five other visits were made to Shuwari, Gubio, CAN Jerusalem, and Bakasi camps. A visit was also made to the ruins of Mohammed Yusuf's house the place where he started preaching his extremist religious views. Within this period, I became a student, and the stakeholders, i.e. the IDPs/host community members schooled me through their experiences into understanding their social setting. This role switch produced a good atmosphere and evoked positive responses during the interview sessions, including creating a more relaxed setting, allowing the taking of pictures and good interaction with respondents (Moeran, 2009; Thompson, Stringfellow, Maclean, & Nazzal, 2021). Participant observation in the field had some ethical considerations (Dewalts et al 2002). The IDP camp had some restricted areas where non-residents were not allowed to go. This restriction didn't affect the outcome of data collection as they were areas concerned with the private life of the IDPs. As the IDPs became more friendly and at home with my presence some invited me to have a look at their living quarters and when I visited some of their living areas, I saw how deplorable some of the living quarters were. I began to wonder if stakeholders and government officials were aware of the living conditions of these IDPs.

This time also afforded me the opportunity to socialise with IDPs in card playing, and visit their schools, clinics, market, churches, mosque, water taps queues and participate in some traditional leisure games that were unknown to me, and converse at length with people I met at these places. As preparations for the biographical interview phase, and to elicit a better understanding and experience of both the camps and the host community, participant observation was carried out around the camp and host community for 10 weeks from November 2022 to January 2023. For anthropologists and social scientists, participant observation is a method by which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people, as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspect of their life routines and culture (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002; Musante, 2015). It is an important method for sensitising the researcher to the communities and groups as well as key issues they are dealing with on a daily basis. Within this period, I had many encounters with IDPs, host community members, stakeholders and other people who frequently came to the IDP camps to search for their missing relatives or family members.

While in the field, the experience was overwhelming in terms of the suffering and hardship endured by the IDPs. Listening to their stories first hand also revealed the severe impact that the terrorists' activities had on their lives and the trauma suffered by many. On a positive note, their stories also revealed their resilience and self determination to continue with life amidst the ordeal they have been through.

The IDP camp scenario in Maiduguri is a highly artificial structure that might solve the immediate humanitarian needs of the IDPs but might not serve a long-term solution because of the level of dependency it is creating in the community. IDP intervention is basically in the hands of NGOs and other charity organisations. Government agencies might be there physically in the camps and communities but much of the major decision making, and the bulk of intervention work is carried out by NGOs. Local communities are willing to help but appear to be restricted by the IDP camp protocols. They are also distracted by the humanitarian aid the IDPs are receiving which is leading community volunteers to seek more often the material benefits that the IDP camps offers instead of serving the community.

In the next section an in-depth consideration is given on a) the use of biographical interviews, b) the necessity of decolonisation of biographical interviews in the African context, and c) reasons for using biographical interviews in this study and how they fit into the theoretical framework of the thesis. The section concludes with an account of the criteria for

recruiting participants for the biographical interviews, the strategy used in analysing biographical data and lastly the role of reflexivity in the study in general.

4.6.4 *Biographical Interviews: Phase Three*

The third phase of data collection was face-to-face open air, private and socially distanced biographical interviews with two IDP representatives, three IDPs in camp, three people from the host community and two semi-structured interviews with community leaders. Biographical interviews could be described as a story told about a person's experience of events in the past and their expectations for the future (Nilsen, 1997). Biographical interviews have become a rich source of understanding human experience and some contemporary social pathologies (Keohane, 2016). Understanding these issues from individuals' accounts and stories, presents not only an ideological understanding of the phenomenon but a lived perspective. Through biographical interviews, this thesis aims to demonstrate how a connected sociological account on forced migration can be devised for an ethnographic study of the impact of changes triggered by large-scale displacement in postcolonial Nigeria. This was one of the reasons for the choice of a biographical method as it accounted for both the public and private lives of IDPs/host community thereby presenting a comprehensive picture of the collective and individual impact of displacement in Borno state (Merrill & West, 2009). In the words of Mills (2000, 5), the sociological imagination enables its possessors to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and external career of a variety of individuals. It enables him to consider how individuals, in the welter of their daily experience, often become falsely conscious of their social positions. Within that welter, the framework of modern society is sought, and within that framework the psychologies of a variety of men and women are formulated.

This biographical method offered insight into social reality through storytelling, autobiographies, and agent-based interpretation of reality, and the insights it offers provide for a better understanding of society (Goodwin, 2012; Corbally & O'Neill, 2014; O'Neill & Robert, 2019). Biographical method has continued to gain wider acceptance because of its uniqueness in social research, and its capacity to get to the bottom of lived experiences and lived cultures, as it presents reality through the lived and recounted experiences of individuals (Nurse & O'Neill, 2018). The method reinforces the importance of oral history, microsociology, cultural memories, and research undertaken in collaborative and participatory ways (Nurse & O'Neill, 2018). This makes the biographical approach to this research relevant

because of the theoretical framework on which the research was developed- mapping a path for a postcolonial account of forced migration in Nigeria and developing a connected sociology on forced migration for an inclusive normative sociology as opined by Bhambra (2016) and Mbembe (2019). Since oral tradition is a key component of the cultural heritage of the Nigerian society, use of these methods fits in well with the setting, the theoretical framework and aims and objectives of the research.

4.6.5 *De-colonising Biographical Research Methods*

There is growing interest in the biographical research approach especially in the study of African oral literature (Campbell, 2006). This is because oral literature especially in Africa is like crude oil that could be refined into different understandings of reality. In the past, this literature was dismissed by the colonial perspective as primitive thinking embodying superstitious or irrational beliefs (Wallace, 2015). This is because of the close link oral literature shares with most African folklores. Oral literature in Africa however is like the baseline of African historical sources of the knowledge, literature, language, and cultural resources of communities. Oral literature is the primary source of communities' history and is not peculiar to Africa alone. This rich source of history, civilisation and philosophy from the African continent should be recognised and studied for a better understanding of the African continent and worldview. According to Muraina (2015) oral tradition comprises of stories, traditions or practices that are usually shared orally or through speech and passed by word of mouth from generation to generation. These stories are usually developed around a people's worldview, philosophy of life and historical experience.

The study of life histories is based on different kinds of biographical materials including autobiographies, diaries, storytelling, artefacts, and oral sayings that can help researchers understand how traditional ways of thinking and interpreting the world persist in new configurations of meaning making practices (Riemann, 2006). The biographical method is a core of the early Chicago school of sociology that began in the 1920s (Riemann, 2006; Nilsen, 2008) and is a key methodology to bridging the gap between 'micro' and 'macro' sociology (Riemann, 2006). This understanding is important because the postcolonial setting of the Nigerian state can be understood better within the lived experience of the IDPs as presented in their biographical stories which paints an inclusive picture of the micro and macro interactions of displacement in Nigeria. This understanding bridges the gap between the larger picture of sociology and the micro strands that makeup the whole (Mbembe, 2019) thereby decolonising

erroneous views stitched into many of the assumptions of sociological reasoning about African society and simultaneously, give voice to lived local experiences of displacement as a socially grounded reality (O'Neill & Roberts 2020).

4.6.6 *Importance of Biographical Interviews in the study*

Biographical research is built around a theoretical framework of biography, agency, structure, process, experiences, and knowledge (Robert, 2002). It is firmly rooted in theoretical and methodological tradition developed over a century (Kaźmierska, 2014). It can be traced back to the Chicago school of sociology when sociologists tried to explain extensive societal changes through biographical materials like letters, diaries, memos, artifacts, and field work (Guhlich, 2017b; O'Neill, 2021). This was around the 1920s, when Chicago city was experiencing extensive transformation through industrialisation that brought migrants from Europe and other parts of the world (Zaretsky 1996). William I. Thomas, a Chicago sociologist developed interest in studying these migrants on how their background might have helped them adjust to these changes (Chamberlayne, Bornat, & Wengraf 2000). This interest led William Thomas to meet Florian Znaniecki who was director of the Polish Emigrants Protective Association in Warsaw. Thomas and Znaniecki published their first piece of work on biographical research. The basis of their study consisted of several biographical documents, autobiographies, private letters written by immigrant family members (Kohli 1981, p. 278 as cited by Guhlich, 2017b). By analysing this wide range of empirical material, Thomas and Znaniecki sought to explain how migration processes influence family structures, neighbourhoods, and the other institutional settings of migrant communities. They also sought to highlight how changes on a personal and societal level were strongly interconnected and reflective of the type of transformation migrant communities were exacting on the American society vis-à-vis their Polish roots (Breckner 2007).

This pioneering approach to research became an impetus for many sociologists in Chicago who relying on the works of Thomas and Znaniecki began to engage in the study of the crisis of migration, industrialisation, and other social processes, through individuals' biographies and experiences (Tacq, 2007; Guhlich, 2017). It brought connected experience for these migrants in terms of linking their past to the prevailing circumstances of their present. In the same vein this research project through biographical account of IDPs and members of the host communities of IDP camps was able to link the reality of displacement in postcolonial Nigeria to the lived experience of IDPs and how the historical circumstances of slave trade,

colonial rule and postcolonialism have continued to shape the Nigerian account of forced migration. This aspect seems to be missing in mainstream accounts of displacement. A biographical approach to research is of high value as it connects the private lives of the people to the reality of their time and in this case a postcolonial Nigeria in a globalised world (Mills, 2000).

IDPs in Borno State have untold stories that offer a unique understanding of the power dynamics in the reception of the displaced in Borno State, Nigeria. This account presented the general experience of IDPs in 8 official IDP camps and over 10 unofficial IDP camps in Maiduguri with an estimated population of 1.6 million people (UNHCR, 2022). Mapping the biographical accounts of IDPs presents a unique picture of how the public life and private lives of IDPs have been impacted by government's policies, the nation's colonial history and the enduring global economic pressures.

In collecting these stories, I met regularly with the interviewees explaining repeatedly the aims and objectives of the research and how important it was for them to be objective and truthful in narrating their stories. At the same time, they were assured of how anonymous all their stories were going to be at the end of the day. Within this period of several meetings with interviewees, together with encouragement and assurance from the gatekeepers they developed a significant level of trust in me. This was instrumental in helping them share their stories freely and because the language used during the interview was Hausa, an often-used language in the community. It afforded them the freedom to speak freely and confidently during the interview sessions.

All the IDPs were interviewed within the IDP camp, and we sat in places where they were comfortable and conducted interviews at times convenient to them. As for the interview with women, we used the Safe Space Office in the camp and for the men we went to places of their choice. Two host community members were interviewed in their homes, and one was interviewed in a secluded place in a church compound. The Bulama and the Hakimi were both interviewed in their houses as they requested.

4.6.7 *Strategies for Analysing Biographical Interviews*

There is a high level of sensitivity inherent in using biographical data due to difference between individual participants and the ethical requirements (Nilsen, 2008). This research

adopted a thematic approach to analyse the biographical interviews. This is in line with the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 2017). This analysis, supported by findings in some policy documents, relevant text and media publications is accompanied by predictive analysis, where future trends were identified based on participants' accounts and new recommendations on policies made. This biographical analysis was undertaken through thematic analysis based on themes generated by the interviews. These themes were generated with the aid of NVivo software which helped in the codification of data along different themes and around the five research questions. The software also identified clustered themes and word clusters in the collected data, as this was helpful in the chronological structure of the analysis.

4.6.8 *The Place of Trust and Reflexivity in Biographical Research*

According to Sarsby (1984. 96) every field work is unique and is determined by chances of meeting good informants, being in the right place at the right time, and establishing a good relationship with people. These unwritten skills play out well only through researcher's ability to be reflexive as it creates opportunity to be dynamic and supportive to interviewees at all times especially when using biographical interviews. All interactions with interviewees were planned and uniquely executed as everyone of them was treated within their uniqueness and accorded their respects accordingly. This meant that I was always reflexive in interaction with them in order to know what works well for who and why? Because most of my interviewees have not been to school, I presented myself to them as a student who was interested in understanding their situation, forms of interactions, and sociocultural problems. This approach facilitated the interaction and provided a better forum for a relaxed and trustworthy conversations.

Interviews and field trips were preceded by planning and discussion with knowledgeable academics (my supervisors and relevant gatekeepers) and all activities were documented by taking field notes. Field trips without reflexivity were considered potentially problematic both for the researcher and the community. One of the approaches adopted during the fieldwork was use of local language as medium for communication. This approach was an icebreaker as most interviewees felt at home talking to me in the local Hausa language. Hausa language especially in northern Nigeria is not only a medium of communication but also a tool that demonstrates an individual's upbringing, familiarity to Hausa cultural values and more importantly respect to others especially elders (Will, 2009). Having lived most of my life in northern Nigeria I had a good understanding of these aspect of the language and within that

positionality I created an atmosphere where most interviewees felt at home with me and were able to share their thoughts and experiences freely. For all the interaction activities, I presented myself as a concerned observer with no assurance to the interviewees of solving their problems. The participants were however, informed that the research findings could help stakeholders manage their concerns better and proffer practical solutions for the future. By carefully using Hausa phrase and words that demonstrated more importantly a desire to learn than a confrontation or interrogation, interviewees were more relaxed and under no compulsion spoke freely and extensively of their experiences while responding to the sample questions.

To be effective in any research work, there is the need to be both reflexive in methodological application, theoretical analysis, and manners of engaging interviewees in the field (Andersson, 2013). Reflexivity is all about the sensitivity and adaptation to the constantly changing social stimuli of the field. This required me to acknowledge that fieldwork could influence my judgement and data collection and lead to error (Braun & Clarke, 2021). To guard against this, an active and ongoing awareness of the need to address one's role as the researcher was maintained all through the research where I consistently reminded myself of the aims and objectives of the research (Firebaugh, 2018).

Reflexivity is important especially in qualitative thematic analysis (Bryman, 2016). This is because most thematic themes reside in our heads from our thinking about our collected data and creating links with the reviewed literature. This therefore meant that through reflexivity I kept asking questions and questioning answers throughout the research period about the method, choice of themes and ethical considerations. What was most important was that the theoretical framework and methods adopted match the aims of the research and that every decision was deliberately made free from all forms of influence. This act of reflexivity was carried out throughout the research. This was because the thorough assessment of qualitative research is an interpretive act and it requires informed reflective thought rather than the simple application of a scoring system (Kuper et al., 2008).

4.6.9 *Criteria for participants in Phase Three*

In the third phase of the research, ten participants were selected from amongst the community leaders, IDPs, IDP men and women representatives and people from the host community. The criteria for this selection were:

4.6.9.1 IDPs

A male or a female over the age of twenty-five years that has been displaced from a community other than Maiduguri town. This person should be willing and able to discuss experiences of displacement without distress or trauma, they should have lived in the IDP camp for more than two years, be able to understand the information on the participant information sheet and be able to give their consent either by signing the consent sheet or making a voice recording. Based on these criteria, three IDPs were identified; two women, and one man and were recruited.

4.6.9.2. IDP Representative

Two representatives of the IDPs were also selected and this selection was guided by the already established leadership structure that is operational in most IDP camps in Borno. IDP camps in Borno state have three leadership positions namely men leader, youth leader and women leader. The men and women leaders volunteered to participate in the research.

4.6.9.3. Host Community Members

To select participants from the host community, the following considerations were made: participants should have lived in the host community for at least ten years prior to the establishment of the IDP camp, participants should be willing to share their experiences without experiencing any form of distress or trauma, participants should be between the ages of twenty-five and sixty-five years. People within this age bracket should be sufficiently experienced to understand the sociocultural variations of their communities. Participation was voluntary and was not based on community recommendation or representation. Three members of the host community, (one female, two males) were recruited.

4.6.9.4. Criteria for Participants in the Fourth Phase of data Collection

Host Community Leaders

Two Community leaders from the host community were interviewed. A Hakimi and a Bulama. They were recruited on the basis that they had served as a community leader for a significant number of years which was considered a necessary criterion for a leader to be able to identify and discuss instances of social and cultural changes to the community. These 2

leaders have lived in the community where the IDP camp is established all their life and have some level of participation in the IDP camp affairs.

Table 4. 3 List and Number of Participants in Phase Three and Four

S/No	Participants	Portfolio
1	3	Individuals recruited from IDPs
2	2	Representatives From IDP Community Leaders
3	3	Individuals recruited from Host community
4	2	Community Leaders from Host Community
Total	10	

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Rigorous ethical considerations were made because of the sensitive nature of the research setting (IDP camps) and the vulnerability of the IDPs as victims of violence and trauma. At the beginning of the field trip, ethical approval was obtained from the UCC Social Research Ethics Committee, and a Research Integrity exam was also taken from the Epigeum Oxford University London (Certificate Number: 5347840692). These two academic bodies provided some skills and ethical issues to be considered in my ethical planning. Diligence and fairness in dealing with would-be participants in the first and second phases of the research was a significant consideration. In phase one, data was collected online through semi-structured questionnaires and in phase two, data was collected through a face-to-face interview using biographical interviews, and semi-structured interviews. People who were already traumatised by the incidences of displacement were excluded from participating in the study.

