IDRP Working Paper No. 2

The State of Research on Internal Displacement in Africa

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Abstract

This paper reviews the scholarship on internal displacement in Africa. This focuses mainly on internal displacement in African countries affected by conflict and other crises, and the responses to that phenomenon at the national and regional levels. The paper starts by describing the main internal displacement trends across Africa as a region. It then reviews how scholarship on internal displacement in Africa has developed, respectively, in the fields of law and policy, other social sciences and humanities, and health and medicine. It ends by offering conclusions on the scope of existing research and directions for future study.

This review of the scholarly literature seeks to identify principal trends, gaps and opportunities relating to research on internal displacement. Towards this end, the review concentrates on academic publications, including monographs, chapters in edited volumes and peer-reviewed articles, from the early 1990s until the start of 2020, a period of approximately 30 years. It thus offers not only a critical review of the state of the art in this field of study but also a key point of reference for researchers looking to develop our understanding of internal displacement from the standpoint of a variety of different disciplines and themes.

The paper forms part of a series of papers published in this Working Paper Series that review the state of the scholarship on internal displacement at the global level and in particular regions as we enter the decade of the 2020s. This research forms part of the Interdisciplinary Network on Displacement, Conflict and Protection (AH/T005351/1) and Global Engagement on Internal Displacement in sub-Saharan Africa (EP/T003227/1) projects, pilots of which were supported by the UK Research and Innovation (UKRI) Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF). It should be read in conjunction with the other review papers in this series.

Keywords

Internal Displacement, IDPs, Conflict, Africa

The Internal Displacement Research Programme (IDRP) is a specialised programme of the Refugee Law Initiative

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1.   Introduction

Internal displacement is a significant challenge in Africa. Data on its prevalence indicates that Africa holds a significant proportion of the world's internally displaced persons (IDPs). Over the last three decades, a plethora of studies have emerged seeking to shed light on internal displacement from various disciplines. With specific reference to Africa, this review of the literature examines the state of research on internal displacement.

The study begins with a discussion on existing trends focusing on root causes of internal displacement in Africa. Thereafter, it reviews published literature in the areas of (1) arts, social sciences and humanities; (2) medicine and health and (3) law and policy. This study complements the global overview and other regional studies reflecting on internal displacement and the state of literature on the subject.[1]

2.   Trends in internal displacement in Africa

Research on internal displacement recognises conflict as a primary driver of internal displacement in Africa. At the start of 2020, an estimated 19.2 million people were internally displaced due to conflict in Africa.[2] In the early periods of decolonization across Africa, conflicts began to erupt from political differences, the scramble for land and other natural resources and ethnic fragmentations that were left unresolved and in certain instances reinforced by the political composition of the nation-state post-independence.

As early as the 1950s, disagreements in national compositions following independence of states notably fuelled significant conflict. In the Sudan, this emerged from early political crevices between the Arab-led central government and pluri-ethnic southern region. In Nigeria, the Biafran civil war rooted in ethno-political differences in the 1960s and 70s also reinforced the crisis of conflict in the post-colonial era.[3] Similar patterns of conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) revealed crevices of crisis inherent in the political trajectory of post-colonial Africa.[4] However, there were other more complex wars situated in a mix of political ideology, geopolitical situation and the Cold War such as the conflict between the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO).[5] Disputes over borders have also resulted in situations of internal displacement. Prior to its resolution in 2018,[6] the Eritrea-Ethiopia border crisis generated conflict and displaced thousands of individuals.[7] In more recent years, violent extremism orchestrated by armed groups such as Boko Haram in Nigeria, Al-Shabaab in Somalia and a locally-dubbed al-Shabaab in Mozambique (although with no established links to Al-Shabaab in Somalia) has also led to significant population internal displacement.[8]

While research has flourished on the political dimensions of these conflicts and their geopolitical and global implications, existing research on internal displacement is fairly extensive.[9] Early

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2   Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre *Global Report on Internal Displacement 2020* (2020) 15.

3   For Sudan, see DH Johnson *The root causes of Sudan's civil war* (2003); SS Poggo *The first Sudanese civil war: Africans, Arabs, and Israelis in the Southern Sudan: 1955-1972* (2009). For Nigeria, see F Forsyth *The Biafra story: The making of an African legend* (1969); N Azikiwe *Origins of the Nigerian civil war* (1969); CO Ojukwu *Because I am involved* (1989); OG Nkwocha *The Republic of Biafra: Once upon a time in Nigeria: My story of the Biafra-Nigerian civil war – A struggle for survival (1967-1970)* (2010); P Baxter *Biafra: The Nigerian civil war 1967-1970* (2014); C Offodile *The politics of Biafra and future of Nigeria* (2016); P Efiong *The caged bird sang no more: My Biafra odyssey, 1966-1970* (2016).

4   CC O'Brien 'To Katanga and back: a UN case history (1962); FE Ewane *The United Nations in the Congo from 1960-1964: critical assessment of a tragic intervention* (2009); S Williams *Who killed Hammarskjold? The UN, the Cold War and white supremacy in Africa* (2014); C Othen *Katanga 1960-63: mercenaries, spies and the African nation that waged war. On the world* (2015).

5   S Funada-Classen *The origins of war in Mozambique: a history of unity and division* (2012); SA Emerson *The battle for Mozambique: the Frelimo-Renamo struggle, 1977-1992* (2014).

