

MODELS FOR RESETTLEMENT OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN NIGERIA: THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

The involuntary displacement of some human populations in Nigeria have grown unabated in recent times, leaving millions of Nigerians uprooted from their traditional homes without much prospects of immediate solutions to their plight. Development projects, conflicts and natural disasters are among the key factors that trigger displacement of populations from original habitations. Within the past sixty years, researchers and policy makers have advanced various models for planning resettlement programmes. Some of these models are reviewed in this paper; these include the Scudder-Colson –Four-Stage model, the Risks and Reconstruction model and the Bakassi Resettlement and Re-integration model. Without prejudice to postulations of the various resettlement models developed in the area of study, this paper advocates a holistic approach in the resettlement of displaced populations which is emphasised in anthropological perspective.

Keywords: *Involuntary Displacement, Human population and Resettlements Model.*

INTRODUCTION

Development projects, war, natural disaster or other issues sometimes require that people be involuntarily resettled from areas where they live and work to other locations (Cernea, 1989). Policy-guided solutions driven by proactive planning and judicious implementation of resettlement programmes are required to mitigate the negative consequences of population resettlement on individuals and on the economy, and to assist displaced people to pick bits and pieces of their lives and become re-established on a productive, self-sustainable basis. Within the past sixty years, researchers and policy makers have come up with various models developed as conceptual framework for planning resettlement programmes as well as templates for analysing the condition of displaced populations. Some of these models are reviewed in this paper.

THE MODELS

The Scudder-Colson Four-Stage Model

This model was developed in 1980 by Scudder and Colson (Janson, 2004). It was built upon earlier approaches that dealt primarily with voluntary displacement and resettlement issues. Scudder and Colson postulated a four-stage model usable in explaining how people and socio-cultural systems interact

and respond to resettlement conditions which includes: recruitment, transition, potential development, and handing over or incorporation stage (Janson, 2004). The Scudder-Colson model identified four specific phases in which displaced populations had to pass through in the process of resettling them. Recruitment stage: In the recruitment phase, policy makers and or developers formulate development and resettlement plans, often without informing those to be displaced. The beneficiaries of the project are not given opportunity to make meaningful contributions into the policy framework guiding their resettlement process.

Transition stage: During the transition phase, people learn about their future displacement which heightens the level of stress experienced resulting from culture shock in their new habitation.

Potential development stage: Potential development occurs after physical relocation has occurred. Displaced people begin the process of rebuilding their economy and social networks.

Handing over or incorporation stage: This refers to the handing over of local production systems and community leadership to a second generation of residents that identified with, and feels at home in the community. Once this stage has been achieved, resettlement is deemed a success. Janson (2004) opined that the Scudder-Colson model focused on the different behavioural tendencies common to each of a series of stages through which beneficiaries of resettlement passed. Initially, the model was formulated to explain the stages of voluntary resettlement, but was only later applied to some cases of involuntary resettlement (i.e., those successful cases that passed through all four stages).

The Risks and Reconstruction Model (RRM)

In the 1980s and 1990s, there was mounting evidence of involuntary resettlement schemes that failed to pass through all the four stages in the order proposed by Scudder (Janson, 2004). This suggested that a new model was needed to explain the consequences of involuntary relocation. In particular, it was necessary to model what was increasingly seen as predictable impoverishment in forced resettlement schemes (Janson, 2004). This and other deficiencies led to the development of a new model by Cernea in 1997. The work of Cernea (1997) known as the Risks and Reconstruction Model is the most popular, commonly used and best known in the field today among other models (Collins, 2009). Over the last three decades, this model has been refined, modified and adjusted to suit realities of the time. A detailed account of Risks and Reconstruction Model (RRM) was captured in Cernea's work in 1997. The RRM was not presented in the work as a model in specific terms, rather as a list of eight factors contributing to impoverishment among involuntary displaced population. These were landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality and social disarticulation. He added loss of

access to common property as the ninth factor (Cernea, 2003). The RRM is a conceptual model for analysing the socio-economic content of displacement. The model anticipates displacement's major risks, explains the behavioural responses of displaced people, and can guide the reconstruction of displaced people's livelihoods. Like any other conceptual template, this model functions not just as a tool for generating and organising knowledge, but also as a tool for guiding action, usable for policy formulation and planning purposes (Cernea, 1997). The four distinct but interrelated functions which the risks and reconstruction model can perform are best described as:

A diagnostic-explanatory and cognitive-function;

A predictive-warning and planning-function;

A problem-resolution function for guiding and measuring resettler's reestablishment; and a research function for forming hypotheses and conducting theory-led field investigations.

