

**Adopting the Welsh Concept of Securitisation to mitigate  
the surge of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) Camps in  
Northern Nigeria**

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**Abstract**

Critical security studies, has in recent scholarship emerged as one of the securitization frameworks whose sole agenda commands attention beyond the locus of the state as the central frame of reference. This clearly goes against the given that security is an affair to be addressed by the state when the underlying causes of security may have arisen out of forces that are intangible. To be sure, the present study applies the findings of the critical security studies to assess the current understanding of security among Nigeria's security personnel attached to IDP camps as well as some IDPs too. Being a cross-sectional study, data was retrieved from IDPs and IDP security personnel attached to some of the IDP camps in Kano, Plateau and the FCT Abuja, between July and September, 2024, as a way of ascertaining the current state of living and perception of security among IDPs and security personnel assigned to these camps. In total, there were 157 respondents across the three states. 124 of them are security personnel whereas the remaining 33 are IDPs. The finding of

the survey shows that the trade-realist approach to securitization is highly influential among Nigerians regarding the challenge of security. This study tends that such an approach to securitization will not do. Relying on the Welsh concept of securitization where security is not different from emancipation, the present study details the extent to which this may be true in addressing the causal factors responsible for the emergence and surge of IDPs and camps in Nigeria. It also offers some plausible recommendations in order to tackle the looming challenge of insecurity in the country.

**Keywords:** Emancipation, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), Nigeria, Security, Welsh School

## Introduction

Internally displaced persons (IDPs) usually face series of challenges in the camps they find themselves following their displacements from the original abodes and this is true for Nigeria. Specifically, women and girls often face greater challenges than men and boys in securing a decent livelihood in displacement camps, with repercussions on their ability to find shelter and security as well as the quest for access to education and healthcare. They tend to be less able to make their voices heard, or participate in decisions on matters that affect them. They are often more likely to flee in the face of conflict, violence, disasters and climate change, and are therefore at greater risk of displacement. It is therefore an undisputable fact that women and girls in IDP camps nationwide require systematically structured support and protection to ensure their safety and ability to exercise their rights and economic potentials in the face of life-threatening hunger and starvation. All these are the aftermaths of the efforts of insurgents and non-state actors whose interests and identities seem to be opposed to that of the government at the central.

There is no doubt that the normative framework relevant to their situation is fairly comprehensive, but implementation lags far behind in many IDP camps nationwide. The impacts of displacement on lives will remain unaddressed while their physical and psychological trauma

continues. The fundamental problem is insecurity and unless this is addressed, IDPs may remain IDPs since efforts of relocation and integration into a society where security is a volatile offers itself as another serious challenge.

With the foregoing said, it is crucial to also add that the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is the first international framework to acknowledge that internal displacement is a development as well as a humanitarian concern (see UNHCR, NHRC and FEMA 2015). Its goals will, however, not be achieved by 2030 unless the phenomenon as a whole and the plight of displaced persons in particular receive greater attention. This includes ensuring they are able to achieve durable solutions to their displacement, through investments and interventions that focus on gender equality from humanitarian and development stakeholders alike. The overriding problem which commands the attention of the present study is failure to understand the tandem between securitization and the emergence as well as maintenance of IDP camps in Nigeria.

First of all, it is crucial to understand that this is not the first study to assess the status quo of IDPs in Nigeria. Some of these studies even go as far as studying the place of women and girls in IDP camps in northern Nigeria (see Barau 2018). The common denominator among these studies is that they usually take it for granted or assume that women and girls in northern Nigeria are exposed to more security threats than those in the south. This is true only if we perceive security only from the perspective of violence and physical armed confrontations. When security is perceived as emancipation, it becomes clear that it is restricted neither to any gender nor to one part of the country.