Working with two organisations as gatekeepers (JDPC and IOM) in the camp enabled me to build a network of support, a safe space for the interviews and a robust recruitment process. These organisations provided some basic guidelines on how to interact with the IDPs in the camp and some camp safety measures especially at the time when Covid-19 was a global health concern. Participants information sheets and consent forms informed participants about the research, what role they were to play, the duration of their participation and their rights to withdraw from the research. A volunteer Declaration form based on UCC COVID-19

regulations was also used to ensure that only those who were vaccinated and with no underlying health condition were recruited for the research. I also took the Covid-19 vaccine to safeguard my health and other participants.

Ethically, three things were important in my study, 1) the general restrictions and control in IDP camp life, 2) the level of insecurity in Maiduguri especially in some of the unofficial IDP camps and, 3) the compounding impact of Covid-19 pandemic on IDP camp life. These issues were further intensified by the mental state of the IDPs most of whom were suffering from post-traumatic stress. Organisations, and stakeholders were at the time of data collection overwhelmed by the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic and restrictions. The pandemic forced some organisations to withdraw services and/or downsize workers due to lack of funding. These issues demanded that interaction be more conscious and precise. At this time the manner of approach, choice of words and sensitivity to the mood and emotions of participants were all factored in to enable effective communication and interaction. From an interactive point of view, nothing was taken for granted before, during and after every interview session.

There were concerns as to whether would-be participants were going to trust me to talk about their experiences, but as I began communicating with them in either Hausa or Fulfulde, the common languages used around the community, it made it easy for participants to trust me and freely share their stories. This positionality facilitated my integration into the community and was key factor to the success of my participant observation trips. During the interviews, every session began with me reassuring interviewee that the interviews were purely for academic purposes, and that their thoughts and comments were going to be anonymised to conceal their identities and place of origin. This regular reassurance was important especially for IDPs and security personnel who felt they would be unsafe should people identify them through this provided data. During interview sessions, discussions were directed mainly to the themes and issues relevant to the research and by doing so I avoided personalised stories of tragedy and trauma. At the end of the interview, interviewees were again assured of the confidentiality of their identity and how diligent their shared stories were going to be handled. Finally, interviewees were informed that counselling sessions were available at JDPC centre should they feel any form of distress as a result of the interview.

The privacy of the IDPs was always respected especially their living quarters. Before visiting any section of the IDP camp, prior information was. Areas in the camp where I felt

IDPs privacy could be invaded by my presence were avoided, these included places like their kitchens, bathrooms/toilets, and laundry spots. An objective and detached listening approach was challenging but essential to maintain a non-judgement and balanced interaction especially in cases where interviewees accuse government, IDPs, host community members, Boko Haram, and/or NGOs of wrongdoing. The guiding principle for these interactions was 'if I cannot make them better, I must do everything not to make them feel worse. Self-care was also important and regular communication with my supervisors was helpful in this regard. They motivated and supported me. Some of the concerns they raised during our briefings helped me in my field planning. Even though I was alone in the field, the virtual support from my supervisors together with the gatekeepers (JDPC and IOM) made the field work conducive and safe.

4.7.1 *Data Analysis*

I carried out the transcription of the collected data conscious of the views of Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) that investigators who emphasize modes of communication and linguistic style may choose to do their own transcribing to secure the details relevant to their specific analysis. Some interviewees preferred to speak in Hausa language and because I can speak the language as well, there was no need for an interpreter. Other Interviewees that spoke in English also used Hausa phrases, slangs, and proverbs to express their views. This demanded that I do the transcription myself so as not to lose the context and meaning of what they said. This was the first stage of data analysis, transcribing objectively what the interviewees said (Kyale, et al 2009). This transcription was done verbatim to ensure that the interviewees views or opinions were retained and at the same ensuring that the context of their views aligned to their intended themes. These were further analysed in according with the aims and objectives of the research.

Data analysis was carried out in the first instance through these generated themes, aligning them with the aims and objectives of the research (Schütze, 2014). This analysis was done with the aid of NVivo, a qualitative computer software that identifies patterns in interviewees responses to the research questions (Apitzsch, & Siouti, 2007; Andrews, 2016). Two major approaches were used in analysing the biographical interviews; firstly, general themes commented on by biographical participants as it relates to the research questions, and secondly the distinctive views shared by every interviewee. The research attempted spelling out the relationship between lived experiences and social processes as observed by Kłoskowska (2001) and Bertaux (2006) that social processes are best understood within the lived experience

of the individuals. The thematic analysis was based on a grounded theory approach as this approach can identify the situated nature of knowledge as well as the contingent nature of practice. The choice for grounded theory was because multiple methods were used for data collection generating multiple relevant themes (Corbally, & O'Neill, 2014; Seligmann, & Estes, 2020). As observed by Maijala, Paavilainen & Astedt-Kurki, (2003) grounded theory (Glaser, & Strauss, 2017) is a diverse approach for studying interaction and gives a researcher perseverance and flexibility in their data analysis.

All themes generated were analysed through the lens of symbolic interactionist theory (SI) of George Herbert Mead (1865-1931). This was primarily aimed at demonstrating how IDPs, host community members and other stakeholders perceive and present themselves in the IDP camps/host community setting. The SI theory is very much linked to the biographical research method in the sense that biographical interviews are about the public and private lives of individuals, and the told narrative of how the social structures and agents have influenced and shaped their experience. The SI theory also looks at how social perception and mental structures influence and shapes people's actions and behaviour (Schütze, 1992). Biographical interviews therefore are intertwined with the lived experience through social symbols that the SI theory is developed around.

The SI theory sits well with the biographical approach of this research because it deals with the shared stories, myths and belief systems of a community and how that belief system, biographies and experiences are articulated and presented. According to Blumer, (2017) sociological theory is a set of ideas that provide an explanation for human society. Although there is no theory that can single handedly explain the whole of human reality (Ogumbameru, 2013) and all sociological theories are basically made of; well-defined concepts and logical interconnected and internally consistent propositions, that must go beyond facts and be provisionally open to rejection or revision based on new evidence and insight. Finally, they must be verifiable in a preliminary way (Ogumbameru, 2013; Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2017). The reason for using SI theory to analyse this research was because IDP incidence is multifaceted and could be examined from different perspectives based on interest. Use of the SI theory presents the agent developed intellectual property of the phenomenon and opens it for further inquiry through other theories as the case might be.

The SI theory is a theory of meaning and explains that meaning is usually derived from the process of interaction and has the potential of shaping future action. Meaning is therefore

created and modified by the agent. Social meanings are products of interpretive procedures employed by actors within interactive settings.

4.7.2 Symbolic Interactionist Theory

Symbolic interactionist (SI) theory is identified with the Chicago School of pragmatism and part of the European traditions of social thought that is linked to the ancient Greek society (Engdahl & Müller, 2015). This theory is considered one of the enduring theories of the 20th century (Quist-Adade, 2019) because of its capacity to interpret the changing trends of society. This makes it a timely tool for this research because scholars like Schutze (1992) had used the SI theory in biographical research because of its dependence on oral tradition. The theory was originally developed by Herbert Blumer from the social behaviourist thoughts of sociologists like William James, George Simmel, (Engdahl, et al, 2015) John Dewey, Max Weber, and George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) (Olakunle, 2008). Meads (1934) posits that human actions are primarily social, and they depend on social symbols that govern society (Lasswell & Kaplan, 2017). The SI theory was propounded by Mead and was named SI by Herbert Blumer who departing from social structuralism (Stinchcombe, 2013) argued that social structures and systems do not exist, only individuals, their interactions, and the evolving social systems (Mills, 2000; Olakunle, 2008; Giddens, et al, 2013; Quist-Adade, 2019)). This is why the theory offers a good approach to empirical analysis and is linked to agents' biographical account of reality, making the postcolonial Nigerian setting a good setting for its application.

The SI theory is somewhat linked to phenomenology and ethnomethodology. Although they have specific differences, but as a group they stand together in contrast to the structural theories of sociology (Giddens & Sutton, 2013). This is because the theory places a premium on human agency and biographical accounts fit well with a human agency approach to Nigerian postcolonial society vis-à-vis the social structures. The SI theory, therefore, underscores how individuals and societies create and recreate their social world through symbols in a joint interaction with other social actors (in this case IDPs, host community members and stakeholders) (Quist-Adade, 2019). A symbol does not simply stand for an object or event it represents; it does more than that because the symbol also defines the understanding of those who use them (Blumer, 2017). The German sociologist George Simmel (1858-1918) is considered one of the great contributors to the development of this theory (Jacobsen, 2017, 1).

According to Ogunbameru (2008, 86), the SI theory stresses the way society is created through individuals' interactions and Lopata (2003) opined that the term "symbolic

interactionism" have been used as a label for a relatively distinctive approach to the study of group life and human conduct with certain key concepts like sentiments, social role, identities, and self-concept standing out. Sentiment is about a feeling of sympathy for instance that might not always come from an emotional feeling alone but also from an awareness of the circumstances of the situation (Lopata, 2003). In this thesis, the IDPs and host community's sentiments on religious extremism, displacement, IDP camp and its vulnerability, leading to social exclusion or inclusion could present a new understanding of the phenomenon in general.

Lopata (2003) in another light observed that SI theory is built around social roles that are sets of negotiated, interdependent social relations between a person and social circles of rights, privileges, duties, and obligations. This does not stress the idea of a social system possessing structure and regularity, but it focuses on the way individuals and communities through their interpretation of social reality that is often intertwined with people's behaviour generate meaning. The SI theory examines social symbols that aid meaningful interaction. These symbols refer not only to the intrinsic nature of events but also to the way people perceive those symbols and events within their own experience. This is the linking point of this theory to the biographical approach in this thesis. Most SI theorists have argued that the theoretical perspective of this theory addresses some glaring flaws in the conventional sociological approaches of research especially in ethnographical cases (Dennis, 2011) where issues are generalised without connecting the individual dots. This theoretical approach is judged as a good way of examining displacement in postcolonial Nigeria to attain a connected sociology. The SI theory is built on the premise that 'meaning is the outcome of actors' interpretations of their social settings. Blumer (1969) amplified this further by saying that people act based on the meanings they have, and this meaning is developed through social interaction and sometimes requires active interpretation. Blumer (1962, 2) summarises this SI theory with three basic premises namely 1) human acts are heavily determined by the meaning attributed to objects and events, 2) meanings are developed through processes of interpersonal interaction and can be modified or recreated as these interactions persist, 3) meanings are results of interpretive procedures employed by actors within interactive contexts. For Arnold Rose (1973.139-149) SI theory is developed on four assumptions namely. 1) People live in a symbolic environment as well as a physical environment and can be stimulated to act by symbols as well as physical stimuli. A symbol is defined as a stimulus that has a learned meaning and value, 2) through symbols, people have the capacity to stimulate others in a plethora of ways other than those in which they themselves were stimulated and people

communicate to evoke meanings and value in the way and manner they intended, 3) through communication of symbols, people develop the capacity to learn new meanings and values and 4) symbols, meanings, and values do not occur in isolation, but often in clusters and sometimes in a large and complex context.

These SI theory assumptions make the theory the best tool to analyse this research, because the research is community based with particular concern for the social and cultural impacts of IDP camps in host communities as well as forms of interpretation and meanings generated by the IDP and host community interactions in Borno state.

4.7 Challenges Encountered During the Research

The challenges encountered were quite significant. Beginning with the stress of listening to some of the harrowing biographical stories of IDPs as I felt overwhelmed that such stories were not known to the public. I also had some challenges in financing the research, given the distance from Ireland to Nigeria, the cost of food, accommodation, regular phone/internet calls, security threats in Borno state, and the rigour of going through security checks and screening in order to access the IDP camps. Finally other logistics were challenging including regular testing for Covid-19, and vaccination. One major difficulty encountered during the research was the Covid-19 restrictions both here in Ireland and Nigeria. Covid-19 restrictions affected my research in no small measure as I could not gain access to public libraries, IDP camps and even the host community during the Covid-19 lockdowns.

In the first phase of the research, approaching some of the NGOs and government institutions was very challenging as most of them didn't believe my intention and believed that I was working undercover for a government agency or an NGO. To convince them, I had to present my UCC ethics approval letter, a photocopy of my student's ID, my research proposal, participant information sheet and consent form. This problem repeated itself in the second, third and fourth phases of the research, where some IDPs and people from the host community doubted my intention of coming to their community. Assistance from the gatekeepers and my use of the local dialects helped to overcome this difficulty. Familiarity and fair knowledge of a place and people was instrumental in good data collection in this work and highlights the importance of reflexivity.

I also had concern on my safety while in the field because of a series of attacks from Boko Haram especially in villages around Maiduguri and rumour of people being kidnapped

daily (Usman, & Singh, 2021; Ajakaiye, Nwozor, Ojeka, Aleyomi, Owoeye, Ojeka-John, & Okidu, 2022). With the help of the gatekeeper organisations (Justice Development and Peace Commission and International Organisation on Migration (JDPC and OIM)), this was addressed as they gave me security although on the condition that I go to the camp or community only at the hours when their security personnel and staff were at work. Although there were rumours that many unusual things happen at night around the camp, I avoided the risk of coming out at such hours because there was no guarantee of my safety at such hours. The UCC sole worker policy of constantly checking in with my supervisors while in the field was also instrumental in ensuring my safety at this time.

Finally, I also had the challenge of some participants especially, IDPs expecting some material or financial reward for having participated in the research. In the first instance I had informed all participants that this was purely self-funded research, and this research was an academic effort to understand the growing trends around IDP camps/host community, and their candid suggestions were going to help me make good recommendations to stakeholders for better policies and management of IDP camps in future. This act of openness was instrumental in taking away that financial expectation from participants even though at most interview sessions, snacks, drink, and water were provided for participants especially when interview sessions were long.

This research afforded me the opportunity to develop a postcolonial narrative on displacement in Nigeria towing on contemporary and other great postcolonial sociologists of the past, the research documented the postcolonial views of indigenous thinkers in Borno State based on their lived experiences in Nigeria. The research also created a forum for encounters between the displaced, the host community members and stakeholders of displacement articulating the various solutions, challenges and obstacles as they relate to displacement within the study setting. The Covid-19 pandemic was an unprecedented reality that affected lives and communities throughout the world and through this research I was able to document this experience within a migration and internal displacement context including a unique and special account of displacement in general and Borno State in particular. On a personal note, this research reinstated my self confidence and trust in biographical methods as an important way of advancing social knowledge especially in Africa where oral knowledge and storytelling has been a norm. Since I began reading and studying more about biographical research and storytelling, I realise how much knowledge and information is still lying fallow in most

communities in Nigeria and the urgency to harvest this knowledge and data before it dies with the sages of these communities.

The following chapter documents the main research findings of my research. It provides detailed empirical evidence of the experiences of forced displacement as it is accounted for by various stakeholders. It offers unique insights into the type of sociocultural changes occurring in Borno State and notes various forms of integration, hybridisation and stigmatisation unfolding in everyday life as well as, different approaches used in the mitigation of displacement in Nigeria and the challenges and lapses inherent in this effort as experienced by IDPs and host community members.

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Vitalis, J. P. 2024. The social and cultural impact of internally displaced persons, IDPs' camps on the host community in Nigeria: a sociological evaluation. PhD Thesis, University College Cork.

Please note that Chapters 5, 6 & 7 (pp. 119- 231) are unavailable due to a request by the author.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

EVALUATION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0 Introduction

This chapter considers the research findings of the thesis, beginning with some critical assessments how noted changes have been shaped and influenced by major societal trends. By critically looking at the research findings, the theoretical framework as well as the aims and objections of the research, it is evident that IDP camps in Borno State have brought a plethora of sociocultural changes to host communities, igniting new trends of sociocultural interaction with reciprocal benefits and challenges as well. These changes challenge the present structure of community life and at the same time open a conversation on new opportunities for cross cultural exchange, integration, further avenues for a cosmopolitanisation of public spaces, a consolidation of national identities, processes of cultural hybridisation and newly unfolding economies through the consolidation of postcolonial features unique to the Nigerian state. A recognition of these features identifies some hidden trends of the Nigerian forced migration narrative and contributes immensely to a body of sociological knowledge on forced migration, especially from an African perspective. By generating a new level of understanding of factors contributing to and exacerbating forced migration in Borno state, this qualitative study aims to contribute to knowledge in this field. The empirical research drew on decolonising biographical research methods to show how African patterns of storytelling is a folklore packed with grounded knowledge that is both experiential and rich in wisdom. This chapter knits together the general arguments arising from the findings of the research and presents a series of recommendations on how approaches to IDP camp schemes can be improved, based on a reflective consideration of the issues and themes raised by the eighteen interviewees and participant observations.

