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Editorial Brief

The Centre of Excellence in Global and Migration Studies (CEMGS) is a 2019 Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TetFund) intervention that commenced operation in March 2020. It was founded by Professor Abdallah Uba Adamu, who from 2016-2020, was the Vice Chancellor of National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN). This Journal is one of the academic publications of the Centre that is deemed crucial to fulfilling the vision of the founder. We should note that global migration and mobility has become part of human history and cannot be divorced from developmental plan, economics, politics, social life, and education of the citizens. Both internal and external migrations have come to influence who we are, what we do, and our future. NOUN's CEMGS is therefore a milestone in the history of the institution. The Centre serves as the fulcrum of research on migrations, both internal and external; and its conceptualisation, contextualisation, and decolonisation as essential to multidisciplinary analyses of global studies.

The International Journal of Migration and Global Studies (IJMGS) is a critical and Afrocentric-centred Journal that engages theories, concepts, and real life narratives on migrations in the locale, national, or global dimension. The Journal articles are policy oriented, adaptable for teaching, and solution driven in analysis; they are useable nationally and globally.

With several factors responsible for internal, intra-regional, continental, and global movement of peoples, the Centre with the birth of its academic Journal, hopes to sustain documentation of experiences through arts methods, science and health methods, other social science methods for use in the classroom, policy making, and for experiential learning.

It is hoped that the articles in this maiden edition, and subsequently, will fulfil the purpose, rationale, and aspiration of the Journal.

Hakeem I. Tijani
Editor

Paradox of Migration in the Context of a Plural Society: Focus on Peace in Nigeria

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Abstract

This study departs from the popular intellectual narrative of neoclassical theorists that look at positivity and negativity of migration as separate discourses and has chosen peace as a field of interest to posit on paradox of migration. The assumption of this study is that migration, annexation, occupation, conquest, ethnicity and political-economy are inseparable components that generate conflicts that result in immigration paradox. This is a descriptive study anchored on qualitative analysis of observable behaviours of migrants and hosts in Nigerian socio-cultural context. Apart from observation and interviews, secondary data were sourced from books, journals, newspapers and internet. Findings revealed that migration has been both functional and dysfunctional to Nigerian plural society as a result of multi-cultural, multi-linguistic and multiple group identities. The complexity of internal migration has led to inter-mingling of divergent groups who live with suspicion in their relationships especially in the urban centres. Rural-urban migration continues to be on the increase as a result of failure of rural development programmes. The relation between internal migration and peace in Nigeria is reciprocal but strongly asymmetrical. Centuries of interrelations among different ethnic groups have not produced a nation with one identity. Cultural associations, ethnic societies and tribal groups are used to pursue division among Nigerians either at home or outside of the homeland. However, Nigerians continue to embark on internal migration in spite of the orchestrated differences promoted by the elite.

Keywords: migration, peace, host communities, plural society, homeland

Introduction

Languages, myths of origin and geographical locations have been used to classify human beings into different ethnic groups while the colour of the skin has been added to define races. These instrumentally constructed social indexes have also created the identity of “we and them”. In spite of this differentiation, peoples across the world continue to migrate and inter-mingle. While migration is liberating in some

others. It is in the light of these limitations that total integration of migrants into host communities remains an illusion worldwide.

Studies that celebrate integration as a necessary outcome of the new social mix arising from migration fail to consider inherited biological and acculturation traits which have been ingrained in individual migrants and are difficult to change. It is argued that "one of the central problems of migration studies has been its (at least partial) exclusion from mainstream social sciences and the tendency for it to be perceived as a mainly descriptive and administrative field"! Moreover, other variables that contribute to the course and outcomes of migration include varied psychological nuances of migrants, vagaries of nature and socio-political dynamics of departed homelands and new settlements which prevent total integration.

Migrants of today are more propelled by multi-dimensional needs which are physiological, safety and affectionate in forms. These needs are mostly incompatible with those of other migrants and hosts. The incompatibility of these needs is the cause of many protracted social conflicts. Protracted social conflict has been explained as a consequence of hostile interactions between groups that are predicated on deep-seated racial, ethnic, religious and cultural hatreds and biases that have persisted over long periods of time.² Expectedly, when different groups with historical malaise are constrained to live together in modern urban centres, violence will occasionally arise.

Outcomes of immigration especially as they relate to the individuals and groups of giving and receiving communities have remained unpredictable. At the individual migrant level, while it is true that many people find success through migration, many others become victims of the cruel pitfalls of the migration process.³ In essence migration outcomes are determined by different variables which range from self to social, political and cultural

¹ Stephen Castle, "International Human Mobility: Key Issues and Challenges to Social Theory," in *Social Transformation and Migration: National and Local Experiences in South Korea, Turkey, Mexico and Australia*, eds. Castle, Stephen. Ozkul, D. and Cubas, Arias (Hampshire: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2015), 3-14.

² Ronald J. Fisher, "Cyprus: The Failure of Mediation and the Escalation of an Identity-Based Conflict to an Adversarial Impasse," *Journal of Peace Research* 38 no.3 (2001): 307-326.

30laoluwa Senayon, *Irregular Migration from Nigeria: Causes, Risks and Policyimplication* (Abuja: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) UNESCO West Africa Regional Office, 2019).

factors. It has also been posited that integration of individuals as a result of immigration is incompatible with pluralistic society. It is argued that complete assimilation of immigrants into the receiving society is by no means a necessary outcome.⁴ This postulation is valid in view of the fact that ethnic stratification still exists in societies with hundreds of years of inter-ethnic relations warranted by migration. In Britain, the Scottish in London are still distinct from the Irish till today, in Nigeria, the Hausa and Igbo in Lagos still maintain ethnic identities despite decades of relations in the same geo-space. This situation is called 'comparative integration context theory'.⁵ In the light of this, Crul and Schneider proposed the testing of alternative propositions of migrants' experiences.⁶ Thus, there is the need to probe historical and contemporary factors that militate against integration of migrants to their host communities.

On the benefits of migration to host communities, it is opined that whatever these benefits are, they must be counted as a positive loss to the total welfare of humanity at large, unless it can be shown that the position attained by the immigrants is superior to that of the natives whom they supplant.⁷ In modern societies, most host communities see migrants as intruders who have come to exploit their God given resources rather than people who have come to add value. In the same light, developing countries also accuse emigrants of causing 'brain-drain' in terms of immediate demographic and economic losses. However, they change this perception once remittances from emigrants help to rejig their economy.