While there is no doubt that internal displacement often leads to a deterioration of living standards because IDPs tend to lose their property, assets, capital, income and livelihoods, women face greater

challenges. It is for this reason that studies such as Barau (2018), even as they understand the challenges faced by women and girls in IDP camps, offer solutions from ranging from policy reforms to the use of financial assistance. Barau's (2018) study gives the impression that it seeks to assess IDPs from the perspective of women and girls. A carefully perusal shows that this task was not successful. Not only were the solutions or recommendations offered in the study applicable to all gender but it implies that the security construct or dominant security paradigm wields more influence than the applicable security paradigm peculiar to Nigeria. What then is the current approach to security in Nigeria? Is this understanding of security capable of mitigating or addressing the surge in IDP camps in Nigeria?

The foregoing are the central questions of this study. To aid this study, we need to explore our understanding of the concepts of insurgency and insecurity. Insurgency is often seen as an action by organize groups with the instrument of violence with aim of frustrating constituted authority to further achieve their social, economic and political motives. From the perspective of Raji et al. (2021) insurgency or rebellion is a movement aimed at replacement or violent attempt to take control of legally existing constituted government or society through the use of armed conflict or subversion. The Advanced English Dictionary defined insurgency as an organized rebellion aimed at overthrowing a constituted government using subversion and arm conflict. It is indeed a rebellion against authority. There are two distinguish features that characterized insurgency, these are use of violence and intention to change the government action or to overthrow the sitting government. According to Powell and Abraham (2006), Insurgency refers to a violent move by a person or group of persons to resist or oppose the enforcement of law or running of government or revolt against constituted authority of the state or of taking part in insurrection. This definition is a true reflection of the nature of insurgencies in Nigeria where Boko Haram insurgents hide in

bushes in form of Guerrilla and unleash violence on the populace from their hide out.

In order to ascertain the understanding of security and whether or not it such approach to security is capable of addressing the security issues of the country as it pertains to IDPs, a field report was undertaken. This was conducted among the security personnel attached to some of the IDP camps in Plateau, Kano and FCT Abuja. The feedback retrieved was subjected to simple percentage analysis of the cumulative responses of all the respondents in the three states taken together. To accomplish this, empirical evidence is gathered through surveys and its data is analysed to determine which factors have the greatest relationship (Halperin & Health 2020). Quantitative method is appropriate when the target population to be studied is very large (Sreekumar 2023).

To be specific, the methodology adopted for this research is quantitative analysis which involves the use of questionnaires offered to security personnel attached to some IDP camps in Kano, Plateau and FCT, Abuja in order to ascertain the connection between the dominant security framework being adopted and its relevance for mitigating the surge in IDPs. The use of the quantitative method therefore becomes useful. Leavy (2017) asserts that quantitative research investigates how people's attitudes and behaviours are influenced by the social, socio-economic, cultural or environmental context in which they live by looking at people in their actual environments. This exemplifies how the study strategy affects how data are interpreted. It is clear that the findings of Leavy (2017) clearly validate the quantitative approach employed for this research since it will require empirical and numerical data to substantiate its claims. A total of 157 respondents both met the inclusion criteria and offered their consents to participate in the study and also indicated their levels of formal education. The data collected throughout the research was anonymized as the identity and revealing information of

participants were concealed. SPSS 21 was used to analyse the data retrieved from the respondents for the ten questionnaires that were designed for the study. The questionnaires were structured in the Likert model where respondents have the option to choose from five possible options from 1 - Strongly Disagree to 5 - Strongly Agree.

Of the 157 respondents, 124 of them are security personnel attached to some IDP camps in three states under investigation whereas 33 are IDPs. However, before disclosing the revelation of the field work conducted with these respondents, it would be important to first understand the conditions of IDP camps in Northern Nigeria as well as the limitations of previous securitization frameworks for comprehending them. This is the task of the next two sections.

