**A LIFE-COURSE APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING THE RELATIONSHIP**

**BETWEEN FORCED MIGRATION TRAJECTORIES AND FOOD INSECURITY**

**PATH IN CENTRAL NIGERIA**



**A THESIS**

**SUBMITTED TO THE POST GRADUATE SHOOL RESEARCH SERVICES**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph. D.) IN GEOGRAPHY**

**BY**

**ONIMISI HASSAN ABU**

**03 FEBRUARY 2023**

***ABSTRACT***

*Food insecurity resulting from forced migration has become a significant problem that continues to bring hardship to people worldwide. Previous studies showed that over one billion people in Sub-Saharan Africa are food insecure. About 35% of this population, representing 346 million people, are food insecure because of forced migration resulting from ethnic, religious, and political conflicts. About 1.6 million forced migrants in Central Nigeria in 2018 alone were food insecure; while the connection between forced migration and food insecurity is well recognized, the details of that connection are not yet well understood. A more detailed understanding of how food insecurity relates to the lived experience of forced migration is necessary for identifying worthwhile interventions that can help address the issues. This research, therefore, set out to uncover the detail of the connections between food insecurity and forced migration.*

*A life-course approach based on in-depth narrative interviews was used to uncover the details of respondents involved in the forced migration, their food insecurity experiences, and the sequence of social and cultural events that characterized their movement over several years. This provides a suitable framework through which an in-depth understanding of what happened to the migrants concerning food insecurity and food strategies between the present and the past is revealed clearly, logically, and sequentially. The study examines and identifies the nature and forms of food security/insecurity experienced by the forced migrants on the trajectory. It examines and determines how the changes in their social, cultural, human, and economic capital shaped their food security/insecurity across the life course, moreover how life events shaped the decisions made during and after the conflicts. It also examines and identifies how links/delinks between the migrants and their livelihood sources determine when and how they experience food security/insecurity. Moreover, how does this affect sharing of resources among the forced migrant? It also examines and uncovers the migrant’s food strategies and changes in the strategy within the life course frame. About 25 male and female participants who experienced conflict-forced migration were recruited and interviewed. The study revealed that food security/insecurity is a trajectory and that the migrants experienced three forms of food insecurity; short-term, intermittent, and long-term. Social, cultural, human, and economic capital are factors of their livelihood. Six food strategies were, identified. These are simple food strategies, adaptive food strategies, complex food strategies, proxy food strategies, indirect adaptive strategies, and multi-approach food strategies. The participants lost social and cultural capital, resulting in the separation of families and causing adolescents to assume the responsibility of providing for the family. There is a strong relationship between forced migration and food insecurity.*

*Keywords; Forced migration, Food security/insecurity, livelihood, Food strategies, and linked lives*

**ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

I want to thank my supervisors, Dr. Blake K Megan, and Professor Matt Watson, for their immense contribution to this work. Their objective criticism, advice, and suggestions brought this work to its logical conclusion. Their moral support and guidance for me throughout this study are fantastic. I am sincerely grateful to you both.

I also want to thank Thom Sullivan, the department administrator, for his prompt attention and moral support throughout this study. Similarly, I want to thank Josie Smith, the faculty Post Graduate Research (PGR) representative, for all the attention I received each time I called for assistance.

I appreciate Professor S D Musa of Kogi State University, Anyigba, for all his moral support, especially during my preparatory period to resume this study in the United Kingdom. I also want to thank all the Department of Geography staff members at The University of Sheffield for their contribution to making my stay in the department memorable.

**DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my family, who endured and managed to cope with different challenging circumstances in my absence while in the United Kingdom for this research.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS 5**

**TITLE PAGE 1**

**ABSTRACT 2**

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 3**

**DEDICATION**  4

**1: 0 CHAPTER ONE**

**Pages**

**1: 1 INTRODUCTION 9**

**1: 2 THE STUDY LOCATION 13**

**1: 3 THE RESEARCH CONTEXT 15**

**1: 4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK 17**

**CHAPTER TWO**

**2: 0 LITERATURE REVIEW 22**

**2: 1 INTRODUCTION 22**

**2: 2 LINKS BETWEEN FORCED MIGRATION AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY 22**

**2: 3 LINK LIVE PRINCIPLES AS UNPACKING TOOLS FOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS CONNECTING THE PAST TO THE PRESENT 26**

**2: 4 LINKS BETWEEN SOCIAL, CULTURAL, HUMAN, AND ECONOMIC CAPITALAND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY 30**

**2: 5 PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL DISTRESS AND FOOD INSECURITY 35**

**2: 6 LINKS BETWEEN MULTIPLE MIGRATION AND FOOD INSECURITY 36**

**2: 7 DYNAMICS IN CULTURAL PRACTICES AND FOOD INSECURITY 39**

**CHAPTER THREE**

**3: 0 RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY 43**

**3: 1 INTRODUCTION 43**

**3: 2 RESEARCH AIM: 43**

**3: 3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS 43**

**3: 4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES 44**

**3: 5 IDENTIFYING AND RECRUITING OF PARTICIPANTS 44**

**3: 6 DATA SOURCE AND DATA COLLECTION 45**

**3: 7 DATA COLLECTION 46**

**3: 8 ADOPTIONS OF QUALITATIVE METHOD 48**

**3: 9 CODING PROCESS AND DATA ANALYSIS 49**

**3: 10 THEMES AND SUB-THEMES 50**

**3: 11 CONTENT ANALYSIS 51**

**3: 12 POSITIONALITY AND REFLEXIVITY 51**

**3: 13 ETHICAL ISSUES, ACCESS TO PARTICIPANTS AND FIELD WORK CHALLENGES 53**

**3: 14 COVID-19 PANDEMIC 55**

**3: 15 CONCLUSION 55**

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**4: 0 THE FORMS OF FOOD INSECURITY EXPERIENCED BY MIGRANTS 56**

**4: 1 INTRODUCTION**  **56**

**4: 2 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE PARTICIPANTS 58**

**4: 3 THE SUMMARY STORY OF HADIZA ALI 59**

**4: 4 THE SUMMARY STORY OF ADIJAT IBRAHIM 62**

**4: 5 LEVEL OF FOOD SECURITY BEFORE THE VIOLENT CRISIS 65**

**4: 6 SHOR-TERM FOOD INSECURITY 69**

**4: 7 INTERMITTENT FOOD INSECURITY 72**

**4:7: 1 MULTIPLE MIGRATION 73**

**4:7: 2 CULTURAL DIFFERENCES 78**

**4: 8 LONG-TERM FOOD INSECURITY 82**

**4: 9 DISCUSSIONS OF THE RESULT 88**

**4: 10 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS 90**

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**5: 0 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL, CULTURAL, HUMAN, AND ECONOMIC**

**CAPITAL AND CHANGING FOOD INSECURITY AMONG THE MIGRANTS 91**

**5: 1 INTRODUCTION. 91**

**5: 2 THE SUMMARY STORY OF DAIRU FATIMA 92**

**5: 3 THE SUMMARY STORY OF IBRAHIM IDRIS 95**

**5: 4 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AMONG MIGRANTS 98**

**5: 5 CULTURAL CAPITAL AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AMONG MIGRANTS 102**

**5: 6 HUMAN CAPITAL AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AMONG MIGRAN 108**

**5: 7 ECONOMIC CAPITAL AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AMONG MIGRANTS 110**

**5: 8 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS 113**

**5: 9 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS  115**

**CHAPTER SIX**

**6: 0 FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AS A TRAJECTORY 116**

**6: 1 INTRODUCTION 116**

**6: 2 THE SUMMARY STORY OF SHEFIYAT DOGO 117**

**6: 3 THE SUMMARY STORY OF MARIAM 119**

**6: 4 DYNAMIC LINKS AND DELINKS OF FAMILIES/HOUSEHOLDS OF MIGRANTS 124**

**6: 5 LIFE EXPERIENCES AND LINKS TO FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY 127**

**6: 6 DEATH AND LINKS TO FOOD INSECURITY 128**

**6: 7 AILMENTS/DISEASES AND LINKS TO FOOD INSECURITY 132**

**6: 8 BIRTH AND LINKS TO FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY 134**

**6: 9 SKILLS AND LINKS TO FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY 136**

**6: 10 DIVORCE AND LINKS TO FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY 140**

**6: 11 MARRIAGE AND LINKS TO FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY 141**

**6: 12 DISCUSSIONS OF THE RESULTS 143**

**6: 13 SUMMARY OF THE FINDING 147**

**CHAPTER SEVEN**

**7: 0 MAIN DISCUSSION 150**

**7: 1 INTRODUCTION 150**

**7: 2 NATURE AND FORMS OF FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY EXPERIENCED BY MIGRANTS 151**

**7: 3 SHADES OF DECISION DURING AND AFTER MIGRATION 154**

**7: 4 SOCIAL, CULTURAL, HUMAN AND ECONOMIC CAPITAL AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY 157**

**7: 5 CHANGES EXPERIENCED IN THE MIGRATION PATH 159**

**7: 6 CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND FOOD INSECURITY 160**

**7: 7 FOOD MODIFICATION 161**

**7: 8 PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL DISTRESS 162**

**7: 9 LINKS AND DELINKS AS FACTOR OF FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY TRAJECTORY 165**

**7: 10 UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES AMONG THE MIGRANTS 167**

**7: 11 FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AS A TRAJECTORY 167**

**7: 12 ADAPTATION AND MAINTAINING NEW FOOD PRACTICES 169**

**7: 13 RETURNING OR NONE RETURNING OF THE MIGRANTS 169**

**7: 14 FOOD STRATEGIES 170**

**7: 14:1 SIMPLE FOOD STRATEGIES 171**

**7: 14:2 ADAPTIVE FOOD STRATEGIES 172**

**7: 14:3 INDIRECT ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES 173**

**7: 14:4 COMPLEX FOOD STRATEGIES 174**

**7:14:5 PROXY FOOD STRATEGIES 175**

**7: 14:6 MULTI-APPROACH STRATEGIES 176**

**7: 15 THE STRENGTH OF THE STUDY 177**

**7: 16 THE LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY 178**

**7: 17 KEY FINDINGS 179**

**7: 18 RECOMMENDATIONS. 180**

**7: 19 POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH 180**

**7: 20 CONCLUSION 182**

**REFERENCES 183**

**TABLE 1 SHOWS THE SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANTS 57**

**TABLE 2 SHOWS THE MULTIPLE DESTINATIONS OF PARTICIPANTS. 74**

**TABLE 3 THE NATURE OF LIFE EVENT 123**

**FIGURE 1 MAP SHOWING VARIATIONS IN AGRO-ECOZONES OF THE STUDY AREA 14**

**FIGURE 2 MAP OF THE STUDY AREA. 15**

**FIGURE 3 FACTORS ON THE MIGRATORY TRAJECTORIES 20**

**FIGURE 4 SHOWS THE FOUR PILLARS OF FOOD SECURITY 22**

**APPENDIX 1 INTERVIEWED QUESTIONS 211**

**APPENDIX 2 CODE BOOK 212**

**APPENDIX 3 WORD CLOUD 216**

**CHAPTER ONE**

**1. 1 INTRODUCTION**

This study investigated the complex and dynamic relationships between conflict-induced migration and everyday food security/insecurity practices. Food insecurity affects many people worldwide (Hamidu et al., 2013; Duruz, 2016; Badjie et al., 2019). Over one billion people estimated to be in Sub-Saharan Africa are food insecure. About 35% of this population, representing 346 million, are food insecure because of conflicts and political unrest (Thome et al., 2018; Jones, 2017; Hendriks, 2015).About 1.6 million people forced to migrate to Central Nigeria in 2018 alone are food insecure (Thome et al., 2018). The food insecurity situation added to the refugee crisis experienced in the region between 2010 and 2017(Thome et al., 2018).Food insecurity is severe at individual and household levels, with poor individuals and households more affected (Smith et al., 2017).Armed conflicts are known to cause forced migration (Abellán & Guereña, 2021; Crawley et al., 2018; Hagen-Zanker & Mallett, 2016). It has been argued that political unrest and violent conflicts have caused more food insecurity in developing countries than low GDP (Rabitt et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2017). Food insecurity reduces people’s choice, power, and opportunity to access and control their food practices (Allen, 2008; Caruso, 2014; Cadieux, 2015; Blake, 2018).Food insecurity can significantly result in a long period of food shortage and poor food practices for the migrants (Abellán& Guereña, 2021; Hammond et al., 2018; Piaseu, 2010; and Russell, 2014). This is particularly the case where access to food production is reduced, transportation links that aid food exchange become blocked, and total prevention of crop cultivation (FAO, 2018; Ville et al.,2019). In addition, the people fleeing from the crisis areas leave their livelihood sources behind (Crawley et al., 2018; Hagen-Zanker & Mallett, 2016; Hammond et al., 2018), which tends to compound their problems of food insecurity, and yet they manage to keep being alive. This raises questions about how the migrants managed their food security/insecurity for the number of years they migrated.