Migration studies as a field of knowledge is a complex and multi-disciplinary engagement. As rightly posited, migration is linked in complex ways to class, gender, generation, ethnicity and other social cleavages, which

⁴ Richard Schunck, *Transnational Activities and Immigrant Integration in Germany: Concurrent or Competitive Processes?* (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2014).

⁵Maurice Crul, & Jens Schneider, "Comparative integration context theory: participation and belonging in new diverse European cities," *Journal Ethnic and Racial Studies: Theorising Integration and Assimilation*, 33, no. 7 (2010): 1249-1268.

"Maurice Crul, & Jens Schneider, "Comparative integration context theory: participation and belonging in new diverse European cities," *Journal Ethnic and Racial Studies: Theorising Integration and Assimilation*, 33, no. 7 (2010): 1249-1268.

⁷ Henry Fairchild, "The Paradox of Immigration," *American Journal of Sociology*, 17, no. 2 (1911): 254-267.

are embodied in hierarchies of power and social status during the course of migration.⁸ The complexity of migration studies originates from its heterogeneous components, dynamic interactions among migrants, hosts and governments, all of who act rationally and irrationally. In the light of this, it has been revealed that standard explanations of assimilation do not fully explain immigrant economic success or failure in Japan, demonstrating the need for a more diverse geographic base for migration theories.⁹

The gain and loss matrix of immigration is a continuous subject of discourse. Emphasis on the transformative potential of migration has polarized scholars to two divides; the optimists and the pessimists. Unfortunately, the complexities of migration chains are often neglected and both schools usually resort to studying the components as separate fields of interest." A study carried out from this narrow perspective will only produce unsustainable thesis when applied to various situations. To overcome this limitation, it is proposed that scholars link micro-level understanding of migration to macro-level trends in development and globalisation.¹¹ This postulation and others have brought about the idea of immigration paradox and other contextually related views.

Immigration paradox simply looks at the contradictions arising from immigration for both the giving and receiving communities. For example, previous studies on international migration revealed that the immigrant paradox is that recent immigrants often outperform more established immigrants and non-immigrants on a number of health, education, and

⁸ Nicholas V. Hear, (2010). "Theories of Migration and Social Change," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36, no. 10 (2010):1531-1536.

⁹Ayumi Takenaka, Makiko Nakamuro and Kenji Ishida, "Negative assimilation: How Immigrants experience economic mobility in Japan," *International Migration Review* 50, no. 2 (2016): 506-533.

¹⁰Ayşe Guveli, Harry Ganzeboom, Lucinda Platt, Bernhard Nauck, Helen Baykara• Krumme, Sebnem Eroglu, Sait Bayrakdar, Efe Sozeri, Neils Spierings and Sebnem Eroglu-Hawskworth (2016). *Intergenerational Consequences of Migration: Socio• economic, Family and Cultural Patterns of Stability and Change in Turkey and Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

¹¹Ayumi Takenaka, Makiko Nakamuro and Kenji Ishida, "Negative assimilation: How Immigrants experience economic mobility in Japan," *International Migration Review* 50, no. 2 (2016): 506-533.512

conductor crime related outcomes.¹² This performance, according to these scholars, is irrespective of barriers faced by migrants which include strange environment, hostility from host community, discrimination and prejudice and limited access to healthcare. These scholars' finding is contrary to expectation and widely held belief that hosts and long-time settled migrants are more likely to do better in view of greater access to opportunities.

Some approaches to the study of migration have also failed to look at different migration flows which apparently respond to peculiar combinations of economic, social, and political circumstances not contemplated by particular frameworks.' Tijani's study departs from this as it explored frontier-history and micro-study to explain the complexity of the intermingling of different migrants that constitute the Awori-Yoruba people in Lagos State and it affirmed that British intrusion led to confusion in historical precedence and altered the existing traditional leadership as powers were conferred on compradors that assisted in entrenching colonial rule.' Towing the same line of investigation, this paper is a disquisition to provoke debate on complexities of internal migration in Nigeria in an attempt to juxtapose ambiguities and clarities, reveal the theses and antitheses of migration and peace cum conflict. Thus, this study is a systematic explanatory account of migration and its engagement with broader processes of social change in Nigeria.

The scope of the paper is limited to ethnic migrants, rural-urban migrants and amorphous migrants and the different ways they have been instrumental to peace or conflict. Thus, this study attempts to answer the following questions: What are the histories of internal migration in Nigeria? What are the reasons for increased rural-urban migration in Nigeria? Is there any nexus between migration and peace in Nigeria? In spite of inter-ethnic relations arising from internal migration, what are the contradictions leading

¹² Michael G. Vaughn, Christopher P. Salas-Wright, Brandy R. Maynard, Zhengmin R. Qian, Lauren Terzis, Abdi M. Kusow and Matt DeLisi (2014). "Criminal epidemiology and the immigrant paradox: Intergenerational discontinuity in violence and antisocial behavior among immigrants," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 42, no. 6 (2014): 483--490.

¹³ Cuamea F. Velazquez, "Approaches to the Study of International Migration: A Review," *Estudios Fronterizos* 1 no. 1 (2000): 137-168.

¹⁴ Hakeem Ibikunle Tijani, "The Lagos-Awori Frontier: 19th Century History, Migrations and Transformation of an African Community," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 16 (2005/2006): 141-155.

to regular call for restructuring, self-determination and in few extreme cases secession by separatist groups?

Conceptual Clarification

A number of concepts are germane to understanding the import of this paper. These concepts include migration, internal migration, plural society, nationalism, peace and conflict. Migration is defined as a phenomenon showing the movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a state.¹⁵ Migration is seen as a "process encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants!" Migrants also include workers, investors, retirees and international students who relocate to new settlements outside their homelands. Migration occurs within broader long-term social, security, political and economic contexts which invariably impact on the migrant and the host.¹⁷ In essence, migration does not exist in a void and the contexts within which it happens is not static.

Internal migration is a concept that is difficult to define in terms of space and time. The 2006 Population and Housing Census officials conceived of internal migration as inflow and outflow of persons beyond their ethnic and culturally demarcated homelands.¹⁸ In another light, internal migration is seen as "a movement of people from one area of a country to another for the purpose or with the effect of establishing a new residence!" In the light of the thrust of this discourse, internal migration will be defined as movement beyond one's cultural or ethnic homeland for the purpose of permanent or temporary settlement.

¹⁵International Organisation for Migration, *World Migration Report 2020*.(Geneva: International Organisation for Migration, 2020), 137.