### **Living Condition of IDP Camps in Northern Nigeria**

UNESCO (2021) posits that human displacement may be seen as a form of coerced emigration from their social environment due to several causes like armed conflicts and natural disasters. Insurgency has become a global phenomenon ravaging countries of the world. In the case of Nigeria, the phenomenon has found expression in the emergence of the Niger Delta Militancy groups in which their deadly activities in the South-South part of Nigeria have led to an endemic humanitarian crisis. With no less strategic circumstances is the act of terror by the Islamic sect Boko Haram especially in which their deadly activities of bombing, abduction, kidnapping and daily sporadic gunfire on the citizenry have claimed many lives and forced many citizens to be internally displaced. Some of the displaced citizens are now taking refuge with friends and families in the neighbouring state while others are in the IDP camps. In these camps several unwholesome living standards have been recurring. It is at this juncture that effort is made, in the next section to chronicle the living conditions in these IDP camps.

Within Nigeria, there are about 1000 IDPs camps in some of the states of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory, with most of the IDPs coming from Northern Nigeria (Abdulrahman & Zuwaira 2016). According to the Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA 2024), almost the entire population of IDPs in Borno, estimated to have been almost a million by the third Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) produced by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) is now in Maiduguri. The State camps have more than 15,000 IDPs and more continue to arrive every week (see OCHA 2024). IDPs also suffered many casualties such as shortage of food, health facilities and lack of shelter during the rainy seasons. For instance, OCHA (2024) submitted that the number of IDPs has continued to increase while the amount of resources devoted to the camps such as food and shelter have remained the same. People in each camp are grouped according to their LGAs.

The lack of adequate number of latrines to keep up with the growing numbers of people in camps and the rains have heightened the risk of possible outbreaks of waterborne diseases. In Dalori, an aid worker said 80 latrines were being shared by more than 15,000 residents (OCHA 2024). The proper catering of IDP camps continues to be an impossible task for the Nigerian government. Displaced persons deal with extreme issues in their different camps. These underlying issues include:

- i. stealing among government experts in control;
- ii. absence of adequate information;
- iii. starvation and hunger; and
- iv. insufficient medical services (see OCHA 2024).

As a way of contextualising the negative effects of the conditions of living in IDP camps on IDPs, several studies have been conducted using Nigeria as case study. For instance, it has been documented by the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund that acute malnutrition

is resulting in the daily deaths of children in Nigeria's IDP camps (see OCHA 2024). More so, about six undernourished children die per day in IDP camps in Bama, Borno state. About 88 IDPs passed on from looseness of the bowels and lack of healthy sustenance in June 2016 alone, while 1,200 graves were counted of which over 500 were youngsters. IDPs in North-East have lost their livelihood, dignity and their hope is fading away by the day while their living depends on the goodwill of others (see OCHA 2024). Numbers from 2014 indicate that Nigeria has 3.3 million displaced people, the third-highest index in the world. Out of this 3.3 million, 650,000 are displaced within the boundaries of Nigeria. According to the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR 2021), while the overriding focus in the North-East of Nigeria is to eliminate terrorism, the IDP camps that are emerging as a result of terror-related aftermaths hold horrid tales of rape, prostitution, and theft. The Nigerian government's rehabilitation and resettlement plans are still a mystery and the deduction could lead one to conclude that resettling and rehabilitation is impossible. These internally displaced persons still experience hunger, rape, insecurity, and death.

According to Osewa and Mohammed (2019) Insecurity is a social disorder: a symptom of some anti-social and criminal activities. Insecurity is the antithesis of security. It is the condition of being susceptible to danger, loss, harm, injury or pain. It is the state of vulnerability to harm and loss of life, property or livelihood. Insecurity is the anxiety one experiences when one feels unsafe, vulnerable or prone to danger, loss, harm, injury or pain. It is a societal condition replete with tensions, perplexities and apprehensions. As such, Beland (2005) defines insecurity as the state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection. Achumba et al (2013) alludes to this idea, opining that insecurity is "the state of fear or anxiety, stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection, a lack of or inadequate freedom from danger" (p. 79). Insecurity thus refers to "lack or inadequate freedom from danger, a state of being



open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury, state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune” (Achumba et al. 2013, p.80).