6   R Bereketeab *The Ethiopia-Eritrea rapprochement: peace and stability in the horn of Africa* (2019).

7   A Underwood 'The sudden end of the Ethiopia-Eritrea war, explained' *Vox* 31 July 2018.

8   See SJ Hansen *Al-Shabaab in Somalia: the history and ideology of an Islamist group, 2005-2012* (2013); D Joseph and H Maruf *Inside Al-Shabaab: the secret history of Al-Qaeda's most powerful ally* (2018); B Thurston *Boko Haram: the history of an African jihadist movement* (2018); E Morier-Genoud 'Tracing the history of Mozambique's mysterious and deadly insurgency' *The Conversation (Africa)* 18 February 2019; 'Fear, hunger, and mystery killers stalk Mozambique's Cabo Delgado' *The New Humanitarian* 4 December 2019; EE Anugwom *The Boko Haram insurgence in Nigeria: perspectives from within* (2019).

9   J Nunes 'Pilot study to investigate the problem of social organization within displaced communities' Mozambican Community Contact Group Report (Preliminary Report, 1990); KB Wilson 'Internally displaced, refugees and returnees from and in Mozambique' Studies on Emergencies and Disaster Relief Report No 1, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet (1994); O Ibeanu 'Exiles in their own home: internal population displacement in Nigeria' (1998) 3(2) *African Journal of Political Science* 80; Norwegian Refugee Council/Global IDP Project 'Profile of internal displacement: Eritrea' Compilation of the information available in the Global IDP database of the Norwegian Refugee Council (19 October 2001); Norwegian Refugee Council/Global IDP Project 'Profile of internal displacement: Angola' Compilation of the information available in the Global IDP database of the Norwegian Refugee Council (9 August 2002); Norwegian Refugee Council/Global IDP Project 'Profile of internal displacement: Somalia' Compilation of the information available in the Global IDP database of the Norwegian Refugee Council (20 June 2003); L Hovil 'The inter-relationship between violence, displacement and transition to stability in the Great Lakes region' Concept Paper, Violence and Transition Project Roundtable, Johannesburg, South Africa, (7-9 May 2008); OA Adeagbo and JM Iyi 'Post-election crisis in Kenya and internally displaced persons: a critical appraisal' (2011) 4(2) *Journal of Politics and Law* 174; J Drumtra 'Internal displacement in Somalia' (Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, 2014); JK Kamara 'The social and political dimensions of internal displacement in Uganda: challenges and opportunities – a systematic review' (2017) 76(3) *Journal of African Studies* 444; R Adeola 'Boko Haram-induced displacement: A critique of Nigeria's implementation of the African Union Internally Displaced Persons Convention' (2017) 1 *Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa* 41; A Knoll and LT Shirefaw

research on internal displacement and conflict in Africa was led by the Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement through the works of Francis Deng and Roberta Cohen and with particular spotlight on countries such as Sudan, Liberia, Burundi and Rwanda.[10] Over the last three decades, significant research has emerged in various contexts including the Casamance situation in Senegal, the Lord's Resistance Army in northern Uganda and the post-election violence in Kenya, the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria, the ethno-religious crisis in Central Africa, the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon and the protracted civil wars in eastern DRC and South Sudan.[11]

Research has also emerged on the nexus between disasters and internal displacement, with particular focus on the Horn of Africa region[12] and specifically, nomadic populations.[13] In the Somali region of Ethiopia, over 300,000 pastoralists were displaced by drought between 2015 and 2017.[14] In an Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) study on Kenya, pastoralists recognised drought 'as one of the major causes of their displacement, mostly linked to loss of livelihood and access to resources'.[15] However, the displacements of these populations are often a complex mix of drought, violence-related issues, cattle rustling, loss of traditional grazing lands, limited access to natural resources and restriction on land use and access premised on exploitation activities.[16] In the study, internal displacement was observed as 'a precursor to cross-border displacement'.[17] Research on Somalia, where 60% of the population are pastoralists,[18] has also demonstrated the nexus between drought and conflict as significant drivers of internal displacement.[19] For women and girls, these issues are exacerbated by existing gender relations which are further disrupted by internal displacement.[20]

There is considerable evidence to support the fact that climate change is bound to exacerbate natural disasters. This realisation has precipitated a focus on climate change as a root cause of internal displacement, linked yet separate from disaster-induced displacement. While the epistemological underpinning of the nexus between climate change and internal displacement has begun to generate attention, trends in Africa have resonated across three main trajectories:

'Tackling the triggers of violence-induced displacement: the contribution of the African peace and security architecture and African governance architecture' European Centre for Development Policy Discussion Paper No 228 (2018).

10   F Deng *Protecting the dispossessed: a challenge for the international community* (1993); Francis Deng *War of visions: conflict of identities in the Sudan* (1995); Roberta Cohen and Francis M Deng *Masses in flight: the global crisis of internal displacement* (1998); R Cohen and Francis M Deng (eds) *The Forsaken People: case studies of the internally displaced* (1998).

11   M Evans '"The suffering is too great"': urban internally displaced persons in the Casamance conflict, Senegal' (2007) 20(1) *Journal of Refugee Studies* 60; C O'Reilly 'Household recovery from internal displacement in northern Uganda' (2015) 76 *World Development* 203; MA Oosterom 'Internal displacement, the camp and the construction of citizenship: perspectives from northern Uganda' (2016) 29(3) *Journal of Refugee Studies* 363; Concern Worldwide 'Conflict and displacement: voices of displacement and return in Central African Republic's neglected crisis' (19 June 2018); NFO Tande 'The Anglophone crisis and internal displacement in Buea (Cameroon), 2018-2019' MA Thesis, University of Buea, Cameroon (2019).