One of the significant findings of this investigation suggests that food insecurity is not a static phenomenon but a trajectory that keeps changing as the migrant’s journey progresses. This position extends the view of Moraes et al. (2021) and Hamilton (2009) that people go through food insecurity and become vulnerable to hunger due to adverse changes in their livelihood sources. When such changes reverse, they return to food security. They become food secure when they can wade through the changes and restore them, leading to a period of regular food practices. Garthwaite (2016), Peterie et al. (2019) and, Purdam et al. (2016), Panori et al. (2019) were also of the opinion that certain government or public food policies that affect social capital and food materials accessibility may result in changes food situation. This may be due to changes in the people's social, cultural, human, and economic capital at a given time (Shultz, 2014; Mcleary et al., 2017; Hynie et al., 2012).

This research adopts a life course approach and uses the Linked Lives principle, one of the core principles of the life course explicitly, to unpack how the household’s members, families, and individuals who undertake forced migration manage their food security/insecurity during and after the migration. The linked lives principle is a fundamental tenet of the life course approach that helps to show links between families, households, and events that characterize them (Carr, 2018; Carvalho et al., 2021; Elder et al., 2003). It helps to reveal social networks and relationships in groups of people, families, and individuals who are related and have a mutually interconnecting and interdependent social history in their lives trajectory (Elder et al., 2003). Understanding the social networks and interdependency of a group of people’s experiences may help to understand their emotions and economic, physical, and social well-being on the trajectory (Moore & Garland, 2003). It may also help to unpack the roles played by members of households, families, individuals, and migrating groups to overcome their problems. Specifically, this investigation focuses on their roles in managing food security/insecurity on the migration trajectory. Therefore, the roles played and the effects of links between families and household members in managing food security/insecurity must be unpacked. The linked lives principle not only helps to understand the interconnection, interdependency, and various changes among households and families on life trajectories but also helps to identify their fragile status and the connection between the occurrence of life events themselves on the trajectory (Billari, 2009; Ewald et al., 2020; Hanappi et al., 2015). It makes tracking, identification, and characterization of their transition more visible and accessible, which helps to understand family-link on the trajectories properly (Carvalho et al., 2021; Carr, 2018)

People are usually unprepared for the consequences of violent conflicts (Hammond et al., 2018; IOM, 2016). Amid violent clashes, migration decisions may shape the migrant’s social, cultural, social, and economic capital on the trajectory (Moraes et al., 2021; Hamilton, 2009). This may influence their food strategies and food practices in the longer term. In addition, temporal and spatial factors may also contribute to shaping their food strategies, food practices, and food insecurity/security during and after migration. These temporal and spatial factors may include seasons, migration time, and the various physical features that could obstruct their movements (McAuliffe & Jayasuriya, 2016; IOM, 2016).

The social and cultural beliefs of migrants, alongside their poor and lack of livelihood sources, while migrating, may also influence their food practices and food insecurity. The social and cultural belief of the migrants has a potential implication for the scope, choices of food available, and food strategies (Dhokarh et al., 2011; Casali et al., 2015; Kittler et al., 2012; Rogaia, 2002). Aside from the social relationships and interdependency of the households, families, or the migrating group entrenched by the linked lives, a dynamism in life events, preferences, and food choices may influence how they seek and manage their food security/insecurity. This may also affect their decisions on the appropriate food strategies at any given time on the migration trajectory. Therefore, investigating the dynamic and complex interactions among the migrants on food security/insecurity, food strategies, and social history is necessary. In addition, revealing the differences in food access between the origin and destination is essential for addressing problems associated with forced migration,such as acute food shortage, severe hunger, and refugee crisis.

This study is divided into seven chapters**;** the firstchapter introduces the problems of food insecurity among forced migrants, the geographical context, the Research context, and the conceptual framework. Chapter two deals with the literature review, where, Journal articles, books, and all other relevant contextual materials on the research theme are reviewed. The materials reviewed centered on the Life-course approach, concentrating on the principle of linked lives. The materials on linked lives were reviewed as unpacking tools for social problems connecting the past event to the present. The materials were on the link between food security/insecurity and forced migration, physical and emotional well-being and food insecurity of the migrants, the roles of social, cultural, human, and economic capital in food security/insecurity, multiple migrations and food insecurity, and dynamics in cultural practices and food insecurity. Chapter three focuses on the research approach and methodology; this chapter discusses the research aim, questions, and objectives. It also unveils how the research participants were identified and recruited, the data sources, data collection, data analysis and positionality, and reflexivity. Chapter four focuses on the main forms of food security/insecurity (short-term, intermittent, and long-term) experienced by the migrants, socio-demographic information of the participants, loss of family members, and multiple migrations. The effects of regional differences resulting in food security/insecurity are subsumed in the three forms of food insecurity discussed.

Chapter Five discusses the roles of social, cultural, human, and economic capitals in shaping the livelihood sources of the migrants and their ultimate links to shaping food security/insecurity. This chapter specifically focused on how the capitals shaped the food security of the migrants before the violent crisis and the subsequent changes from food security to food insecurity due to adverse changes in the capitals during and after migration. Chapter Six focuses on food security/insecurity as a trajectory. It discusses how the changes in food security situation to food insecurity situation can be, reversed and vice-versa by the influencing factors and making food security/insecurity a trajectory. The chapter also discusses link and delink food security/insecurity factors. It also shows how resources and power were shared among the participants to enhance their well-being. The chapter also discusses life events experienced by the participants during and after migration and the links to food security or insecurity. Chapter Seven discusses the results, the strength and limitations of the research, the key findings, recommendations, and the conclusion.

A dominant theme in the migration literature is associated with economic gain as the reason for migrating from poor areas to a more stable economic region (Zenlisky, 1971; Haas, 2005; Cohen, 2005; Johnston et al., 2007). This can be summed up into economic push and pull factors, with the benefits flowing back into the migrant’s country of origin in the form of remittances, which could be money (economic) or knowledge gain (non-economic) (Nyberg et al., 2002; Bailey, 2010). Migration due to violent conflicts is not economically motivated but a forced push (Van Der Velde & Van Naerssen, 2015; Maybin & James, 2016). Violent conflicts and political crises are potential causes of forced migration. There are possibilities for forced migrants to migrate multiple times due to socio-cultural reasons, which are not connected to economic gain (Douglass, 1999; Hammond et al., 2018). In an economic-induced migration, social networks of families, friends, acquaintances, and agents are known to regulate the relationships between individuals and the community that shapes the political and economic context within which migration decisions are made (Collyer, 2005; Bailey, 2012; Kingma, 2005; Connell, 2008). This is at variance with conflict-induced migration because decisions are not based on any established social network of families, friends, acquaintances, or agents to regulate the relationships between the individuals and the community. Indeed, conflicts themselves may damage or destroy existing social networks and any associated social capital leading to social network failure (Schapendonk, 2015). Therefore, investigating how the forced migrants cope with food insecurity and the numerous events that characterized and shaped their movement for several years is required. Thus, the life course concept is used in this investigation because it offers a multidisciplinary way of studying events that occurred over the years and the sequential changes that such events have caused to human lives, both socially and physically. In addition, it reveals the links and the roles played by individuals in the circumstances that caused the changes (Giele & Elder, 1998), revealing the social variation among migrants (Crawley et al., 2018).

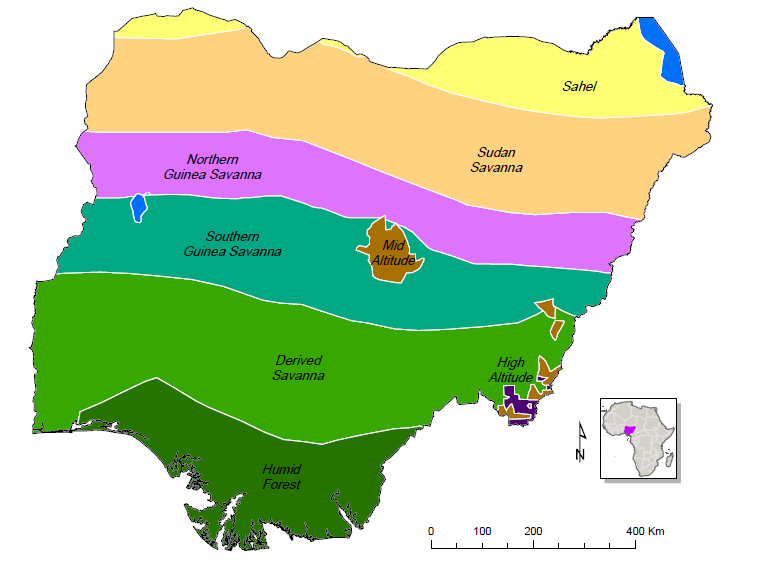
**1. 2 THE STUDY LOCATION**

The central region of Nigeria comprises six states and Federal Capital Territory, Abuja; these are Plateau, Benue, Nasarawa, Kwara, Kogi, and Niger states. This region is popularly called the middle belt of Nigeria. It extends from the western boundary of Nigeria with the Benin Republic through the country’s middle over the confluence of River Niger and River Benue. It extends up to Plateau state, the highest point in Nigeria, towards the northern part of the country. The region has varied mineral resources, beautiful land features, and scenery.

The region is characterized by savannah grassland, divided into four major agro-Eco zones primarily determined by variations in climate across the region (Tarfa et al., 2017). Most of the people in the region are predominantly agrarian and carry out intensive land cultivation. Others engaged in arts and crafts works, cattle rearing, fishing, and other forms of occupation. The region is, characterized by ethnolinguistic and religious diversity (Blench, 2004; Ajayi et al., 2023). The people live in a small-scale political kingship system where clan and communal land tenure system adheres. This strengthens their social relationships and increases their productive capacity (Okeke-Agulu, 2012). They believe in families and communal assistance, strengthening their social and cultural capital (Ukoha et al., 2007; Saleh et al., 2016; Bzugu, 2008). Among the significant Ethnic groups in the region are; Ebira, Igala, Nupe, Tiv, Idoma, Birom, Ngas, Egon, Gwari Okun, Hausa, etc. The Fulani people are regarded as settlers. Some people in the region also work as civil servants in local, state, and federal government establishments. Generally, people believe in the practice of extended family and therefore enjoy doing things together as households and family members. This makes them largely depend on one another, stimulating cordial social interaction and communal help extended to one another when needed (Saleh et al., 2016).

The climate and soil varied considerably from the Northern to the Southern parts. The rainfall decreases from about 3000mm in the south to about 500mm in the north. These largely determined the delineation of the agro-ecological zones and support for the types of crops being cultivated (Tarfa et al.; Ajayi et al., 2023). Transiting from one zone to another means changing the types of crops feasible for cultivation.

One of the worst Crises affected in the region is Plateau State. Plateau State was one of Nigeria's most peaceful states between 1999 and 2000, when the situation changed due to religious and ethnic crises resulting in violent conflicts (Mukhtar et al., 2018). This state was known as the home of peace and tourism before the various violent conflicts that characterized the region. It is hitherto called the home of peace and tourism because of the different tourist sites found in the region, which used to attract people worldwide until violent clashes between religious groups started in 2000. Other states in the region have also had their share of different types of crises, such as the herder-farmer crisis in Benue state, Banditry in Niger state, and other insurgence activities in the area (Mukhtar et al., 2018; Adesote, 2017). The few states in the region that have remained relatively peaceful are Kogi, Nasarawa, and Abuja, the federal capital territory (FCT). This may be why migrants choose Abuja, Kogi, and Nasarawa states as destinations when they leave Plateau and other far northern places such as Borno State, Katsina, Kaduna, Gombe, Bauchi, etc. The map below clearly shows the differences in the micro-climatic zones, which shapes the food production practices across Nigeria.