The issue of human displacement and how to tackle it must be prioritized. Of the 1 million people the Federal Government believes to be displaced, only 100,000 are in IDP orientation camps. This means that more or less of them are in the care of the government and other agencies such as the Red Cross, while the remaining 800,000 are left to be taken care of through the charity of host communities. As of 2015, there are 21 IDP camps across the North-East and the inhabitants of these camps were facing critical health challenges. Prime among these challenges are connected to rape, prostitution, and theft. The Federal Government through the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) also ordered an investigation into corrupt camp officials, but nothing seems to have changed except that the situation has gotten worse for displaced persons (see Raji et al. 2021). Of the problems faced by IDPs in the camps, insecurity ranks among the highest, being the origin of their displacement. Living in the camps has not helped them either. It is more like insecurity in insecurity. They are not immune to rape, shootings, suicide bombing and random attacks from Boko Haram. At close intervals, reports of attacks unleashed on IDPs were recorded. Some of them, as reported by Raji et al. (2021) are as follows:

- i. On 11th September 2015, news reported that suspected Boko Haram terrorists detonated a bomb at Maikohi camp located in Yola. According to NEMA, the attack killed 7 and left 20 injured;
- ii. According to the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), on 10th February 2016, 58 people were killed and 78 others injured after suicide bombers detonated explosives at the IDPs camp in Dikwa, Borno State; and

- iii. On 30th October 2016, news also reported that a suicide bomber was shot dead while sneaking into IDPs camp in Borno.

From all indications, IDPs are not secured in camps. They are faced with various forms of insecurity in the camps, including external aggression (Boko Haram) and internal forces (Nigerian Security Agents). They have moved from insecurity to insecurity. This does not stand as a challenge to the displaced persons alone. It also stands as a challenge to Nigeria as a nation. Due to trauma and harsh experiences, displaced persons have the tendency of becoming wild if not rehabilitated and resettled at the shortest delay.

Prolonging the stay of IDPs in camps under hostile environment with daunting security challenges exposes Nigeria to further security threats. Even though displacement is not new to Nigeria, for the first time, the nation is witnessing the highest number of displaced persons within a short period. Security challenges are not birthed suddenly, they come as a result of mismanagement, hostility, and a consistent abuse of human rights among others.

### **Welsh Concept of Security as Emancipation**

Previous studies have offered the need for the government to redirect its employment strategy on the issue of insecurity with regards to those who are victims and survivors of these terrorist attacks or insurgencies in their camps. Some others have offered that IDPs should be educated and equipped to live with the rest of the society such that they are no longer victims of insecurities internally and externally, but victors (see Barau 2018; Adeleye & Aremu 2023). While there is no doubt that internal displacement often leads to a deterioration of living standards because IDPs tend to lose their property, assets, capital, income and livelihoods, women face greater challenges. It is for this reason that studies such as Barau (2018), even as they understand the challenges faced by women and girls in IDP camps, offer solutions from policy reforms to financial assistance.

Barau's (2018) study gives the impression that it seeks to assess IDPs from the perspective of women and girls. A carefully perusal shows that this task was not successful. Not only were the solutions or recommendations offered in the study applicable to all gender but it implies that the security construct or dominant security paradigm wields more influence than the applicable security paradigm peculiar to Nigeria.

Similarly, Adeleye and Aremu (2023) have offered voluntary return, integration and relocation as the solution for tackling the pressing concerns of IDPs. Studies such as these take the erroneous outlook that the emergence of IDPs can be stemmed from such a perspective. Clearly, there is dearth in the comprehension of other angles or variables pertaining to security.