Building on the findings of the field research, a series of recommendations as well as a review of the scholarly discourse relevant to the Nigerian migration story and history will be presented. This chapter concludes by conceding that IDP camps in host communities can have a transformative effect on host communities and local communities can harness their full potentials to support displaced persons in a sustainable manner if they are supported generously in doing so, provided with necessary resources, skills and security. This section concludes with a series of recommendations based on these findings, including those on the future direction of

research.

8.1 Discussion

The research for this thesis set out to examine how stakeholders, IDPs and host communities' interactions contribute to the formation of new forms of social and cultural rituals of interaction and cultural exchange in a Nigerian postcolonial setting. It also explored evolving trends of forced migration and how these continue to trigger changes in the socio-cultural landscape of communities that host IDPs in Nigeria. These findings speak to those of Castles (2003) who argue for greater understanding of how IDP camps can trigger social transformation in communities that host them. These transformations are not unilaterally the same in every setting as every displacement story bears the unique features of the historical, environmental, social, political and economic characteristics of the society where displacement has occurred. The account of Borno state presented here recounts IDP's experience as well as the coping mechanisms they have developed to survive within the IDP camps and in interaction with stakeholders and host community members.

Has the Research Achieve its Aims and Objectives?

The research achieved its aims and objectives by showing through its findings how the multiple purposes of IDP camps are experienced by IDPs, stakeholders, and host communities, as reflected throughout the finding chapters (five, six and seven). It also highlighted forms of interaction between IDPs and members of the host community, noting how these interactions change the social landscapes of the host community. The findings also demonstrated how social barriers of religion and ethnicity are gradually broken down between IDPs and host communities and at other times how they are reinforced by the evolving social changes. Research findings also assessed displacement as an experience of locals, noting how it is understood locally, and the key factors influencing this understanding. Research findings also gathered biographical accounts of life in and around IDP camps and, in doing so, developed a more comprehensive understanding of how displacement have been felt in real life setting in Nigeria. It also demonstrates how IDP camps, as spaces of superdiversity impact host communities with new forms of sociocultural hybridisation. The research findings presented how communities negotiate meaning around superdiversity and cosmopolitanisation emerging in their midst. It also explained empirically why IDP camps have often been preferred over other possibilities by both host governments and NGOs. In the case of Nigeria, the deplorable state of the IDP camp and the ad hoc approach used in setting up the camps as recounted by

IDPs in the finding chapters confirmed government's inability to financially fund the camps adequately thereby resulting to delegating this task to NGOs. Importantly, the findings contribute to sociology, through a postcolonial analysis and presentation of forced migration and IDP camps based on African experience and storytelling through biographical and ethnographic methods - thus countering the dominant Eurocentric/western approach to refugee studies and studies of displacement -and the important concept of hospitality. Lastly, the research findings documented the experiences of the IDPs and host communities during the global pandemic of Covid-19 and forms of interactions that occurred at that time.

The objectives of the research to developing a grounded understanding of the emerging scenarios of social and cultural change arising from the interaction between IDPs and host communities in Borno state were met as such making this research findings a good reference point for grounded account on forced displacement in Nigeria. Based on this, recommendations are made by interviewees on how to develop a schema of best practice and guidelines for the management of IDPs in Nigeria.

Theoretically, the research was framed around a postcolonial cosmopolitan perspective of migration and displacement in Nigeria showing some of the limitations of mainstream sociological views from the west. This was seen in some of the unique mitigation approaches to displacement used in Nigeria and how they contribute to a better understanding of displacement as a general phenomenon of human life. This understanding contributes to the body of knowledge by clarifying some of the generalisations made regarding the push and pull factors responsible for current scenarios and understanding of migration study in general. It also accounted for a postcolonial understanding of how historical events of colonial rule, neocolonialism and exploitivism have continued to exacerbate scenes of displacement in Africa.

The Paradox of a Postcolonial state in the face of Forced Displacement

As I listened to stakeholders, IDPs, host community members and community leaders, my research identified various indicators of the encounter between traditional community life and the emerging Nigerian postcolonial ways of living and interacting with IDPs, the influence of strong external forces and economic dependencies on NGOs. While traditional communities engage with IDPs in historically traditional ways of addressing forced displacement as identified in the finding chapters with scenes of intermarriage, craft and skill exchange, cuisine

exchange, reciprocal job opportunities and hospitality. IDPs and host community members are caught up in a web of national bureaucracy structured around the procedures and institutional rules imposed by NGOs and IDP camp administrators. This phase of uncertainty in the Nigerian state has resulted in scenes of tension on perceived inequalities, poor governance, and control, emerging trends of cultural hybridisation, superdiversity, cosmopolitanisation of the public spaces often in ways not welcomed by traditional community leaders. However, the arrival of displaced peoples into the community has also brought benefits, including greater cultural variety, economic activity and social exchange as vividly expressed in the finding chapters. These experiences of IDPs and host community members were recounted to me through interviews but are explored more generally in the community through traditions of storytelling. The latter bear the African fingerprint of knowledge generation where experiences are filtered and passed on as family/community history. This history bears the imprint of the understanding made from these historical events as well.

Connected Sociology

As observed by Mbembe (2021) decolonisation entails a quest for a future that is mixed with the received western tradition and inherited traditions anchored on experience that is filtered through lived experience of the people. This becomes a connected sociology that is about the disciplinary formation of sociology and how that formation understands and presents the world at the academic level. Research finding in chapters five, six and seven revealed this nexus and how IDPs and host community members have over the years navigated this reality. This documented account was important because the current gap in sociological understandings about the experience of being displaced or being a host to the displaced in non-western settings has been minimal. The research findings further highlighted that key forces driving change in postcolonial Nigeria include internal displacement, growing diversity, social inequalities, cultural trends of exclusion/inclusion, loss of identity, rising incidences of terrorism, kidnapping and crime. These encounters and the evolving trends around them create an analysis of the Nigerian sociology of displacement adding to the general understanding of the phenomenon. Interviewed IDPs' narratives revealed the hidden faces behind the Nigerian displacement story and the imprint of their understanding of forced displacement. It was Adichie (2009) who once said the world needs to be sensitive to the danger of a single story.

Generally, when symbol or concept are designed to recount a single story, with the power to silence counter local perspectives. The prevailing dominant story clandestinely slips

into the people's mind and invariably becomes the normative understanding of the reality in question. The west with its advanced media system tends to drive contemporary understanding of forced migration across many territories in the world including Nigeria. This is further heightened by the reality that Nigeria's account of displacement has not gained enough global coverage to evoke a better understanding of the reality in general. More importantly the Nigerian government presents the reality in a manner that appears to suggest that everything is under control, while on the other hand many lives and properties are being lost on daily basis (Onapajo, 2017). Many scholars have argued that Nigeria is a failed state because of her inability to secure the lives and properties of her citizens with many cases of internal displacement from Boko Haram, Killer Herdsmen and ethnic clashes (Oko, Ufomba & Benjamin, 2018; Denis, 2023). Migration as a global concern is dominantly articulated as a global south vs global north issue and seldomly discussed in terms of the south/south internal migration which in most cases it is the root cause of African migrants to the west. To talk about a postcolonial Nigeria is to talk about colonial legacies that has hampered development in most African states. According to Gadha, Kaboub, Koddenbrock, Mahmoud, & Sylla, (2022) although colonialism has come to an end politically, many African countries have not been able to escape the economic grip and control of the IMF, World Bank, and the EU's strict neoliberal policies. These policies accompany every aid and humanitarian assistance that come to the African continent tightening the grip and control of most states in African. A better understanding of these postcolonial trends and its impact to internal migration in the global south could help build a better understanding of the "nitty gritty" of forced migration in Africa.

The data collected from interviewees demonstrate that use of IDP camps as a humanitarian intervention measure and integration of displaced persons in Nigerian has both positive and negative impacts on IDPs as well as host communities. Using the African way of knowledge generation, which is holistic, intuitive, experiential, religious and mythological, participants through storytelling advanced a postcolonial understanding of displacement and embedded in their stories was how their knowledge of the colonial past has continued to fuel scenarios of suspicion and distrust for western aid and intervention. This was clearly demonstrated by some of the responses like that made by Lucky a host community member who was quoted earlier saying that people in the community are suspicious of the NGOs owing to the rumour making rounds that NGOs are also providing humanitarian aid to Boko Haram members. This concern was also expressed by Sean the community leader and Chioma a host community woman that this suspicion affected in no little measure how IDPs and host

community members responded to news of the Covid-19 pandemic. Lucky as cited in chapter seven of this thesis succinctly expressed this suspicion thus… "we didn't believe the NGOs when they asked us to observe the Covid-19 protocols. This is because we have already had instances where we felt that they are not working for our interest, like giving humanitarian aid to Boko Haram members'. Samaila (2023) of the Guardian Newspaper in Adamawa state also reported incidences of this suspicion when he wrote that the governor of Adamawa state has suspended the activities of all NGOs local and international working in the state for their departure from their primary duties of humanitarian services and for dabbling in partisan politics and inciting the people to disrespect traditional values of the community. This is just one instance where helicopter approaches to social issues often creates a clash of interest and undermines the fragile control and stability of the community.

Way Forward: Community Empowerment and Decolonisation of IDP Camps.

As observed by Anthony Guterres (UNHCR, 2015) the task of either ensuring that displaced people return home, or are adequately assisted if they cannot go home is an urgent one that needs to be addressed. At present, the former task rests upon the government and the latter on the host communities, government and NGOs. The research findings of this thesis shows that this is more complex, firstly because Boko Haram still control a large portion of the rural communities in Borno state. Secondly locals of these ravaged communities have not been able to go back and rebuild their homes and community infrastructures. Thirdly the safety of IDPs returning home is not guaranteed as long as Boko Haram are active and in control. As much as the Kampala (2009) convention document insist that state parties have a responsibility to assist IDPs to make a free and informed choice on whether to return home, integrate locally or relocate, research findings seem to indicate that the government's inability to return IDPs to their homes has necessarily forced the government into using IDP camps as a cushion to relieve the pressure of mass displacement. Unfortunately, recounting the views shared by IDPs and other host community members as reflected in chapter six and seven, the task of taking care of IDPs appear to have been passed uncourteously to local and international NGOs. This NGOs humanitarian approach to displacement has often been a 'one-hat-fits-all' approach here IDPs in most cases are housed in camps and provided with basic humanitarian provisions. This has become a norm on humanitarian intervention used in Nigeria whenever people are displaced. This approach ignores local contexts while advancing the single story of 'humanitarian need' as the norm, ignoring needs of belonging and loss of identity. Using such approach over the

years in Nigeria has concealed the pain, emotions, trauma interwoven around the whole reality. This has over the years stood in the way that a clear picture of the horror of displacement in Nigeria and its postcolonial underpinnings is rarely seen or spoken about. The NGO-based narrative becomes the overriding understanding of displacement as reflected in chapter five. These NGOs often of western humanitarian agencies have taken a central stage, as they tend to create a western dependency structure that sometimes humiliates, undermine and places displaced persons in perpetual dependency with no sustainable long-term plan.

As observed by Ekif one of the IDPs and Sean a community leader, that IDP camps are more or less the primary responsibility of NGOs rather than that of the government. This according to them is because the government has indirectly abdicated the IDP camps to NGOs. Bauman (2007) a contemporary sociologist highlighted that global solutions to locally produced problems are no longer viable as all localities now bear the consequences of modernity and need to devise local solutions to globally produced problems. Experience has shown in some countries in Africa that in circumstances where there are no international NGOs, communities are compelled to find local solutions to their problems and often these locally generated solutions produce better lifestyle for IDPs and host communities. The UN report (2024) on internal displacement in Africa acknowledged that the world needs to learn from Africa on her humanitarian approach to displacement as it recognises the dignity of the displaced, gives them opportunity to continue with life as well as offer them opportunities for humane integration. Countries like Tanzania, granted citizenship to 200,000 refugees, giving them access to land and political life of the state. In Zambia, the Government granted residency, land access rights and socio-economic integration to long-term former refugees. In Uganda, refugees are given small plots of land in villages enabling integration with the host community (UN, African Report 2024). The Liberian second civil war of 1999 lasted for four years, resulting in the death of many and displacement of millions to Guinea and Cote D'Ivoire. The Jesuits Refugees Services (JRS, 2003) building a good alliance with the government and the local community adopted a grounded method of camping where makeshifts accommodations were provided for the displaced within living communities. This led to an easy integration of the displaced into the community as they were not caged in camps but offered new opportunities to move on with life within a normal life setting. It was feasible for these IDPs to continue with normal life and with time some relocated back to Liberia after the war. However, most of them integrated into the community in Guinea and Cote D'Ivoire (JRS OCHA, 2003).

This research and the account of stakeholders, IDPs and host community members in Borno State show that an organic network of interaction has been created with new opportunities for employment, education, cultural hybridisation and new ties of relationship and marriage that takes away a unidirectional and condescending relationship between IDPs and members of the wider host community. This relationship is beyond humanitarian concern alone as humanitarian aid cannot guarantee a long-term solution to displacement. Displaced persons are more in need of new opportunities to become self-reliant, with access to education, work, land and livelihood. These instances were seen to exist as told by stakeholders and accounted by the lived experience of IDPs and host community members, indicating that the postcolonial account of displacement in Nigeria bears some significant difference to western practice. This research finding furthers the discourse on connected sociology (Bhambra, 2014) that Nigeria also has a sociological understanding and a track record of successfully dealing with cases of forced displacement. This finding at the same time acknowledges how instances of capitalism, migration, religious extremism, neocolonialism, and exploitation of IDPs and communities theoretically, and empirically plays out through the IDP camp schemes. This understanding is contrary to/or rebuts the one-sided understandings that Nigerian IDPs cannot survive on their own without external intervention from international NGOs as local communities might not have had the opportunity to attend to this need within their own planning.

From the research findings, the use of IDP camps in Nigeria, is possible firstly because of the collective sympathy host community members have for victims of religious extremism. This sympathy is further heightened by some shared sociocultural and religious affiliations of language, religion and culture that IDPs have in common with communities that host them. Sympathy from host communities is seen in how host communities initiate support by setting up temporary accommodation for IDPs and these accommodations often end up as IDP camps. Secondly use of IDP camps in Nigeria appear reliable because of the humanitarian and financial aid that the government gets from international NGOs who in most cases run these camps on behalf of the government. Thirdly, use of IDP camps has become a path through which the government buys time as it struggles to put an end to the circumstances that warranted the displacement of people in the first place. Fourthly, use of IDP camps in host communities have been sustained according to stakeholders by the slowly growing socioeconomic interactions that exist between IDPs and host community members as well as the support IDPs and host community members get from NGOs and government. Lastly, IDP camps in Nigeria have been

used by government as a measure to manage displaced persons, cover up the government's inability to provide the humanitarian needs of IDPs by allowing multiple NGOs to run the camps with little or less supervision as recounted by Hajara an IDP (RQ4 chapter seven) that they are lost and have no hope for a future as government appear to have no plan for them and their future. Sarki the community leader also highlighted this as cited in RQ4 when he said 'I cannot say with certainty what the government wants to do with IDPs, and I think there is no sincerity and truth in this IDP camp scheme. IDPs are living in conditions and situations that undermines their dignity as human beings. These IDPs are gifted and talented people but due to the circumstances they are kept in and the restrictions created by the IDP camp structure; they lack the impetus to use these gifts and talents to forge ahead with life".

This is further exacerbated by the unstable political system in Nigeria that is unfortunately eclipsed by a neocolonial global pressure through the international unfair economic policies, IMF currency control, and external militarisation of nonstate actors like Boko Haram, killer Herdsmen and the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). This has forced the government into easily accepting foreign aid and humanitarian intervention that is built on the western paradigm. This western displacement approach is capital intensive as they can afford such resources but is at the same demeaning as it creates a perpetual dependency structure. While Nigerian IDP camps are highly influenced and somewhat dependent on western funded NGOs, they may not be at par with their western counterparts as this requires an enormous investment from the local and regional government. This limited resource has impacted on the IDP camps reflecting more clearly Nigeria's colonial past, her political instability, her endemic corruption, international dependency and her slowly failing civil state.

Hospitality Vis-à-vis the Kampala Convention Agreement

The African Union (AU) endorsing the United Nations Guiding Principal on IDPs at the Kampala convention agreement (Kampala, 2009) acknowledged the enduring suffering of IDPs and how their long stay in camps has become a source of continuing instability and tension in the continent with the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya as a living proof (Tunda, 2016). The AU at the same time aware of the limited resources amongst members, opined that the common African heritage of hospitality could be an avenue through which member states could support IDPs creating a path towards integration and growth of cosmopolitan cities across the region (Kampala, 2009). This study in the same way has highlighted the importance of creating a more cosmopolitan settings as a postcolonial approach to displacement in Nigeria

as this will foster unity eschewing the ethnic and religious divide that has been the bane of most conflicts in Nigeria. This could be achieved through the government helping communities to act as agents of social change and providing local and organic base for displaced persons to better integrate into these communities without disrupting the sociocultural settings of these communities. This research finding emphasised the urgency of moving away from an institutionalised displacement mitigation scheme dependent on NGOs to a community-based mitigation strategy where local communities are empowered to spearhead the recovery and reintegration of IDPs in Borno State. This can invariably enhance community engagement, a sense of belonging and appreciation of the African spirit of hospitality and brotherhood. This understanding was also evident (figure 8.1) when collected data was run through word cloud on NVivo software with "Community" as the key phrase used by most interviewees to address the problem of displacement in Borno State.