**Fig 1: Map Showing Variation in Agro-Eco zones adopted from Tarfa et al., 2017**

**Map

Description automatically generated**

**Fig 2: Showing map of the study area and direction of migrant movement.**

**1. 3 THE RESEARCH CONTEXT**

Conflict is a situation that indicates a violent clash of interest between two individuals or a group of people, or could even be between states or countries that live as neighbours over time but suddenly have divided views and conflicts of interest, thereby causing violent conflicts (Albert, 2012; Francis, 2013). Violent conflicts destroy properties and loss of life, forced migration, food insecurity, and hunger (Adesote & Omojeje, 2012). There has been an increased incidence of violent conflicts in Nigeria for the past two decades leading to forced migration (Adesote, 2017; Mukhtar et al., 2018). Since 1999, the country has experienced more than two hundred violent conflicts in different regions resulting in waves of forced migrations that extend to the present day (Adesote, 2017; Mukhtar et al., 2018). The violent clashes revolve around three topically based issues, which are religious crises caused by terrorists (Boko Haram), Farmer and Herder clashes, ethnic and communal clashes over land and right to the traditional throne (Aluaigba, 2008; Alubo, 2009; Anifowose, 2003; Egwu, 2004).

The Nigerian people have been suppressed under military dictatorship over the years. Since the return of the central administration from the military to democratically elected leadership after several years of military rule, the Nigerians have realized under a democratically elected government that they have unrestricted rights and freedom of expression as written in the constitution (Aluaigba, 2008; Alubo, 2009; Anifowose, 2003; Egwu, 2004). This sudden perceived freedom to exercise one’s rights brought about clashes between conflicting interests among people (Adesote, 2017; Mukhtar et al., 2018). This experience has resulted in the forced migration of people from one part of the country into another, with several physical, social, and economic consequences on the migrants and their sources of livelihood (Adesote, 2017; Mukhtar et al., 2018).

Approximately 1.6 million people were forced to migrate to Central Nigeria in 2018, resulting in high food insecurity rates, further worsening the region's refugee crisis(Thome et al., 2018).The severity of food insecurity is experienced unevenly but more on the individual and household levels (Smith et al., 2017). During violent conflicts, people’s livelihoods are either partially or fully destroyed, resulting in multiple displacements and forced migration and may result in poor food access (Regassa & Stoecker, 2012; FAO, 2016; Tegegne & Penker, 2016; FAO et al., 2018). This reduces their resilience to food insecurity and disruptions of their food practices (Hammond et al., 2018; UNHCR, 2018).The activities of insurgence (Boko Haram), a religious terrorist group that forbids Western education, created problems for Fulani herders in the northeast due to armed struggles between the two groups. Northeast was originally home to thousands of Fulani herders who were pastoralists. The armed struggle forced the herders to move toward the north-central region, which they considered an alternative region to graze their animals (Barkindo & Tyavkase, 2015). Due to the herders’ experiences of armed struggle with Bokoharam, they decided to arm themselves to fight against any farmers that may want to resist their movement over their farmland while migrating to the north-central region. On arrival in the central region of Nigeria, the herders tried to push the farmers away to take over their farmlands (Albert, 2012). This resulted in violent conflicts between the farmers and the herders, causing the unarmed farmers to migrate to other regions to look for an alternative source of livelihood (Adamu & Ben, 2015).

In another scenario, right at the heart of the country is Plateau state, where a series of religious clashes occurred. According to Human Rights Watch (2005), these clashes are initially considered localized and underneath quarrels between the perceived indigene and settlers in the area. Most indigenous people are Christians, while the immigrants are predominantly Muslims from the far northern part of the country. The two groups' struggle for resources and political positions later escalated and took a religious dimension. This led to widespread violent conflicts that have lasted since 2001 to date. (Human Right Watch 2005)

These experiences of violent conflicts have resulted in forced migration in the central region of Nigeria to date. The crisis has continued, and people are still migrating from one area to another in central Nigeria. There is little understanding of how food insecurity may or may not extend beyond the point of their initial movement**.** How they manage their food strategies beyond their initial migration period is unknown. We need to understand how food insecurity/security and subsequent mobility decision-making intertwine over their life course after the initial migration. A good understanding of the migrant’s food practices, accessibility, and consumption pattern may enhance good policies on food management strategies during violent conflicts by the authority/government, thereby reducing food shortages and excessive hunger. This may help or give insight into managing the refugee food crisis, which has defied all solutions worldwide (IOM, 2018; IFPRI, 2017).

**1. 4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS**

There are five fundamental principles of life course perspectives: historical changes, the timing of events occurring, social structural changes, life span development, and linked lives (Carr, 2018; Carvalho et al., 2021; Elder et al., 2003). Among these core principles, linked lives appeared more appropriate in the contemporary study of social networks, interdependency, and interconnection that exist between a group of people, families, and households over the life course (Alwin, 2012; Nico et al., 2021; Settersten, 2018) as experienced by the forced migrants. It helps to understand and link various social relationships, life events, and transitions that shape the group’s general well-being (Landes & Settersten, 2019). Linked lives recognize and advance a multi-approach to understanding the advantages and disadvantages of social inequalities through the functions and responsibilities played by the family members (Gilligan et al., 2018; Widmer, 2010; Gouveia, 2014; Elder et al., 2003). Linked lives reveal interdependent lives indicating how changes in an individual’s life can affect another on the trajectory (Elder et al., 2003; Landes & Settersten, 2019).

The concept of linked lives, as applied in this investigation, is to adequately capture and help to reveal the dynamism and sequence of links between the migrant’s household and how they manage their social, economic, and cultural beliefs to enhance their food security, in addition to revealing the interdependency of the migrants across the life course (Elder, 2003). The ability to cope with physical and social changes in contemporary society varies across time and space (Heinz, 2003). When such changes suddenly happen, and people are unprepared for the consequences, the physical, social, and emotional connections among the people are adversely affected, for instance, in violent conflicts where people are forced to migrate. This raises concerns about the level of interdependency that may exist between the migrants’ households on the trajectory and how they manage their food security/insecurity and food strategy (Gilligan et al., 2018; Widmer, 2010; Gouveia, 2014). In addition, it also raises concern about how they maximize their social, cultural, financial, and human capital and share available resources to sustain themselves across their life course (Andrew, 2009; Prewitt et al., 2014; Schneider, 2007; Cnaan & Park, 2016). The level of connection and social link between the migrants may shape their food security/insecurity, food strategies, and food practices over an extended period (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2011; Thomas & Blanchard, 2009; Scharlach, 2009). Social norms, skills acquisition, health condition, death, birth, marriage, separation, and divorce may also determine the level of connections, interdependency, and social relationships among the forced migrants. This may affect the migrant’s food security/insecurity. All social norms and life events are integral to forced migration across the life course (Clark &Huang, 2003; Li, 2004; Clark & Ledwith, 2006).

Forced migration in this investigation means the forced movement of people due to violent conflicts resulting from ethnic-religious conflicts or wars for safety reasons (Bloch et al., 2019; OHCHR, 2019; IDMC, 2022). During their involuntary movement, they stop over in IDP camps representing temporary camps or emergency camps created for the forced migrants to enable them access to food, shelter, and water temporarily before migrating to their final destination. The migrants see IDP camps as a transitional ground that provides them cover and protects them from their ordeal while moving to their final destination. Food strategies in this investigation mean the various plans, efforts, and devised or improvised ways of accessing food to avoid hunger and starvation based on their circumstances while migrating. While food practices, in the context of this investigation, mean everyday food activities that border on cultural choices of food production, preparation, and consumption (Reddy & Dam, 2020).

In cognizance of the interdependent and social relationships of the migrants and the events that characterized the migration trajectory, their food security/insecurity level may be affected (Sadiddin et al., 2019; Carril-Caccia et al., 2021; Anderson, 2011; Paniagua et al., 2021). Understanding the interdependency and connections between and within the migrant’s households, families, individuals, and various life events may help reveal their level of food insecurity/security and the factors that shape their food strategies (Sadiddin et al., 2019; Carril-Caccia et al. (2021). Physical, social, and emotional factors may have affected their social relationships and interdependency after the crisis. This could lead to changes in household status, professions, bereavement, period of education or knowledge acquisition, marriage, births, and health-wise (Deeming, 2011; Woltil, 2012; Nnakwe, 2003; Sidenwel et al., 2001).

Using the linked lives approach to capture and describe social changes and the intersection of events and components that shape the migrants’ life across the trajectory help to unpack the depth of their experiences(Mayer, 2009; Elder, 1985; Giele & Elder, 1998). The concept emphasizes the occurrences, the process, and various stages of development of events across the life course (Bengtson & Allen, 2009). According to Dennefer and Miklowski (2006), the life-course approach describes human activities and social events at three levels: individual, group, and Socio-cultural level, which changes over time (Allen, 2009).

The influence of all the intersecting factors and events in the migration trajectory may help to reveal transition points (Kaa, 2010). The level of social connection, interdependency, and interaction between the migrants may not be the only factors influencing their food strategies. Life events may also influence their food strategies and the level of satisfaction derived from the emergent strategies (McKenzie & Watts, 2019). Capturing all these using the linked lives principle may provide a good understanding of migrants’ experiences on food security/insecurity across their life course. This is probably why Hutchison (2010) opined that life-course investigation with a detailed description and explanation of historical and socio-economic structure linking lives with spatial and temporal details provides well understanding of the past and the connections to the present.

The core theme of this investigation is forced migration and the relationship with food insecurity/security among migrants. During violent conflicts, people run for safety. This movement alters access to basic life needs, and families are, separated; children are given birth to, knowledge and skills are acquired, people fall ill and sometimes die while on the migration trajectory, etc. These bring about complex dynamic social relationships, interdependency, creation of social networks in trying to modify the physical and socio-economic conditions arising from the situation (Crawley et al., 2018; Hagen-Zanker & Mallett, 2016; Hammond, 2018). The life-course frame particularly linked lives principle with a capacity for well-described linkages between the migrants, social transition, and life events experienced over the years (Mayer, 2014) may help to capture what happened to the migrants on the trajectory.

The diagram (figure 3) below as a framework reveals the links and connections between the migrants, and interactions of events from the beginning of the migration to their destination. The diagram visually explains events, links, and related experiences of the migrants while on the trajectory.

A screenshot of a computer

Description automatically generated with low confidence

**Figure 3: Factors on the migratory trajectories**

Figure 3 above diagrammatically unveils the connections, intersections, and relationships between the various components of events across life course while on the migration trajectory. The violent crisis forced people into forced migration. The victims of the crisis run for their safety. The inability of the forced migrants to carry much of their belonging, including food, and their sources of livelihood, as they move away into different regions and across cultural differences prompts hunger and food insecurity (Crawley et al., 2018; Hagen-Zanker & Mallett, 2016; Hammond et al., 2018). Food insecurity worsens as they migrate multiple times (Douglass, 1999; Hammond et al., 2018). The migrants’ level of interaction and social relationships may deteriorate due to physical and emotional distress experiences depriving them of collective decisions that could enhance their food security. Aside from hunger and food insecurity, the other issues faced by the migrants may include a lack of capacity to make an informed decision due to physical and emotional distress. Others include death/bereavement, divorce/separation, childbirth, ailments/sickness, marriages, and education/skills acquisitions. These events are likely to have either positive or negative effects on the food security/insecurity of the migrants, depending on the circumstances of the participants at a given time and location (Del-Ninno et al., 2003). In addition, due to their movement across regions (environmental factors) and cultures multiple times, they may experience problems adjusting to their new environment, cultural practices, and food practices. Environmental factors may influence the types of food found in each region (Candel, 2014; Jones, 2017; Smith et al., 2017). The influence of culture on food may pose a challenging situation for migrants regarding food security (Dhokarh et al., 2011; Casali et al., 2015; Ayala et al., 2008). The migrants must start adjusting and adapting to the new order of food practices in the new place. This may lead to food modifications and other cultural practices to make them comfortable and food secure. In addition, the changes in their food sources may probably move them away from their previous food strategy to new ones presented by the culture of their current place. After several years of experiencing food insecurity, decision-making dilemmas, several life events, regional and cultural differences, complex social interrelationships, and interdependency in the migration trajectory, significant changes may emerge in their food practices and food strategy. Therefore, unveiling and explaining the connections, intersections, and relationships between the various components of events on the migration trajectories need a life course based on the linked lives principle. This approach helps knit all the migrants’ experiences together as they happen in the migration trajectory across the life course. This will help better understand the changes in the migrant’s food security/insecurity, food strategies, livelihood sources, and social networks.

In summary, this research uses the linked lives principle to understand how the migrants manage their food security/insecurity on the trajectory, the relationships, connections, and interdependency between migrants, and the transitions in their social life. In addition, it reveals how the relationships between them and life events affect their food strategies, changes in their food practices, and influences of culture on food security/insecurity and food strategies. This takes us to the literature review, where the views and the previous works on the theme of this investigation are reviewed.