One unique thing about this model is the fact that displaced or resettled peoples must not necessarily pass through set stages or follow a time line as prescribed by other models. Although, it is very popular in academic circles and widely used in the field, it attracts some criticisms from scholars (Muggah, 2000; Collins, 2009). Muggah (2000) is considered among the first to test-ground the applicability of the Risks and Reconstruction Model. Case studies from Colombia were tested using the model to assess its potentials as a conceptual framework and tool for policy formulation and planning, with regards to conflicts-induced displacement (CID). Insights drawn from these studies enabled him to summarize useful criticisms of the model. Having noted that the model was not specifically designed with CID, extra factors pertaining to education, political participation and increased risk of violence were added to the model (Muggah, 2000). This was in line with Cernea's (1997) recommendation that extra variables may be required in some cases in order to place the model on a contextual platform. The major criticisms include the following: Over concentration on risk avoidance, with little or no attention given to events leading up to and the reason for displacement and over-emphasis on economic at the expense of human rights (Collins, 2009). The conceptual framework of the model is found to be highly generalized. However, according to Muggah (2000), this aspect is an advantage, as it enhanced adaptability of the model to local conditions. According to Muggah (2000), in most cases of involuntary displacement, there are those who will benefit from the migration, and the migrants generally come out worse off. This issue usually comes to the fore in cases of dam development, urban renewal and civil war.

The RRM was originally designed by Cernea (1997) to minimize the impoverishment risks encountered during development, specifically in dam

construction or urban renewal projects. Cernea (1997) recommendations alluded to the fact that there is no grand model to explain the social condition of displaced population everywhere in the world. It is also axiomatic that no resettlement model has universal applicability. However, Muggah (2000) was criticized for inclusion of education in his analysis, but not insisting that it should be added permanently to the model. Hence, the model is viewed as being somewhat short sighted, based on popular contention that education for victims of impoverishment must be prioritised. Another contention is that, special consideration must be given to causes of displacement. This is a very critical factor in the development of a resettlement plan designed to address specific needs of a particular case such as prevailing cultural, psychological or social issues (Usoro, 2016).

According to Collins (2009), impoverishment and marginalization are not mutually exclusive. In a logical sense, however, Cernea (2003) puts it that every impoverished person is vulnerable to marginalization, even though the marginalized may not necessarily be impoverished. This issue is somewhat enshrined in the risks and reconstruction model's components. In any case, once marginalized, a person or population has reached the lowest point, which is usually very difficult to recover from. Marginalization generates terrible psychological impact on its victims. With these insights, the focus should not be simply on avoiding marginalization but proactive measures should be adopted in tackling impoverishment issues by trying to conduct thorough investigation to understand both the remote and immediate cause of marginalization (Usoro, 2016). This can be achieved by modifying, replacing and expanding the number of factors given in Cernea's (1997) risks and reconstruction model, in pursuant to specific objectives of a given study.

The Bakassi Resettlement and Re-integration Model: The Anthropological Perspective to Resettlements

By the turn of the 21st century, there was a number of works that branched away from studying immigration and labour migration; and began to adopt ethnographic approach in investigating forcefully displaced populations due to one reason or the other (Collins, 2009). There exist many studies on population resettlement using Cernea's (1997) RRM as a framework and analytical tool. Most of these studies address themselves to the anthropological outcomes and consequences for the resettled population. These works examine various African tribes or regions, such as the Tonga people of Gwembe District, and the social impact of resettlement (Clark, Colson, Lee and Scudder, 1995; Liozos 1999; Muggah 2000; Shami, 1993; all cited in Collins, 2009). Findings from these studies were found to be applicable to resettlements with larger populations in other parts of the world (Colson, 2003). But cultural realities defer from on one

region of the world to another, and so does displacement and resettlement issues. It is important to note that policies and models developed to address resettlement crises in one country might become ineffective or a colossal failure in another. Therefore models developed by other scholars focusing on different regions guided the development and modification of existing models in attempt to examine the condition of Bakassi returnees in Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. This model is a product of an ethnographic study by Usoro(2016).The information used in building the model was collected during the fieldwork (December,2015- April,2016) among the displaced Bakassi returnees, resettled in Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria.