Figure 8. 1 Word Cloud with Community as the strongest word in the interview subset

Community: Seeking Safety in an Insecure World

The research findings evidence a number of examples of community engagement in the support of IDPs, built on African tradition of hospitality, as it appears to be working in the Borno State context, and it fits well for this community because of its limited resources. This spirit of hospitality is exhibited more in communities where IDPs share common sociocultural traits with host community members as evident by the account shared by Sarah one of the NGO stakeholders as cited in chapter five of this thesis saying, "we also have situations where long stays in camp is not a problem for communities when community members have strong family, tribal or religious affiliations with IDPs in camp'. These communities however become uncomfortable when the duration of hosting these IDPs become long-term. This is because when this temporality fails and IDPs' stay invariably become a long-term solution to displacement, new trends of interaction are created giving rise to new sociocultural changes amongst IDPs and host community members. These changes are usually pioneered by the economic interaction around IDPs, where NGO workers find new opportunities for employment to provide humanitarian interventions. Host community members in turn find opportunities for employment, community development, cheap labour, and a new hierarchy of social relationships challenging the one that had existed previously. This new form of interaction creates a new economic network between IDPs and host community members and incidence of exploitation and social abuses as commented by Sarki a community member in chapter six of this thesis.

As stated earlier forced displacement is triggered by a multifaceted human and natural factors (George & Adelaja, 2022). In Nigerian, these factors take on different forms under different circumstances. In the British colonial times communities were destroyed and chiefs and emirs who opposed British rule were deposed and exiled. The postcolonial time of today is besieged by the political tensions that incessantly hamper the peace and stability of the country. The democratic system of Nigeria is further undermined by the ruling elite's inability to deliver on the dividends of democracy to the people, fuelled by their corruption unpatriotic behaviour. Nigerian politicians have been adjudged to be responsible for the present Nigerian displacement saga (Anazodo, Igbokwe-Ibeto, & Nkah, 2015). While religious extremism by

Boko Haram takes the central stage in the share of blames for the present displacement story, the postcolonial Nigerian setting creates a fertile ground for these religious ideologies of extremism to thrive. IDPs in Nigeria are therefore victim of a series of events that cannot be explained by one single narrative. IDP camp intervention scheme on the other hand does not seem to factor these complexities, as a lopsided and inadequately supervised system is saddled with the responsibility of spearheading the management of displaced persons. This concern was expressed by Sarki when he said

> Sincerely speaking I cannot say with certainty what the government wants to do with the IDPs. Life is generally difficult for everyone in the community but more for the IDPs. I think there is no clarity about the IDP camp scheme. The IDP camp is both a blessing and a problem, a blessing in the sense that it is the lifeline of many displaced people but it has at the same time become a big problem for people in the community as we live with people, that we know little about especially in terms of their crime records and more important their future. IDPs are living in conditions and situations that undermines their dignity as human beings. They are gifted and talented people but the circumstances they are kept in does not give them the impetus to use these gifts and talents to better themselves. They have suddenly resolve to idling around and waiting on NGOs and government officials to feed and clothe them. Such lifestyle does not befit a grown adult in the Nigeria of today.

Thus, the interviewees accounts reveal an IDP humanitarian intervention programme that has continued to yield challenging outcome as the system erodes social values of both the IDPs and host communities. More importantly, IDPs, stakeholders, community leaders and community members who take advantage of a weak, poorly supervised system see the IDP intervention scheme as a money-making adventure. Esther an IDP woman expressed this concern when she said

> Since I came to this camp, I feel as though the government has abandoned us in the hands of NGOs as we rarely feel or see any government representative. Everything in the camp is carried out by one NGO or the other. NGOs on the other hand are interested only in our humanitarian needs. NGOs and government officials are aware that food items and other provisions shared

> out to us are sold off immediately to people in the community, but nothing is said or done about it. IDP camp is like a business space where everyone is here for his or her own interest and it feels as though we are only used for business in this place making IDPs the immaterial commodity around which this business is developed.

This perception can be related to the symbolic interactionist theory that states that individuals and societies create and recreate their social world through symbols in a joint interaction with other social actors; in this case IDPs, host community members and stakeholders (Carter & Fuller, 2016). The IDP camp does not stand for an object or event it represents; it does more than that because symbol also defines the understanding of those who use them. The responses from interviewees have demonstrated this line of analysis and there are series of understanding based on the experiences of these individuals.

Forced migration is widespread and sometimes menacing to the society. It is also a transforming reality that creates room for new identities, social stratification and developments of new realities within homogenic societies. Some of these new realities include cosmopolitanisation, hybridization, superdiversity, acculturation and sociocultural transformation especially in postcolonial societies (Delugan, 2010, Rahaman, Yeazdani, & Mahmud, 2017, UNHCR, 2022). The research findings reported here indicate that cosmopolitanisation is a complex process and these complexities are for the large part un-intended but are in part, consequences of poor planning and lack of proactive measures for unforeseen social problems such as forced displacement in Borno State. Cosmopolitanisation generally as a process of social transformation tends to thrive better when it is organic, and community based (Zürn, & De Wilde, 2016) than when it is developed through international non-governmental organisations structure of IDP camps. Research findings in this thesis however show that accommodating IDPs in a community without local engagement can trigger process of Cosmopolitanisation and integration accompanied by numerous instances of disconnection, stigmatisation and crime. This was the idea shared by Naanpun an NGO staff as cited in chapter five saying

> There is a new reality in the community as many rural dwellers have been forced to flee to Maiduguri to seek for refuge from Boko Haram. This has produced a community of people from different socio-cultural and religious background. The natural settlement of people in Borno state is built on people

> who share a common religious and ethnic background. This is no longer the case as communities have become more multireligious, multi-ethnic and multicultural. I can say confidently that this has enriched the community but at the same time has created problems and challenges that were not present in the past.

Cosmopolitanisation in Borno state through forced displacement and IDP camp therefore offers insight into the intricacies of this phenomena especially from a postcolonial state. This understanding with its unique features becomes part of a connected sociology (Bhambra, 2017).

The history of settlement of tribal groups in Africa and more specifically in Nigeria either permanent or temporary are still determined heavily by ethnic and religious affiliations (Williams, 2016). According to Wig (2016) most conflicts in postcolonial Africa are largely precipitated by levels of inclusion or exclusion on ethnic and religious grounds, as these ethnic and religious communities struggle for relevance within the socioeconomic and political space of the Nigerian society. Quests for relevance within this social setting become the basis on which most conflicts have occurred. Tribes, communities, and individuals that feel marginalised begin to agitate for secession, migration or revert to armed rebellion causing harm and insecurity. Boko Haram is a clear example of this reality as seen in some of the responses from participants. This suggest that social integration is still one of the major problems faced in Nigeria (Mohammed, & Baba, 2021). Internal forced migration despite the pain and suffering it unleashes on many Nigerians especially in Borno state, it has more importantly provided instances for integration. This internal forced displacement could be an opportunity to rewrite the narrative by integrating displaced persons into communities that are willing to accept them. Hajara an IDP identified some of these opportunities in chapter seven when she said,

> The IDP camp is a game changer for my family as it has brought better opportunities for us. Our stay in this place has changed our mentality about life and provided new educational opportunities for my children. My children have friends in the community, and they have learned many good things from these friends. My children appear quite committed to their education, passionate about a better future against all odds and hardworking on their dreams. Experiencing life in Maiduguri has changed how they look at life.

> For me the IDP camps is impacting on our lives positively despite the challenges we face here.

This indicates that younger generations are more open to integration and acceptance of the new reality. The NGO-based approach has failed severely in many parts of Africa including Sudan, Rwanda, and Cameroon (Alabi, 2002, Johnson, 2014, Agwanda, Nyadera & Asal 2020). The research findings illustrate that the need to create more opportunities for local solutions to solve local problem should be encouraged as recently suggested by William Ruto (2023) the president of Kenya. According to him, Africans must stop looking for solutions to their problems from outside (dependency theory), they must go back to their African history and roots and begin to find solution to solving their local problems locally. This path has not been followed over the years and external solutions to internal problems have only succeeded in creating a continent of dependency, just as IDPs have not been able to reclaim their lives for over a decade and are mainly depending on NGOs. This dependency structure has resulted in the host community members feeling unsupported by the government and fuels their discrimination and stigmatisation of IDPs, labelling them as a lazy and un-serious group of people.

The research findings show firstly that, forced migration in Nigeria can be traced to the impact of the colonial and neocolonial system as Nigeria struggles with an inherited political system that does not seem to serve Nigeria's ethno-religious differences well. When a society develops a social structure in which her socialization and integration system is invariably set to exclude some people either on religious, cultural, tribal, political or economic grounds, conflict is bound to occur because feelings of alienation, rejection and the absence of the sense of belonging creates tension and conflict (Giri, 2013, Contucci, & Sandell, 2015). The Nigerian inherited system of leadership and the international pressure to uphold a democratic system alien to the people has created severe tensions that often metamorphose into incidence of displacement. Secondly, integration entails some level of social adjustment in which certain social values are changed or absolved into mainstream society (Davis, Love & Fares, 2019). This has not been addressed as the average northern Nigerian Muslims have not come to terms with a Nigeria of diverse religious background. Thirdly, religion, ethnicity and tribalism have been weaponised severely by politicians for political gains creating scenarios of conflict. Fourthly, displacement in Nigeria has been understood and played out as if it was an artificial reality left in the hands of foreign organisations with little local involvement. Lastly, the external intervention by NGOs creates an economic and artificial verbalisation of the

phenomenon and at the same time sets in motion a path towards conflict as the quest for identity and placemaking within the super diversified setting forces new quests for new identities amid new forms of social stratification based on this socially constructed setting.

Vertovec (2019) a British sociologist, using the term 'superdiversity', described how super-diversified British society has become owing to the influx of people from different sociocultural and racial backgrounds. In the same way we see the Borno state becoming super diversified through forced displacement and IDP camps. Naanpun a stakeholder with one of the NGOs observed that there are more than 50 unofficial IDP camps in Borno state with people from different states and LGAs. Esther with her nine years of experience of living in three different IDP camps acknowledged this fact when she observed the Bakasi IDP camp has people from five different local government areas and over thirty thousand IDPs. These are scenarios of superdiversity that could be harnessed to build a better postcolonial Nigerian society. Taking this route would not be the first time of it happening in Nigeria. This is because after the Nigerian civil war, many people were displaced from eastern Nigeria and migrated to other parts of the country especially to the north. These displaced were not accommodated in any IDP camp but were accommodated in small settlements known as *Sabon Gari*- a name which means literally visitors town. Within ten years all these displaced people integrated into the society creating some of the most cosmopolitan cities in northern Nigeria including Kano, Kaduna, Zaria, and Jalingo (Albert, 1996). It is only when such an opening is made both at the local and international community level that we can begin to see a deeper and better development of a postcolonial sociology that addresses local concerns with local solutions. This approach would invariably offer an alternative way of looking at displacement in Nigeria.

As Mbembe (2015) observed, the weakness with mainstream sociology is its claim that the knowing subject can know the world without being part of that world and produce knowledge that is supposed to be universal and independent of context. This claim has informed most intervention approaches to global issues. International organisations often present this understanding of global issues more from a western context applying solutions that seem ineffective and unsustainable by estimation of those directly affected by the problem. This was one of the major themes explicit in the views and opinions of stakeholders as well as IDPs. The host communities on the other hand are not given full autonomy to understand, interpret an address their problem. This is part of the situation that Hall (1999) described as postcolonialism that is not the end of colonialism. There are still scenarios of external influence and control which in this case is masterminded by the presence of international NGOs that

drive the major events of the IDP camps. This western approach to local issues has not been able to produce or create a conducive and stable community especially in Borno state. This is because IDP camp scenarios disrupt the social and cultural life of host communities thereby undermining the traditional structures that provide sociocultural stability in a sustainable way. To decolonize this approach the views and opinions shared by the interviewees in this thesis should be considered.

The SI theory states that when a symbol is presented to a people already framed and defined, the people often settle into that defined frame limiting themselves to that meaning and understanding. As a result, when the presented symbol does not match the experiential understanding of those facing the reality, it creates tension leading to conflict and disharmony (Charmaz, Harris, & Irvine 2019). Stakeholders and government officials are of the view that IDP camps are meant to help and salvage the people from their predicament; IDPs and host communities on the other hand feel otherwise. This variant understanding has created tension, distrust and suspicion of the whole process and it is affecting IDP camps in Maiduguri.

The host communities were not sensitised enough to have a clear understanding of what the government wants to do with the IDPs. This has made members of the host community to treat IDPs as strangers even though they are citizens of the country. This needs to be addressed. As indicated by some of the comments in the research findings, it is obvious that there is an external influence on the people's understanding of forced migration and use of IDP camps. This therefore demands a reframing of internal migration both by stakeholders and the international community allowing every local community to develop an understanding specific to their setting so that they have a clear image of displacement. Every super-diversified community according to Vertovec (2009) takes on a life of its own and this is usually characterised by multiple interpretations, misunderstandings, and quests for clarity. To impose an understanding on a people is to deprive them of this developmental process. It is within this developmental process that a connected sociology on forced migration is established departing from the western normative and is postcolonial in its understanding of specific settings like IDP camps in host community in Borno state.

8.2 Conclusion

The world is going through a precarious time with so many concerns like climate change, the raging Ukrainian/Russian war, the Palestinian, Lebanon/Israel war and more importantly religious extremism which has become the base on which xenophobic and

ethnic/racial bigotry is built, amplified and expressed. Nigeria has had her share of this crisis since 2009 after returning to democratic rule in 1999. These crises that have existed for many years have increasingly created multiple incidences of forced migration across the country. Migration stands out within these concerns because of the multiple impact it makes on the life of the migrants and the receiving communities. Forced migration especially in Africa has contributed to the persistence of instability and underdevelopment in most postcolonial states. This movement has created a series of concerns both locally and globally.

The quest to understand forced migration within Africa appear to be missing in mainstream sociological discourse as it creates a gap in the well founded understanding of the global south/global north narrative on migration in general. Forced migration is not only a concern for the west but is also a serious concern in most countries in Africa. The west however often presents forced migration with a Eurocentric tone and neglect to include or appreciate how colonialism and imperial western policies have been key triggers of this reality in Africa (Lemberg-Pedersen, Fett, Mayblin, Sahraoui, & Stambøl, 2022). Internal forced migration in most cases is the primary source of the general migration trends experienced around the world. The study therefore highlights how forced migration is perceived and experienced in a postcolonial society like Nigeria highlighting succinctly the lived experience of displaced people along the human and material factors shaping their experience. Migration is more than just a change of environment. Migration affects in an irreversible way the lived experience of a people, creating new meanings, forms of relationships and new hierarchy. The previously untold stories shared by IDPs in this research offer other ways of looking at the discourse especially from a postcolonial and biographical context and thereby challenging the limitations of traditional sociological approaches to displacement - the need for a new postcolonial approach, adopting a more contextually sensitive, situated analysis of the impacts of displacement.

The understanding of trends of forced migration as presented by IDPs and stakeholders in Borno State illustrates IDPs efforts to not only depend on host communities, NGOs and government agencies alone but to also contribute socially and culturally to the transformation of the communities they live in. Views shared by IDPS, host community members, stakeholders and community leaders has in no small measure highlighted the agency role forced migrants play in social change as long-standing barriers of ethnic and religious bigotry are broken, giving way to new forms of interactions and relationships, exchange of

farming and craft skills and growing incidences of intermarriages between IDPs and host community members.

As much as use of IDP camps for displaced persons appear to be tolerated globally, it is pertinent to note that the survival of rural communities as the foundation of cultural traditions and customs should always be safeguarded as humanitarian interventions are made to alleviate the suffering of displaced persons. Frantic efforts should always be made towards returning displaced persons to their ancestral homes and communities to guarantee a future to their cultural practices which are often lost or changed during a long stay in IDP camps as explained by IDPs in chapter six and chapter seven of this thesis. They highlighting how their long stay in camp have rubbed them of their cultural practice as the instinct to survive the harsh IDP camp experience was more pressing than anything else. Ipso facto host communities are socially and culturally impacted, mainly by long stay of IDPs in camps. Even though some interviewees observed that the possibility of IDPs returning to their homes is not there slim as their homes are unsafe, and communities destroyed by Boko Haram members. Host communities with sufficient infrastructure can be considered good places for situating an IDP camp are therefore assets in dealing as their communities can enhance resettlement and integration of IDPs. This perspective however has not been employed well by government as many states in Nigeria are still at a developmental phase in terms of infrastructure. Local communities on the other hand have not been oriented to be open to integration with IDPs as permanent members of their community. Although there is an organic form of integration taking place in the community. Research findings show that the orientation of host community members has not been properly addressed resulting in host community's members unsure on how to treat IDPs and what legal status they occupy in their midst. These are some of the concerns that the IDP camp setting has not addressed and until this is done, the clash of interest in placemaking, identity and cultural homogeneity between IDPs and host communities might always be an issue in host communities in Nigeria. For a better perspective on postcolonial research on internal forced migration more biographical data could be collected not only from IDPs, host community members and community leaders but also from experienced stakeholders, government representatives and politicians, to foster greater understanding for better policy document on internal forced migration.