¹⁶Richard Perruchoud, ed; *International Migration Law: Glossary on Migration*. (Geneva: International Organisation for Migration, 2004). 41

¹⁷International Organisation for Migration, *World Migration Report 2020*.(Geneva: International Organisation for Migration, 2020), 137.

¹⁸Nigeria, National Population Commission (2010).*2006 Population and Housing Census*:

Priority Tables, (Abuja: National Population Commission, 2010).

¹⁹ Richard Perruchoud, ed; *International Migration Law: Glossary on Migration*. Geneva: International Organisation for Migration, 2004), 32.

Pluralism in philosophy means "doctrine of multiplicity" and it is used to express opposition to a state of monism "doctrine of unity". Pluralism as a political philosophy recognises the existence of diverse interests, convictions, and lifestyles that co-exist in a geo-political space. In a nutshell, it is a condition or system in which two or more states, principles, sources of authority, interests, groups or nations coexist. In the light of this, the term plural society is coined to describe a society that is separated into various communities according to differences in language, race, religion and ethnic configuration.²⁰The concept was originally applied to the countries in South Asia particularly Burma which is now divided into Myanmar, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia.

As a corollary, a plural society combines ethnic contrasts: distinct identity, the economic interdependence of those groups, and their ecological uniqueness as instruments to negotiate co-existence.²¹ According to Barth, each ethnic group uses different environmental resources to exert its presence in that society. However, in Nigeria, there is limitation of the power individual group can exert because the central government has appropriated all the environmental and natural resources to itself through the act of the National Assembly. This lack of fiscal federalism has not been challenged in the court of law. In a nutshell pluralism is a belief that people of different social classes, religions; race and language should live together in a society with due attention and respect paid to their differences and needs.

Lebanon and Malaysia are perfect examples of plural society.²² In Lebanon, there are Shias and Sunnis in the Muslim segment, while Christians are in the minority. Similarly, in Malaysia, the Chinese cluster in nodal communities as against the majority Malay population.

One major characteristic of plural society is its lack of collective 'social will' or shared sense of community²³ to act as one entity with a common identity. It is posited that the different ethnic linguistic or religious

²⁰James Fumivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press, 1948).

²¹ Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Cultural Differences* (Norway: Waveland Press, 1969).

²²Arend Lijphart, "Consociational Democracy," *World Politics*, 21, no. 2 (1969): 207-225.

²³James Fumivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press, 1948).

nationalities in a plural society only mix but do not combine.²⁴ Relationship is based on economic and political expediencies that most often than not are imposed or agreed upon as a doctrine of necessity. In order to sustain such relationship governance becomes a business of compromise. This situation becomes more pronounced where there are identifiable groups of migrants and hosts along ethnic divides and the plural society is culturally diverse and its cultural sections are organised into cohesive political sections.²⁵ Lijphart therefore proposed that to avoid conflicts, a plural society must embrace what he termed "Consociational Democracy" which is anchored on cooperative attitude and behavior of the leaders of the different segments of the population.²⁶

Nationalism is both an ideology and a sentiment. It is an ideology that evolves from political, social and economic system characterized by the promotion of the interest of a particular nation, people, ethnic group or culturally and geographically distinct group with the aim of control over homeland. As a sentiment, nationalism grows from the sense of community and feeds on cultural differences, and turns them into a principle of national political loyalty and social identity that exclude others.²⁷ When people are sentimentally attached to their homelands, they gain and develop sense of identity, pride, patriotism and achievement that motivate them to help and protect their shared patrimony and culture.

Nationalism gained popularity from the 1890s onwards as a critical concept directed at ideas and actions that broke against what was seen as the legitimate role of a nation and he averred that nationalism has been found to be an integral ingredient of any sense of nationhood.²⁸ Thus, a plural society in which each ethnic group embraces nationalism as a sentiment to gain

²⁴James Fumivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands*(Cambridge:Cambridge, University Press, 1948).

²⁵ Alvin Rabushka and Kenneth Shepsle, "Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability, " *Longman Classics in Political Science* (Pearson Education, Inc., 2009).

²⁶Arend Lijphart, "Consociational Democracy," *World Politics*, 21, no. 2 (1969): 207-225.

²⁷ Victor Lukpata and Christopher Andeshi, "Imperial Factors in the Rise of Nationalism in Nigeria," *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (IOSR-JHSS)*19, no. 3, (2014)):

1-5.

²⁸ Pauli Kettunen, (2018) "The concept of nationalism in discussions on a European society," *Journal of Political Ideologies* 23, no. 3(2018): 342-369.

control and dominance over others is not able to pursue national agenda that can bring national identity and development.

The etymology of the word 'peace' has been traced to Latin word 'pax', which means a pact, a control or an agreement to end war or any dispute.²⁹ The systematic investigation of the conditions of peace as a special academic field or even a separate discipline started in the 1950s.³⁰ The concepts of 'negative peace' and 'positive peace' in human society have been explored and it is averred that in sharply divided and structurally imbalanced society negative peace will be prevalent.³¹ It is also rightly argued that peace is not merely the absence of war but the presence of justice, of law, of order - in short, of government that is anchored on fairness and equity.³²

The concept of conflict has attracted many and varied perspectives and it is yet to be settled in scholarship whether conflict is a [situation](#) or a type of [behaviour](#).³³ The simplistic definition of conflict saw it as a state of disorder, fight, disagreement or strife. The objectivist approach suggested that conflict emanates from the social and political structure of the society while the subjectivist approach opined that differences and incompatibility of goals cause conflict.³⁴ For instance, as an objectivist Nwolise saw conflict as a form of clash, confrontation, battle or struggle³⁵ while Wallenstein perceived conflict as a social situation in which a minimum of two actors

²⁹ Ven Khemanando, (1995). "Buddhism and Peace," in *Dictionary of Word Origins*, Ayto, John Bloomsbury (Calcutta: Lazo Print, 1995), 387.

³⁰ Nils Gleditsch, Jonas Nordkvelle and Havard Strand, "Peace research - Just the study of war? *Journal of Peace Research*, 51, no. 2 (2014). Also available online @ <https://journals.sagepub.com/home/jpr>.

³¹ Jónah Galtung, (1964). An editorial: What is peace research? *Journal of Peace Research* 1, no.1(1964): 1-4.

³² Aame P. Vesilind, *Peace engineering: when personal values and engineering careers Converge* (USA: Lakeshore Press, 2005), 43.

³³ Rahim M. Afzalur, *Managing Conflict in Organizations (4th ed)* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2010).