12   V Kolmannskog and T Afifi 'Disaster-related displacement from the horn of Africa: analysis of policy and law in the Horn of Africa, Kenya and the Middle East and North Africa region, focusing on Somalis and Ethiopians displaced from Kenya, Egypt and Yemen' Norwegian Refugee Council in collaboration with the Institute for Environment and Human Security Report No 15, United Nations University (March 2014)

13   See T Wood 'Protection and disasters in the Horn of Africa: norms and practices for addressing cross-border displacement in disaster contexts' Technical Paper, The Nansen Initiative (January 2013).

14   Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and German Humanitarian Assistance '"Nothing to put in your mouth" seeking durable solutions to drought displacement in Ethiopia' (December 2019).

15   Norwegian Refugee Council, Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and the Nansen Initiative 'On the margin: Kenya's pastoralists – from displacement to solutions, a conceptual study on the internal displacement of pastoralists' (March 2014) 23

16   Norwegian Refugee Council, Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and the Nansen Initiative (n 16) 22-28.

17   Norwegian Refugee Council, Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and the Nansen Initiative (n 16) 14

18   Pastoralism in Somalia: a lifestyle under threat' https://afrikansarvi.fi/issue1/15-artikkeli/41-pastoralism-in-somalia-a-lifestyle-under-threat; MN Al-Najim 'Changes in the species composition of pastoral herds in Bay region, Somalia' https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/5375.pdf

19   Drumtra (n 10).

20   'Drought, displacement and livelihoods in Somalia/Somaliland: time for gender-sensitive and protection-focused approaches' Joint Agency Briefing Note (Oxfam International, June 2018) https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620503/bn-somalia-somaliland-drought-displacement-protection-280618-en.pdf;jsessionid=B71E69A43EEA16C0125AFD7DFD152F53?sequence=7

climate-related internal conflict, climate-related development projects and climate-exacerbated disasters.[21] The World Bank estimates that by 2050, 86 million people will move internally within sub-Saharan African states due to climate change.[22] While the data acknowledges displacement as people 'could be forced to move within their own countries to escape the slow-onset impacts of climate change',[23] it collapses migration and displacement. However, the data presents a useful optics given that one of the dimensions on climate change and mobility is (internal) displacement.

Moreover, there is the issue of development projects are a major root cause of internal displacement in Africa. It is estimated that around 15 million people are displaced yearly due to development projects.[24] Development projects are initiatives undertaken by states and non-state actors geared towards advancing economic growth. These development projects include: large dams, extraction of natural resources, roads, oil pipelines and urban renewal projects. Across Africa, development projects have become prevalent as pertinent springboards for economic growth. While figures on the various projects dating back to the 1960s have been sparse and not fully-documented, considerable efforts have been made in research particularly on dams detailing the population of affected persons. These figures have placed affected populations in the context of dam displacement in tens of thousands. However, in the literature, little attention is often given to this cause of internal displacement which dates back to early periods of independence in Africa. Upon the attainment of independence, many African states embarked on development projects targeted at meeting the economic imperatives of the states. But these projects were usually carried out at the expense of populations within the states with very little planning on resettlement, compensation and consultation. Research on this root cause of internal displacement has flourished mostly in the fields of anthropology, political science, ethnography and sociology. In recent years, there have been notable efforts to situate the narrative in the context of law and policy given the existence of norms at the global and regional level.

21   R Adeola 'Protecting climate change induced internally displaced persons in Africa: relevance of the Kampala Convention' in W Leal Filho (ed) *Handbook of Climate Change Resilience* (2019).

22   World Bank *Groundswell: preparing for internal climate migration* (2018).

23   As above.

24   See R Adeola 'What does development-caused displacement look like in Africa?' *IDMC* December 2016.

3.   Scholarship on internal displacement in Africa

Research on internal displacement in Africa has notably emerged from three pertinent fields of study: social sciences and humanities, medicine and health; law and policy. This section provides an overview of relevant literature in these areas, focusing on the contributions made in these fields to knowledge on internal displacement and areas where are gaps that need to be addressed in the furtherance of knowledge on internal displacement in Africa.

3.1   Arts, social sciences and humanities

Research in these disciplines has explored the social, economic and political aspects of internal displacement with reference to specific countries. The discussion on internal displacement in this context has emerged from sociology, ethnography, political science, education, economics, development studies, criminology, psychology, history, religion and visual arts. Research in this area crosses a wide range of fields from the politics of power and inclusion to demographic estimations on IDPs.[25] However, much of this research is conflict-related, which is an evident gap given the existence of other root causes that have not garnered as much attention.