8.3 Recommendations

The recommendations stemming from this research are developed from the research findings based on the lived experience of IDPs, NGOs workers, host community leaders, community members and other IDP camp stakeholders in Borno state. Figure 22 below presents a word cloud on recommendations derived from key words used by research participants, including "community', 'facilities', 'business' 'village people', 'community', etc". These recommendations are based on the research findings based on IDPs' experiences in Dalori IDP camp, and experiences of host community members and stakeholders living/working around IDP camps in Borno state.

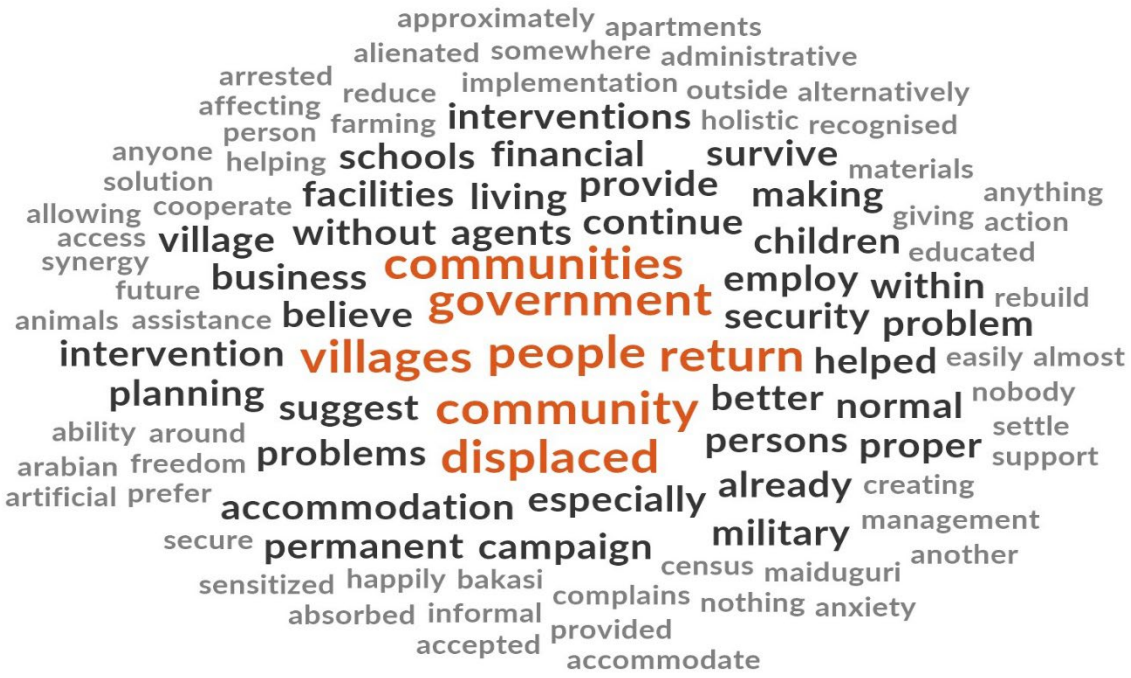


Figure 8.2: Word cloud on recommendations from Interviewees

- The name Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is stigmatising and sounds derogatory at the local level as observed by Chima and Naanpun in chapter five and Gotel and Chioma in chapter six. There is a need to review the name used in describing victims of forced displacement and places they are provided to take refuge, using more

appropriate label that is in keeping semantically with the community spirit and understanding of the reality.

- IDP camps should only be established within a community after due consultation and sensitisation campaign to members of that host community as suggested by Chioma in Chapter six.
- Stakeholders need to develop a schema for a coordinated framework of operation that defines responsibilities for organisations or agencies stating their function and plan of action to reduce incidences of work duplication as observed in chapter five.
- Support of vulnerable members in host communities should be part of the brief for NGOs, and government agencies when short-term IDP camps are set up within host community, as suggested by Lucky one of the community leaders in chapter seven.
- Traditional values and social controls in existence in host communities should be upheld and sustained without undermining the government's efforts to protect IDPs as suggested by Shettima in chapter six.
- A computerized data base should be designed for all IDPs in the state to always ascertain the actual number of IDPs in the state. This was one of the stakeholder's concerns, as quoted in Chapter five.
- The sending of IDPs back to their communities should be a tactic of last resort especially when their safety is not guaranteed, as argued by Esther an IDP in chapter six.
- A periodic review of IDP upkeep funds should be conducted and a regular assessment of the humanitarian needs of camp inmates.
- Displacement is a recurring reality in the world. States in Nigeria, therefore, should be more proactive in this regard and designate possible places for accommodating the displaced in accordance with international human rights obligations. This was extensively discussed by Abu in chapter five.
- In the event where a piece of land, school, or an uncompleted housing estate is to be used for an IDP camp, there should be a legal document between the government and leasing agent. This is to avoid incidences where community schools were abruptly turned into IDP camp with no alternative place for the education of children from the community. (Chapter five and six)
- For the establishment of an IDP camp, a stable fresh water source, safety of IDPs, and arable land for farming should be primary considerations. An IDP camp with these

necessities can be self-reliant in a sustainable and humane way and NGOs and government agencies might only need to provide IDPs with seedlings, fertilizers, farming implements and health services. This setting should enable IDPs to be self-reliant and to continue living a sustainable lifestyle consistent with their traditions and which keep their values intact. This was discussed by Husseini in chapter five.

- Informal IDP camps should not be permitted. All IDP camps in the state should be registered and run formally to eschew incidences of sexual abuses, child labour and crime common in mostly informal camps as observed by Naanpun in chapter five.
- The process of registering NGOs to work in IDP camps and issuing of approval letters should be done in a fully transparent manner preferably online, and approval letters issued through the NEMA/SEMA website. This would reduce incidences of bribery and corruption as reported by some stakeholders and offer NGOs freedom from external influence observed by Ardo in chapter five.
- Sean the community leader suggested (Chapter six) that people displaced from long enduring conflicts should be relocated to new settlement than being kept in an IDP camp over a long period of time.
- Scholarship should be provided for all IDP children in primary and secondary schools.
- The possibility of providing affordable housing for IDPs should be explored.
- Rebuilding of destroyed communities should be part of the intervention scheme by the government and NGOs as observed by Esther in chapter six that they cannot return to their community as it has been destroyed.
- Perpetrators of armed conflicts should always be prosecuted.
- Providing IDPs with food items and money on monthly or weekly bases is not sustainable for a postcolonial Nigeria as the country cannot manage such cost for a long term (Chapter five).
- Government agencies should avoid interfering with NGOs' activities in terms of their recruitment, funding and nature of intervention as observed by Ardo in chapter five.

Through these recommendations, emerging from the research findings and the lived experiences of IDPs as well as the working experience of stakeholders, this study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge on displacement and the biographical experiences of IDPs in postcolonial Nigeria. It also demonstrated how storytelling by IDPs and host community members can be tools for knowledge generation showing how local communities perceive

displacement and measures taken to address internal displacement. Also, these recommendations made by interviewees above can be a good starting point for further research on how best to revise policy procedures for a more effective and democratic management of IDP camps in Nigeria.

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Appendix: 1

Participant Information and Consent Form (Phase One and Two)

This consent form must be filled out before the interview can be conducted by Vitalis Jafla Pontianus, a PhD student at University College Cork, Ireland under the supervision of Dr. Tracey Skillington and Prof. Maggie O'Neill.

The aim of this research is to understand the social and cultural effects of internally displaced persons (IDP) camps on host communities in Nigeria. Specifically, the research will seek to develop a better knowledge and understanding of the impact of IDPs in Borno state ―Nigeria. The research will involve Vitalis Jafla Pontianus talking, observing and conducting interviews with key stakeholders both inside the camps and also in the surrounding communities. The research will also seek to develop recommendations regarding devising best practice guidelines for the management of IDPs in Nigeria.

Context to the Research

Given the global displacement of persons through armed conflicts, organised crime, ecological degradation as a result of climate change, food shortages and the effect of governments' developmental projects, the world has become an unstable society of forced migrants. These arrays of forced migration have become common trend in the world of today uprooting people from places they have always called home. These displaced persons estimated by United Nation High Commission for Refugees stands at 79.4 million people the world over (UNHCR, 2020). Most of these people end up either as refugees, asylum seekers, people seeking for resettlement or as internally displaced persons (IDPs), who cannot go back home because of impending threats to their lives. Most of these IDPs come to reside in camps that are often ad hoc in nature. These camps are either makeshift tents or government facilities like schools, hostels or uncompleted housing estates.

Very often the focus or the concern of the international community and even that of the receiving states is the humanitarian needs of the displaced and how to resolve the major sources of these threats. These efforts often end up taking months or years to resolve whilst issues of management of the humanitarian crisis, the host community's accommodation of the displaced, the displaced' experience of living long in temporary accommodation as well as the impact on the host community are largely neglected. This study therefore aims to examine from a sociological perspective, the social and cultural effects these camps exact on host communities.

I need your consent if you wish to take part and be interviewed for this research.

_____.

By signing this consent form, you are giving me the researcher the right to use the information provided. I as the researcher will ensure anonymity at all times and pseudonyms will be used to protect the individual's identity. Personal information such as addresses, names portfolios will be removed and recording will only be heard by the researcher alone and his supervisors. Any restriction which the participant wishes to place on the interview will be adhered to. Your participation will be entirely voluntary and is greatly appreciated. You may withdraw from participating in the interview at any stage and must not give reasons for your withdrawal. If there are any Restrictions or Conditions you may kindly state here ……

…….

I hereby give permission that extracts from my recorded interview with the above-named researcher may be used as part of the basis of his research.

I have read and understood the information above, and I am happy to talk to the researcher about my experiences. (In the camp, host community)

I know that what I say in the interview will be treated confidentially. That means that other people can read what I have said but no-one will know that it was said by me.

I know that I do not have to answer questions if I don't want to.

Signed……..

Date……..

I hereby agree to respect the wishes that have been described by the above participant and promise to use the information provided by the individual in the manner that they have described above. I also understand that each participant can withdraw at any given point in time that they deem fit.

Signed …….

Date……

Appendix: 2

Data Collection Instruments (Sample Questions Phase One)

This interview schedule is designed for a sociological investigating on the social and cultural effects of Internally Displaced Persons' (IDP) camps on host communities in Borno state. Please react to the following questions by giving responses that best represent your view about the integration and relationship that you feel is going on between the IDP camps and host community. What social and cultural changes you feel this relationship is creating and what direction is it leading. Interviews with stakeholders (and also host community representatives and IDP representatives) shall be conducted through a semi structured questionnaire with the aim of finding answers to the number of questions listed below. The success of this research depends so much on your honest responses to these questions which you are not obliged to answer all. I will, however, be very grateful if you can attempt answering all. All your responses will be used ONLY for the purpose of this research. The semi-structured questionnaire will carry the following basic questions:

Questions For NGOs and Government Institutions

About you 1. Name: _____ (Optional)

2. Sex: Male [ ] Female [ ] Other [ ] Age. I am an adult above 25 yrs [ ]Yes [ ]No

3. State and Local Government Area of interviewee_____

4. Occupation (Optional) _____

5. Please tell me a bit about your organisation (Institution) your structure, your funding, your activities and operations, primary goals and mission in the world or Nigeria in particular.

6. How does your organisation support the IDPs in general? About the camp and your experience of it

7. How long have you been working in this camp (Community leaders, NGOs and others)

8. What has been the experiences thus far of your community since the establishment of the IDP camp (community Leader)?

9. What do you do in the camp and what has been the experience thus far? (NGOs and Government Agents) Impact of the camp

10. How is the host community supporting the IDPs?

11. How does the NGOs/government institutions working here interact with host communities and camp members?

12. Do IDP camps create new patterns of social interaction between host communities and displaced persons? Challenges and Benefits

13. What challenges do you face as an individual working in this camp? (NGOs and others)

14. As the leader of this community, what challenges do you see emerging at present and potentially in the future?

15. How has your community benefitted from the establishment of the camp here? What are these benefits?

16 How is (or did) your community cope with the COVID-19 pandemic and the social and economic challenges that came with the pandemic? Recommendations/Changes you would like to see in the future.

17 What are the positive contributions of NGOs/government institutions to camp life and the wider host community?

18 Are there suggestions or observations you feel you can share for a better collaboration between the IDPs in camp, government agents, NGOs and host communities?

Thank you _____ Researcher

Appendix: 3

Data Collection Instruments (Sample Questions Phase II)

This interview schedule is designed for a sociological investigating on the social and cultural effects of Internally Displaced Persons' (IDP) camps on host communities in Borno state. Please react to the following questions by giving responses that best represent your view about the integration and relationship that you feel is going on between the IDP camps and host community. What social and cultural changes you feel this relationship is creating and what direction is it leading. Interviews with stakeholders (and also host community representatives and IDP representatives) shall be conducted through a semi-structured questionnaire with the aim of finding answers to the number of questions listed below. The success of this research depends so much on your honest responses to these questions which you are not obliged to answer all. I will, however, be very grateful if you can attempt answering all. All your responses will be used **ONLY** for the purpose of this research. The semi-structured questionnaire will carry the following basic questions:

Questions For Host Community Leaders

About you

1. Name: _____ (Optional)
2. Sex: Male [ ] Female [ ] Other [ ] Age. I am an adult above 25 yrs [ ]Yes [ ]No
3. State and Local Government Area of interviewee_____
4. Occupation (Optional) _____
5. How does your organisation support the IDPs in general?

About the camp and your experience of it

7. How long have you been working in this camp (Community leaders)

8. What has been the experiences thus far of your community since the establishment of the IDP camp (community Leader)?

9. What do you do in the camp and what has been the experience thus far? (NGOs and Government Agents)

Impact of the camp

10. How is the host community supporting the IDPs?

11. How does the NGOs/government institutions working here interact with host communities and camp members?

12. Do IDP camps create new patterns of social interaction between host communities and displaced persons?

Challenges and Benefits

13. What challenges do you face as an individual working in this camp? (NGOs and others)

14. As the leader of this community, what challenges do you see emerging at present and potentially in the future?

15. How has your community benefitted from the establishment of the camp here? What are these benefits?

16. How is (or did) your community cope with the COVID-19 pandemic and the social and economic challenges that came with the pandemic?

Recommendations/Changes you would like to see in the future.

17. What are the positive contributions of NGOs/government institutions to camp life and the wider host community?

18. Are there suggestions or observations you feel you can share for a better collaboration between the IDPs in camp, government agents, NGOs and host communities?

Thank you.

_____

Researcher

Questions For Host Community Members

1. Name: _____ (Optional)

2. Sex: Male [ ] Female [ ] Other [ ] Age. I am an adult above 25 yrs [ ]Yes [ ]No

3. State and Local Government Area _____

4. Occupation_____ (Optional)

5. What is it like living in this community?

6. What is your experience of IDP camp in your community and what is it like living near an IDP camp (Host community member)

7. In what way(s) has your knowledge of IDP camp changed since the camp was established here in your community?

8. Are there new social or cultural changes you have noticed in your community since the camp was established and if there are …. What are the obvious changes and how do they affect your community positively or negatively? (Host community Members)

9. Are there new crafts or skills that your community has benefitted from because of the IDP camp here?

10. What are the relationships or interactions between people outside the camp and those in the camps?

11. What are your hopes for the future regarding IDP camps?

12. What has been the experience so far since the arrival of the IDP camp in your community?

13. In what way is the host community supporting the IDPs and how is it a challenge to your community?

14. How has your community benefitted from the IDP camp?

15. Are there suggestions or observations you feel you can share for a better collaboration between the IDPs in camp, government agents, NGOs and host communities?

16. Finally tell me a little bit about yourself and what life has been for you generally in relation to the community and the IDP camp?

Thank you. _____ Researcher

Questions For Internally Displaced Persons in The Camp

1 Name: _____ (Optional)

5 Sex: Male [ ] Female [ ] Other [ ] Age. I am an adult above 25 yrs [ ]Yes [ ]No

6 State and Local Government Area _____

7 Occupation_____ (Optional)

8 How long have you been living in this camp (IDP)?

9 How did you come to be here?

10 What is it like living here?

11 Tell me more about your life here.

12 What is your experience being an IDP in the camp in this community (Positive and Negative)

13 What is the nature of the relationship you have with the host community as you live in this camp?

14 In what way(s) has your social and cultural life been enriched by this community or how have you enriched this community with your culture or social life?