³⁴ Ilemobola Peter Olanrewaju, "The Conceptual Analysis of Peace and Conflict," in *Readings in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution*, Kayode Soremekun, ed. (Ota: Department of Science and International Relations, Covenant University, 2013), 6-14.

³⁵ Osisioma Nwolise, (2003), "War-Making, Peace-Making and Conflict Resolution in

Africa," in *A Guide to Peace Education and Peace Promotion Strategies in Africa, The Nigerian Approach*, vol.I. Harunah, H., Nwolise, O. and D. Oluyemi-Kusa, D. eds. (Lagos: Perfect Printers Ltd, 2003).

(parties) compete for scarce resources at the same time. The resources being competed for may be material or immaterial but have values for meeting the actors' physiological or psychological needs.³⁶

Theoretical Underpinning

The push-pull model first coined by Ravenstein (1885) is premised on the idea that there are socio-economic factors that encourage migrants to leave their country of birth or homeland and migrate to a new place that offers more socio-economic opportunities.³⁷ The push-pull theory is double edged perception of migration drivers- pull and push factors. The "pull" or attraction factors in receiving countries may include higher wages, employment, better welfare systems and a host of others while "push" factors range from lower wages to high unemployment and underemployment rates, slow economic growth or economic stagnation and poverty. All the above factors are considered as causal variables that explain how and why international migration flows originate.³⁸ Other scholars, perceived education, employment opportunities with the associated incomes, and facilities, as both, push and pull factors.³⁹

Push-pull factors of migration have been classified into predisposing, proximate, precipitating and mediating drivers.⁴⁰ The combinations of such drivers shape the conditions, circumstances and environments within which people choose to move or stay put, or have that decision thrust upon them. These scholars' view is germane in explaining the modern socio-political environment, especially in developing economies, which have pronounced precipitating factors which include unemployment, conflict and climate

³⁶ Peter Wallensteen, *Understanding Conflict Resolution, War, Peace, and the Global System* (London: Sage Publication Ltd, 2002).

³⁷ Ernest Georg Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," A paper presented to the Statistical Society in England, CSISS Classics (1885).

³⁸ Cuacá F. Velazquez, "Approaches to the Study of International Migration: A Review," *Estudios Fronterizos* 1, no. 1 (2000):137-168.

³⁹ Ellen Hoffmann, Verena Konderding, Sunil Nautiyal and Andreas Buerkert, "Is the push• pull paradigm useful to explain rural-urban migration? A case study in Uttarakhand, India," *PLoS ONE* 14, no. 4(2019). <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0214511>.

⁴⁰ Nicholas V. Hear, Oliver Bakewell and Katy Long, (2018). "Push-pull plus: Reconsidering the drivers of migration," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 6 (2018):927-944.

change. No wonder, migration flow tends towards better economic environment. However, the push-pull paradigm may prove inadequate to explain migration decisions in many instances.

The world systems theory was developed by sociologist, Wallerstein.⁴¹ It is also known as world-systems analysis or the world-systems perspective. It is an approach to world history and social change that suggests there is a world economic system in which some countries benefit while others are exploited. World System theory emphasises migration from peripheral developing countries to core capitalist ones. The earlier schools related to the theory are the Annales school, the Marxist tradition, and the dependence theory. Migrants flow from the periphery to the core while capital, machinery, and goods flow from the core to the periphery.

The main characteristics of World System Theory are: A three-level hierarchy consisting of core, periphery, and semi-periphery areas; the core countries dominate and exploit the peripheral countries for labor and raw materials; the peripheral countries are dependent on core countries for capital; the semi-peripheral countries share characteristics of both core and peripheral countries.⁴²

It focuses on the social structure of global inequality. If this theory is applied to local economy; we discover that the urban centres milk the rural communities to sustain its metropolitan luxury lifestyle. Human and natural resources from rural areas are exploited and drafted to provide the needs of the urban inhabitants and more often at the detriment of the rural dwellers.

Migration Systems and Networks theory focuses on the nexus between people at origin and destination. Migration networks are defined as "sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin".⁴³ Migratory movements are often connected to long-standing links between sending and receiving countries either on

⁴¹ Immanuel Wallerstein, (2004), "World-systems Analysis," in World System History, George Modelski ed., in *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS)* (Oxford: UNESCO•Eolss Publishers, 2004).

⁴² Immanuel Wallerstein, (2004), "World-systems Analysis," in World System History, George Modelski ed., in *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS)* (Oxford: UNESCO•Eolss Publishers, 2004).

⁴³ Douglas Massey, "Economic Development and International Migration in Comparative Perspective." *Population and Development Review* 14 (1988): 383-413.

commercial or cultural relationships. People move where they can rely on someone they know. Once network connections reach some threshold level, they amount to an autonomous social structure that supports immigration.⁴⁴ Although Massey postulation is on international migration, but it is applicable to internal migration as certain ethnic groups tend to cluster in particular cities or areas in a city where they can easily relate on cultural, political and economic understanding. This clustering has given birth to Sabo-Geri in some cities in Nigeria and naming of some streets predominantly occupied by a tribe or ethnic group after them like we have Ogbomoso and Yoruba Streets in Kano.

As posited by another scholar, there is no general theory to explain all types of migration movements and their origins, or to explain how they are sustained and how they have evolved over ages.⁴⁵ This is why the three theories highlighted above are pulled together for this study. However, this study benefits more from Migration Systems and Networks theory in view of its relevance in understanding formation of social structures based on cultural and historic ties by migrants in origin and destination areas on the basis of their ethnic cleavages and how these structures have resulted in contradictory outcomes of immigration. In corroborating this view, it is averred "that migration is shaped by development in both origin and destination societies and also contributes to further change in its own right".⁴⁶ It is also germane in explaining how the new social structures fore grounded on nationalism and parochial identities of both the migrants and the hosts interrelate in both positive and negative ways.

Methodology

This is a descriptive study anchored on qualitative analysis of observable behaviours and interview responses of migrants and hosts in Nigerian socio-cultural context. It is a historical and contextual analysis of Nigerian internal

⁴⁴ Ivan Light, Parminde Bhachu and Stavros Karageorgis, "Migration Networks and Immigrant Entrepreneurship," (2017). https://escholarship.org/content/qt50g990sk/qt50g990sk_noSplash_73a89b21211747c9ad4a469a8ce104d.pdf

⁴⁵ Cuaea F. Velazquez, "Approaches to the Study of International Migration: A Review,"

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Estudios Fronterizos 1, no. 1 (2000):137-168.