The extensive literature on the northern Uganda situation may well be explained in light of the protracted nature of the conflict, the relative ease of access to displaced communities, the existence of civil society and international agencies working to protect IDPs and the recognition of IDP protection as a national priority leading to the existence of norms and institutional mechanisms for adequate response. A significant proportion of research in this area and on northern Uganda has expounded on the effect of internal displacement on IDPs and host communities, coping capacities in and outside camps, participation and inclusion, the effectiveness of interventions, reintegration and difficulties in accessing land and property upon return.[26]

Following displacement, many of the IDPs in northern Uganda moved into camps that were in dire need of protection and humanitarian protection. Deng observed how food was in scarce supply, access to basic services was limited and physical security was also a challenge given the looming presence of the LRA and limited state security. In order to protect children, parents would send their children to towns to spend the night, giving rise to the emergence of 'night-commuters'.[27] However, for IDPs that moved to other parts of Uganda and lived in host

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25   MA Shutzer 'The politics of home: displacement and resettlement in postcolonial Kenya' (2012) 71(3) *Journal of African Studies* 346; L Jordan 'Applying Thiessen Polygon catchment areas and gridded population weights to estimate conflict-driven population weights to estimate conflict-driven population changes in South Sudan' (2017) *International Society for Photogrammetry and Remote Sensing (ISPRS) Annals of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing Information Sciences* 23.

26   See FM Deng 'Internally displaced persons in Uganda – a forgotten crisis' (2004) 19 *Forced Migration Review* 58; C Veney 'Between the devil and the deep blue sea: internally displaced women and girls in Liberia and Uganda and the role of the international community' (2006) 7(4) *Journal of International Women's Studies* 209; E Green and B Kloos 'Facilitating youth participation in a context of forced migration: a. photovoice project in northern Uganda' (2009) 22(4) *Journal of Refugee Studies* 460; P Vinck and P Pham 'Peacebuilding and displacement in northern Uganda: a cross-sectional study of intentions to move and attitudes towards former combatants' (2009) 28(1) *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 59; H Refstie and C Brun 'Towards. Transformative participation: collaborative research with "urban IDPs" in Uganda' (2011) 25(2) *Journal of Refugee Studies* 239; L Onegi 'Post-conflict land insecurity threatens re-displacement in northern Uganda' (2012) 41 *Forced Migration Review* 31; SR Whyte, SM Babiiha, R Mukyala and L Meinert 'Remaining internally displaced: missing links to security in northern Uganda' (2013) 26(2) *Journal of Refugee Studies* 283; M Janmyr 'Recruiting internally displaced persons into civil militias: the case of Northern Uganda' (2014) 32(3) *Nordic Journal of Human Rights* 199; SR Whyte, S Babiiha, R Mukyala and L Meinert 'Urbanisation by subtraction: the afterlife of camps in northern Uganda' (2014) 52(4) *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 597; C O'Reilly 'Household recovery from internal displacement in northern Uganda' (2015) 76 *World Development* 203; MA Oosterom 'Internal displacement, the camp and the construction of citizenship: perspectives from northern Uganda' (2016) 29(3) *Journal of Refugee Studies* 363; D Dunovant 'Northern Uganda: protection in displacement, protection on return' (2016) 53 *Forced Migration Review* 28; A Anderson-Gough 'Reconstructing "home" in northern Uganda' (2017) 55 *Forced Migration Review* 50; JK Kamara, S Cyril & AMN Renzaho 'The social and political dimensions of internal displacement in Uganda: challenges and opportunities – a systematic review' (2017) 76(3) *Journal of African Studies* 444; W Monteith and S Lwasa 'The participation of urban displaced populations in (in)formal markets: contrasting experiences in Kampala, Uganda' (2017) *Environment and Urbanization* 383; JB Oryema 'The impact of social protection of resettlement of displaced persons: evidence from post-conflict northern Uganda' (2017) 29(6) *Journal of International Development* 700.

27   Deng 'Internally displaced persons in Uganda – a forgotten crisis' (n 27).

communities, protection was also a challenge given limited access to socio-economic livelihood through income generating projects.[28]

A recurring narrative is often the need for comprehensive approaches that take into account the complexity of internal displacement. Such approach is important in order to 'mitigate the impact of displacement and prevent it where possible.'[29] Research in this area systematically reflects on the experiential vulnerabilities of IDPs at various stages. With a specific emphasis on resettle-ment in recent years following the end of the conflict. With a focus on resettled IDPs in northern Uganda, Oryema argues that both formal and informal social protection structures are necessary in protection.[30] While formal protection structures are crucial to the conventional solutions pro-cess, building community-level initiatives are important in promoting sustainability in order to enhance the adaptive strategies of IDPs and 'facilitate faster voluntary resettlement'.[31]

For urban IDPs, protecting informal structures may also relate to removing structural barriers to their access to informal markets. With respect to Acholi IDPs in the northeast region of Kampala's Central Business District, Monteith and Lwasa identify language, discrimination and distance as three structural barriers that affected the effective participation of Acholi IDPs in Kampala's paper bead market.[32] In addressing these issues, national structures are crucial that constantly negotiate effective protection for IDPs being aware of the need to enhance a comprehensive ap-proach and build resilience. Inside camps, such responsive structures are imperative as questions around sense of belonging and identity may emerge from camp governance structures that are not responsive to the individual agency of IDPs. Refstie and Brun observe that Uganda's response has 'historically been one of control, with the military being utilized to keep the IDPs confined in camps in the north.'[33] In a study on the Acholi people, Oosterom interrogates the question of citizenship and how camp governance affected the effective practice of citizenship by those in camps in the furtherance of their daily lives.[34]