15 Do you think the covid-19 protocols observed in this camp are good enough to guarantee safety for you and your family?

16 What are your hopes for the future, and for this camp?

17 Finally tell me a little bit about yourself and what life has been for you generally in relation to your previous community, the IDP camp and this host community?

Thank you. _____ Researcher

Questions For Internally Displaced Persons' Representatives in The Camp

1 Name: _____ (Optional)

1 Sex: Male [ ] Female [ ] Other [ ] Age. I am an adult above 25 yrs [ ]Yes [ ]No

2 State and Local Government Area _____

3 Occupation_____ (Optional)

4 How long have you been living in this camp (IDP)?

5 How long have you been a leader to the IDPs in this camp?

6 What role do you play for the IDPs as women/men leader in this camp?

7 What are the observable social and cultural changes you have noticed amongst the IDPs as they live in this camp?

8 How did you come to be here?

9 What is it like living here?

10 What is your experience being an IDP in the camp in this community (Positive and Negative)

11 What is the nature of the relationship you have with the host community as you live in this camp?

12 In what way(s) has your social and cultural life been enriched by this community or how have you enriched this community with your culture or social life?

13 Do you think the covid-19 protocols observed in this camp are good enough to guarantee safety for you and the people in this camp?

14 What are your hopes for the future, and for this camp?

15 Finally tell me a little bit about yourself and what life has been for you generally in relation to your previous community, the IDP camp and this host community?

Thank you. _____ Researcher

Appendix 4

A sample from the eight online Interviews with IDP Camp Stakeholders in Borno state.

Respondent 3: Naanpun.

QUESTIONS	ANSWERS
Please tell me a bit about your organisation (Institution) your structure, your funding, your activities and operations, primary goals and mission in the world or Nigeria in particular.	I am Naanpun and I work with the IOM as the IDP camp site assistant. I am an indigene of Borno state. IOM is International Organisation for Migration, and it was established in 1951, it came to Nigeria in 2002. IOM is an intergovernmental organisation that provides services and advice on migration to government, migrants, internally displaced persons, refugees, and migrants workers. United Kingdom is our main funder and basically IOM funding is done in form of voluntary contributions for projects. People generally contribute money and send it for various projects or interventions. In IOM when we get these funds which are basically voluntary contributions from people, we prioritize cost efficiency in our budget management and project implementation. In 2016 IOM became a United Nation agency. In Nigeria we have so many internally displaced persons and IOM provide services and advice. In IOM we have different departments, I work with CCCM Camp coordination and camp management where we support NEMA and SEMA. We support the government especially in informal camps. These are IDP camps with no government presence and IOM takes the lead there. We provide services and advice in these camps in form of (NFI) Non-Food Items, shelter, which is itself a department in IOM, we also support the IDPs in mental health and psycho-social support. This is basically to do with people who are mentally traumatized or people who might be going through mental problems because of their experiences. We also do livelihood. There are other agents that provide the IDPs with food like WFP (World Food Programme) but they can't do this forever, so when the people

	are leaving the camp, IOM give livelihood to the people to help them begin life.
How long have you been working in this camp?	I was working in the camp with Safe the Children for about six years and later left them to join IOM and I have been working with them for almost four years now.
How does your organisation support the IDPs in general?	
What do you do in the camp and what has been the experience thus far?	Working in the camps is so sympathetic that sometimes you find yourself using your own resources to support people in the camps. I have seen people going through excruciating suffering and its really nice as a humanitarian that you see people going through such suffering and the little services you render put some smiles on their faces when you give them such support. As a camp manager the IDPs are just family to me, because I am always there with them, we eat together, we encourage them as we distribute food and NFI to them.
How is the host community supporting the IDPs?	In Borno state the host community members are victims of insurgency as well it is just that most of them are not living in the camps. Because of this we also consider them as vulnerable and people in need even though IOM also provide for people in the host community. Basically, I can say almost everybody is affected in Borno state in one way or the other. The host community are in good relationship with the IDPs, and they also come to the camps looking for assistance. Though there are occasions where some prominent people from the host community come to the camps to donate clothes, food items and to render other services
How does the NGOs/government institutions working here interact with host communities and camp members?	
Do IDP camps create new patterns of social interaction between host communities and displaced persons?	In the first instance there was this form of segregation and stigmatization where people outside the camps saw those in the camps as victims of circumstances and helpless people who have no place to go and have no relatives to run to. This made some people from the host community look down on the IDPs. As time went on this form of relationship reduced drastically. At the moment people from the host community

	come to visit the camps, they also make friends with some of the IDPs and the IDPs do same, so they now have an understanding in which a bond of friendship is growing between the two communities. This relationship has helped a lot of IDPs to leave the camps and permanently settled in the host community. This is because living in the camps is not easy compared to living in the host community. Most IDPs live in makeshift shelters and tents which makes life in the IDP camp quite difficult, and when they find opportunities to leave the camps, they always take advantage of it to live in host community. The only reason why it is averagely ok to live in the IDP camp is the assistance the IDPs get from the NGOs and government agents working in the camps. The host community has benefitted enormously from the IDP camps. Let me give you a practical scenario, in the Shuwuri camp there was no water provided by the government and the people were buying water outside the camp from water vendors but recently IOM drilled a solar borehole for the camp and because of the IDP camp the host community now have access to this water source.
What challenges do you face as an individual working in this camp?	As a camp manager the challenges are enormous. In CCCM we not only manage the IDP camp, but we try to coordinate all agencies working in the camp. We try to know what the needs of the IDPs are, what is happening around the camp, what should be done for who and why and when should that be done. Some these might not be covered by IOM so we need to look for some of the sister agencies that can carter or cover these needs. It is because of such situations that I might be employed by IOM, but I don't only work for IOM I also have to liaise with other organisations and agents like UNICEF, Action Against Hunger, Safe the Children and inform them of needs that have to do with their organisation or agency. This makes it a added responsibility that I have to work out a way of solving these problems in the camps I manage or run. In the informal camps where there is no government presence, we have a very big challenge of

	limited intervention or services. Most agents prefer to go to the formal camps and very often the small or so-called informal camps are left with little or no intervention. There was a time in my camp I experienced six months of no food distribution for the IDPs and every day you could see people crying and dying of hunger with very little one can do to remedy the situation. I tried to contact SEMA and NEMA and the only thing they told me was that this camp is not a registered camp. Most of these informal camps depend solely on the NGOs for survival and they do help in these informal camps. Another challenge we have is that the provided NFI in the camps sometimes is not sufficient for the people in some camps you see a small shelter housing more than ten people which means they are congested and the toilet and other sanitary facilities they have to queue for them. Another challenge we do have in the camps is when you setup a complain and feedback desk and an IDP will come to you to complain and his or her demands are not met. At this point as a humanitarian, I always feel bad that there is nothing we can do for these people at this point.
How is (or did) your community cope with the COVID-19 pandemic and the social and economic challenges that came with the pandemic?	The dawn of Covid-19 was really a difficult time for us in the camps. This is because some of the shelters and tents were already congested and sanitary facilities were shared amongst the IDPs, so the covid-19 protocols were a big challenge for the IDPs. At first it was scary but God so kind the IDPs were obedient and tried to observe the regulations to the best of their abilities. Before the virus was dictated in Nigeria, we had started sensitizing the people about the virus, provided hand sanitizers and taught them how to use it, we also setup hand washing stand at the entrance of every camp and inside the camps. The government of Borno state really tried during this period, they tried their best to see that food items were distributed in the camps constantly and that the IDPs had enough food. The NGOs also did their best to that effect providing food for the IDPs, even during the lockdown most NGOs that are into

	food provision in the camps continued to render skeletal services to the IDPs especially in the area of health and food provision.
What are the positive contributions of NGOs/government institutions to camp life and the wider host community?	
Are there suggestions or observations you feel you can share for a better collaboration between the IDPs in camp, government agents, NGOs and host communities?	As I earlier told you, we have more than 50 informal camps in Maiduguri metropolis alone. These informal camps do not have government presence. I suggest that if the government can merge them into one single main camp since most informal camps do not usually have so many people. There are also informal camps that has more than 3000 or 4000 people and these camps are not recognised by government so when you visit such camps you will not see the presence of NEMA or SEMA there. I always feel bad for such IDPs because life becomes quite difficult for them and they might have the problem of security. I suggest that if government can do something about these informal camps it will go a long way in a alleviating the suffering of the IDPs in these camps. Most NGOs on the other hand tend to go to only formal camps because of security ignoring the informal camps. The situation of people in these informal camps is still as bad and vulnerable as all IDPs in the formal camp. Other times too when you find NGOs for intervention in these informal camps, they sometime accept to provide for example food items for may be only ten months and then as a camp manager you have to start looking for another NGO to continue. This situation is not common with formal camps. I believe that if these displaced persons are recognised by government and if they are given just livelihood, it will help them to begin life again since it is not possible for the government to provide for all the displaced person in the state because they are many. I was once displaced when Boko Haram entered our village, and my sincere prayers has been to see the people go back to their lives again and continue with their lives a desire I don't see it coming to reality soon

	because the day before yesterday I heard gunshots around my house and I had to just stay with my children praying and hoping for the best.

Appendix 5

Second Phase Interviews with 3 IDPs, 2 Community Leaders, 2 Representatives of the IDPs, and 3 Host Community Members. (10 Interviewee). Four samples of these interviews are presented below (1 IDP, 1 host community member, 1 community leader and 1 IDP representative).

Note: Names of Interviewees, Sex, Names of their villages, Places they mentioned, and Names of Individuals and organisations they mentioned were all changed for the purpose of anonymity.

Respondent B. IDP 2

S/N	Questions	Answers
1	Name	Esther
2	Sex: Age.	Female, 57 Years
3	State and Local Government Area	Borno and Mungunu LGA
4	Occupation	Trader
5	How long have you been living in this IDP camp?	When I arrived Maiduguri, I stayed in the Islamia camp for one year, before we were moved to Bakasi camp where I stayed for seven (7) years then now here.
6	How did you get into this camp?	We were displaced by BH from my village. I am a businesswoman who buys women's wears from the city and travel to sell in the villages. When we were displaced by BH, we had to travel through Mura to Cameroon, then Mubi, Yola, and finally to Maiduguri. I can still remember the day BH displaced us they came to our village on a Tuesday around 2pm. It was a horrific experience. My village is a 97% Christians. When the Islamic jihadists came to my village, they were merciless and brutal. On that fateful Tuesday it was raining heavily. Suddenly we started hearing gun shots from every side. People started running. It was a terrible sight to behold. I saw pregnant women giving birth and running away with all the pain. My son was killed right there in the market. Some women could barely carry all their children so whichever child was close to you, you just carry him or her and start running and you cannot look back to even know what becomes of the other children. If one stays back, they will kill you. So many people were killed. It was a horrific experience, and we had to run into Cameroon. Crossing the river that day into Cameroon was an experience that one will never want to remember. As we tried to cross the river, there were parents that the strong tide of the water will forcefully take their children

		from them and within seconds your child is gone. (Why didn't you people allow those who can swim well to cross the children?) We didn't have that luxury. We were at the riverbank and could still hear gun shots because the jihadists were chasing after us. That was how we suffered before we finally got to the Islamia camp here in Maiduguri.
7	What is it like living in this camp?	Life in this camp is a package of good, bad and the ugly things all happening at the same time. Most NGOs working here are trying their best to provide us with food, clothes, healthcare, money for upkeep and a tent to stay in. They also run an enlightenment, and awareness campaign on different things about life in general. They also provide counselling especially for some of us that are still suffering the trauma of all we went through. I can now talk freely about all I went through because of the help I have received in the camp. In the past it was not easy to talk about it. This camp is made up of five LGAs namely Gwoza, Marte, Mafa, Nganzai, and Monguno LGAs. In such a place with people from five LGAs the population is huge (49,734 people) and life is difficult and challenging. In the camp you see a lot of weird and bad behaviour from almost everyone especially young boys and girls. Some of the things they do at night is bad that I wonder if they had good upbringing. When money and food items are distributed, not everyone gets. There are certain people that always get these things, and many others depend on luck to get these same things. This has always been a problem creating a lot of issues and crisis in the camp.
8	Tell me more about your life here.	Most of the strange things that happen in this camp is mostly in the night. For those of us who are old when its night we go into our tents and sleep. This is the time you see a lot of young girls having their bath and preparing to go out. As from 8 to 10PM I see a lot of cars coming to collect some of these young girls and they sometime talk about where they go and what they do and much they are paid (Prostitution in the host community). The kind of clothes some of them wear and how they spent I sometime wonder if they are truly IDPs. On the other hand, life has not been easy. The tent is made of polythene materials, and Maiduguri is a very hot place (Averagely 29 to 35degrees Celsius). In the daytime one can rarely sleep because of the heat and same thing at night. This makes me restless and uncomfortable all the time. Even in the harmattan (November to February) it is extremely cold to stay in such a place. More importantly we suffer a lot of psychological pressure from the government officials who often threaten us that they will send us away. We don't have anywhere

		to go. Life in this place is not easy but because BH is still occupying our villages we cannot even think of going back. The psychological trauma one goes through in this place is not an easy one.
9	What is your experience being an IDP in the camp in this community (Positive and Negative)	I am staying here simply because I don't have where to go. I have lost my business, my husband, and son were killed; our whole village was raised down, not a single house was left standing. I also lost some relative and friends. At this point I don't know what to do. We have been asked to leave and they closed the Bakasi camp two days back (1/12/2021). (Biographocal rupture) Even as we speak my things are by the roadside. The government didn't give us money to relocate or look for accommodation in the community. They said they were going to do that; some people were given money to relocate while many did not get a dime; how am I to survive I don't know. As unfair as life might seem in the camp, the NGOs are trying to help us in many ways. They offer us psychotherapy and counselling periodically. They also ensure that we are safe in this place even though our safety is not guaranteed as they seem not to be organised or coordinate well with government officials. *Why did you say that?* The pattern most NGOs follow to give out things is not the same with government officials. On the other hand, the psychosocial counselling, they give us in the camp has been helpful. It is also through this camp that some people have been able to reunite with their family members. This is done through the data they collect from us before we were admitted into any camp in Borno state.
10	What is the nature of the relationship you have with the host community as you live in this camp?	Most people from the host community are Muslims and if you are not a Muslim, some of them don't even recognise one as a human being. The only help we get from people outside the camp is only when some Christian groups, organisations and churches come to visit us here in the camp. I don't know if the Muslims outside do same to their Muslim brothers and sisters in the camp. Some people in the host community too do visit and invite us to their homes and when we do, they help us with foodstuff and money. There are also IDPs who have relatives here in Maiduguri and have left the camp, gotten a place and haven settle. Some have gotten jobs and are doing fine. This is also my plan, but I don't have the money. I am not sure I will be able to stay in my village. Just the thoughts of how my son was killed in the market gets me depressed how much more going back to that village and living there.
11	In what way(s) has your social and cultural life	We have learned so many things staying in this camp and it has not been an easy life for me. The pain I have been

	been enriched by this community or how have you enriched this community with your culture or social life	through is so much that I don't even know anything about social life or recreation. In this camp, some of our children are doing things that we didn't grow up with. I see young girls going out to sleep outside with men and, in the morning, they will come back, and the parents can do nothing about it. Parents here have very little control over their children because they themselves are under control. What kind of a life is this? People from the host community and even the securities men working here sometimes, take these girls out from the camp; only God knows where they take them and what they do with them even though the girls seem to like it because they come back with money and gift items. *Is the CCCM aware of this?* I don't know but everybody living here is aware of this. I feel that this community (IDP camp) have taught some of our young boys and girls things that were not common or obvious in the villages**.** As for me there is nothing to be happy about living here when you know such things are happening.
12	Do you think the covid-19 protocols observed in this camp are good enough to guarantee safety for you and your family?	During that covid-19 time we were all asked to stay indoors. Facemask was provided and people were enlightened on the disease. As for me I didn't care much about it at that time. Now we don't hear anything about covid-19 anymore in the camp.
13	What is your hope for the future, and for this camp?	I don't see a better future in this camp. I think the best thing the government can do is to give the IDPs a permanent accommodation. If houses could be built and given to us as our permanent homes and we are sure it is secured, any problem of food, education for our children, healthcare and any other thing could be surmountable with time. I hope that sometime in future the government officials and NGOs will tour this path in helping displaced people.
14	Finally tell me a little bit about yourself and what life has been for you generally in relation to your previous community, the IDP camp and this host community?	I'll prefer to only talk about what happened before we got here. On that fateful day when the BH members came to my village. A lady had left her 4years daughter with me where I was selling in the market. As soon as I heard gun shots, I took the girl, left all I was selling and started running with her looking for the mother. Suddenly I saw one of the BH member coming towards us, we quickly ran and hid inside a pile of hay that was brought to the market for sale. I thought the man had seen us as he was coming to where we were; I didn't want to watch him shoot, so I held the girl tightly closed my eyes and said my last prayer. I was there with my face to the ground waiting. After a while he turned and left, I don't know either he

		spared my life, or he didn't see us I don't know. When he left, I took the girl, and we ran towards the river. After crossing the river, together with many others we trekked to Cameroon. We had no food, no water to drink no sign of any means of transport. We trekked for four days no food. When we finally made it to a village in Cameroon we were taken to a stadium and left there for almost a week. One day a police officer of Cameroon came to the stadium and said all Nigerians are members of Boko Haram and that we should all leave the country immediately. After he left, we went to his office and in tears pleaded with him if he could provide us with a lorry that will convey us to the Nigerian border. Most of us had sore feet, looking pale and stressed out. Most of the children were sick and fatigued. After many hours of plea, he provided a lorry and we contributed money to fuel it for those who had money on them. We were 'loaded' into the lorry like animals, people were literally heaped into the lorry like clothes, but we could not complain because we just wanted to be home. When we got to the Nigerian border, the Nigerian immigration refused to let the Cameroonian lorry into the country**.** We were all left at the border in the open, no food no shelter. Some people at this point were able to call their relatives who came to collect them. As for me at that I had lost my mind. Life was meaningless and I was just indifferent to what might happen to me. I stayed in the border for almost a week. One day an immigration officer on his own decided to get me into a van going to Mubi. When I got to Mubi government officials from the SEMA came and conveyed us to Yola in Adamawa state, and from there we were brought to Islamia camp for where I stayed for a year and Bakasi camp where I have been for the past seven years. Thank you my son for listening to my story, I feel better when I talk about them.