⁴⁶Haas de Haas, "Paradoxes of Migration and Development," *Working Papers Paper 157* (International Migration Institute, 2019).

migration dynamics and how it affects peace. Apart from observation and interviews used to substantiate views expressed in this study, secondary data we resourced from books, journals, newspapers and Internet. The report of the study engages thematic analysis of documented peace practices of migrants and hosts in Nigeria's plural milieu.

The Nigeria Migration Trajectory

Internal migration in Nigeria is phased into overlapping historical epochs that present a rather curious but complex trajectory. The Nigerian crisis-ridden situation of immigration has some historical undertones.⁴⁷ Initial migration was for the purposes of slave-raiding, marauding, occupation, the exaction of tribute and other forms of domination among ethnic groups. Political entities such as the Kanem Bornu Empire, Benin Empire, Sokoto Empire, Oyo Empire and Kwararafa Empire, just to mention a few were rivals in these expansionist drives. One glaring example in Nigeria is the migration of the most expeditious Fulani, the Jihad and the enthronement of emirate in Southern Kaduna, Nasarawa, Kogi and Ilorin. Fulani Jihadists became permanent migrants that settled in some areas of North-central and Northeast Nigeria which were not their traditional settlements.

After the abolition of slave trade, migration of Nigerian autonomous ethnic nationalities was purely for the purpose of trade. It is averred that "for centuries before British conquest of Nigeria, especially in the last years of the nineteenth century, the people who occupied the Nigerian region had interacted on the basis of trade, war, diplomacy and marriage".⁴⁸ Falola asserted that "nineteenth century data are clear that the Yoruba were long distance traders; both men and women travelled over wide distances to buy and sell among the Kanuri, Hausa, Nupe, their near neighbours, and in far-flung places in the North. This is equally true of other tribes and ethnic groups. The Hausa/Fulani used to bring cattle and leather to the south and went back with kola-nut.

⁴⁷Oyeniya, Bukola Adeyemi, *Internal Migration in Nigeria: A Positive Contribution to Human Development, African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP)* (Brussels: Observatory on Migration, 2013). Available online@ Research Report ACPOBS/2013/PUBOI.

⁴⁸Toyin Falola, *Atlantic Yoruba and the Expanding Frontiers of Yoruba Culture and Politics, F. F. Odunjo Lecture*(Ibadan: University of Ibadan, 2012), 435.

For instance, as far back as the 18th century, three different groups of Fulani had migrated to the city of Iseyin. These groups consisted of the Bangu, Sokoto, and Bororo Fulani. They all have settlements which their offspring call homeland today. Of course, they do not know anywhere else as home. Also, there were historical accounts of Igbo and Ijaw movements to the northern and western parts of Nigeria as far back as the 17th century. The Ijaw moved along the coastal area up to Lagos as in most cases the course of migration was linear in the pre-colonial era.

The construction of railway station at the beginning of the twentieth century to some parts of Nigeria accelerated migration. As rightly observed, the provision of infrastructure, especially the railway encouraged migration and settlements between the north and south of Nigerian.⁴⁹ Apart from trading, migration during the colonial period was largely as a result of formation of administrative cities by the colonial governments. Provincial headquarters witnessed upsurge in the number of inhabitants who were employed as police, military and administrative officers. Artisans and unskilled labourers were also needed to build the cities. Lagos became the epicenter of migration after the amalgamation of 1914.

In post-colonial Nigeria, trade, appointment to the civil service, schools, military, police, federal establishments, creation of more states, creation of the federal capital territory and politics all serve to move people beyond their homelands. Thus, it could be affirmed that development has been a major impetus to internal migration in Nigeria. This assertion aligns with de Haas' finding on the development as catalyst of migration.⁵⁰

In recent years, militancy, armed robbery, kidnapping and banditry have driven people out of their homelands in some parts of the country. Because the rural areas remain largely an ungoverned space and poorly policed, people and companies that have tried settling there have fled due to insecurity. Nigerian forest areas have also turned into theatres of conflict and have become unattractive to settlers. Banditry in the northwest, communal conflict in the north-central and Boko Haram insurgency in the northeast have dislocated people. This involuntary movement of people as either refugee or settled migrants has added up to the number of internal migrants.

- ⁴⁹ Antony Gerald Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (Essex: Longmans, 1973).
- ⁵⁰ Haas de Haas, "Paradoxes of Migration and Development," *Working Papers Paper 157* (International Migration Institute, 2019), 2.

Insurgency has led to migration of people to relatively peaceful parts of Nigeria.⁵¹ With more than 2.2 million IDPs, Nigeria ranked among the top 10 countries with the highest number of people displaced due to conflict and violence by end of 2018 (IOM, 2020).

The table below shows the number of internally displaced persons.

Table 1: Summary of Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria as of December 2014

Type	No	Reason
Number of internally Displaced Person in camps	100,700	Insurgency
Number of internally Displaced Person in host communities	701,448	Insurgency
Number of internally Displaced Persons affected by natural disaster	66,087	Natural Disasters
Total Number of internally Displaced Person	868,235	

NEMA Statistics Sourced from Uche & IOM, Nigeria, 2016.⁵²

Generally, there is paucity of recent data on internal migration in Nigeria. The 2006 Population and Housing Census revealed that more than 10 per cent of Nigerians lived in states other than their states of birth.⁵³ The estimated population of Nigeria in 2020 is put at 200million, and if we still stand by the 10% of 2006, then we can assume that about 20 million Nigerian are migrants. However, most of these migrants still move within their ethnic groups while others move beyond their ethnic homelands. Unfortunately, there is no clear data indicating inter-ethnic movements across Nigeria. It is,

⁵¹ Ilemona Adofu and Abdulkareem Alhassan, "Insecurity and Economic Development in Nigeria," *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development* 9 no. 18 (2018):101-111.

⁵² Isiugo-Abanihe Uche and International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Nigeria, *Migration in Nigeria: A Country Profile 2014* (Abuja: International Organisation for

Migration, 2016).

⁵³ National Population Commission, Nigeria, 2006 *Population and Housing Census: Priority Tables* (Abuja: National Population Commission, 2010).

however, observable that there is no single city in Nigeria where you will not have all the major ethnic groups represented.

It is documented that 23 per cent of the sampled population of Nigerians were migrants, having changed residence within 10 years, and 2 per cent were return migrants".⁵⁴ This is 3 percent higher than the 2006 figure. Abuja Federal Capital Territory reported percentages higher than the national average of 23 per cent for both internal and return migrants. Since Abuja became the Federal Capital in the 1980s, scores of thousands of different ethnic groups have moved there as public servants, civil servants, construction workers, investors, clerical staff and traders.