**CHAPTER TWO**

**2. 0 LITERATURE REVIEW**

**2. 1 INTRODUCTION**

This review sought to understand further the problems associated with forced migration and food insecurity and identify key gaps in existing knowledge. In addition, it helps reveal the improved capacity and resilience of the migrants to cope with food insecurity across the life course. The review focuses on the connections and the relationships between forced migration and food insecurity on migration trajectories for years. The review is organized around several themes, which include food access, food security/insecurity, the cultural influence on food practices, drivers of food strategies, social, cultural, human, and economic capital, social cohesion and interdependency in the family, Psycho traumatic and distressing experiences of the migrants, multiple movements of migrants and their wellbeing. The reviews, therefore, specifically focused on applying a linked lives principle to unpack the links and interdependency of the migrants on the trajectory, especially dynamic social networks among the migrants, changes in their food accessibility, and food security/insecurity.

**2. 2 LINKS BETWEEN FORCED MIGRATION AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY**

Food security is the ability to afford or have unrestricted access to food without an undue burden of travel and then utilizing food knowledge or expertise and physical capability to prepare food for the body’s nourishment (UN, 2001). This is illustrated in Figure 3 below, showing the four pillars of food security. On the other hand, food insecurity means limited access, expertise, and physical capability to affordable, safe food (Tarasuk, 2001; Courtney, 2014).

Shape

Description automatically generated

**Figure 4: shows the four pillars of food security according to the United Nation’s definition.**

Food insecurity creates different experiences in the daily life of people. These experiences may include deep worries and anxiety, leading to depression, emotional stress, malnutrition, and body weight loss (Carmen, 2015; Coates et al., 2006; Courtney, 2014). Food security/insecurity may be influenced by changes in cultural norms, space, politics, and economies that often characterize forced migration (Cai, 2020; Bazzi, 2017; Ayala et al., 2008; Gina, 2014; Laraia, 2013). The condition of being forced to move may affect their level of food accessibility because of their movement across different cultures, with limited space, time, and cooking equipment. This is in addition to a sudden change in their social, cultural, human, and financial capital (Shultz, 2014; McCleary et al., 2017; Hynie et al., 2012). The sudden change in their condition may, therefore, requires the migrants to direct their energy toward replanning and rebuilding new social, cultural, human, and economic capital in their new environment (Boyle, 2009; Evans et al., 2013; Hynie et al., 2012; Shakya et al., 2014). The adversities of sudden change may cause forced migrants to experience emotional distress and depression (Fazel et al., 2012), ultimately reinforcing their food insecurity condition (Leung et al., 2015; Sheri et al., 2011). There is little knowledge of how the forced migrants managed their food security/insecurity and how their forced migration condition affected their food practices. This creates a gap that this investigation intends to unpack.

Economic-induced and Conflict-induced migrants are two basic kinds of migrants with different approaches and principles to issues bordering on food security/insecurity (Anderson, 2011; Paniagua et al., 2020). Carling and Talleraas (2016) described economic-induced migration as a livelihood diversification strategy that could encourage development and support family food and nutrition security. They described conflict-induced migration as an involuntary movement with negative implications for the food and nutrition security of the migrating family, which could increase destitution and pressure on the foodscape. Carling and Schewel (2018) stressed that the aspiration and desire to migrate differ between economic-induced and conflict-induced migration. This ultimately results in different scenarios of their food strategies, practices, and food security/insecurity (Tamara et al., 2006; Paniagua et al., 2020; Smith & Floro, 2020). Food availability, accessibility, stability, and utilization are often more difficult for conflicts-induced migrants than for economic-induced migrants, resulting in an acute shortage of food and food insecurity for conflicts-induced migrants (Pinstrup-Andersen, 2009; Candel, 2014; World food program, 2017). It is argued that fleeing for safety during conflicts creates hunger, starvation, and food insecurity for the fleeing migrants (Crawley et al., 2018; Hagen-Zanker & Mallett, 2016; Hammond, 2018). In addition to losing their sources of livelihood, forced migrants often become more vulnerable to hunger and food insecurity because they move across different socio-cultural environments whose food practices differ significantly (Dustmann & Okatenko, 2014; FAO et al., 2018; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2007). This indicates a connection between forced migration, cultural norms, hunger, and food insecurity (Crush, 2013). It may be difficult for migrants to adjust quickly to available alternative food due to cultural ties to their food (Dhokarh et al., 2011; Casali et al., 2015). It is argued that sociocultural norms and historical background significantly influence people’s food choices and preferences across the life course (Rogaia, 2002; Wright & Kwok, 2001; Risvik & Veflen, 2006).

Considering the safety of the forced migrants as they flee from the conflicts, the possibilities for multiple migrations across different environments and the sociocultural norm are quite high (Douglass, 1999; Hammond et al., 2018). This may limit the migrant’s access to food and result in hunger and food insecurity. The migrants may require different food strategies to survive at every point due to socio-cultural and regional differences known for being food-specific (Onyeanusi & Akinyemi, 2012; Bergh et al., 2012; Awowusi & Jegede, 2010). According to Hammelman (2017); Davison & Morrell (2018), economic-induced migrants who do not flee from their livelihood sources due to threats to their lives but have well-thought-out journey plans patronize cheap food stores, depend on social networks, skip meals, and spend more money on food than any other need as food strategies.

Economic-induced migrants migrate from poor areas to a more stable economic region for economic gain (Zenlisky, 1971; Haas, 2005; Cohen, 2005; Johnston et al., 2007;). The substantial parts of the benefits flow back into the migrant’s home origin through remittances for developmental purposes. This could be money (economic) or knowledge gain (non-economic) (Nyberg et al., 2002; Bailey, 2010). This may be slightly different from forced migrants with little intention of sending remittances back home except to help others who are still trapped in the conflict zone (Van Der Velde & Van Naerssen, 2015; James & Mayblin, 2016). In an economic-induced migration, social networks of families, friends, acquaintances, and agents are known to regulate the relationships between individuals and the community that shapes the political and economic context within which migration decisions are made (Collyer, 2005; Bailey, 2012; Kingma, 2005; Connell, 2008). These are pretty different in conflict-induced migration because decisions are rarely made based on any established social network of families, friends, acquaintances, or agents but on sudden life-threatening situations (Crawley et al., 2018; Hagen-Zanker & Mallett, 2016; Hammond et al., 2018). This further widened and reiterated the need to find out the drivers of food coping strategies for the forced migrants, as mentioned earlier, and the links between these drivers, loss of social, cultural, human, and financial capital, and live events on the migration trajectory. This help to unpack and reveal the social changes, adjustment, capabilities/capacities, and resilience of the migrants to hunger and food insecurity across socio-cultural norms and regional differences in their life course trajectory. This is required to understand the depth of relationships between forced migration and food insecurity.

Anxiety and worries are common reactions to food insufficiency and inability to have food or no hope of having food to eat in the future (Carmen, 2015); this usually creates a crisis in the choices, quality, and quantities of food available to the people (Hendriks, 2015; FAO et al., WFP, and WHO 2018). As the condition of food shortage deepens on the migration path, the migrants may likely develop resilience to hunger and food insecurity to reduce their vulnerability through different food strategies (Ballard et al., 2013; Coates et al., 2006). The ability to develop a food strategy and be able to cope with the situation among the migrating families or households may differ due to their different backgrounds (Sadiddin et al., 2019; Smith & Floro, 2020; & Laborde et al., 2017). The strategies developed and resiliency to hunger and food insecurity may not just be due to their background alone but could also depend on their current circumstances and conditions (Courtney, 2014; Candel, 2014; Jones, 2017; Smith et al., 2017).Food strategies can be in the form of consumption coping strategies as found in economic-induced migration, such as switching to cheaper meals, skipping meals, borrowing food, begging, stealing, foraging, patronizing cheap stores, and making dietary adjustments ((Del-Ninno et al., 2003; Davidson & Morrell, 2018; Hammelman, 2017; Kuyper, 2014; Blake, 2018).They alsocould be through depending on social networks for food, prioritizing food expenditure over any other need (Del-Ninno et al., 2003; Davidson & Morrell, 2018; Hammelman, 2017; Kuyper, 2014; Blake, 2018; Eele, 1994; Frankenberger and Coyle, 1993 and Teklu, 1992; Maxwell, 1996). These strategies may differ considerably from the conflict-induced migrants who lose social, cultural, human, and financial resources before and during forced migration.

Food insecurity generally increases worldwide, resulting in food crises worldwide (Piaseu, 2010; Russell, 2014). Food insecurity is not just a problem for forced migrants but a common problem in other populations across ages, gender, and life course (Laborde et al., 2017; FAO et al., 2018; Smith & Floro, 2020). It affects the elderly, children, and women (Arno, 2015). Older people and children are likely to suffer more consequences of food insecurity than young adults (Duerr, 2006; Russell et al., 2014; Courtney, 2014; Laraia, 2013 & Carmen, 2015). Arno (2015) and Nam (2008) also find that older people and children are more vulnerable to chronic diseases due to food insecurity than young adults are. Molina et al. (2007) inferred that food insecurity affects elders and children more among the migrants, probably because they are less vital to endure all the adversities and stress of hunger and starvation during migration. These groups among the migrants often suffer the consequences of food insecurity more as they experience chronic diseases related to malnutrition and hunger (Bastian, 2013; De Maio et al., 2013). Food insecurity has become more prevalent among displaced people worldwide, just as found in other groups of the population (Sadiddin et al., 2019; Regassa et al., 2012; FAO, 2016; Dustmann & Okatenko, 2014). Displaced people may be more vulnerable to food insecurity than other groups because of their involuntary movement resulting from violent conflicts, which only allows them to run away to stay alive (Simeon, 2017). During migration, the economic strength of the individual households is adversely affected, resulting in different adverse life events such as chronic diseases and, in some cases, the death of family or household members, which may create other related problems for the migrants across the life course trajectory (Bastian, 2013; De Maio et al., 2013). Forced migrants, due to their conditions, are often desperate to survive throughout their migration experience (Sharkey, 2011). Their desperation may be due to pressure caused by physical and emotional distress, cultural differences, and poor understanding of their new physical environment, in addition to losing their source of livelihood (Chilton & Rose, 2009).

A substantial amount of research has been conducted on food insecurity focused on children, adolescents, adults, and the elderly, and some with gender focussed with little attention on those populations who are forced to relocate (Sadiddin et al., 2019; Tegegne & Penker, 2016; Simeon, 2017 & Molina et al., 2007). Forced migrants have difficult circumstances, including physical restrictions on food access, food preparation, consumption, and all cultural and financial means that could help them during the migration (Paniagua et al., 2021; Cai, 2020; Angelucci, 2015). There appeared to be a link between socio-cultural and regional differences, life events, and food insecurity/security for the forced migrants. These links, however, remains poorly understood. There is a need to increase food security for the forced migrants to help improve their quality of life across the migration trajectory. Therefore, a detailed investigation is required to reveal the links and the resultant food strategies that help reduce their turmoil experiences of hunger and starvation. This leads to the next review phase, which looks at the linked lives principle as unpacking tools for social problems such as food insecurity among forced migrants connecting the past to the present experiences.

**2. 3 LINK LIVES PRINCIPLES AS UNPACKING TOOLS FOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS CONNECTING THE PAST EVENTS TO THE PRESENT.**

The concept of linked lives principle in life course involves critical examination of changes across human lives and the effect of social relationships and interdependency of a group of people (Carr et al., 2018; Settersten, 2015; Carvalho et al., 2021; Elder et al., 2003). The changes may not only be in the biological sense but also in human beings' geographical, historical, psychological, and social networks (Hendricks, 2012; Gilligan et al., 2008; Alwin, 2012). The importance and application of the life-course approach especially linked lives principles for solving contemporary social issues, are largely unacknowledged, especially in tracking the transition and the effects of life events on people (Macmillan, 2005; Carvalho et al.; Carr, 2018; Nico et al., 2021). It offers a lens for tracking and capturing social changes and the intersection of events that shape human life(Mayer, 2009; Elder, 1985; Giele & Elder, 1998).