Respondent D: Host Community Member 1

S/N	Questions	Answers
1	Name: Age and Gender	Obasanjo, 35 years, Male
2	State, Local Government Area	Borno state, Jere Lga
3	Occupation	Public servant
4	What is it like living in this community?	Since 2012, Borno state has not been a stable environment to visit. Today things will look as though life has returned to normal, and the following day or month BH will displace a whole village. People living

		here in the city are not even safe especially those in some of the IDP camps around the town. Insecurity in the state has made life generally difficult for almost everyone. I think everybody in Borno state is displaced in one way or the other. We have not had electricity (the National grid) for almost a year now. In January 2021, BH members planted explosives on the major power lines supplying electricity to Maiduguri and destroyed it. The first time they did this, it was repaired and three days later they set more explosives on more lines and destroyed everything. The military cannot guard the whole lines from Yobe state to Borno, and since then life has not been easy for most households. People depend solely on generators and solar panels to power their homes. The mental pressure of everyday seeing Borno state in the news line on something to do with insecurity can be traumatising.
5	What is your experience of IDP camp in your community and what is it like living near an IDP camp	Living near this camp has not been easy. There has been high incidence of stealing in the community and we cannot say for sure if the IDPs are responsible or not but very often most accusations are often directed towards the IDPs. *Could that be the case?* Yes, on few occasions some of those perpetrating these ills in the community are IDPs, but most times they are not IDPs, but someone from the community. I think that since Borno state became unstable because of this insurgency by BH, Maiduguri has been overcrowded because it is the only safe place in the state and every day new sets of people are coming into the city. Some of the people coming into the community and those already here are taking advantage of the situation and causing trouble and labelling IDPs as the people responsible for all these social ills. The IDPs themselves probably out of frustration and quest to have something to eat or money to spent are also creating problems in the community.
6	In what way(s) has your knowledge of IDP camp changed since the camp was established here in your community?	When these camps were established here, I thought these people will be monitored and care for by the government properly and duly. This is not the case because some of these camps are not monitored, the IDPs are brought by government kept in a camp and you rarely see government presence to monitor and profile the IDPs. It is common to see them moving around having no control and restrictions which makes it hard for us in the community. The CCCM (Camp coordinators and Camp monitors), the local security and the state or federal security sometimes don't even care about these people, and sometimes there are cases of these security men taking advantage of the IDPs especially the girls and women. There are cases of girls getting pregnant and some of these security men like the police, the military,

		the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) who are supposed to protect these women and girls are often responsible for these pregnancies**.**
7	Are there new social or cultural changes you have noticed in your community since the camp was established and if there are …. What are the obvious changes and how do they affect your community positively or negatively?	This is a community where pre-marital sex was not common and even if it was, it was not talked about or seen in the open. Cases of prostitution were not common because most girls were always at home and early marriage was common. Girls accused of prostitution didn't suffer the shame like their families because of the stigma that was attached to it. This is no longer the case because we hear of scenarios where some of these IDPs especially girls go into survival sex with people both inside in the camp and outside the camp. On many occasions passing in front of that camp at night, I saw car owners coming to pick girls and women from this camp. We never had such a place in this community before. It is also very common to see some of the IDPs dressing up to go out to various clubs and drinking spots in the city especially when NGOs and CCCM leaves the camp. I will not say there were no cases of prostitution or drunkenness in this community in the past, they existed but were carried out with lots of caution and secrecy but today it is a normal way of life. These IDP girls are patronized mostly by people from the host community. To a large extent I feel that this IDP camp and IDPs are already changing the social lifestyle of the community. People are no longer afraid to do things that were only talked about in the past. One of the concerns we have in the community is that some of the girls from the community are gradually being influenced by these IDP girls. For example, when some of the (IDP) girls seem to have some of the latest gadgets and wears. Girls and some young women within the community are attracted to them. Don't forget we intermingle with them a lot and some of their girls are schooling here within the community**.**
8	Are there new crafts or skills that your community has benefitted from because of the IDP camp here?	As much as these IDPs are posing a challenge to the community, I must also acknowledge the contributions they have brought to this community in terms of their human resource. A good number of them are hardworking and our people hire them for farm work, house chores. People within Maiduguri are generally known to be lazy when it comes to farm work, but since these IDP camp was set here and these people are looking for every piece of land to farm. I can see changes in the community. People want to farm which is a positive thing. Some of the IDPs are potters, blacksmiths, carpenter, they make earthen pots, metal pots, chairs and tables and sale in the community at very affordable prices**.** There is this traditional handmade cap

		that is produced mainly in Bama. Since the people from Bama were displaced and came to live in this camp, I have seen some of our girls and women also knitting that cap, so I think they have also shared their talent with us. In the context of religion, a good number of these IDPs are persecuted Christians and since they came here, most of them go to some of the churches in our community here and they have joined church organisations and societies. Music in some of our churches have been enriched by the dynamic way they make their music and the way they sing in their local dialects. A good number of them are also serious about religion and have influenced some people in the community positively to be more conscious of their religious commitment. Some widows from the community have also drawn strength from some of these IDPs who despite all they have been through they are full of life and hope. I see a lot of widows in the community drawing courage from these IDP women who have lost almost everything but are still hopeful and active in church and society. Very often I see some of the women from this camp going out to do menial jobs and when they are paid, they seem to be happy and thankful. The idea of house or compound gardening has become very common in the community a lot of people farm most of their groceries within their compound. This is a new development that was not common in the community as I grew up. I think this is also a positive thing we have learned from the IDPs.
9	What are the relationships or interactions between people outside the camp and those in the camps?	The relationship is multidimensional in the sense that when the IDPs arrived here for the first time, they were welcomed by some while others segregated against them and treated them like outcast calling them BH members. As time went, we got to know some individuals in the camp and became freely with them. There are certain traditional meals that some people go to the camp to invite the IDP women to come and teach their wives how to make it; soups like the Margi special is not common here but now everyone talks about it. *Hope I would have a taste of it before I leave?* Laugh. Some people in the community wish that these IDPs be absorbed into the community and settle to continue with their lives here despite the problem they are creating for us here. This is up to the government to provide that opportunity even though a good number of the IDPs have already relocated from the camps and are living happily in the community**.**
10	What is your hope for the future regarding IDP camps?	The government has declared that 1st December 2021 every camp in Borno state will be closed, but I don't see that possible because the government is just talking but

		no action has been taken to see this come to pass in civil and decent manner. Some of the IDPs were displaced for over 7 to 10 years. Their homes and villages have become ghost towns with nobody there, how do you expect them to return to a place they have not been to in the past ten years, how would they survive? No construction has been done in those villages or settlements to accommodate the people. Allowing the camp to continue in this place is not a good idea for me because it is also affecting the community in many ways and creating social vices that are not in line with the cultural life of this community. My hope therefore will be that government together with the NGOs could help these people settle and live on their own.
11	What has been the experience so far since the arrival of the IDP camp in your community?	Some people like the camp here while many others don't want it. Some people are supporting them while many others especially young men are taking advantage of the young girls in the camp. The NGOs are doing their best to help but at the same time they seem not to be well organised because many things are going on in the camp by different NGOs at the same time. What was considered an abomination and people were stigmatized against in the community is gradually becoming less grievous.
12	In what way is the host community supporting the IDPs and how is it a challenge to your community?	During the festive season like Christmas, Salah or Easter we have people going into the IDP camp to share out Christmas hampers, clothes, shoes and giveaways. Some of the children of these IDPs are trained in schools by people from the host community. These people sponsor these children in school as their own support to some IDP families that they now enjoy good relationship with them. Some of the people here support some of the IDPs but with a selfish motive of using them as sex partners which is creating room for prostitution in the community.
13	How has your community benefitted from the IDP camp?	Water has been supplied in our community through some NGOs working in this camp. Some of the amenities provided in the IDP camps also serve the host community like the football competition, clinic, security. We feel more secured now with the camp because of the presence of the police, soldiers and CJTF station in the camp. They provide security also for the host community. People have been employed by some NGOs from the community to work in the camp.
14	Are there suggestions or observations you feel you can share for a better collaboration between the IDPs in camp, government	My suggestions would be that, for every intervention, I think there need to be a coordination and proper planning involving the government, the police, the NGOs, the CCCM, the host community and the IDPs themselves. I feel now that these stakeholders even though they have a single goal and mission they are not coordinated

	agents, NGOs and host communities?	towards that goal and mission making their interventions ineffective. Some of the intervention that the government or the NGOs embark upon seem to be abstractly planned without an in-depth understanding of the true need, the environmental and social settings of the place and the people involved. A friend of mine from this community one day came to me asking for loan and I asked him what it was meant for he said a particular NGO was going to distribute sewing machine for the IDPs in camp and he was going to buy them off the IDPs at a giveaway price. This goes to show that there was no proper need assessment of what the IDPs truly need, if not why would an organisation give a sewing machine to someone who has no interest in tailoring. The host community is the first help that these IDPs get when they get into the city, but very often you see government and NGOs running interventions in the IDP camps without carrying us along. If we are carried along it will help to build a bond and a sense of belonging for us and the IDPs. I might tell you something you will be surprised about. There are people in this community whose living condition is worse than the IDPs themselves, but the government have never helped them in anyway. This is already creating sentiments in the community where some people see the IDPs as lazy people who are just sitting and waiting on government to feed and clothe them. The community should be taken along through an awareness campaign to disabuse the people's mind on such ills. There can also be a host community enlightenment on re-integration of the IDPs. Some people in this community still think that these IDPs are a group of thieves, BH members, lazy dependants with girls or daughters who are interested in nothing but prostitution**.** I believe government and NGOs can bring such stereotypes to an end through holistic involvement of all stakeholders in planning the kind of interventions that will suit every community and people. Some of these IDPs feel very bad when you call them IDPs. The name is stigmatizing especially when you call the Hausa equivalent (Ma su gudun Hijra). The name itself is discriminating. The IDPs themselves will even tell you that it was never of their making to be in this situation in life. They prefer to be called the persecuted believers especially people who are Christians and some Muslims too. Most of us try to call them by their names and when we do, they are always happy and friendly. The government could think of renaming the camps than calling them IDP camps.

15	Finally tell me a little bit about yourself and what life has been for you generally in relation to the community and the IDP camp?	My life as a child growing up in this community, I never thought there will ever a time when you will see so many people displaced and living in such a hard and inhuman condition. This has also changed how I look at life today and how easy life can change. Sometimes I just visit the camp and have a chat with some of the IDPs. Most of these IDPs were living happily having all the good things life can offer, but today they have virtually nothing. This often call for sober reflection about life generally. My understanding of life in general has been enriched by the experience of this camp here. I now look at life differently and value peace and tolerance more than I did before. The camp here in our community might look better but there are other camps in this city that one cannot access during the rainy season and there are IDPs there living a dehumanizing life. Some of the IDPs are still having serious mental problems because of the experiences and the trauma they have been through. Some have withdrawn into themselves because they have relatives in this town but will not accept to go and stay with them and would rarely visit them. These are signs that they are not mentally or emotionally ok. We are Africans and visiting of family members is a strong value to most of us here but that's not the case with some IDPs which I believe it is not normal. I Have lived here for seven years and should know from experience that some of these IDPs are suffering from post-traumatic disorder. I don't know if this is addressed in the camp properly. Lastly, some IDPs are already living normal lives in the community. They have jobs and have rented a place for themselves. There are also some that if you ask them to go back to their villages they will not go because this is already home for them. Such hardworking people should be supported by government.

Respondent G. IDP Men Leader

S/N	Questions	Answers
1	Name: Age and Gender	Saka, 31 years, Male
2	State, Local Government Area	Borno State, Kukawa LGA.
3	Occupation	I was a fisherman and a farmer before I came to this camp.
4	How long have you been living in this camp?	I have been here for more than nine years now.

5	How did you come to stay in this camp?	BH attacked my village killed many people and some of us ran away to Niger Republic on foot and from there we came back to Maiduguri.
6	How long have you been a leader to the IDPs in this camp and what role do you play for the IDPs as women/men leader in this camp?	I have been the men/youth leader for three years now. My responsibility in the camp is to unite the IDPs especially men, take their complains to camp coordinators, organise monthly sanitation of the camp, I also organise fund raising amongst us to take care of minor needs of some of the IDPs. I also serve as a liaison officer where I communicate what the IDPs want. I also represent the IDPs at different meetings and seminars and conferences. When there is an information to be passed round informally, I go round the houses and religious houses and deliver such information. I am the eye of the IDPs on what the government and NGOs are doing and the eye of government and NGOs on what the IDPs are doing in and around the camp. This is a big camp with 22,802 IDPs. For the administration of the camp at our level, it is divided into 7 zones, and we have 7 Wakilis who oversee each of these zones. Every zone has its own executives who attend to the needs and concerns of their zone. These 7 wakilis and I as the youth/men leader are the camp executives for the men. The women also have theirs and we the same modus operandi. We also try to settle disputes amongst us, issues of debts, cases of child abuses, cases of pre-marital sex and teenage pregnancies and stealing which is very common in this camp. We have been successful in handling most of these cases. We also organise from to time an awareness campaign on these social ills. When we have a case that is beyond us because of the legal implication or the magnitude of hurt on the victim, we report such cases to the police and the clerk of the mobile court. These are key things I do in the camp as a leader to the men.
7	What is your experience being an IDP in the camp in this community (Positive and Negative)	Being an IDP is an experience that can only be imagined. When I arrived in this camp, I was just a moving corpse. Life at that point meant little or nothing to me. Nothing made me happy nothing had meaning, and I kept having flashing images of all I went through. At that time any slight noise or sound could trigger those flashes in my head, and it will take a while to regain myself. This feeling kept going on for more than a year before I eventually recovered. Today I can sit and talk about these experiences and would still be fine. My early days in this camp, I was struggling with suicidal tendencies and a strong feeling that the world was coming to an end. This made me to idle around all day doing nothing but waiting for the doom that will

		befall the world. At that time, all IDPs were served cooked food in the camp by food vendor. The food was poorly prepared, and the ration was too small to satisfy anyone. Most people suffered from dysentery because of the quality of the food, most people were struggling with post-traumatic stress of all they had been through, thoughts of family members killed and the poor organisation in the camp. The camp at that time too was overcrowded and not as organised as we have it today. This made life a living hell for most of us. People were dying every day. It was later that the government decided that IDPs be given food items and money to cook for themselves. Every family was registered, and an ATM card was provided for every household and money was credited into the card every 21 days for us to buy our monthly provision. There were still incidences of corruption or selective favouritism if I might say so, where some people's cards were credited while others had nothing, and no explanations given. This is creating sentiments of distrust and suspicion in our midst. For the past nine months, our ATM cards have not been credited and no explanation given. The camp however has also helped us in many ways. The CCCMs, NGOs, government and other religious bodies that visit this place from time to time, have supported us in almost every aspect of our lives through counselling, enlightenment, WASH (water sanitation and hygiene), prayers, provisions, and money. Everyone living in this camp have learned something new about life and how to cope with our past and move on with life. This is an aspect I feel this camp is really a safe and ideal place for displaced people. We are also taught and encouraged to be self-reliant, and I have been selling firewood in the camp and in the host community. There is also a big problem amongst us the IDPs and that is greed. There are people who want to have everything provided for us to themselves. They are always grasping, cheating, and even stealing what has been given to other people. This has increased our suffering. When NGOs distribute grains to us some people will sale it off to foodstuff sellers just to go back and buy small quantity enough for a day's meal. *Why?* Once these people know that you have grains in your tent, they will break in and take the grains away.
8	What is the nature of the relationship you have with the host community as you live in this camp?	The host community have been very supportive for most of us. It is there that we sale most of what we have like firewood, traditional caps our girls and women make, snacks. We also patronize the host community for 95% of our material and some of our medical needs especially