UNHCR, NHRC and FEMA (2015) identified and visited seven IDP camps in the FCT, Abuja. They found that whereas the lack of proper documentation and curation of figures are challenges inside the camps, others are: infiltration of IDP camps by vagrants to seize relief materials, sexual and gender violence on women and girls, which are replete. They offer that health, education and better shelter should be provided by the government to the IDPs. Again, studies such as these fail to draw the line between security and the surge in IDP camps not only in the FCT Abuja but in Nigeria. It is precisely this research lacuna that present study seeks to fill – calling for the need to assess security from the most relevant perspective – the perspective of the Welsh School, to which we not turn to.

Critical theory has been disclosed to have gained its outlook from the Marxist school of thought. This is not unconnected to the fact that it is through this perspective that some influential schools of thought or scholars of the Richard Wyn Jones, Welsh School, and Ken Booth have used it as the basis for their ideas. Diskaya (2013) in his exposition of the main idea of critical theory tenet writes:

Frankfurt School critical social theory Gramscian critical theory, and radical International Relations theory which has recently been associated with the neo-Gramscian theorist Robert W. Cox has played a major role in heavily influencing critical theory. All these approaches though diverse, gain their origin in the Marxian productivist paradigm, they seek the development of a social theory aimed towards social transformation by exploring and elucidating human emancipation barriers and possibilities.

The belief that the views or interests of the oppressed class in society can be heard has made Critical theory to also gain prominent attention. Booth (2005, 11) posits that: "The critical theorist creates a critical distance from his or her historical context in order to explore its origins, development, institutions, and potential for change." Another prominent scholar of the Welsh tradition, Richard Wyn-Jones has, in a related development, given his weight over the place of critical theory on the Welsh tradition:

The ability of critical theory to elucidate the feasibility for emancipatory transformation stands or falls. If there is a reinforcement of the position of the powers that be by problem solving theory, then critical theory and immanent critique make human suffering the prism through which problems are viewed. This means focusing on the men, women, and communities for whom the present order is a cause of insecurity (Wyn-Jones 1999, 56).

Wyn-Jones is one of the very few who proceeded to contend that any inquiry into the doctrine of critical security ought to be a reservoir of relief for persons who lack or do not have a voice of theirs. They are who are under-represented and do not possess the means for making their voices to be heard (Wyn-Jones 1999). Perhaps, it is following

from this outlook that the contention of the Welsh School on security offers a completely different perspective from the norm. The Welsh School disagrees with the traditional or classical realist whose approach to security indicates that the state is the central frame of reference.

The starting point of the Welsh School is their emphasis on the word 'emancipation,' which is a derivation from its Latin etymology, 'emancipare.' Booth (2005) explores the concept, relying on its meaning as setting loose and a means of attaining freedom from social/class oppression. It is this approach that is given to the doctrine of security that accounts for the justification regarding why the perspective that security is mainly about persistence and being alive, first before any other thing follows. Booth (1999) furthers that security is not a status quo that can be addressed in the face of acute inconvenience and stressful living conditions of the people. For Booth (1991), to talk about security is to talk about emancipation, vice-versa.

Booth (1991) criticizes the prevailing perception of security as the non-existence of threat to a state as the reliable way to understanding security. Such a perspective, for him, wishes away the reality of other forms of 'security threats' such as economic lack, biting inflation, famine, and a dearth in access to formal education. The absence of these and many more, account for why it remains tough for people to lead gainfully rewarding lives. Unless these are addressed, for Booth (1991) the people will yet to be emancipated and insecurity of lives properties loom.

Furthermore, it is instructive to deduce from the foregoing that Booth and other scholars of the Welsh School maintain that any talk about security is emancipation and talks about emancipation implies or invites security. Interestingly, Booth's criticism of classical realism on security is based on its failure to see beyond the state in matters of security.