Understanding the social network and interdependencies of families on the trajectory gives critical revelation of how power, responsibilities, and resources are shared across the ranks of the family members (Widmer, 2010; Gouveia, 2014). This may also help unveil some salient generational problems associated with the family or households and their inability to handle the prevailing situations considering the inseparable nature of the family (Landes & Settersten, 2019). It emphasizes the time of occurrences, the process, and the various stages of development leading to and extending from the occurrence of an event. This is in addition to ordering events along trajectories and transitional characteristics (Thompson & Perks, 2016; Bengtson & Allen, 2009). Linked lives offer the perspective of human activities and social events at three levels; the individual level, the group level, and the Socio-cultural changes of the families over time (Dennefer & Miklowski, 2006; Allen, 2009). The concept explains the continuous variation, dynamics, and linkage of events across human life, focusing on transitions or modifications in the path of life caused by various life events (Devine et al., 1998).

Several studies have used linked lives, with most focusing on human health, lifestyle, family life, and marriage. Only a few studies are on the relationship between food insecurity/security and forced migration. For instance, a previous investigation involving the life course approach on the changes and transitions that occurred in consumers’ behaviour across the life cycle has revealed the importance of how early life events shaped consumers’ demand and behaviour differently from later life events, especially on demand for goods and consumption patterns (Moschis, 2007). Significant changes occurred between early life and later life, both in demand and consumption behaviour (Noble & Schewe, 2003). The links and connections between family members are found to play essential roles in the changes observed between early- and later-life behaviour. The changes and transitions in demand and consumption behaviour between early life and later life are shaped by a change in taste, social interaction, level of trust, interdependency, and social connections between family members (Roberts et al., 2003). Another study conducted by Cornwell et al. (2009), involving the linked lives principle, revealed a strong link between older adults’ connectedness, social networks, social interactions, and improved health. He opined that an improved level of resource sharing, support, and care in their social network increases the interaction among the network members and provides an informed capacity for sound decision-making regarding their medical treatment. The linked lives principle provides and allows a platform for exploring various links between social life and health that are not adequately understood.

Carr and Pudrouska (2015) reveal a link between the quality of marriage life and the emotional support the parties enjoy from each other and other family members. They opined that a spouse who enjoys a good and sound marriage also enjoys emotional support from both sides. They also tend to enjoy good mental health and healthy social interaction in the family (Proulx et al., 2007). A supportive couple is linked to good conjugal relationships, improving their emotional stability and peaceful home across the life course (Chen et al., 2015). In the same vein, Choi et al. (2016) linked and attributed quality health enjoyed in marriages to the level of support and good feeling expressed by the couples for each other. This tends to increase their productive capacity and reduces their shortcomings and weaknesses. They believed that a good bond between the couples and the rest of the family who embraces a healthy lifestyle would enjoy emotional stability compared to couples and families who do not enjoy healthy bonds or good social interaction.

Carvalho et al. (2021) linked the results of an individual action or event in the early part of their life to the future events of such an individual in the later part of their lives, irrespective of the transition across the life course. They also believe that the consequences of individual events at any time among the family members may go beyond the current generation. Girardin et al. (2018) and Gilligan et al. (2018) recognize that, households and family members’ activities and life events are intra and inter-linked. In addition, these links are embedded in the level of care and support each member provides and the prudent utilization of available resources. This could determine their level of success across the life course. Vidal and Baxter (2018) linked family residential changes to poor children’s development and academic performance. They argued that when residential changes frequently occur across the life course, it affects younger children’s academic performance, mainly if such changes occur towards resumption periods. They, however, pointed out that understanding the link and intersection between relocation history and children's development might help the families’ decision in the future relocation plan, which could help in children's academic performance. The level of social interactions and interdependency among the adult members of the family usually reflects in the behaviour of younger children as they grow, making them cultivate and develop strong social networks (Girardin et al., 2018). The impact of intra-linked social interaction among family members produces more influence on the children and younger family members for several decades than inter-linked social interaction, which reflects more diversity between two different households or families (Bell, 2018). Most of these impacts could be positive or negative depending on the dynamics of the event involved and the types of social changes experienced. Like the case of forced migration and loss of livelihood sources, the impacts may be more negative than positive.

Historical analysis of Socioeconomic and demographic factors in food security management across life courses, such as age, gender, and social status, have been linked to determining choices of food, eating patterns, and family eating system (Devine, 2005; Regassa & Stoecker, 2012). Irrespective of the Socioeconomic and demographic status across the life course, changes in life events such as marriage, divorce, separation, death, employment, childbearing, and chronic health conditions may have a link to changes in food practices and food choices, eating patterns, and food security/insecurity (Temple, 2008; Olobiyi & McIntyre, 2014; Booth & Smith, 2001). Their effects on migrants’ access to food could be negative or positive (Deeming, 2011; Woltil, 2012; Nnakwe, 2003; Sidenwel et al., 2001). Life-course events may also significantly affect food practices and choices because they interact with politics, the economy, cultural practices, and resource availability. The interaction could result in modifications and adjustments to food practices and choices, consequently influencing people’s food strategies, choices, and consumption patterns (Paquette & Devine, 2000; Edstrom & Devine, 2001). The movement of adolescent and mature adults out of their parent’s houses for independent living across the life course may also affect food practices, choices, strategies, and consumption patterns (McKenzie & Watts, 2019).Other studies have evaluated food practices and food choices at different life stages**.** According to Bisogni et al. (2005), people try to maintain their food practices over a lifetime while ascertaining that people’s lives are, culturally, socially, psychologically, and economically linked and shaped across the life course.

Management of food practices and strategies across life courses may also depend on the people’s cultural norms, though they may be subject to individual skills and capabilities (Murcott, 2001; Sutton, 2001; Counihan, 1999).A significant change in strategies, food practices, and eating habits occurs at various transitional points, for example, when leaving the parental home, developing a health condition, and moving from one point to another, as pointed out above. These can lead to modifying food practices and eating habits, which could determine the level of food security/insecurity (Devine, 2005).Life events may therefore, be assessed as one of the determining factors of migrants’ well-being, including being food secure (Jones et al., 2018; Wolfe et al., 1996; Frongillo et al., 2004). Forced migrants experience adverse conditions on the migration trajectories due to reduced and unstable income, poor migration infrastructural facilities, and exposure to severe hunger and food insecurity across the life course (Jones et al., 2018; Temple, 2018). Some of the adverse conditions resulted in ill-health conditions (Laraia, 2013; Courtney, 2014) and, in some cases, caused chronic diseases such as diabetes, cardiovascular diseases, depression, and tendencies to commit suicide (Seligman, 2002; Laraia, 2013; Courtney, 2014; and Carmen, 2015). Migrants experiencing acute food shortages are more susceptible to a high risk of chronic diseases due to poor eating habits. This changes their health and gradually progresses from mild to chronic diseases as the condition persists (Tori et al., 2013; Laraia, 2013; Courtney, 2014).

However, it remains unclear what level and kinds of food security/insecurity caused by the intricate links between the ill health conditions of the migrants and physical and emotional distress due to forced migration, poor interaction, and interdependency among the forced migrants on trajectory. In the exact vein, unveiling how births, death, and divorce/separation of family members contribute to shaping the forms or kinds of food security/insecurity experienced by forced migrants is required. This will help to understand the usefulness of linked lives in unveiling societal social problems. In addition, this may help to understand the transition in their food practices and food strategies on the life-course trajectory. This takes the review to the next phase of unpacking the links between social, cultural, human, and economic capital and food security/insecurity across life’s trajectory.

**2. 4 LINKS BETWEEN SOCIAL, CULTURAL, HUMAN, AND ECONOMIC CAPITAL AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY**

The common forms of capital known to many are human and economic (Wooll, 2022). This is probably because they constitute physical resources required to produce values, items, and social gains in society (Wooll, 2022; Parekh, 2018; Klein & Tremblay, 2010). Other forms of capital, such as cultural and social capital (Schuller, 2004; Wooll, 2023), are as necessary as human and economic capital in wealth creation. The other forms of capital support and strengthen human and economic capital (Wooll, 2022). Available literature categorized social and cultural capital as intangible (Hamilton et al., 2005; Arrow et al., 2013). These types of capital are found in concentrated and improved culturally based skills and knowledge and social cohesion for creating wealth resulting in the well-being of the people (Hamilton & Hepburn, 2014; Hamilton & Liu, 2014; Ruta & Hamilton, 2007; Sanginga et al., 2007). Cultural values and social relationships define individuals, their emotional investment, and their general lifestyle (Hamilton & Hepburn, 2014; Hamilton & Liu, 2014; Ruta & Hamilton, 2007; Sanginga et al., 2007). Practicing and excising basic cultural norms and indigenous skills to create values constitutes cultural capital. While social networks, built on trust and mutual help to improve and strengthen the relationships and well-being of the people, form social capital (Prewitt et al., 2014 & Parekh et al., 2018). Cultural and social capital are more intangible resources necessary for economic and human capital development (Hamilton et al., 2005; Arrow et al., 2013). In social capital, people network for the collective benefit and achieve more success without much hardship than when an individual is involved in a drive to success (Emlet & Moceri, 2012). Social capital is the value gained from good social interaction among a particular group. This could be among family members, household members, community members, groups of workers (Schneider, 2007; Cnaan & Park, 2016), etc. The group may seek to improve the quality of their lives or to protect their collective interest (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2011; Thomas & Blanchard, 2009; Scharlach, 2009). The people on the social network enjoy each other’s goodwill; they enjoy solidarity with one another; they enjoy fellowship and sympathy of one another; they enjoy the trust and social interaction of one another, which tends to improve their well-being at all times(Andrew, 2009; Prewitt et al., 2014; Schneider, 2007; Cnaan & Park, 2016). In a community or society where poor social capital is experienced, the people work against themselves or may be indifferent to one another (Putnam, 2003; Klein & Tremblay, 2010), which may be detrimental to their well-being or survival strategy (Putnam, 2003; Klein & Tremblay, 2010). Diverse ideas brought to work in the form of a social network improve people’s lives and values and quicken the resolution of contemporary problems (Diniz &Machado, 2011; Ateca-Amestoy, 2008). Social capital becomes more endearing and potent when combined with cultural capital.

Cultural capital is built upon cultural skills, norms, and generally accepted ideas or behaviour aimed at adding value to one’s life, a group of people, an organization, or the society at large (Andrew, 2009; Prewitt et al., 2014 & Parekh et al., 2018). Cultural capital is an intangible resource when the knowledge and skills are inborn or an experience acquired from the cradle due to interaction with the cultural norms, “Embodied cultural capital” (Grossi et al., 2011; Blessi et al., 2012). It becomes tangible when the physical and cultural materials are used directly to provide the needed values, wealth, or social gain, “Objectified cultural capital” (Grossi et al., 2011; Blessi et al., 2012). Moreover, it becomes an institutional, cultural capital when a general sociocultural characteristic is associated with a specific organization, institution, or recognized association (Kucharˇcíkov´a, 2011; Pelinescu, 2015; Roth & Thum, 2010).

Most studies conducted in urban areas on the importance of social capital reveal complex links between community engagement and social networks. They also reveal that social capital can help resolve a community's internal and external social problems bordering on people’s well-being (Andrew, 2009; Prewitt et al., 2014 & Parekh et al., 2018). Good social relationships and interdependency of the people in the community are vital in providing a solution to myriads problems in that community, which could be in the form of defending against external attacks, food insecurity, and health issues and improving the general well-being of the people (Emlet & Moceri, 2012). In all these, older community members are found to use their experiences and knowledge to advance the course of the younger people and get problems resolved (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2011; Thomas & Blanchard, 2009; Scharlach, 2009). Social capital may not just be about social relationships, interconnections, and interdependency but also about the quality and value of the relationships, which determine how responsibilities and resources are shared among the people (Lin, 2008; Bourdieu, 2008).

Social capital is a powerful tool for smallholder farmers to combat food insecurity as it enhances their adaptation and resilience and helps maintain food security (Niles & Brown, 2017; Kristianson et al., 2012; Douxchamps et al., 2016; Ritzema et al., 2017). This works for them due to a high level of trust and reciprocity of assistance to one another in their farm operation. Neil-Adger et al. (2005) and Wolf et al. (2010) also buttressed this position. Good relationships and interconnectedness of people strengthen social networks of the people, which helps in the adaptive capacity of people, and improve their resilience to food insecurity (Aldrich & Meyer, 2014)

Critical social engagement entrenches social connectedness and creates good social interactions among people, which ensures success and achievement (Thomas & Blanchard, 2009). The strength of social capital is anchored on the social cohesion and interdependency of the people, built on trust, mutual help, and belief or faith in cultural norms (Putnam, 2003). Through social relationships, people learn and engage in activities collectively that bolster their sources of livelihood (Schneider, 2007; Cnaan & Park, 2016). According to Burton et al. (2005), communities with poor coordination due to low social capital tend to experience impoverishment in food supply and poor acquisition of other forms of resources. Communities with an excellent social network of interaction and communication appeared stronger and quicker in tackling any challenge (Diaz & Nelson, 2005). Communities quickly adapt to any situation because of the bonding between and within them, allowing information flow and exchanging ideas in real time (Burton et al., 2008; Monteil et al., 2020; Claridge, 2018).