There are many internal migrants who traverse ethnic boundaries on a regular basis. Internal migrants in this category can be classified as "amorphous migrants" with one leg in their homelands and one leg in their host communities. For instance, there are many Yoruba and Igbo in Kano and the Hausa/Fulani in Lagos who have never assumed the status of permanent migrants and have lived for almost a century. These pseudo-migrants often flee the new settlement each time there is a threat to peace, or, as in the case of Hausa, go home every planting season.

Most internal migrants affiliate to descendant unions, cultural groups, ethnic association and social societies that have strong parochial interests. These groups are equally affiliated to unions in their homelands. They ferociously protect the welfare of their members at home and away. The formation of ethnic groups in host communities aligns with Migration Systems and Networks theory postulates adopted for this study.

Rural-Urban Migration Situation in Nigeria

Rural-Urban migration is very common in Nigeria. It is often as a result of lack of social amenities, inadequate employment opportunities, lack of higher institutions, climate change and conflict. The desire to get a better living condition and attain upward social mobility is rational decisions that inform rural-urban migration. The survey conducted by National Population

Migration, 2016), 45.

⁵⁴Isiugo-Abanihe Uche and International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Nigeria, *Migration in Nigeria: A Country Profile 2014*(Abuja: International Organisation for

Commission in 2010 indicated that about 60 per cent of internal migrants were residing in the urban areas.⁵⁵

There has been phenomenal increase of internal migrants to urban centres in the last four decades as a result of failure to attain rural development. Successive administrations have tried to check rural-urban drift with different programmes at various levels of governance in conjunction with both local and international corporate organisations. These partners include United Nations Development Program, United Nations Fund on Population and Agriculture and Food and Agriculture Organisation. They provided supports to the rural communities with the aim of making life much better which will in turn reduce the rate of migration to urban centres. Some of the projects focused on rural development include Women in Agriculture (WIA), Agricultural Development Programmes (ADP), Rural Export Craft Scheme, National FADAMA Development Project (NFDP), River Basin Development Authorities and Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI). Many of these programmes collapsed once their initiators left office or funding from international partners stopped.

Internal Migration as Peace Platform

Migration is shaped by developments in both origin and destination societies.⁵⁶ By extension, peace as an integral part of development also benefits from migration. This is why de Haas argued that migration should be conceptualised as an intrinsic part of broader processes of development and social change instead of as the antithesis of development.⁵⁷ For instance, immigration helps in enhancing peace among different ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. Nigerians get to understand cultural nuances of disparate ethnic groups through inter-mingling in new urban centres. Immigration provides safe haven for individuals to reject unwholesome homeland cultural practices and adopt host culture and modernity. This double consciousness and triadic

⁵⁵Isiugo-Abanihe Uche and International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Nigeria, *Migration in Nigeria: A Country Profile 2014* (Abuja: International Organisation for Migration, 2016), 47.

⁵⁶Haas de Haas, "Paradoxes of Migration and Development," *Working Papers Paper 157* Migration, 2016), 45.

(Grand-Saconnex: International Migration Institute, 2019), 2.

⁵⁷Haas de Haas, "Paradoxes of Migration and Development," *Working Papers Paper* 157(Grand-Saconnex: International Migration Institute, 2019), 2.

relationships help in promoting understanding of different cultures in Nigeria. Culture mix results in inter-ethnic marriages. In Lagos, for example, there are Hausa Yan Kasa who, by virtue of being born and bred in and adapted to the Yoruba community while at the same time retaining their Hausaness are available for suitors of any tribe., Inter-ethnic marriages become possible due to socio-cultural liberty enjoyed by the migrants. In the light of this development, it is argued that "migration should be conceptualised as an intrinsic part of broader processes of development and social change instead of as the antithesis of development" remains valid.⁵⁸

Migration helps in improving the lot of the individual to achieve human and social development. It also transforms the places of origin and people, including new ways of life through remittances and direct projects embarked upon individually and collectively. Improved family living standards through remittances is also positive to peace as migrants send money home to build houses and establish cottage industries and other businesses. Though from international migration perspective, Tijani's (2010) findings revealed that Eko Club International, a diaspora organization, core activities and programs include community-based programmes and fundraising for homeland developmental projects as well as investment in homeland properties for economic security.⁵⁹

Migrants in Lagos, Abuja, Port Harcourt and other big cities also provide labour that serves as an engine of growth and development of urbanization in Nigeria. Skilled and semi-skilled migrants provide needed manpower for construction, manufacturing and distribution companies. Lagos, for instance, has remained a melting pot for all Nigerians since European encounter has made it to enjoy the enviable position of an economic cockpit and political fulcrum of Nigeria.⁶⁰ However, the point of departure is that not all offshoots of migration assist development. Therefore, a look at the paradox of migration with regards to peace becomes important to this discourse.

⁵⁸Haas de Haas, "Paradoxes of Migration and Development," Working Papers Paper 157 (Grand-Saconnex: International Migration Institute, 2019), 2.

⁵⁹Hakeem Ibikunle Tijani, (2010). Forging a Link: Diaspora Developmental Activities for the Homeland, The Case of Eko Club. *International Journal of Global Initiatives: Policy, Pedagogy, Perspective*, 3, web/20(2010)7656735/<http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/killings-in-benue-plateau-and-taraba-states/211068/>

⁶⁰Hakeem Ibikunle Tijani, (2010). Forging a Link: Diaspora Developmental Activities for the Homeland, The Case of Eko Club. *International Journal of Global Initiatives: Policy, Pedagogy, Perspective* 3, no. 1 (2010): 65- 78.

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Internal Migration as Conflict Harbour

Migration is said to have caused disruption of social cohesion in rural areas, human trafficking, forced child labour, prostitution, and urban unemployment, pollution and waste management problems.⁶¹ Although, Uche and IOM, Nigeria (2016) saw Oyeniyi's submissions as biased views on the impact of migration on both the giving and receiving communities⁶², recent events have validated some of his assertion. For example, intra-personal conflicts arising from expected outcomes- successes, failures and regrets, happiness and unhappiness are common with migrants. Also paradoxical is the fact that when people migrate to escape negative cultural practices, they may continue to suffer the consequences of those practices because the people in their new abode may be ignorant of what actually precipitated their movement.⁶³ Such migrants are plunged into the abysmal of disillusionment in view of the constraints they experience in fulfilling their initial purpose of migration and the demand of a novel culture they are forced to embrace. Succinctly put, culture shock and modernity may result in loss of identity and maladjustment

In spite of long history of migration on permanent, temporary or seasonal basis there is pervasive prejudice, stereotyping, segregation, and hostility among ethnic groups in Nigeria as observed in this study. These feelings are expressed in the use of negative words in private discussion and print media whenever there are social or political conflicts that polarize Nigerians along ethnic divides.