The preservation of horizontal relationships among families was also important in fostering a sense of belonging for IDPs. Whyte, Babiiha, Mukyala and Meinert make this point while re-flecting on IDPs who remained behind at a former IDP camp in Gulu following the return of a majority to their homes on the basis of a perceived dissociation from the traditional sense of belonging perpetuated by entrenched patrilineal systems.[35] For former combatants, address-ing such insider-outsider narrative is crucial in ensuring sustainable peace. Kloos describes an innovative participatory method that may be utilised in engaging IDPs within these narratives and more broadly within societies. Engaging photovoice (a research method that leverages on storytelling and documentary photography) in the context of northern Uganda, Kloos discusses how internally displaced youths are participants in community engagement and in driving social change.[36] While this method also began to emerge in other IDP contexts such as Nigeria,[37] there is limited scholarship on its potency as a tool of arts in creating social change and responding to the needs of IDPs. In Africa, where the arts are an important medium of communication, such forms are imperative in driving community-led participatory processes and integrating different

28   Monteith and Lwasa (n 27).

29   Kamara Cyril & Renzaho (n 27).

30   Oryema (n 27).

31   As above.

32   Monteith and Lwasa (n 27).

33   Refstie and Brun (n 27) 5.

34   Oosterom (n 12).

35   Whyte, Babiiha, Mukyala and Meinert (n 27).

36   Green and Kloos (n 27).

37   'Ipas uses photography to engage Nigerian refugees on their reproductive health needs' https://www.ipas.org/News/2015/November/ Ipas-uses-photography-to-engage-Nigerian-refugees-on-their-reproductive-health-needs (23 November 2015).

voices.

While considerable attention has been made on Uganda, notable research has emerged with respect to other contexts, including Sudan, Senegal, DRC, Nigeria, and Kenya.[38] Through a gender lens and an emphasis on leadership, De La Puente examines the potential of changing gender roles in the patriarchal context of Sudan to enhance women's participation in IDP camps in Darfur.[39] On Senegal, the Casamance conflict is the major prism for engagement on internal displacement. Evans examines how existing rural-urban migration configurates livelihood patterns of IDPs.[40] Interesting, this study identifies the problematics of categorisation, particularly for multilocal individuals and households in the context of existing rural-urban migration.[41] With a focus on the Faradje area of the DRC, Bracht, Flaam and Vlassenroot underscore, from a sociological perspective, the importance of addressing insecurity perceptions among IDPs, observing that addressing fear of insecurity could facilitate IDP relocation.[42]

Studies on internal displacement in Nigeria have been quite diverse, but with much emphasis on the Boko Haram insurgency in the north-east region and the inadequacy of interventions: humanitarian and development programmes.[43] Through the study on criminogenic patterns, Abdulazeez and Oriola explore state criminality in the management of internal displacement and how this creates an impediment to adequate protection for Boko Haram-induced displaced populations.[44] The absence of adequate interventions is a central focus of a plethora of these studies even in other contexts such as with boundary clashes, herders and farmer clashes, development projects and land disputes in various parts of the country. In Kenya, research on internal displacement has centred around the political narrative on belonging in the post-colonial party formations and the 2008 election violence. Kamungi traces how political parties in the post-colonial state negotiated land reforms and instrumentalized dispossession along ethnic and political allegiances. She observes that 'displacement and dispossession were used to punish communities who did not vote for the ruling party.'[45] Much of the discussion on building sustain-

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38   EO Abuya and C Ikobe 'Wasted lives: internally displaed persons living in camps in Kenya' (2010) 1(2) *Journal of International Humanitarian Legal Studies* 233; YH Song 'International humanitarian response and militarization of refugee and IDP camps in Kenya and Sudan' (2012) 19(1) *Journal of International and Area Studies* 115; Shutzer (n 26); DS Parsitau 'The role of faith and faith-based organizations among internally displaced persons in Kenya' (2011) 24(3) *Journal of Refugee Studies* 493; F Beytrison and O Kalis 'Repeated displacement in eastern DRC' (2013) 43 *Forced Migration Review* 22; AT Akume 'The question of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Nigeria: a reflection on present realities' (2015) 32(1) *Journal of Third World Studies* 221; CT Nwaoga, AB Okoli, FC Uroko 'Self-acclaimed religious terrorism, refugee crisis, and the plight of internally displaced persons in Nigeria' (2017) 8(3) *Mediterranean Journal of Social Science* 189; ON Nwaogwugwu and R Ngor 'Strategies for resettlement of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in farming communities of River state, Nigeria' (2017) 17(2) *Nigerian Journal of Rural Sociology* 102; MA Abdulazeez and TB Oriola 'Criminogenic patterns in the management of Boko Haram's human displacement situation' (2018) 39(1) *Third World Quarterly* 85; A Musa, MB Ibrahim, A Aliyu and FA Ali 'Impact of internally displaced persons on forest and vegetation of Jere LGA, Borno State, Nigeria' (2019) 23(5) *Journal of Applied Sciences and Environmental Management* 831; L Kiama and F Koome 'Internal displacement in Kenya: the quest for durable solutions' (2014) 45 *Forced Migration Review* 92; S Healy and S Tiller 'Be near a road: humanitarian practice and displaced persons in North Kivu' (2016) 35(2) *Refugee Studies Quarterly* 56; H van der Bracht, H Flaam and K Vlassenroot & B van de Putte 'Conflict and insecurity: a sociological perspective on perceptions of insecurity in conflict-affected Democratic Republic of Congo' (2017) 65(3) *Current Sociology* 336; C Jacobs, R Mugenzi, JR Mugenzi, SL Kubiha and I Assumani 'Towards becoming a property owner in the city: from being displaced to becoming a citizen in urban DR Congo' (2019) 85 *Land Use Policy* 350; Nelson Ndiritu, JM Ndambuki, JO Onyango 'Promoting post-conflict peaceful co-existence in multi-ethnic communities: lessons from internally displaced persons in Kenya' (2016) 9(10) *Journal of Pan African Studies* 122; R Njiru 'Outsiders in their own nation: electoral violence and politics of "internal" displacement in Kenya' (2018) 66(2) *Current Sociology* 226; FO Olanrewaju, A Olanrewaju, F Omotoso, JO Alabi, E Amoo, E Loromeke, and LA Ajayi 'Insurgency and the Invisible Displaced Population in Nigeria: A Situational Analysis' (2019) 9(2) *SAGE Open* 1-12.