Hall and Pretty (2008) reveal that well-socially connected groups of farmers make more progress than those operating as lone farmers in rural communities. He stressed that they also enjoy a series of benefits from the government and government policies. Good relationships among the community people encourage cultural bonds, social capital development, and strengthening their political relevance and general economic progress (Woolcock, 1998)

When certain people or community members are not included or allowed to be part of the social networks, it signifies a denial of such people’s access to essential resources in the community. Some of the resources that such people may not be able to access may include healthcare services, food accessibility, security services, social gathering, and other economic opportunities (Prewitt et al., 2014; Parekh et al., 2018). The absence of social interaction and networks resulting from wars, crises, and tribal sentiments may further cause disconnection among the people (Thomas & Blanchard, 2009). In addition, it may prevent healthy engagement, peace, and opportunities. Lack of social networks and social cohesion among the people fleeing from Syria to Turkey during the Syrian crisis may have affected families’ general well-being and their resilience to hunger and food insecurity (McCleary, 2017; McMichael et al., 2010; Hynie et al., 2012; Schultz, 2014).

There is an intricate link between cultural, social, and human capital, causing an increase in the economic value of the people (Blessi et al., 2012; Klein & Tremblay, 2010; Tremblay & Tremblay, 2010). They opined that infusing cultural values in re-designing a city make such attractive to people, who then bond by culture and enjoy social relationships and networks, which encourages human capital development. This may add value and strengthen people’s economic capital in the long term. This also encourages human integration and poverty reduction (Klein & Tremblay, 2010). Cultural capital helps to develop cultural resources and encourages local talent for economic gain (Florida, 2002). People of low educational and economic backgrounds often get inspired to enhance their living standards through cultural capital (Landry, 2006; 2008). This can change their financial, economic, and social values (Scott, 2000; Baum et al., 2008). Several factors may affect cultural capital and its influence in creating wealth in society. These factors include poor social relationships and poor participatory habits of the people using cultural skills (Diniz & Machado, 2011; Ateca-Amestoy, 2008). Participating in cultural-related activities encourages the creation of good social relationships and human capital development and strengthens cultural education and skills (Grossi et al., 2011; Blessi et al., 2012). Clusters of cultural skills and activities well utilize bring enjoyment and pleasure to the people and can enhance their standard of living ( Grossi et al., 2011; Blessi et al., 2012).

Several pieces of literature emphasized the role of human, technological, and institutional capital in creating wealth without much attention to the significance of cultural and social capital (Kucharˇcíkov´a, 2011; Pelinescu, 2015; Roth & Thum, 2010). In a moderate economy characterized by traditional ways of life, three primary factors may help stimulate wealth creation and distribution. These are economic, social, and cultural factors. From the economic aspect, the people sell their products produced with their cultural skills to earn income (economic capital). This ensures household food and health security (Soilita et al., 2021). The strengthening of social relationships and family ties by donating produced goods to neighbours, in line with the tradition and cultural practices of the people, characterized the social aspect. The cultural aspect ensures people's sustenance and participation in everyday activities, such as festivals and ceremonies where food is shared and the installation of traditional leaders (Soilita et al., 2021; Roth & Thum, 2010; Hamilton & Hepburn, 2014). Akgun et al. (2012) revealed that the most desirable and sustainable factors in a given environment or region are in the social cohesion of the people. He stressed the importance of good social relations in protecting people and society. (Dessein et al. 2015; Nurse 2006) stressed that good social cohesion and interaction would thrive well on the people's good and well-established traditions, norms, and cultural practices. Costanza et al. (2017) viewed cultural capital from the ecosystem services perspective and opined that cultural services encompass the human environment and social capital interaction. Both combine to create cultural identity, environmental aesthetics, new invention, and a sense of security. The primary role of social and cultural capital in sustainable development remains broad and multidimensional, which makes it more complex to understand their influences and contribution to solving economic issues (Guiso et al., 2004; Dessein et al., 2015). When viewed from its intangible nature, cultural capital becomes an integral part of social capital, overshadowing the thin line separating cultural and social capital (Keeley, 2007; Uphoff & Wijayaratna, 2000).

Human capital represents an integrated factor such as skills, knowledge, competencies, and all other productive talent found in someone necessary for one’s sustenance and economic development (Schuller, 2004; OECD, 1998). Time plays a vital role in acquiring these skills and may serve as a measuring standard for acquired skills. E.g., the time spent in schools and training before attaining a certain level of qualification.

In summary, human capital is an individual economic behaviour on how acquired skills and knowledge are used to guarantee wealth creation and improve earnings for their general well-being. It may also be termed an investment in skills and knowledge to enhance individual economic value (Schuller, 2004; Kenton, 2023). It does not depend on a formal structure alone, such as an educational institution, but also on an informal training framework. The improvement in skills and knowledge depends on the use of competence to produce wealth that improves their economic well-being. Learning new skills and acquiring knowledge may not be determined by age, gender, or ethnic divide but by circumstantial factors of an individual at a particular time. (Schuller, 2004, Kenton, 2023).

However, how the loss of social, cultural, human, and economic capital among the forced migrants may have imparted food security/insecurity remains unclear. A detailed understanding of how the interaction and links between social, cultural, human, and economic capital are required to unpack how they shaped the forced migrant’s food security/insecurity. Due to the variable that constitutes them, e.g., culture, social relationships, traditional ethics, norms, and social belief, it is often challenging to separate them from one another (Soilita et al., 2021). This, therefore, shows close links and interactions between the capitals. How the availability and non-availability of the intricate roles of these capitals affected food security/insecurity among the forced migrants form an integral part of this investigation.

**2. 5 PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL DISTRESS AND FOOD INSECURITY.**

Physical and emotional distress may affect the psychosocial state of mind of the individual migrants. The situation may result in different experiences for the individuals or households involved in forced migration (Courtney, 2014). This causes varied decisions among the household members; at times, home members who ordinarily would not be part of the decision-making are allowed to decide for the family (Ridsdel, 2014; Colman et al., 2019; Weine et al., 2014). Because of their circumstances, adolescents are sometimes made to fend for the family or serve as the family's breadwinners. Several household members are therefore involved in the decision-making (Ridsdel, 2014; Colman et al., 2019; Weine et al., (2014). Relocating from a crisis area may not only be determined by the level of risk and cost involved but also by the dynamic nature of the movement itself and the kinds of decisions that require deep thinking and planning to avoid the casualty of family members. Moreover, to enhance their food access during the movement (Mallett & Hagen-Zanker, 2018). The forced movement may create accumulated stress, anxiety, and distress for the migrants and impart their food security/insecurity.

Psycho-traumatic experiences may characterize forced migration because most violent crises occur unexpectedly, and the people are forced to run for the safety of their lives. In the process, they are stressed, lose their livelihood sources, and, in most cases, lose their family members (Min Yang, 2021). This often creates depression among migrants and, at times, could result in mental health challenges (Min Yang, 2021). The physical and emotional distress experiences could also be in the form of stress disorder, mania, post-crisis panic, suicide, anxiety, addiction to alcohol and drugs, and anti-social personality disorder (Sheehan, 2014; Bhugra, 2004; Bhui et al., 2014). According to Bogic et al. (2015), Silove (2014), and Morina et al. (2019), women and children are affected. The lives of the migrants could be physically, culturally, and socially influenced by the physical and emotional pain experienced (Silove, 2014) and Morina et al., 2015) because they cross from one region to another and from one sociocultural background to another. The kinds of emotional distress experienced by forced migrants may differ from any other emotionally distressed population (Nyaard et al., 2017). For instance, the physical and emotional pain experienced by a sexually abused person, domestic violence, gender discrimination, and other forms of physical bullying differs from the experiences of forced migrants. Some of the physical and emotional distress experienced by the participants include walking or traveling for long distances for days, beating, killing, fears, post-crisis panic, drug addiction, depression, social disorientation, and general despair (Min-Mang, 2021; Bogic et al., 2015; Bhui, 2014). These distressing situations increase the mental load of the migrants, making them physically weak and mentally unstable, and they become unorganized in their daily activities. This may have implications for their food security/insecurity. This could negatively affect the family’s relationship with one another, which may prevent them from maximizing their cultural capital, which should be their strength to access food (Shultz, 2014; McCleary et al., 2017; Hynie et al., 2012). Moreover, the psychosocial needs and support usually required by the forced migrants are often absent. This may be due to the crisis-tensed environment and deplorable insecurity situations that usually characterize violent conflicts, which does not give room for counselling as migrants run to safety (Fagen, 2014; McAdam, 2014). The amount of physical assistance and counselling support for the participants to overcome their ordeal and settle down quickly to live their everyday life in their new place is often limited. Therefore, how this situation imparts their food security/insecurity and how participants manage their overwhelming situation before arriving at the next destination and long after the conflicts need to be unpacked. In addition, it is still unclear what shapes their decisions on where they move, when they move, and how they arrive at their destination to minimize stress, distress, and anxiety to access food. This takes the review to links between multiple migrations and food insecurity across the life course.

**2. 6 LINKS BETWEEN MULTIPLE MIGRATION AND FOOD INSECURITY**

The possibility of forced migrants migrating multiple times is relatively high during and after a violent crisis (Douglass, 1999; Hammond, 2018). The multiple movements may be because of differences in sociocultural activities, regional differences, security, and safety of the migrants (Douglass, 1999; Hammond, 2018). It may also be a strategy to enhance their food security and reduce hunger experiences (Zarsin, 2017; IOM, 2020). A good understanding of the movements of the forced migrants may help to understand their vulnerability to food insecurity at different points of their migration, the food strategies employed at every point, and their acceptability in their host community (UNSD, 2014; IOM, 2016 UNHCR, 2016). In addition, it may also help to properly understand whether the level of social connection and interdependency of the migrating family changes and, if it changes, how the changes occurred. This may also help government and humanitarian advocates and actors understand the nature of the population involved in the movement and the type of protection and food assistance to provide migrants (IOM,2016; UNHCR,2016).

A thorough understanding of changes in the migrants’ food, social, physical, and cultural practices along the migration trajectory may provide insight into the links between the family members, life events, food security/insecurity, and food strategies (Carril-Caccia et al., 2021; Bergstrand et al., (2015). This agrees with Heid et al. (2021) and Beverelli et al. (2018), who opined that there would be considerable changes in food accessibility as the migrants change or transit from one point to another, especially where borders are crossed. In this case of forced migration, border crossing involves physical and socio-cultural borders (Orjuela-Grimm et al., 2022; Crush, 2013). Forced migrants are known to migrate from one point to another in an irregular or unorganized manner which poses not only a substantial risk to the life of the migrants but also reduces their access to food and other resources while in transit (Orjuela‑Grimm et al., 2022; OHCHR, 2016; IOM, 2020). Among the risk faced by the migrants includes Kidnapping, sexual molestation, human trafficking, and may even be killed (OHCHR, 2016; Leyva-Flores, 2019). According to Savun & Gineste (2019), forced migrants are often vulnerable to violent attacks and human rights denial because they are viewed as non-stakeholders in the communities they found themselves. The forced migrants remained susceptible to exploitation and harassment while moving away from the crisis; they remained vulnerable to human traffickers, sexual abuse, cheap labour, poor remuneration if employed, and food insecurity (David et al., 2019; Zhang, 2014). Their harassment and exploitation may increase due to a lack of access to vehicles to transport them from one place to another, no shelter, and no adequate communication system with which to communicate with other family members or to report any exploitation or harassment (Anderson et al., 2017). Due to the separation of family members, the migrants usually would have lost their social capital and support system; this makes them more prone to exploitation (Goldenberg, 2014). The migrants could be kidnap and sold into slavery, used as forced labour or kept in detention camps for onward movement (Walk Free, 2018; Anderson et al., 2017). Adolescents and children without their parents at the camp are more vulnerable to sexual and physical abuse (International Centre for Migration Policy Development, 2018).