Following the handing over of the disputed Bakassi Peninsula to the Republic of Cameroon, in line with the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruling on the matter, Nigerians who were traditionally living in the disputed Peninsula were directed to relocate to any state in Nigeria and allow Cameroonian authority to take effective occupation of the Bakassi Peninsula. Majority of these returnees found their ways to Akwa Ibom State (Usoro, 2016). The development of the Bakassi resettlement and Re –integration model (BRRM) draws inspiration from Cernea’s (1997) recommendations as reported in Muggah (2003), and builds on the work of Collins (2009) by further expanding and modifying some elements used in these models. The BRRM was specifically designed to provide the conceptual framework for explaining the condition of the displaced Bakassi people, and as an ideal template for examining the socio-cultural factors that influence the success of their resettlement. The unique feature of this model is that it does not just highlight cofounding issues confronting the resettlement of the affected population but proposed the consideration of the prevailing circumstances of displacement and experiences of the prospective displaced people as basic ingredients and inputs for developing and implementing resettlement action plan (Usoro, 2016) There is no model that can explain everything about every displaced population resettlement, because even among a given displaced population, individual experiences are unique and will always be relative. Consequently, models cannot yield universal applicability. The proposed model laid great emphasis on bottom-top approach to resettlement of displaced populations by introducing beneficiary input as the first element on its schema; other new features include advisory service, capacity building, conflict resolution and anomie.

THE EMERGENCE OR DEVELOPMENT OF THE BAKASSI *Resettlement and Re-integration Model (BRRM)*

Observations, interactions, key informants account and experiences alluded to the uniqueness of the Bakassi displaced population and have generated large amounts of insightful data with empirical potential that can be usable for model conceptualisation. There was therefore, the necessity to build on existing

works to develop a specific model, germane for explaining the Bakassi case. Most contemporary resettlement models are, in one way or the other building from the foundation laid by Cernea (1997)'s RRM, which is currently making waves as the most popular reconstruction model in the field of resettlement and re-integration (Collins, 2009; Jibril, 2006; Olawepo, 2008). In view of the above, there is the justification to put forward a Bakassi-oriented model that could be employed to analyze or examine the resettlement of the displaced population investigated in this work in specific terms. It was therefore considered a worthwhile responsibility to develop a new model: The Bakassi Resettlement and Re-integration Model (BRRM). The model draws on the works of various scholars as stated earlier. Specifically, the works of Cernea (1997) and Collins (2009) laid the foundation for the development of the BRRM. Significant features of the model are that: beneficiary input is introduced and prioritised in the relocation planning; adjustment issues are sub-divided into three (primary, secondary and tertiary) components. Some elements in Collin's and Cernea's adjustment issues are removed and replaced with a few, in line with issues surrounding the population investigated in this study.

The BRR model was developed in stages. It all began with a field study among the Bakassi returnees, which revealed the fact that previous works on this topic failed to provide appropriate conceptual framework for studying the case. Thereafter, there was a collation and analyses of specific models and conceptual frameworks available in the field of study. In doing this, specific attention was paid to substantive issues bordering on population resettlement (Usono, 2016). The next stage was devoted to putting together a model that would provide standard conceptual underpinnings for a thorough review of all activities relating to the displacement and resettlement of the displaced Bakassi people, in attempts to place the entire process in perspective. Lastly, the author attempted to test the workability of the model by applying it literally to other cases of population displacement and resettlement. The development of this model has compelled the author to consult innumerable articles by several scholars, researchers and agencies who have written about similar aspects of resettlement and relocation processes. This paper is constrained to include all authors who had written on resettlement. Suffice it to state however, that this work draws extensively on Cernea's work because of its prominence and wide acknowledgement. Collins' (2009) model also exhibited great inspiration and practical input to this work. In developing this model, it was necessary to jettison certain elements of original models and replace them with new terms. There are two reasons for this. First, there were, in some cases, multiple scholars who contributed to elements of the models (Collins, 2009). The element, "land" is a typical example. Zeizos (1999, cited in Collins (2009), highlights "provision of land" while Cernea (1997) highlights "landlessness" Collins (2009) on his own part, highlights "Land".