In spite of the foregoing, it is important to point out the influence of Immanuel Kant on Booth with the outlook of the Welsh School on the subject of security and emancipation co-terminus. In other words, emancipation, in the security theory of Booth owes its root to the great German scholar, Immanuel Kant's normative moral theory. Kant has contributed to moral philosophy immensely (Kenny 2007). Kant's moral philosophy with moral agency is grounded on reason, hence he is a rationalist. From this, Kant argues that all agencies arise out of duty and goodwill must be at the centre. Kant therefore offers three categorical imperatives to guide human conduct or agency. Of the three, Booth was inspired by the second – treat other as ends in themselves and never as a means to some end. It is from this angle that one can say that Kant heavily influenced Booth's outlook that security is for all and not exclusive to anyone. Liberty, emancipation and freedom, for Booth ought not to be selective or restricted but available to all irrespective of status. In a nutshell, Booth is suggesting the urgency of doing away with any element that seeks to replace the plight or situation of humans as the centre of security. This centre for the trade-realist is the state.

On this note, Booth (1991, 320), argues that hitherto, the state is usually seen as the major player in the international system. However, owing to the level of insecurity in nearly all parts of the world, this outlook will not do. Elsewhere, Booth (1999) makes three postulations intended at showing why the conception of security according to the realists is not as thorough or robust as what the Welsh School proposes on security:

States are unreliable to use as a primary referent due to, first, at the internal and external level, some of states are in the business of security and some are not. Second, even those states which are products of security are seen as a mean not the end. Third, as a result of variety

between states and foreign relations, states are very different in characteristics (Booth 1999, 321).

The three significant ways in which critical security studies differ from realist conceptions of security are made abundantly clear in the above. The excerpt also shows that the critical security studies are a better alternative to the realist account of security in light of these limitations. On the surface, this appears to be true. Politically, the state alone cannot be considered the whole, as other non-state actors play important roles that contribute to our understanding of security. In any case, a careful assessment of critical security studies indicates that there are some difficulties in their postulation concerning the view that security is the same as emancipation. One of the scholars who find a few difficulties with the position of the Welsh School, a subset of the critical security studies group is McDonald (2012, 120):

The problem of Welsh school about explaining critical security studies are start from that point when scholars suggest that emancipation is security itself and precisely when Booth illustrates that security is something different for various people in a different time and also shows at the analytical stage security and emancipation are the same.

On a related note, Sergei Bahceci (2015) contends that that concept of security for the Welsh school is not without some fallout. Bahceci is of the opinion that the critical security studies' viewpoint on the subject of security is mistaken. This is because, on the one hand, they intend to move toward universal security by asserting that security and emancipation are synonymous, but they do not acknowledge the role that violence and war play in achieving universal security. Bahceci (2015) makes hints at historical forms of violence like Nazism and Communism. These two illustrate the

position of the trado-realists on security with the state as reference frame.

Similar to McDonald (2012) and Bahceci (2015), McGlinchey (2021) has also voiced concerns about the critical security studies' limitations. Specifically, McGlinchey contends that the identified synonymy between emancipation and security is, at best, contentious. McGlinchey (2021) tenders that most the realists are led to counter that the relationship between emancipation and security offers confusion since emancipation is a problem wishes to attain even at the international system. As a result, lowering security to the point of emancipation is not an idea to be given rigorous attention for reflection. We must recognize that no position is without its own flaws, even when we can observe these criticisms in the work of scholars who are critical of the critical security studies position that security is comparable to emancipation.

### **Adopting the Welsh Concept of Comprehending Securitization in Nigeria**

Based on the analysis conducted over the connection between security and emancipation for the Welsh School, the deduction is that there is not theoretical idea without its own specific limitations or flaws. Despite the fact that the Welsh School has been found to be limited, this study agrees with their central assertion that security and emancipation should command further scrutiny as it pertains to the challenge faced by the global south. In order to make the position of the critical security studies relevant and applicable in contemporary times, it is helpful to apply it in order to understand the displacement of persons into camps and the security undertone that such commands. Specific attention will be given to how the emergence of internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps as well as the challenges in maintaining these camps present themselves as security issues that the trado-realist security framework cannot address. However, before engaging in any of these, it is pertinent to first of all, offer a glimpse



into current perception of security among the Nigerian security personnel as the next section details the methodology adopted for this objective.