Most migrants' successes in economic sphere have triggered attacks by natives. With regards to internal migration, it is argued that the citizens of host communities tend to display hostilities and hatred towards migrants as competition for resources becomes tense. Strangers, who migrate in search

⁶¹Oyeniyi, Bukola Adeyemi, *Internal Migration in Nigeria: A Positive Contribution to Human Development, African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP)* (Brussels: Observatory on Migration, 2013). Available online@ Research Report ACPOBS/2013/PUB01.

⁶²Isiugo-Abanihe Uche and International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Nigeria, *Migration in Nigeria: A Country Profile 2014* (Abuja: International Organisation for Migration, 2016).
<https://web.archive.org/web/20150727050755/http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/killings-in-benue-plateau-and-taraba-states/211068/>

⁶³Olaluwa Senayon, *Irregular Migration from Nigeria: Causes, Risks and Policy Implication* (Abuja: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) UNESCO West Africa Regional Office, 2019).

<https://web.archive.org/web/20150727050755/http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/killings-in-benue-plateau-and-taraba-states/211068/>

of greener pastures, are always willing to accept lower remuneration for their labour and services, thereby leading to job loss for the natives⁶⁴. Contestation for economic space between migrants and natives has been demonstrated in the market conflicts of Sango-kataf, Bodija, Sagamu, Ile-Ife and Lagos.

In pursuit of group conflict in plural society, migrants become another weapon in the armoury of group antagonism.⁶⁵ This postulation is validated in Nigeria through the extension of ethnic militia groups to locations outside their homelands. This arises from the fact that ethnic militia in the Nigerian context is considered as an activist organisation set up to protect the interest of a particular nationality within the Nigerian Federation. While the Odu'a Peoples' Congress (OPC) claims to represent the pursuits of Yoruba ethnic groups, the interests of the Movement for the Actualisation of Sovereign State of Biafra (MAS SOB) Igbo group, Arewa Peoples' Congress (APC) has evolved to protect the Hausa-Fulani interests.⁶⁶ Others are Egbesu Boys, Arewa Boys, Movement for the Emancipation of Ogoni People and Indigenous People of Biafra. All these groups have branches controlled and funded by migrants in some major cities of Nigeria.

Integration is possible if there is intermingling of ethnic groups in urban centres whereby households in urban centres from different ethnic groups form mixed neighbourhoods. The Hausa-Yoruba compounds at Orile-Agege illustrate this kind of mixed residential set up.⁶⁷ This type of neighbourhood is also common in Abuja where there is elite complicity in reserving the highbrow areas for themselves. However, poor households feel more secure where households are of similar ethnic group and will always invite their kinsmen to move to their neighbourhood. This may be as a result of the fact that ethnic enclaves eliminate the challenges associated with language

⁶⁴Ebenezer Oni and Samuel Okunade, "The Context of Xenophobia in Africa: Nigeria and South Africa in Comparison," in *The Political Economy of Xenophobia in Africa: Advances in African Economic Social and Political Development*, Adeoye O. Akinola, ed. (New York: Springer International Publication, 2018): 37-51, <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-3-319-64897-2>.

⁶⁵John Stone, (1975) The "Migrant Factor in a Plural Society: The South African Case Study," *The International Migration Review* 9, no. 1 (1975):15-28.

⁶⁶ Osita Agbu, *Ethnic Militias and the Threat to Democracy in Post-Transition Nigeria*, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150727050755/http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/killings-in-benue-plateau-and-taraba-states/211068/>

(Sweden: Nordiska Afrika institutet, 2004).

⁶⁷Muhammad M. Gatawa. The Role of Islam in the Yoruba-Hausa Harmonious Relations in South-western Nigeria. *IJUC Studies* 12 (2015): 111-126.

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barriers, with residents often sharing linguistic similarity.⁶⁸ Apart from linguistic similarity, cultural and religious practices are most likely to ensure understanding and peace. This set of migrants in segregated neighbourhoods is not likely to integrate. Yoruba-Hausa disturbances in Lagos, Igbo massacre of 1966 and the clashes between the Itsekiri and the Ijaw in Delta state are good examples of failure of integration. Others are the Tiv/Jukun, Jukun and Kuteb tribes in Taraba State and the Jukun/Chamba and Tiv people who fight over primordial sentiments. There are also political contests resulting from elite fragmentation and recourse to primordial sentiments in the Jos North Local Government perennial conflict. The Jos conflicts in 1994 and 2001 were due to public or political appointment in which residents of the area were divided along religious and ethnic cleavages.

The spread of Islam and Christianity by migrants through migration to locations known with particular religion has led to inter-religious conflicts. Hausa long distance trader is also an Islamic missionary,⁶⁹ his Igbo counterpart is an evangelist of Christian faith. Conflicts arise from incompatible needs and contestation for space in the location of mosques, churches and evangelism. Sharia controversy has been a divisive factor among migrants who are Christians and their Muslim hosts in the north since the 1980s beginning with the maitasinne riot.

Contestation for land is another source of conflict between indigenes and settlers. For example, Bororo Fulani in Iseyin and other communities in the South often engage in conflict with Yoruba over ownership of farmland. Also, due to herders' migration to the south, conflicts between pastoralists and farmers have heightened in the last one decade. The most affected states are those of the Nigerian Middle Belt like Benue, Taraba and Plateau. Familiar headlines in the news media are '100 killed in Plateau'; '50 killed in Taraba'; '70 killed in Benue'.⁷⁰ The scenarios in North-central Nigeria validates the thesis that if groups or societies define immigrants as a threat,

⁶⁸ Thomas Bauer, Gil Epstein and Ira Gang, "Enclaves, language, and the location choice of migrants" *Journal of Population Economics* 18, no. 4 (2005): 649-662.