Another critical issue is that, although, the essence of the ideas was proposed by another scholar, the tendency to address specific objectives of the study is there. Hence, the need for shortening, alteration of words or outright replacement of certain concepts as long as the purpose for this is justified.

The Modus Operandi of BRR Model

The model is divided into two major sections; the relocation planning section, and resettlement adjustment issues. The relocation planning section has smaller components (beneficiary input, where, who, resources) termed "elements:".

The resettlement adjustment issues section is sub-divided into three components. These are:

- The primary component
- Secondary component
- Tertiary component.

Each of these components also has smaller elements. These elements are some of the socio-cultural factors that affect the resettlement of displaced Bakassi people. Every resettlement schema begins with planning. This stage is conceptualised in the model as relocation planning. This model underscored the fact that every element constituting adjustment issues and that of relocation planning exert mutual influence on each other. To ensure that the resettlement process is effectively executed, serious attention or consideration must be given to every element embedded in adjustment issues. When all issues and problems concerning this are effectively addressed before resettlement; there will be a greater propensity to achieve success. The relocation planning therefore, determines how the resettlement will happen, where the resettlement will be, and what resources will be needed to achieve the resettlement goals and objectives (Collins, 2009). This confirms an adage which states that: "as you make your bed, so shall you lie on it". This section is the bedrock of any resettlement project. It has the potential to determine the success or failure of the resettlement projects (Usoro, 2016).

The second section of the model (adjustment issues) is adorned with variables that will manifest as post resettlement issues. When adjustment issues are effectively addressed, the chance of a possible negative outcome is drastically reduced. If the elements in the adjustment issues are either minimized or maximized; depending on their negative or positive effects, the chances of the resettled population experiencing the negative elements of the secondary issues are greatly reduced (Collins, 2009). The ultimate success of a resettlement project is not wholly determined by the results of, or how well the elements constituting the adjustment issues are addressed. It must, however, be acknowledged as

having a large impact anyway (Collins, 2009). There are other intervening variables or factors that combined to determine the success story of resettlement projects.

Functions of BRR Model

Although the BRRM performs distinct but interrelated functions which are similar to those of the Risks and Reconstruction Model and traditional functions of most resettlement models, the introduction of new elements in the schema such as beneficiary input, capacity building, conflict resolution, advisory service and anomie has deepened its potentials in analysing the socio-economic condition of the study population. These functions include the following:

1. It attempts to recognise the beneficiaries of resettlement projects as critical inputs in planning and execution of resettlement projects. This is achieved through greater participation and engagement of displaced people themselves in the resettlement process.
2. Through its capacity building element, the model is fortified to activate sustainable increase in the income of IDPs by exposing them to both formal and informal skill acquisitions and formation of Economic Interest Group (EIG) to encourage partnership and entrepreneurial productive skills among IDPs. This will help to fight dependency syndrome among IDPs.
3. As a diagnostic-explanatory and cognitive tool, the model attempts to highlight recurrent challenging issues confronting involuntary displacements. This model will be useful to relocation authorities, policy officials and to the affected population who incur the consequences-the nature, the risks, and the possible outcomes of impending forced displacements (Cernea, 1997).
4. The model's predictive capacity rests on turning issues into prospects and from mere prospects to practical steps for planning and implementing better resettlement projects. In doing this, the beneficiaries and other stake holders are encouraged to contribute ideas and other available resources towards rebuilding the lives of IDPs.
5. It provides early warnings about adverse effects long before the decisions on displacement are made. It equips the planners with better understanding and anticipation powers. The model enables relocation planners and prospective displaced people, to recognise the impoverishment risks in advance, search for alternatives to avoid displacement or respond with proactive mitigatory and coping strategies (Cernea, 1997).
6. The problem-resolution capacity rests on the ability of the model to point out ways to overcome displacement challenges and their causes. Therefore, the usefulness of the model increases greatly by moving from discovering the problem and predicting to prescription for action. Using its conflict resolution element, a proactive conflict resolution mechanism is put in place to settle disputes within IDPs and disagreement involving the IDPs and the host community or any other

stake holder. When this function is translated from ideology to practical actions, a social space is therefore created for ultimate reconstruction of displaced people's livelihood beyond mere mitigation to a development-oriented lifestyle.