39   Devanna De La Puente 'Women's leadership in camps for internally displaced people in Darfur, western Sudan' (2011) 46(3) *Community Development Journal* 365.

40   Evans (n 12).

41   More concretely, Evans raises this issue by citing an example of a respondent whose family becomes displaced while he was in Ziguinchor studying, could not return to his home village and becomes an IDP as he cannot return home. Evans notes that this 'raises the counter-factual question of whether he and some other respondents would now still be in their home villages if they had not been displaced; or whether they would have chosen to migrate to Ziguinchor anyway, seasonally or permanently.' Evans (n 12).

42   van der Bracht, Flaam, Vlassenroot, van de Putte 'Conflict and insecurity: a sociological perspective on perceptions of insecurity in conflict-affected Democratic Republic of Congo' (n 39).

43   Abdulazeez and Oriola (n 39).

44   As above.

45   PM Kamungi 'The politics of displacement in multiparty Kenya' (2009) 27(3) *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 345.

able solutions emphasise the importance of ethnic cohesion.[46] Aside from the state, faith-based organisations are also integral to this process.[47]

An area in which IDP research may well be enriched in this field relates to data and impact evaluation. On data, it is useful to highlight the contribution of Pape and Sharma which leverages on micro-data collection and analysis in examining the priority needs of IDPs in the durable solutions context across four African countries: Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan.[48] Through this study, Pape and Sharma demonstrate how having micro-data, focusing on individual and household levels, can improve evidenced based solutions. On impact, a study by Quattrochi, Bisimwa, Thompson, Van der Windt and Voors on the effectiveness on humanitarian interventions provides an optics from which to develop knowledge and address gaps on impact of humanitarian assistance. Through qualitative analysis, the study could determine the extent to which the provision of cash vouchers boosted resilience and improved health of IDPs in the DRC. While establishing important correlation between the provision for these vouchers and mental health, the study further accentuates how this intervention also enhanced social cohesion and resilience, although to a moderate extent. Having such studies across other contexts is useful in showing the extent to which humanitarian interventions works and what evidence-based interventions are effective for consideration in other contexts.[49]

3.2   Medicine and health research

Literature in the field of medicine and health on internal displacement has primarily been in the context of conflict with particular emphasis on non-communicable mental health challenges such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety and depression.[50] While studies observe that mental health appears to be aggravated in the context of conflict as opposed to natural disasters, this is yet to be established more concretely in the literature. In a study on Nigeria, Kaiser et al observes that men experienced mental health more severely. However, what is evident is its prevalence in various contexts. Response strategies are often mixed with IDPs resorting to various means such as 'biopsychosocial health services, traditional practices, religion, family and friends, and isolating.'[51] In the Kenyan context, Getanda, Papadopoulos and Evans observe that governmental services were not always accessible.[52] Similarly, in the Nigerian context, Kaiser et al observed that 'the government was seen as unreliable.'[53] Much of the support in dealing with

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46   Ndiritu, Ndambuki & Onyango (n 39).

47   Parsitau (n 39).

48   UJ Pape and A Sharma 'Informing Durable Solutions for Internal Displacement in Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan – Volume A: Overview' (World Bank Publication, 2019).

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52   EM Getanda, C Papadopoulos & H Evans 'The mental health, quality of life and life satisfaction of internally displaced persons living in Nakuru county, Kenya' (2015) 15 *BMC Public Health* 755.

53   BN Kaiser, C Ticao, J Boglosa, J Minto, C Chikwiramdara, M Tucker & BA Kohrt 'Mental health and psychosocial support needs among people displaced by Boko Haram in Nigeria' (2019) *Global Public Health: An International Journal for Research, Policy and Practice* 1.

mental health came from community leaders and NGOs.[54] In enhancing interventions among the displaced population, the research proposes, among others, focus on 'low-skill MHPS [mental health and psychosocial support] that can be delivered by lay community' and addressing 'stigma surrounding drug abuse and rape.'[55] There are also public health research examining the prevalence of communicable diseases such as HIV and Malaria among IDPs.[56] Wexler observes, for instance, that in Burundi, IDPs are vulnerable to infections due, in part, to limited knowledge and use of preventive measures.[57] In the DRC, where malaria is a significant cause of mortality in children under the age of 5, research demonstrates that children in IDP camps were at a much higher risk.[58]

3.3   Law and policy: framework and structures

The discussion on the law and policy dimensions of internal displacement has been defined by the existence of normative frameworks at national and regional levels. At the regional level, the adoption of the Protocol on the 2006 Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons (Great Lakes Protocol) and the 2009 AU Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons (Kampala Convention) has witnessed the emergence of significant literature on internal displacement from a legal perspective.