They also have limited access to healthcare services and other public services. The obvious insecurity and the unorganized manner in which they transit also limit their capacity to access organized social networks, social and cultural resources, and humanitarian aid (IOM, 2020). The mode of transiting may contribute to factors that determine the level of vulnerability of the migrants to hunger and food accessibility. The migrants who walk long distances on foot are more vulnerable to all the risk states earlier, including hunger and food insecurity, than those who transit by train and long distances buses (Orjuela‑Grimm et al., 2022; Anderson et al., 2016). In most countries, the government cannot usually track the migrants and, as such, miss out on the collection of vital information about births, death, marriages, divorce, and skill acquisitions (Sadiddin et al., 2019), which are essential for the kinds of food aid and other assistance to be provided. This increases their vulnerability to food insecurity (IOM, 2020; Sadiddin et al., 2019). The availability of vital information about the forced migrants not only helps to reduce their hardship but may also be helpful for development plans (Brookings, 2011; IDMC, 2016). This information is often lacking due to deplorable insecurity during violent conflicts, preventing people from collecting such information. Collecting such migrants’ vital data and revealing the transiting phases with the life course approach may fill such a gap.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees has recognized the need to adequately, protect forced migrants by reducing the abuses they are usually subjected to while migrating (McAuliffe, 2018). Lack of proper documentation at entry point often worsen their condition, especially in Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Europe (IOM, 2017). Therefore, little or no information is available on migrants that settle in private properties without passing through the official camps or IDP. While the government strives to provide food, healthcare services, and general well-being for those in the official camp, nothing is provided for the self-settled migrants within the town. It is often difficult for such migrants to access available jobs and healthcare services and, as such, remain food insecure for a long time. This not only makes the migrants food insecure but also prevents migrants from contributing to the development of their host community (Reed, 2018). It also does not allow the government to plan based on available resources for social and economic development. This condition tends to create pressure on the available resources. This has caused fortifications and security operations of the bordering state to the conflicted state. This situation is fast becoming a worldwide phenomenon in the crisis region (Braithwaite, 2019). This is connected to the threat and other challenges usually brought by conflict-induced migrants into their host state (Brubaker, 2017; Geddes, 2008). Some consequences for the host community might be a sudden food shortage and a rise in food prices and other products, which may cause food insecurity for the whole community (IOM, 2020; Leyva-Flores, 2019). This usually leaves the NGOs and humanitarians striving to cope with the overwhelming food shortages, poor shelter, and medical services for the forced migrants (Braithwaite, 2019). However, the migrants cannot continue their experiences of dehumanizing conditions and denial of human rights just because of the threat and challenges they face in the host state (Braithwaite, 2019; OHCHR, 2016).

The stakeholders and state actors often elevate the negative consequences of the influx of forced migrants as they focus on the economic implications, social consequences, and the general insecurity it brings into the host state. Ruegger (2013), in his view, stressed that the influx of forced migrants of an ethnic group into a host state with the same ethnic background might change the composition of ethnic balancing of the host and could result in another crisis. According to him, the expected crises may include food shortage (food insecurity), poor shelter, lack of medical facilities, and ethnic rivalry. This position is further strengthened by Fisk (2019) that the way and manner the forced migrants are settled could spark a communal crisis, particularly where a particular ethnic population has alleged marginalization before the arrival of their ethnic group. Bohmelt et al. (2019) added that a crisis might occur due to competition for available resources, including food, within and between organized communities. Tumen (2016) argued that in addition to the threat to peace in the host state, the influx of forced migrants causes an economic crisis in the host state. According to him, such a crisis may include losses of jobs among unskilled workers and increasing demand in the housing sector.

Conversely, forced migrants may bring positive development to the host’s economy by making cheap labour available and increasing food production and tax payments (Frelick et al., 2016; Thielemann, 2004). They also tend to establish small businesses as food security strategies, which may increase the host state’s income and ensure their food security (Taylor et al., 2016; Garcia et al., 2018; Maystadt & Verwimp, 2014). Their movement into the host state may also attract foreign assistance from the international community, which in the long run, help boost the hosting community’s economy. The migrants also develop and improve their social, cultural, human, and financial capital in their new community. There is little information on how the forced migrants develop and re-establishes their sources of livelihood in the new community. A good understanding of how the migrants develop and re-establishes their new sources of livelihood may help develop a policy guide for the migrants. This study unpacks the link between the migrants’ movements, their evolving sources of livelihood through the development of social, cultural, human, and economic capital, and how this impact their food security/insecurity over the years.

**2. 7 DYNAMICS IN CULTURAL PRACTICES AND FOOD INSECURITY**

Courtney (2014) argued that due to cultural differences, the migrants found it difficult to get jobs in a new environment. This ultimately reduces their food access. The inability of the migrants to secure jobs is attributed to poor cultural capital and communication skills (Hadley & Sellen, 2006; Hadley et al., 2007; Hadley et al., 2010; and Kaiser et al., 2002). Peterman et al. (2013) argued that this assertion needs verification because, in a well-organized ethnic and culturally integrated society, food insecurity should not exist. Gorton (2009) believed it costs more money in a well-organized ethno-cultural community to access food, and this makes acculturation becomes increasingly difficult for migrants. This reduces their capacity to access food in the short term, but they may have improved food access with more years in that community.

In an economic-induced migration, low-income earners send remittances back to the migrant’s home origin. This could reduce their food access in the host community (Gorton, 2009). This could be more challenging for conflict-induced migrants because of their inability to adjust quickly to food consumption and new food strategies in the new community. This may create more food insecurity for the migrants than languages and low financial capacity (Himmel green, & Bermudez, Perez-Escamilla, 2005). The migrants’ inability to adjust to the consumption of the kinds of food found in the host community may be due to poor knowledge of shopping and preparing local foods. It takes time to learn how to prepare local food and where to get such food in the host community (Satia, 2010; Hadley et al., 2007). Studies have shown that it takes migrants a long time to be food acculturated, which creates food insecurity for the migrants in their host community (Rush et al., 2007; Hadley et al., 2007; Chilton et al., 2009).

Forced migrants usually retain their sociocultural activities and norms, this includes their food practices (Rogaia, 2002). Although, they tried to adjust to alternative food and food practices when the culturally preferred is unavailable, crossing different cultures and geographical regions (Dhokarh et al., 2011; Casali et al., 2015; Ayala et al., 2008). Sometimes, the inability to communicate in the host society’s language and poor financial condition makes it difficult for the migrants to have these alternatives. This situation makes them more vulnerable to hunger and food insecurity, creating dynamism in their food practices (Courtney, 2014). This is in addition to cultural variation that denies them food preferences and choices (Risviket et al., 2006). Food preferences are related to cultural orientation and development (Wright et al., 2001; Montanari, 2006). The questions of taste and origin of food may best be explained using cultural context and multi-facet social factors (Nevana, 2013). This represents key ways food is a cultural component (Tikkanen, 2007).

According to Siew-peng (2015), the availability of migrant’s culturally related food can play a significant role in the quick settling and adaptation of migrants to a new place. This is because it makes the migrants comfortable and reduces the complexity of settling down. The settling of forced migrants in a new home may be affected by trying to modify the available food to suit their consumption. Food is described as conveying in-depth cultural memories and being capable of dousing emotional distress when culturally preferred food is found in a new place (Kniazeva and Venkatesh., 2007). This shows that food is an integral part of the culture. Food preferences, choices, preparation, and eating habits could help to reveal the migrants’ culture and the comfort of the individual migrants in the new place (Koc and Welsh., 2017). This shows a connection between culture and food and the influence of culture on food security/insecurity (Gesser-Edelsburg et al., 2013). Sometimes the migrants try food modification, and the modified food later becomes part of them in terms of preparation and consumption. However, this modification may not erase the memories of the original traditional food and the roles of such food in their cultural identity and individuality(Vallianatos and Raine., 2008). The ability to modify available food to suit the migrants’ cultural preferences and choices may depend on the ingenuity of the migrants and the availability of cheap alternative raw ingredients ([Parasecoli Fabio](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fabio_Parasecoli)*,* 2014). Forced migrants do not often have access to their culturally preferred food, in most cases causing their isolation in the new place’s food system until they can modify the available food to suit themselves (Vallianatos and Raine., 2008). Most migrants eventually get used to the new food and fully incorporate it into their culture and food practices (Gabaccia, 1998). The host community may also gradually accept the modified food and food practices, which may finally be adopted as part of their culture and traditions (Gabaccia,1998). Therefore, the coming of migrants into the new place may cause a long-lasting social change to the host community's food practices and increase the community's food security, especially where the ingredients for such modified food are cheaper and affordable (Gabaccia,1998). The dynamism in the migrant’s food practices, modification process, and adaptation process to strengthen their food security are unknown, creating a gap that needs to be unveiled.

Conclusively, the review reveals quite several gaps. The gaps that need to be, filled are the unclear relationships between forced migration and food insecurity and how the forced movement created intricate links/delinks among the migrating family affecting their social, cultural, human, and economic capital and consequently shaping their food security/insecurity. In addition, how the migrants cope with moving from one cultural norm to another in an involuntary movement characterized by limited space and time and physical and emotional distress for years. Other gaps are the unknown drivers and dynamic nature of food strategies that gave the participants optimum capacity and resilience to hunger and food insecurity as the participants moved across different regions. Further detail is required on how deaths, childbearing (new birth), new skills, marriages, and divorce/separation of family members could cause further food security/insecurity. In addition, how forced migration across different regions affects transition in their food practices and food strategies. Detailed information on the number of births, deaths, marriages, divorces, and skills acquired among the forced migrants that are often missing but vital for developmental planning is captured in this investigation. This led to the next chapter, which described the research approach and methodology of the investigation to fill the gaps.

**CHAPTER THREE**

**3. 0 RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY**

**3. 1 INTRODUCTION**

A qualitative research method is, used in this investigation to understand the process, complexity, and multi-dimensional linked lives and lived experiences of food insecurity/security and relationships between forced migrations across the life course of the migrants in central Nigeria. This is to enhance a good understanding of the long-term impact of food insecurity on human life, health, and general well-being while on a forced migration trajectory. In addition, it helps to reveal the changes that had occurred in the life of the migrants and helps address the varied problems revealed in the findings. An inductive qualitative technique is considered appropriate for this type of investigation (Bengtsson, 2016; Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2009). This chapter, therefore, states the aim, the research questions, and the research objectives. It discusses the research methods, data sources, and collection. This chapter also discussed the other research process, such as the recruitment of participants, method of data collection, reasons for using this method, methods of data analysis, ethical issues, limitations, positionality, and finally, the conclusion.

**3. 2 RESEARCH AIM:**

In discovering the social rhythms and changes in food security/insecurity during and after a forced migration, this study seeks to uncover the sequence of events at different points and times along the life course of those who undertake a forced migration. It examined how the life-course experiences are interlinked and shape the migrant’s livelihood sources and food security/insecurity. The research draws on an in-depth narrative interview with people who have undertaken a forced migration to achieve this aim. The discussions will cover the experiences of the initial migration and trace their life paths for up to twenty years after that initial move.

**3. 3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

To address this aim, the research will focus on the following four research questions:

►What form of food security/insecurity are, experienced by the migrants on their life course trajectories?

►How does the change in the social, cultural, human, and economic capital of the migrants shape their food security/insecurity?

►How do links/delinks in the interaction between the migrants and their livelihood sources and lived experiences determine when and how they experience food security/insecurity?

►What strategies do migrants adopt to increase their food security? Moreover, how do these strategies change over time?

**3. 4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

To answer these research questions, the following research objectives are therefore set.

1. To examine and identify the forms of food security/insecurity experienced by the forced migrants on the trajectory.
2. To examine and identify how the changes in their social, cultural, human, and economic capital shaped their food security/insecurity across the life course.
3. To examine and identify how links/delinks between the migrants and their livelihood sources determine when and how they experience food security/insecurity. Moreover, how does this affect sharing of resources among the forced migrant
4. To examine and understand the migrant’s food strategies and changes in the strategy within the life course frame.

**3. 5 IDENTIFYING AND RECRUITING OF PARTICIPANTS**

Multi-stage sampling technique was, adopted for data collection because of its flexibility. This allows the combination of various sampling techniques with ease at different stages of data collection. It is also suitable for handling data collection that deals with lots of information and occurrences of events in sequential order. The researcher was provided with detailed address contacts of other participants by fifteen participants who have been in touch with the researcher over the years. Most participants recruited are within my network; I have established links with some of them in the past before the crisis. In addition, the phone contacts of the participants were made available to me by those whose phone contacts I still have.

Twenty-five (25) participants who experienced conflict-induced migration were contacted and recruited for the study. Fifteen participants were recruited directly by the researcher because they have always been in touch with the researcher. At the same time, these fifteen participants provided the detailed contacts and addresses of the remaining Ten (10) participants. These summed up to make a total of twenty-five participants recruited, as shown in Table 1.