7. The research guiding capacity rests on the conceptual framework provided by the model to social researches for formulation of hypotheses on both displacement and relocation, and for conducting theory-led fieldwork. The practical usefulness of this function is that it guides the field collection and aggregation of empirical data in a coherent manner along content variables. It also facilitates cross-cultural comparison of specific findings regarding the same variables over a period of time (Cernea, 1997).

The Components of BRR Model

The model has two major sections (Relocation planning and Adjustment issues). Each section is designed with sixteen elements which highlight some of the socio-cultural factors that are likely to affect the resettlement and re-integration of a displaced people.

A. The relocation planning: This captures all relocation arrangements, processes, policies and other activities involved in the resettlement of the displaced population. Elements of the Relocation Planning are: beneficiary input, where, how and resources.

i. Beneficiary input: Refers to the involvement of the relocatees (displaced population) in the planning and implementation of the resettlement process. They must be carried along; they should be given the opportunity to make contributions on topical issues affecting them. This will create a sense of importance and dignity in the beneficiaries of such resettlement projects.

ii. Where: Refers to both the traditional habitation and the new location proposed for resettling the displaced populations. The beneficiaries should have a say in the choice of their new location as much as it is possible.

iii. How: Refers to the manner and means of transporting the population; as well as the time needed to complete the exercise. Pertinent questions border on whether the relocatees should be moved gradually or *en masse*?

iv. Resource: Refers to the finances, means of transportation, assistance and other necessities needed to successfully accomplish the resettlement exercise. This involves the provisions of basic necessities for resettled population to survive with, and settle down after their arrival in the new location. It also encapsulates funds for establishment of essential services that may be required and, the resources that are needed and provided by the state that accepts the resettled population (Collins, 2009).

The Adjustment Issues: Adjustment issues are sub-divided into three categories namely: primary issues, secondary issues and tertiary issues. Each category has its elements.

i. Primary adjustment issues :

Land: Refers to material and immaterial phenomena associated with landed property such as land tenure system, land inheritance, Land Use Acts, and other issues pertaining to land in the place of original residence, and land in the new location. Cernea (1999) used the term "landlessness" to describe the principal form of decapitalization and pauperization of displaced people as they lose both natural and artificial capital. The Bakassi people were relocated from a fishing settlement to a landlocked habitation. The loss of access to fishing bay, lines, boats, nets and other assets resulted in significant reduction in the income of the returnees. The Bakassi people are 99% fishermen. They ought to have been resettled in a place where they could have access to fishing water, so as to continue in their traditional occupation. Provision of enough land is key to success of any resettlement programme. It is treated as a primary adjustment issue in this model. Loizos (1999), cited in Collins (2009) noted the importance of land for forced migrants, stating that the provision of land in their new location can usually be of benefit; however, somewhat concurringly, the modern state does not necessarily hold common property in higher esteem (Collins, 2009).

Food: This is number one on the list of mankind's basic needs. Structures must be put in place to ensure that food is affordable and accessible for the continued survival of the resettled population. According to Cernea (1999), undernourishment is both a symptom and result of inadequate resettlement and forced migration increases the risks of chronic undernourishment. Where the resettled population finds it difficult to utilize the available food, provision of traditional food becomes very crucial. The Bakassi returnees were used to sea foods as their traditional delicacies. This is grossly inadequate in their new location. There is acute shortage of food supply in all the resettlement camps. The resettled population appeared starved and malnourished all the time. The little portion of land allotted for them to make garden cannot cater for their food needs.

Capacity building: This refers to all activities targeted at raising and developing the productive potential of the resettled population. Capacity building can take the form of formal or informal education, ethical re-orientation, and awareness creation, training workshops, access to information, skill acquisition training, employment opportunities and provision of other life chances. When the capacity of the resettled population is not sufficiently built, they tend to become socially and culturally defined liabilities to the society (perpetual beggars). This element is very important in this model. Building the capacity of Bakassi returnees will

enhance their self-worth; make them to be self-reliant and ready to make positive contributions to the host community and the larger society.

Advisory service: This is closely linked with capacity building; it refers to the provision of technical services in terms of professional advice, and other assistance to further boost the capability or productive base of beneficiaries. Advisory services can be information on market linkages, new ideas, inventions and other inputs that can be useful in a chosen trade or endeavour.