Before this period, there were a few discussions on the legal aspect of internal displacement. However, much of these discussions were often generic and broadly situated within law and policy responses to internal displacement leveraging on the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (UNGPs). For instance, in the discussion of normative models adopted by states on internal displacement, Wyndham observes that African countries such as Liberia utilise the model whereby a short instrument is used to adopt the UNGPs.[59] Unlike Liberia, Angola utilises a model which addresses specific stages, primarily return and resettlement.[60] Unlike with Liberia and Angola, Uganda adopts a more comprehensive approach that specifically relates to IDPs through its 2004 National Policy for Internally Displaced Persons. While reflecting the UNGPs, Miller notes that Uganda's IDP policy 'commits the government to protect its citizens against arbitrary displacement, guarantee their rights during displacement and promote durable solutions by facilitating voluntary return, resettlement, integration and re-integration.'[61]

In 2006, states in the Great Lakes adopted a Great Lakes Protocol for the protection of IDPs in the region. The instrument is emphatic on national level synergies with the international framework on IDPs – the UNGPs which is also annexed to it as the optics for developing national solutions. Beyani notes that the instrument 'represents a specific development that begins to address the

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54   Kaiser et al (n 54).

55   Kaiser et al (n 54).

56   S Spencer, AD Grant, P Piola, K Tukpo, M Okia, M Garcia, P Salignon, C Genevier, J Kiguli and JP Guthmann 'Malaria in camps for internally-displaced persons in Uganda: evaluation of an insecticide-treated bednet distribution programme' (2004) 98 *Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* 719-727; AA Kim, F Malale, R Kaiser, N Mama, T Kinkela, JC Mantshumba, M Heynes, S De Jesus, G Musema, PK Kayembe, RK Hawkins and T Diaz 'HIV Infection among internally displaced women and women residing in river populations along the Congo River Democratic Republic of Congo' (2009) 13 *AIDS and Behavior* 914-920; NKZ Bukonda, B Smith, TG Disashi, JR Njue, KH Lee 'Incidence and correlates of diarrhoea fever, malaria and weight loss among elderly and non-elderly internally displaced parents in Cibombo Cimuangi in the Eastern Kasai province Democratic Republic of the Congo' (2012) 5 *Journal of Population Ageing* 47; C Muzyamba 'This conflict has turned me into a doctor nurse and nutritionist at the same time: how peer support among HIV-positive IDPs created opportunities for care in conflict-stricken Kabaré Congo' (2019) 12 *BMC Research Notes* 126.

57   R Wexler 'HIV and the internally displaced: Burundi in focus' (2003) 16 *Forced Migration Review* 11.

58   R Charchuk, MK Paul, KM Claude, S Houston & MT Hawkes 'Burden of malaria is higher among children in an internal displacement camp compared to a neighbouring village in the Democratic Republic of Congo' (2016) 15(1) *Malaria Journal* 431.

59   J Wyndham 'A developing trend: laws and policies on internal displacement' (2006) 14(1) *Human Rights Brief* 1.

60   Wyndham (n 60).

61   J Miller 'Uganda's IDP policy' (2007) 27 *Forced Migration Review* 78.

lacunae of a legal framework aimed at protecting and assisting internally displaced persons.'[62] A significant innovation of the Great Lakes Protocol is that it incorporates the UNGPs and mandates states to adopt the framework into national law. Kälin observes that the Great Lakes Protocol offers a 'very promising way to build consensus on the need to legally protect IDPs and on the content of such protection bottom-up'.[63] However, Lomo takes a more critical view on the value of a regional mechanism for Great Lakes IDPs arguing that the issue is more of national-level governance and as such focus should be on prioritising national mechanisms for IDP protection as against regionalizing protection. Observable from the innovativeness of the Great Lakes Protocol is its provisions which serve as a catalyst for enhanced national-level protection. The instrument addresses the normative lacuna within the region, reinforcing the UNGPs as a unified benchmark, particularly for national-level governance. To justify its imperative, research on the extent of its impact is valuable. From a normative standpoint, one of the areas of impact is with the adoption of a national law in Kenya.[64]

Since 2009, much of the law and policy dimensions of internal displacement in Africa has been shaped by the Kampala Convention.[65] A recurring trend in the scholarship is the value of the Kampala Convention as a normative framework that significantly enhances protection for IDPs. There is a significant convergence on the importance of implementation. Abebe emphasises that its success will largely depend on the existence of strong institutions at the regional level. But as primary responsibility is with states, national processes to enhance compliance will equally matter.

There have also been research on the Kampala Convention from the perspective of root causes such as armed conflict, climate change and development projects.[66] For instance, Ojeda examines specific aspects of the Kampala Convention that reflect international humanitarian law.[67] Through the lens of article 10, research has emerged on the protection of development-induced displaced persons. Moreover, there is also pertinent research on climate change as a root cause of internal displacement, particularly, through the optics of article 5(4). While other research has emerged on the protection of children and indigenous populations leveraging on the Kampala Convention, this is really not extensive. Increasingly, however, research on the protection of IDPs within national contexts has also began to emerge. While the rich legal context has driven discussions on the potential and value of the law in addressing internal displacement, there is more

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62   C Beyani 'The elaboration of a legal framework for the protection of internally displaced persons in Africa' (2006) 50(2) *Journal of African Law* 187, 192.