⁶⁹ Muhammad M. Gatawa. The Role of Islam in the Yoruba-Hausa Harmonious Relations in Southwestern Nigeria. *IJUG Studies* 12 (2015): 111-126.
<https://web.archive.org/web/20150727030735/http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/killings-in-benue-plateau-and-taraba-states/211068/>

⁷⁰ Thisdaylive, "Killings in Benue, Plateau and Taraba States," *Thisdaylive*, June 4 2015.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20150727050755/http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/killings-in-benue-plateau-and-taraba-states/211068/>

the consequences of this perception will be real, no matter how illusory the objective basis of these fears proves to be.⁷¹

Accusation of migrants as kidnappers is rampant. The case of Evans in Lagos and Wadume in Taraba kidnap operations are copious examples to validate this suspicion. A number of Fulani migrants have also been apprehended for kidnapping in the south. Banditry in the Northwest of Nigeria has been attributed to migrants. These bandits come from other states or from neighbouring countries. This finding validates the argument that where simultaneous embeddedness is in more than one society the migrant's loyalty to the host community cannot be guaranteed.⁷²

Migrant remittances may be useful in alleviating poverty at the micro-level however, funds realised may be channeled to sponsorship of local cultists and dissidents as well as pollution of the youths to become addicted to drug use, alcoholism and social vices. In the Southeast of Nigeria, it is observed that many cult groups have been linked to migrants who reside in urban centres of Lagos, Abuja, Port Harcourt and Onitsha. Also, rural-urban migration has led to congestion of cities, poverty and social vices.⁷³

The Contradictions Arising from Migration and Impact on the Nigerian Project

Some migrants' claim of ownership of some places in spite of geographical and historic evidences to the contrary has been a major paradox in migration historiography. Emirate in non-Hausa Fulani areas and constant fight in Kaduna South predominantly inhabited by some thirty tribes described as minority ethnic groups are obvious references.⁷⁴ Incorporated communities are administered by emirate-appointed district heads while the natives claim they are being arbitrarily and oppressively subjected to the Muslim judicial and legal system.

⁷¹John Stone, "The Migrant Factor in a Plural Society: The South African Case Study," *The International Migration Review* 9, no. 1 (1975): 20.

⁷² Peggy Levitt and Nadya Jaworsky, Nadya, "Transnational migration studies: Past developments and Future trends," *Annual Review of Sociology* 33 (2007)129-156.

⁷³ Amrevurayire, Edit & Ojeh, Vincent (2016).Consequences of Rural-Urban Migration on the Source Region of Ughievwen Clan Delta State Nigeria.*European Journal of Geography* <https://web.archive.org/web/20150727050755/http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/killings-in-benue-plateau-and-taraba-states/211068/>

7, no. 3 (2016): 42 - 57.

⁷⁴ Suberu, Rotimi (1996). *Ethnic Minority Conflicts and Governance in Nigeria* (Ibadan: IFRA-Nigeria (French Institute for Research in Africa, Nigeria, 1996), 48-65.

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Conflict rather than scare people from some places sometimes promotes migration. For instance, conflict in the Niger-Delta has not deterred other ethnic groups from migrating to the area for economic opportunities. In fact, the indigenes also have to tolerate the migrants to be able to get the little they are getting from the abundant oil resource. Conflict entrepreneurs continue to migrate towards the northeast despite the fact that indigenes continue to run for their lives.

Some migrants are rigid in bending to the social milieu they now find themselves. For example, the history of pre-colonial Hausa migration shows their enduring ability to preserve their culture and Islam as a religion.⁷⁵ Until recently, Hausa/Fulani migrants rejected entreaties by other cultural and religious group to embrace local activities. This rejection has led to conflicts during Egungun (masquerade) or oro (cult) festival in the Southwest of Nigeria.

Migrants or host dichotomy does not count in situations of elite complicity. Both migrants and hosts who are elite are united in promoting corruption, inequality and nepotism as long as they benefit from the systemic imbalance. In contrast, the political and economic elite merely use ethnicity as an instrument of division when they are fragmented or perceive loss in the game of rivalry for space in the political-economy of the state. The upsurge in ethnic politics and religious bigotry has become a serious bane to national development.⁷⁶

Conclusion

Migration has been one phenomenon that has been used to beat the barrier of geography and create inter-mingling of peoples of the world. But it has not succeeded in erasing other elements of racism, ethnicity and group identity. As argued "though globalization has purportedly conscripted the world into a concise village where everyone is recognised as a global citizen, ethnic and identity consciousness still define the basis for cross-border

⁷⁵ Adamu, Uba Muhammadu, *The Hausa Factor in West African History* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1978).

⁷⁶ Thisdaylive (2015) Killings in Benue, Plateau, and Taraba States. *Thisdaylive*. June 4. <https://web.archive.org/web/20150727050755/http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/killings-in-benue-plateau-and-taraba-states/211068/>

2015.

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interactions. These inherent take-along by migrants do create their opportunities and obstacles.

Migration has been both functional and dysfunctional to a plural society with multi-cultural, multi-linguistic and multiple group identities. Internal migration has led to inter-mingling of divergent groups especially in the urban centres. The relation between internal migration and peace in a plural society is reciprocal but strongly asymmetrical. The study revealed the limitation of its potential to affect structural change and bring about anticipated national integration and peaceful co-existence. Nigeria's different nationalities only relate but do not blend. This difficulty arises from historical biases, contemporary political imbalance, incompatible interests and positions, and mutual suspicion which generate conflicts. It is, therefore, a fallacy to assume or conclude that internal migration is a potent tool to promote one national identity in a sharply divided society.

Centuries of interrelations among different ethnic groups in Nigeria have not produced a nation with one identity. Nigeria remains a nation state of different nationalities largely divided by primordial sentiments and historic hegemonies. Migrants continue to be tied to their homeland. Rather than being a tool of development, ethnic migrants add up the foot soldiers needed for use by elite who pretend to pursue group interests under the guise of ethnicity. Cultural associations, ethnic societies and tribal groups are used to pursue division among Nigerians either at home or outside of the homeland. However, Nigerians continue to embark on internal migration in spite of the orchestrated differences promoted by the elite.

Complaints are rampant of wrong handling of migrants by host communities. Unfortunately, migrants and their hosts as well as all ethnic groups have not come together to discuss differences arising from internal migration and issues people complain about. Politicians and government officials also persist in denial of the existence of centrifugal forces that do not allow migration to be a potent tool of national unity and integration. The thesis of this study is that annexation, occupation, conquest, ethnicity and political-economy of Nigerian migration trajectory generate conflicts that result in internal migration paradox. The time to address all contradictions in

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⁷⁷Ebenezer Oni and Samuel Okunade, "The Context of Xenophobia in Africa: Nigeria and South Africa in Comparison," in *The Political Economy of Xenophobia in Africa*, Adeoye O. Akinola (2018): 43, <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-3-319-64897-2>.

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internal migration is now. There is the need to discuss and redefine indigene/settler dichotomy as there are lacunas in the constitution and government policies on these issues.