Accommodation: Refers to shelter which is ranked third in the order of man's basic needs. The provision of suitable housing for the resettled population upon their arrival in the new location can, to some extent, register a positive first impression that can translate into useful ingredient for adjustment and re-integration. The importance of housing cannot be overstressed, especially if the environment is different from the one that the resettled populations were accustomed to. The risk of health problems from inadequate housing, according to Breyse, Farr, Galke, Lamphear, Morley and Bergotsky (2004), is one factor that illustrates the need for adequate housing. Deficient housing can compromise the most basic needs of water, sanitation, and safe food preparation, storage and allow the rapid spread of communicable and food borne diseases. Other problems, such as poor temperature and humidity regulation can lead to respiratory diseases. Overcrowding brings both physical and psychological dangers (Brown, 2004). The resettled population should not be allowed to face the problem of inadequate housing.

Social isolation: Refers to the tendency for the resettled population to be cut off from the rest of the society. A declining social network of interaction can damage the social fabric of the resettled population. There can be great damage to the social structure and functioning of the resettled people, especially with regards to traditional ceremonies and social groups (Collins, 2009). The dispersal of extended family groups and neighbours effectively destroys parts of communities (Cernea, 1997). The consequence of this social decay can lead to anomie. This is because, as the social networks that held people together gradually disappeared, a tendency for criminality may crop into a peoples psyche. An enabling environment is therefore essential for the resettled population to develop associations and relationships with the host community and the wider society. By so doing, the degree of social isolation is reduced. It is hypothesized that the establishment of intercultural tie can reduce social dislocation and isolation of the resettled people within the host community and the larger society (Mc Lennan, Ryan and Spoonley, 2004; Jary and Jary, 2005).

Greater social interaction activates a sort of mutual effects and deepens social cohesion resulting from interaction of the native or incumbent population with the resettled population. These factors suggest the tendency for the host or

incumbent population to have maximum interaction with the resettled population by showing love, understanding and according them recognition.

Secondary adjustment issues:

The Elements of the secondary issues are: conflict resolution, mortality and morbidity, poverty and cultural practices.

Conflict resolution: Refers to a situation where different approaches are employed to address and resolve conflicts once and for all; identify sources of conflicts and in the process, change the structure of conflict to that of peace (Modo, Oluwabamide, Akpan and Ekpa, 2006). Conflict resolution does not necessarily imply that conflict is resolved, but it means an agenda setting on peace principle. It is the process of opening up communication channels to parties in disagreement and set the stage for resolving differences through bargaining, negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration. Conflict resolution is borne out of the belief that conflict cannot be left alone, it needs to be put under control by interacting with the parties to develop common generalization or principles and practices that will return cordial relationship against violence (Reje, 2013). There is no hard and fast rule for resolving conflict, but there are certain general procedures and approaches which might be used either by themselves or in combination. Ekong (2003) noted that the first aim in conflict resolution is to minimize the feeling of differences and calm down the contending parties thereby creating a conducive atmosphere for the parties to coexist or work together until a more permanent solution could be found for differences.

Mortality and morbidity: Refers to a state of acute decline in health, resulting from displacement. Children, infants and the elderly are most vulnerable to diseases infections during resettlement. Psychological disorders are also associated with high stress environments of forced migration resettlement.

Poverty: Is a consequence of lack of meaningful employment to generate income for a better living. Poverty does not only refer to financial hardship, it encompasses lack of information, good ideas, life chances and limited capacity to produce goods and services. Under this condition, migrants find it difficult to cater for individuals, families and communities; their business or enterprise may even become insolvent. Many migrants find securing employment and improving their financial situation difficult, especially the unskilled and those with limited language skills (Collins, 2009). Financial hardship can induce stress on displaced families and when wide spread in a concentrated area, it can lead to multiple social problems as well as eventual low self esteem and marginalization. Poverty can cause difficulties with many of the elements highlighted in the adjustment issues of the model.