Based on the feedback retrieved from armed security personnel attached to the IDP camps and some of the IDPs themselves, the fact that there is a high conviction that the job of security is mainly a duty of the government, the trade-realist approach of the state as the principal reference frame is noticed. In this connection, very few emphases are laid on the relationship between climate change and the temptation of violence in a country where unemployment and inflation has crippled the economy. Taking a leaf from a study of Chad Republic, Fisman and Miguel (2008, 131) validate: "If global warming brings more droughts to Chad or its neighbours, farmers won't be able to adjust and the region's dire economic situation will only grow worse. And so will the cycle of poverty and violence that afflicts the region." Concerning Nigeria, Ofuasia (2022, 19) tenders: "In northern Nigeria, the conflict or violent confrontations between farmers and herders continue owing to the effects of climate change which has continued to drive herders downwards in search of fodder for the flock." This, not only have implications for the surge in violence and then emergence of IDPs but also portend dire fortunes for food security as a result of the climate change and conflicts between farmers and herders which have contributed to the displacing of some of these crop farmers into IDP camps.

There is no doubt that the prevailing ideology pertaining to the use of the trade-realist approach to securitization in Nigeria will not do. This is one of the overriding recommendations of this study following the Welsh School's approach to critical security studies. As already noted, Booth (1991) criticizes the prevailing perception of security as the non-existence of threat to a state as the reliable way to understanding security. Such a perspective, for him, wishes away the reality of other forms of 'security threats' such as economic lack,

biting inflation, famine, and a dearth in access to formal education. The absence of these and many more, account for why it remains tough for people to lead gainfully rewarding lives. Unless these are addressed, for Booth (1991) the people will yet to be emancipated and insecurity of lives properties loom.

In addition to the foregoing, the previous proposals concerning how to deal with IDPs will not do. Specifically, the recommendations of UNHCR, NHRC and FEMA (2015) for government to cater for IDPs in their camps will not do. For how could a government that could not preserve their lives and properties before their displacements can suddenly become saintly and put the convenience of the IDPs at the fore?

The studies of Barau (2018) and that of Adeleye and Aremu (2023) suggested that the government should accelerate the pace of equipping IDPs with the necessary skills in order to integrate IDPs back into the society so that they can once again return to lead a normal life. The fundamental question that comes to the fore at this juncture therefore is: what constitutes a normal life? Nigeria of 2024 is currently facing persistent depreciation of the naira against other foreign currencies which in turn affects the price of goods and services. Unemployment, starvation, uncertain future along with the consistent and persistent fear of kidnapping for ransom are some of what nearly all of the IDPs will encounter once they are re-integrated into the society. This does not change the underlying fact that security goes beyond the use of arms to subdue non-state actors for peace to reign. An ex-government official, Mr. Gavs Katiya in his years of interaction with repentant Boko haram attests to how the deadly insurgent recruit into their ranks: "There are some people who left my house to become Boko Haram fighters. They think this is an activity where you can get something...They have repented Boko Haram fighters who have that business mindset that insurgency is a source of livelihood" (see Ugwu 2024). The lesson is that the trado-realist

approach to securitization where government is placed at the core where emphasis is on physical and military might should be replaced with a more suitable approach – one which takes cognizance of causal factors – the Welsh theory of securitization.

### **Conclusion**

The primary thrust of this study was to take a cross-sectional assessment of IDPs as well as security personnel attached to IDP camps in three states in Nigeria – FCT Abuja, Kano and Plateau. The findings revealed that there is a deep conviction that the security challenges facing the country can be addressed through the use of the tradeo-realist securitization theory. Upon a careful analysis of the causal and consequent factors responsible for the surge in IDP camps in Nigeria, this study recommends the Welsh theory of securitization which is able to address the current threats facing Nigerians from almost all spheres.

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