63   W Kälin 'The Great Lakes Protocol on Internally Displaced Persons: responses and challenges' *Brookings* 27 September 2007.

64   L Juma 'Protection of internally displaced persons in Kenya under the Prevention, Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons and Affected Communities Act of 2012: an appraisal' (2018) 51(1) *Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa* 44.

65   AM Abebe 'Legal and institutional dimensions of protecting and assisting internally displaced persons in Africa' (2009) 22(2) *Journal of Refugee Studies* 155; P Kamungi 'Beyond good intentions: implementing the Kampala Convention' (2010) 34 *Forced Migration Review* 53; M Stavropoulou 'The Kampala Convention and protection from arbitrary displacement' (2010) 36 *Forced Migration Review* 62; AM Abebe 'The African Union Convention on Internally Displaced Persons: its codification, background, scope and enforcement challenges' (2010) 29(3) *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28; W Kidane 'Managing forced. Displacement by law in Africa: the role of the new African Union IDPs Convention' (2011) 44(1) *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational. Law* 1; FZ Guistiniani 'New hopes and challenges for the protection of IDPs in Africa: the Kampala Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa' (2011) 39(2) *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy* 347; K Ridderbos 'The Kampala Convention and obligations of armed groups' (2011) 37 *Forced Migration Review* 36; C D'Orsi 'Strengths and weaknesses in the protection of the internally displaced persons in Sub-Saharan Africa' (2012) 28(1) *Connecticut Journal of International Law* 73; D Kuwali 'From durable solutions to holistic solutions: prevention of displacement in Africa' (2013) 6 *African Journal of Legal Studies* 265-285; MT Maru 'The Kampala Convention and its contribution to international law: legal analyses and interpretations of the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons (2014); L Bailey 'Out of Africa: toward regional solutions for internal displacement' (2014) 39(1) *Brooklyn Journal of International Law* 353; A Abebe *The Emerging Law of Forced Displacement in Africa: Development and Implementation of the Kampala Convention on Internal Displacement* (2016); R Adeola and F Viljoen 'The right not to be arbitrarily displaced in Africa' (2017) 25(4) *African Journal of International and Comparative Law* 459; A Dieng 'Protecting internally displaced: the value of the Kampala Convention as a regional example' (2017) 99(904) *International Review of the Red Cross* 263-282; R Adeola 'The Kampala Convention and the right not to be arbitrarily displaced' (2018) 59 *Forced Migration Review* 15; R Adeola *Development-induced displacement and human rights in Africa: the Kampala Convention* (2020).

66   L Juma 'An overview of normative frameworks for the protection of development-induced IDPs in Kenya' (2013) 6(1) *African Journal of Legal Studies* 17

67   S Ojeda 'The Kampala Convention on internally displaced persons: some international humanitarian law aspects' (2010) 29(3) *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 58.

to be seen on impact. At present, there is only one known study in this regard.[68]

Research on gender dimensions leveraging on the instrument has also emerged. Adopting a gendered lens, Groth examines the provisions of the Kampala Convention observing that through 'expanding conceptualizations of violence and extending obligations to non-state actors, the Convention represents substantive progress for the protection of internally displaced women.'[69] However, there has to be a continued commitment toward ensuring that women are significantly at the heart of implementation. She further argues that the 'establishment of internally displaced women's rights will require both thoughtful policy and deliberate action in the operational sphere.'[70]

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68   R Adeola 'The impact of the African Union Convention on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa' (2019) 19(2) *African Human Rights Law Journal* 591.

69   L Groth 'Engendering protection: an analysis of the 2009 Kampala Convention and its provisions for internally displaced women' (2011) 23(2) *International Journal of Refugee Law* 221.

70   As above.

4.   Conclusion

A review of the literature shows that research on internal displacement has significantly flourished. There is an increase in the recognition of the need to interrogate protection of IDPs from a multidisciplinary perspective. As demonstrated in this review, this has emerged from the fields of arts, social sciences and humanities; medicine and health; law and policy. Studies in this field make significant contributions to knowledge formations on IDPs. While these are important, there are particular areas around which more extensive research is required.

From the law and policy perspective, there is a need for research on compliance and effectiveness of the African frameworks at national level. This is important in order to understand the manner in which they can advance protection, the extent to which these frameworks influence national level actions, existing national practices and gaps that need to be addressed. In the context of medicine and health, there is a need for more research on non-communicable diseases and how various categories of displaced persons are affected. Moreover, there is a need for more research on PTSD, also considering gender dimensions and particularly the impact on women and girls in various contexts. Moreover, there is a need for evidence-based research on pandemics and displacement that can inform protection of IDPs in situations of pandemics such as the COVID-19 situation. In the context of arts, there is also a need for more integrated studies on other contexts. While significant research has emerged on northern Uganda, it is important that more research be done on other contexts and with respect to other causes of internal displacement on the continent. Moreover, it is a need for more localised perspective, leveraging on the voices of the displaced and using such tool to empower IDPs in solutions to their own challenges.

Overall, there is a need for displacement data and studies on addressing protracted situations of internal displacement in Africa. At present, there are not very many studies that engage in these issues and also impact of humanitarian interventions. Moreover, there are gaps on durable solutions from a gender dimension. Having research in these areas is useful in finding sustainable solutions to internal displacement in Africa.

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