Cultural practices: Culture is the totality of the resettled population's way of life. It comprises language, ideas and concrete things. The extinction of one's native language is the extinction of a people. However, the maintenance of one's

native language and the continued use of it are thought to embolden cultural ties within the resettled community, thereby helping to avoid negative outcomes such as marginalization and degradation of the adjustment issues. Continued preservation of cultural practices helps to instil communal feelings and a sense of nationhood among a people who could have felt lost and frustrated. In doing this, those cultural practices that are outlawed in the host community such as food taboo, and other harmful practices which are prohibited should be discarded to avoid conflict and confrontation between the resettled population and the native people. Healthy traditional practices of the resettled population must continue in the new location. Culturally specific rites, ceremonies and festivals must be preserved for posterity. This will help in developing cultural identity, which they will blend with the culture of their new location. Collins (2009) emphasizes the maintenance of a strong cultural presence, arguing that this will make the resettled population more likely to maintain their language and extended social networks.

Tertiary adjustment issues

The last component of adjustment issues in this model is tertiary issues. The elements embedded in this component are marginalization and Anomie

Marginalization: Is the outcome of a reduction in power and importance of the resettled population. A decline in elements identified under primary and secondary issues of this model combined with other intervening variables to cause marginalization. Once marginalized, the resettled population experience difficulty with the adjustment issues and this may result in many of its members experiencing downward mobility (Cernea, 1997). Marginalization can manifest as declining social status, feeling of injustice and criminal tendencies. This thesis maintains the position that once marginalized the resettled population will have difficulty in improving their situation to a point of parity with the rest of the population in terms of finances, employment, health, education and productive capacity. It is a common fact that many forced resettlement schemes, mostly handed by governments, often "do not adequately redress impoverishment (Collins, 2009). This model posits that marginalization is a serious malady that may take generations to proffer lasting solutions to the problem.

Anomie: Refers to a feeling of hopelessness, alienation, disagreement and drifting because the social bond is lost, weak or absent (Ijeomah, 2008). This model upholds that once a resettled population finds itself in a state of anomie, the victim is pushed to the wall. This is a state of acute marginalization. The people find themselves in a crossroad of complete social decay and become isolated to the extent that they cannot fit into any responsible system due to a complete rot in social and moral values. Within and beyond the resettled community, traditional norms and standards become undermined. The people are left with nothing to regulate or guide their behaviours in any area of social life. A state of

lawlessness becomes a principle in the conduct of their daily activities. This model maintains the position that once a resettled population is allowed to dwindle into a state of anomie, it may be almost impossible to recover. A state of anomie could be avoided if the capacity of the resettled population is built enough to cater for their basic needs. When a people make meaningful contribution to the society, they equally do everything possible to live a responsible lifestyle. They naturally assume the position of stakeholders in the society and will certainly make positive contributions to preserve its goodness. This model recommends capacity building as an indispensable boost to social value and self-reliance.

Being a multi-stage application, this model draws greatly from many scholars. Various works by many authors especially Cernea (1999), Muggah (2003) and Collins (2009) cited in this thesis provided a thorough and solid base for the model. The model is specifically designed to account for the resettlement of Bakassi returnees. Elements and ideas embedded in models derived from studies of other regions are modified and some replaced to suit the peculiarities of the displaced Bakassi people. The new model put forward in this study is not infallible; it is well acknowledged that it could not account for all issues that needed to be addressed. However, attempt is made to account for important ones. If the model is found to be complex, it could be argued that as the problem itself is complex and multi-faceted, so must be any model or proposed solution to it (Collins, 2009). Beyond any shortcoming that may be associated with this model, as a modification of Cernea's (1997) work, it is rich in explanatory power, planning assistance, and outcome prediction. The schema of the BRRM which displays different components and elements of the model is presented below.

CONCLUSION

The different models presented in this paper bring into focus, the diverse perspectives used by scholars in explaining the condition of displaced populations and the different work plan developed and adopted by relocation authorities or agencies in planning and implementing displacement and resettlement projects. The Scudder-Colson four-stage model identified four different stages that displacement resettlement must pass through for a population to be resettled; but it is deficient in the sense that, resettlement does not always pass through these stages in the prescribed order. The risks a reconstruction model discussed in this paper is found to have concentrated more on risks avoidance, with little or no attention paid to the root causes of the risks. However, none of these models tend to have universal applicability. The need to develop a model, based on the unique experience, culture and other circumstances surrounding the displaced population found expression and justification in the exposition of the Bakassi Resettlement and Re-integration model, developed to highlight some of socio-cultural factors confronting the resettlement and re-integration of the Bakassi returnees in Akwa

Ibom State, Nigeria. As a holistic Anthropological perspective, every aspect of the displaced people is reflected in the model.

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