		traditional medicine. We also go there for recreation like in sports, cinema, watch our football matches, play lotto, and some of our men and ladies have boyfriends/girlfriends in the host community. We also have religious interaction in churches and mosques. We also have social and cultural interaction during celebrations like Salah and Christmas. More importantly they are our host if this camp was in the wild where there are no people, most of us will not be comfortable to stay there.
9	In what way(s) has your social and cultural life been enriched by this community or how have you enriched this community with your culture or social life?	Most organisations in this camp try to introduce different forms of recreation and enlightenment like drama presentation, singing, choreography, seminars, FGD (focused group discussions) etc. This is done at celebrations like World Aids Day, World Women's Day, world Refugees Day etc. Most of these celebrations are marked by awareness campaigns, drama, songs choreography and dance. These were not common practice for us in the village (FGD with women and girls involved is new to us). This has enriched our social life for the better. Other tribes in this camp sometimes do present songs in their dialect which has made us to also experience other tribes and their cultural displays. This camp is made up of 8 different LGAs. We have been able to intermingle intermarry, resolve issues and discuss the progress of our state and country. This is something I never thought could happen easily in this country. This camp has helped us to experience people from other locality and background. I am very sure that after this camp I can travel to any part of this state, and I could meet someone who will recognise me given the role I play in this camp. All of us who have lived in this camp have gained new knowledge about life in general. City life is completely different from life in the village. We have learned how to live in the city, use public toilets, live in clean environment, have bank account, communicate in other languages etc. Our women have also learned about family planning these are all new to most of us. While in the village most of us thought that city dwellers will always look down on us, but our stay here has changed that notion. We now know that people in the city depend to a great extent on what we produce. This awareness has increased our self-esteem and made us value life in the village. There is a football competition held here annually as a form pf recreation for us. We have about 11 football teams and sports kits have been provided by an NGO. When these matches are played spectators come from within and outside the camp to watch. This could be another form of socialization and recreation for us.

10	Do you think the covid-19 protocols observed in this camp are good enough to guarantee safety for you and the people in this camp?	When cases of covid-19 were recorded in the country and a nationwide lockdown was declared. Little or no serious considerations were made for people living in the IDP camps. Most people in this camp suffered because of lack of food, restriction to movement, people who did manual jobs or sold snacks and firewood and other small items in the host community to survive were not allowed to leave the camp. Food became a big problem because most people didn't have access to alternative source of income. There was also a hike in the prices of foodstuff because of the panic buying that was going on all over the country. What most organisations gave us for feeding could not buy enough to cover the time frame, this made life quite challenging for many IDPs. Despite the effort made by camp officials, NGOs, and government agent, there were still problems because of the sudden lockdown of people who were already restricted by the circumstances they were facing in camp. Some measures like use of facemask, use of hand sanitizers, regular hand washing, and social distancing were observed outside, but inside the tents we were still overcrowded. Another problem we had was water shortage because some of our members that collect water from outside the camp could not go out and the water sources in the camp were not sufficient to serve all the people. Right now, nobody talks about covid-19 anymore even though some organisations still observe use of facemask and use of hand sanitizers, but most people are no longer observing these rules as they did in the past. Some IDPs think that covid-19 is a thing of the past.
11	What is your hope for the future, and for this camp?	Three years ago, people from Baga and Kukawa LGAs decided to go back to their villages. They succeeded in going back, settled, and started rebuilding their communities, but in less than a year BH entered these villages, many people were killed and all they had rebuild was destroyed. The level of destruction and killings that took place was more than the first time when these villages were displaced**.** It is because of experiences as these that I think leaving this camp should be the last resort that government should take so long as BH has not been decimated completely. The only reason why people are still in this camp is because we don't want to go back, rebuild our homes and in no far time everything will be destroyed again. Living in this camp is not the best for us. My hope for the future is that BH will one day be decimated, and we can confidently return to our villages and live normal lives without waiting for anyone to feed us.

12	Finally tell me a little bit about yourself and what life has been for you generally in relation to your previous community, the IDP camp and this host community?	I was born in Baga, but I am from Kukawa LGA. My Father's name is lamndo and my mother's name is Nanan I am 31 years of age. I have five siblings and second to the last in the family. My father was a successful farmer and fisherman, and he provided our basic needs. I went to primary school for three years and Islamic Qur'anic school for 15 years. Growing up I was taught farming, fishing, and trade. I am good in onions farming and this was my main business, producing and selling onions in large quantity before we were displaced. Before we were displaced, I had lost a huge sum of money to BH members when we ran into them on a business trip to Baga. They collected the money I was going to the market with and luckily no one was killed. One day BH came to my village and killed many people, my elder brother was killed, and my younger sister's husband was killed as well along many other. We all ran away from the village with nothing. There was no means of transportation because most transport companies come from the city. On our way we were told that BH members were coming after us we had to run towards the desert into Niger public. I had my elder brothers 7 years son with me. For three days we kept running, no food to eat and no water to drink this boy kept complaining that he was thirsty, there was no sign of water anywhere. We trekked all night and, in the morning of the third day, I was still carrying the boy in my back thinking he was sleeping I didn't know he had died of thirst. We had no hoe we had to dig the sand with bare hands and bury the boy there and left. When we got to Niger, most of us were overwhelmed that we could not talk for days. We stayed in Niger for almost three months. I didn't know where my father, mother, brothers, and sisters were. One day Immigration officers of Niger came to the IDP camp we were staying and announced that all Nigerians should leave the country and go back to Nigeria that the road was safe. Most people had no money to transport themselves from Niger back to Nigeria. On that stipulated day we all gathered ourselves, people from Borno state, Adamawa state and Yobe state all displaced from different villages and LGAs. It was when we started trekking back that I saw the vanity of human life and what suffering mean. On our way so many elderly people died on the way. Many pregnant women had induced labour and gave birth on the road, some of them died from stress and others had complications and there were no midwives or doctors to help. Thanks to one rich man I don't even know his name he heard how people were dying in the desert, and he sent some of his lorries

		to convey us to Maiduguri. That was how we got here, and I have been here for seven years now. The Red Cross International was instrumental in helping most people reunite with their family members. The help I have gotten in this camp has also helped me to move on with my life. I now have my own family, and I have hope for a better future. I wish to leave the camp and go to other parts of the country for work or business, but I now have my own family my elder brother's wife and children my aged parents to take care of them. *Do you feel ok and fine after talking about these?* Yes, this is already my story and feel ok talking about it especially to students like you who want to know what happened.

Respondent H. Community Leader 2

S/N	Question	Answer
1	Name, Age and Gender	Tenubu, 60 years, Male
2	State, Local Gov't Area	Borno State, Gwoza
3	Occupation	Farmer
4	What is your portfolio in this community and what role do you play in this community as a leader?	I am the Bulama of this community. A Bulama is a traditional title for a community leader of a small unit in a district. This city is divided into many districts and every district have three to four Bulamas based on the size of the district. It is my duty to maintain law and order, promote unity in the community, settle minor disputes and traditional litigations between people in the community. I also ensure that farmlands and lands within my district are bought and sold by rightful owners, this means that no landed property can be bought or sold in this community without my knowledge and presence. More importantly I am the custodian of the customs and traditions of my people and the social values governing this community. I am the eye of the people to the government, and I am the government's eye to this community. My authority is traditional, but it is recognised and endorsed by the government.
5	How long have you been working in this community?	I have been the Bulama for 13 years, though I have been working with the community for more than 20 years.
6	What has been the experiences thus far for your community since the establishment of the IDP camp?	This is a small community, and we had lived in peace before the IDP camp was established here in 2014. There have been many changes to the community setting and lifestyle since this camp was established. This is because there is a great difference between us and the people in the IDP camp in terms of language, culture, mentality, religion, and even behaviour. Based

		on these differences, we cannot live with these people the same way we did in the past. In the past, it was customary for community members to wake up to an established routine like children going to western or Islamic schools, men and women going to either work, farm, business or doing house chores. This is no longer the case since the IDPs came. We now have people in the community that most of them wake up every day to do nothing. No job, no work, no farm, no school. They wake up and all they can do is eat and wait for NGOs and government to bring them food and money. This is already a social change in the social setting of the society. The IDPs camp is also a place you see good as well as bad people. In the community, we already know most of the people who commits various crimes because they live with us, and we know how to manage and monitor them. This is not the case with those in the camp because it is not a space accessible to all easily. In the IDP camp, the good people there understand this problem as the will of God and are trying their best to survive or pull through it. On the other hand, there are some people in the camp who want to ensure that everyone experience the same kind of suffering they have been through. These kinds of people are often seen stealing, raping young girls and women, use of drug and substance abuse, trying to defraud the NGOs and government, or instigate conflict and discord in the camp and the community. This is a problem I face every day in the community. These people might have been doing these even before they came here.
7	How is the host community supporting the IDPs?	When the IDPs are displaced, they always run first to a place they know someone or have someone who can assist them. Before the government or the NGOs could get to know about them, it is the host community that creates a temporary camp or place for them to stay. As a leader in this community, it is my duty to report to government and various charity organisations that there are displaced people in the community, and they need help. By taking their needs to government and organisations is also a way of helping them. We also have some of our youths here volunteering as primary school teachers, and community health workers. Some of our traditional midwives in the community also assist their women in delivery and some men from the community serve as CJTF (for security). There is an ethnic group that does not like sending their children to school but since they came to the camp for almost seven years now that mentality has changed and most of their children are in school.

8	Do you have an idea how the NGOs/government institutions working here interact with host communities and camp members?	On few occasions we get to know what the NGOs are doing in the camp and in the community but at other times I have no idea. These NGOs have different patterns of operations and mission. Just the way your friend introduced you to me before you started your work in the community, some NGOs observe this protocol while many others go only to the government offices for introduction, and I only see them working in the community. This makes it hard to know how many NGOs are working in the community and what are they doing. NGOs that consult me before embarking on their work, I try to make suggestions that can help them impact on both IDPs and people in the host community more importantly where priority should be directed. Some of the interventions I see from the NGOs are centred on food provision, construction of tents in the camp, construction of public toilets, provision of water and financial support to the IDPs living in the camp and people in the host community. There are also occasions where these organisations counsel and educate the IDPs on general life issues. Some NGOs also pay community volunteers stipend for their services to the IDPs.
9	Do you think IDP camps create new patterns of social interaction between host communities and displaced persons?	Most people living in the community have family ties and tribal ties that makes everyone directly or indirectly link to someone. No one lives for himself or herself. This solidarity (mechanical) is built on a common principle of respect for elders and community leaders. Whatever problem one is facing or whatever favour one is looking for, his or her family assist in solving the problem or links him or her to someone who could help. No body was an island here. This interdependence created respect and order in the community. Since the IDPs came, most of them live individualistic life depending only government or the NGOs to solve their problems. This has created some level of disrespect from most of them. They have little regards for us traditional rulers, a trend that is not good for the community. Most of them live like this in the community, though many others are also trying to be part of the community. Some people in the community are trying to copy this way of life of disrespecting community leaders and living only for themselves.
10	How has your social or cultural life been enriched by the coming of the IDP camp in your community and what are the obvious signs you have seen thus far or vice versa?	In Borno state, our lifestyle in the Norther part of the state is not the same with those from the Southern part. One thing we are known for is our sense of hospitality and sharing. It is part of our culture and tradition to support one another and strangers. This is something the IDPs are not showing any sign of interest in when they arrived here. Most of them were only concern about themselves and their immediate family members.

		In the early days of their stay here, they kept having series of misunderstanding leading to physical assaults especially when food items or other provisions were distributed in the camp. This is no longer the case now and I feel they might have learned that from our community. Most IDPs want their children to go to school something they were not interested in while they were in the village. In the villages they were only interested in farming, fishing, Qur'anic school and marriage. Some of them are into small scale businesses like selling of sachet water, firewood, spices, groceries, labourers in construction sites and laundry services. This has increased our labour force and human resource in the community. They have also increased our numerical strength as a district in this city. Some marriage and naming ceremonies have been held here in my palace organised by the IDPs with my permission. Some time ago they came requesting that they would love to hold such ceremony in my palace because the camp is not conducive for such gathering. The permission was granted and since then people from the community are also having celebrations here. This is something we are learning from them the sense of a common recreation ground. We have also learned how to live with strangers, people from different religious, cultural, social, and ideological background peacefully living together though there are challenges, but we are learning gradually.
11	As the leader of this community, what challenges do you see emerging at present and potentially, the future?	When you talk of IDPs, government, NGOs and the public only think of people who have been displaced from their homes. In Borno state I think everyone is an IDP, the difference is the degree of displacement. This is a challenge for me because when material and financial assistances are given to the IDPs, people from the host community would also come to me requesting that they should be given such assistances as well. People are generally suffering since the insurgency began but the government and NGOs are more interested in only those in the camp. How to relate with these people is not easy and I have no idea when this will end. I also have reports from the IDPs that when food items are given out in the camp, some of them are often side-lined. They told me of scenarios where one IDP has more than enough of everything given out in the camp while many others are starving. This bureaucratic injustice is a thing of concern for me. There is nothing I can do about such problems because I don't even

		know when the distribution is done or by who and secondly, the IDP camp is within my community, but I have no control over it. This makes it hard for me to intervene as the leader of the community. It is a sad feeling to have people, you know they are unhappy in your community and there is nothing you can do. This problem is because most NGOs or government organisations don't consult us living with the people to know how to help them. They just come create problems for us and leave thinking they have helped the people. The sad thing happening in the camp is that some of the people from the host community, when they get to know that food will be distributed in the camp, they go, join some of their friends in their tents and receive these food items while the IDPs in camp gets nothing. We are the ones to identify such people, but organisations rarely involve us in their interventions. We have had cases of stealing here in the community and some IDPs involved. Some time ago I asked some of them to leave the community for good if they are not ready to stop stealing or conniving with thieves in the community. We now have our community CJTF to address these concerns. We also have cases of rape and child abuses in the community. These are new challenges for me because they were rare in this community.
12	How has your community benefitted from the establishment of the camp here? What are these benefits?	Most NGOs supporting IDPs in camp, in few occasions have also rendered material and financial support to some poor members of the host community who might not be IDPs in the strict sense but are in desperate need of help. We also have more security presence in the community because of the camp. More water projects have been done in the community and these water sources serve both the camp and the host community. People in the community have become more security conscious. Other tribes now live and interact with us. People in the host community have learned from the IDPs on how to hold celebrations in my palace which brings more people together.
13	How is (or did) your community cope with the COVID-19 pandemic and the social and economic challenges that came with the pandemic?	When the nationwide lockdown was announced in this city, life became difficult for most people especially those who had no savings. This became more difficult for the IDPs because some organisations stopped going to the camps and many others were working from home and some NGOs complaint that they had no funding. One thing that helped the community and the IDPs was the collective and communal support exhibited by all especially the rich members of the community who

		donated food items; the government and some local organisations also donated food items to people in the camp and the community. The covid-19 vaccination is on-going, and I have encouraged my people to take the vaccine.
14	Are there suggestions or observations you feel you can share for a better collaboration between the IDPs in camp, government agents, NGOs and host communities?	Giving food items and money to the IDPs is not the way forward. Government and NGOs could enquire from the IDPs what kind of business or work they were doing before they were displaced or what kind of business or work, they might be interested in; funds should be provided for that purpose. Every six months government can only come to check their progress, review their business, or work strategy. This could help them better and its more dignifying. This modus operandi of coming to give the IDPs money every month has made them lazy and less passionate about self-reliance. I have a few IDPs who are already living normal lives in this community. That man over there (*he pointed at a man in his early 3os)*, is a drycleaner. People in the community already know him and they patronize him. He left the camp two years back and last year he got married and is doing fine. His father and siblings were in the camp but now he has rented a place for them in the community. People like this need support from government to fully develop their passion and business. Those who are aged and cannot do any work or business, these are the people NGOs and government can consider camp life for them but not these young men and women I see in the camp. This idea might be good for people who are hardworking and want to progress in life but for the lazy ones that prefer to sit in the camp waiting for NGOs to bring them money or go into the community to beg or steal, their situation might be treated differently. I am also happy that you have come to seek for counsel on the happenings around the displaced persons. If government and NGOs can do the same, it can help them to know how to handle these camps well and help the IDPs continue with life.
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