Those who experienced unrelated conflicts induced migration were excluded from the study. This is because only the experiences of being forced to migrate over the years are required for this investigation. This will ensure the quality, exactitude, and integrity of the data collected, which depends on the knowledge and experiences of the participants concerning the issues under investigation (Luborsky &Rubinstein, 1998). The participants are both men and women aged 25 years and above. The researcher recruited both men and women because both genders are affected; both genders assumed the responsibilities of providing for the household members on the migration trajectory after losing their husbands or wives to crisis or separation. Participants aged 25 years and above were recruited because the investigation covers 20 years, and people below the age of 20 may not have witnessed or experienced the consequences of forced migration. However, those who were at least five years old when their parents migrated may not have forgotten the memory of all that happened while migrating. Although such participants may not remember the exact facts of what happened to their family when they decided to migrate, they will undoubtedly remember the subsequent experiences as they mature on the migration trajectories. The participants have different backgrounds regarding religion, tribal affiliation, and social behaviour. Terrorist attacks, religious crises, ethnic clashes, and land-related crises caused their movements. Most participants lived in the same city before the conflicts but now live in different parts of the study region. After getting their details, addresses, and phone contacts, I contacted them and arranged a preliminary and main interview. The initial interview (preliminary interview) was undertaken to explain the research details to the participants, ensure their availability, and arrange for the main interview. Due to our already-established relationship, the participants were as frank as possible in answering the questions during the main interview phase, which I considered very important in this data collection phase.

**3. 6 DATA SOURCES AND COLLECTION**

An in-depth Narrative interview was employed to gain an in-depth understanding and to be able to assess the diverse issues of food insecurity/security, food strategies and practices, and the links between life course experiences, decision determinants, the level of disruption of family life while on forced migration trajectory in central Nigeria. In addition, to identify and generate multidimensional data on categories of people involved in forced migration and the strategies employed during migration to cope with and enhance their well-being. This will enhance a better understanding of the condition of people forced to migrate and subsequently help to proffer solutions to any adverse condition.

Unstructured and semi-structured interviews were adopted for data collection. The unstructured and semi-structured interview questions allow a wide range of responses to the research theme. The questions were designed to collect relevant information from the participants with diverse backgrounds ranging from religion, ethnicity, occupation, and regional differences. The questions focused on their experiences regarding socio-demographic information, food insecurity/security, food strategy and practices, decision-making, cultural influences on food insecurity, life events, and general distressing events.

As detailed above, a total sample of twenty-five (25) participants involved in the forced migration from other parts of north and around north central into the central region of Nigeria were interviewed. This is to know and understand the realities of events, views, perceptions, and participants’ experiences while on the trajectory.The researcher visited seven states and Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja within the central region of Nigeria: Kogi, Nasarawa, Plateau, Benue, Niger, Kwara, and Federal (FCT) Abuja. These regions have diverse participants’ ethnicity, religion, culture, and multi-social activities. Plateau, Benue, Niger, and Nasarawa State are the crisis hub where most participants migrated from other states. Some participants also migrated from the northeast to the central states of Plateau, Nasarawa, and Kogi Enroute Gombe and Kaduna and later immigrated to Abuja. Some participants also went through different routes to the far north before returning to the states in central Nigeria selected for this research. The researcher conducted the interviews in various places and spaces, which varied from the participants’ residents, family farms, business premises, stores, and malls as chosen by the participants and agreed upon by both of us.

**3. 7 DATA COLLECTION**

**First Phase 2nd Nov- 25th Nov 2020**

The University of Sheffield’s research ethics committee granted the ethical procedure and clearance application on 07/09/2020. The approval helps the researcher to start preparing for the commencement of data collection. As soon as the researcher got the ethical approval and consent to continue the investigation, he contacted most participants through phone calls and made his intention known to them. The researcher discussed the research details with them and explained why they should be part of the study. The researcher narrated what would be involved, the consent form, and the information sheet, which the researcher will give them to read and sign before the commencement of the study. The participants were pleased to know about the research and promised to be part of the study when it started. The researcher sent them the consent form and information sheet on the 25th of October 2020. The researcher requested that the participants fill out the consent form and return same to the researcher during data collection. The participants should read and save the information sheet during the main time. The researcher went through Kogi state, Abuja, Nasarawa state, and Jos between 2nd -25th Nov. to pick up the consent form and use the opportunity to conduct a preliminary interview with them. This was to give them an insight into what information the researcher would be collecting from them during the interview and for the researcher to familiarize himself with the current realities of the participants for the upcoming interview and discussion. The participants allowed the researcher into their various spaces. They were happy to know that a researcher was studying their predicaments, enabling them to express their painful experiences over the years to the rest of the world.

**Second Phase 3rd Dec – 20th Dec 2020**

The researcher commenced the second fieldwork phase on the 3rd of December until the 20th of December 2020. The researcher travelled through the central region of Nigeria for at least a minimum of three days and a maximum of seven days in a state. The researcher spent three days each in Nasarawa and Kogi states, five days in Jos, Plateau state, and seven days in Abuja Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The researcher had an average of two-hour and thirty-minute sessions with the participants. The least was One hour forty-five minutes, and the highest time spent with the participants was three hours thirty minutes. The researcher had two interview sessions with each participant; we broke the interview sessions into two because of the participants’ other private engagements. Some are due to their inability to sit down in one place at a stretch to answer the interview questions, which requires a long time.

The interview was recorded on a recording device with their consent. The recorded interview was subsequently transferred to my laptop at the end of each day. Only a household member was interviewed among the participants; there was no need to question every family member. Moreover, there was no household where both spouses were available and willing to respond to the interview. All the participants interviewed are the current breadwinners of their families, irrespective of gender. Meeting with the participants did not pose any problem or challenge because we had agreed on a day and time to meet in the participants’ chosen spaces. They had earlier chosen where they felt most comfortable for the interview. The discussions were born in the areas considered safe for the interviewee and the interviewer and in locations chosen by the interviewee who felt most comfortable. The interviews were conducted in the participants’ living rooms, garden spaces, house backyards, farm gardens, and stores.

**3. 8 ADOPTIONS OF QUALITATIVE METHOD**

A qualitative approach is most suitable for giving details and a broad interpretation of textual data with varied conceptual cleavage, assumptions, and analytical processes (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). It provides an in-depth understanding of a complex scenario and a vivid description of development in a clear and unambiguous term without recourse to previous theories (Bradley et al., 2007; Brod et al., 2009). According to Derek and Kerryn (2020), the research aims and objectives are significant in determining the method to use. This also depends on the concept of the research, whether the research intends to explore a new phenomenon (exploratory) or to confirm an existing theory (confirmatory) (Rautenbach & Crowley, 2021).The current research is exploratory to explore the circumstances surrounding forced migrants and their food security/insecurity across the life course. Data was collected through the interviewing of the participants. The recorded interview was subsequently converted into textual data that needed qualitative analysis. Thematic analysis (emerging themes from the text) and qualitative content analysis (focus the analysis on the textual content) were used for the study. These are standard qualitative research techniques for investigating textual data (Braun et al., 2016; Braun & Clarke, 2016). Vaismoradi (2016) supported that the qualitative research approach provides various analytical tools for analyzing textual and cultural descriptions, interpreting social realities or truisms, and presenting findings. They believe qualitative content and thematic analytical methods are excellent for textual data analysis and, therefore, are perfect and suitable for investigators who desire good data collection, analysis, interpretation, and presentation of data.

Social constructionism emphasizes social interactions and constant evaluation of the actors involved in social issues and the situation that may determine the level of achievement within a social setting (Bryman, 2012). Relativity and subjectivism are essential to interpreting social issues grounded on real-world phenomena. Therefore, linking the bundles of knowledge discovered from interactions via interviews between a researcher and participants through a well-defined procedure could build social truism (Bengtsson, 2016). This is expected to create or result in the emergence of complex themes, revealing participants’ experiences of the social issues that need to be solved (Bryman, 2012; Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The qualitative research approach involves data collection with an emphasis on carefully extracting facts from cultural and textual descriptions, with the rigorous interpretation given to the social phenomenon (Bengtsson, 2016; Viasmoradi et al., 2016; Fruh,2004). As observed in the current research, which sought to show the possible relationship between forced migration and food insecurity on migration trajectory using a life-course approach, it is imperative to use qualitative techniques since the data is through interviews and transcribed into textual format. This is a broad technique with different terms combining a collection of data and analysis of such data revealing the fact in cultural and textual with an in-depth interpretation (Vaismoradi et al., 2016; Holloway & Galvin, 2016). Based on the initial premise, a qualitative research approach is, used for this investigation because the data is generated through the interview in textual and cultural formats. This would enable the achievement of the aim and objectives of this research and help to provide adequate answers to the research questions.

**3. 9 CODING PROCESS AND DATA ANALYSIS**

The interview was conducted in the local dialect of the participants because some participants needed help speaking the English language, in which the interview questions were written and performed. Some can speak Pidgin English but cannot express themselves as they would in their local dialect; therefore, they choose to respond in their local dialect, Hausa, Ebira, and Pidgin English. The assistant researcher and the researcher are vast in their local dialect; thus, that did not pose any problem for us. This gave the participants good ground to express themselves and the ability to narrate all their experiences. The recorded audio was subsequently transcribed into English, in which the interview questions were written.

After the transcription, the participants’ names were, anonymized with random names to protect the participants’ identity, as opined by Mason (2011) and as stated in the data management plan and ethics application approved by the University of Sheffield.

The contextual data that resulted from transcriptions of the audio data were subjected to computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) called Nvivo 20. Using CAQDAS made recognizing trends in data and grouping extensive data more accessible and quicker (Basit, 2003; Mason, 2011;Bailey & Jackson, 2003). This facilitated easy organization and management of data (Basit, 2003; Mason, 2018; Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). Nvivo is equipped with different features that can help engage the data to bring out the different phases of the data. Although (CAQDAS) the computer-aided program, does not analyze the data, it only helps organize and put data in a good perspective for analysis. It makes the analysis process easier and quicker (Khan, 2014; Welsh, 2002; Bazeley, 2013; Basit, 2003). It also allowed the researcher to quickly develop and compare codes and participants’ views on the coded items. Thus helping in organizing and tracking the various segment of the data and making sense of the data (Mills et al., 2010).

The textual data were imported into the Nvivo program, which was crucial in coding the data. Charmaz (2006) described coding as labelling words or groups of words with their meaning attached. This helps to highlight and compare the participants’ statements and phrases and helps to group the phrases and words or statements into related themes (Jackson, 2009). Since data coding needs a thorough engagement process that requires constant reviewing, readjusting, and repositioning of data inductively (Charmaz, 2006). The participants’ words were considered while coding, generating several nodes. Every node was adequately named and defined. A further interrogation and engagement with the nodes generated reveal the overlap of some nodes. To avoid redundancy, the overlapped nodes were, removed, resulting in the codebook. This helps track every sentence, idea, view, and experiences expressed by the participants during the interview, as Bazeley and Jackson (2013) suggested. See Appendix 2.

The nodes were too voluminous, and therefore, the need to further reduce the content of the nodes, as suggested by Guest et al. (2012), to be able to place the data correctly into categories that help to reveal the differences and similarities in the data (Strauss & Corbin,1990). This resulted in the emergence of clustered categories (Mills et al., 2010; Schweitzer & Steel, 2008) with clear divides on the themes they conveyed. This gave rise to the major themes that emerged at the end of coding, which laid the basis for the analysis. Ten themes were identified, forming the basis for discussing this research's empirical chapters.

**3. 10 THEMES AND SUB-THEMES**

Thematic and content analysis were used to analyze the data with themes and categories emerging from the coded textual content. According toGuest et al. (2012), this ensures the proper exploration of the data since it entails consistency and continuous reading of the data, creating an opportunity to change or alter any aspect of the theme and categories as the analysis progresses.

The sub-themes are; food access before migration, Changes in food access, the reasons for food strategies, modifications of food, the link between family and social well-being, migration infrastructure, food insecurity, and forced migration, life events, and changes in food accessibility, actions and decisions for food accessibility, resources sharing, suggested ways of solving food insecurity. The sub-themes were later merged into the appropriate theme.

About ten interwoven themes emerge at the end of the coding exercise with Nvivo software. The themes include food sources before and after migration, food strategies and sustenance, dynamism in culture and food practices, dynamics in family life, Resources/power sharing determinants, Life events, and food accessibility. Others are Psycho-traumatic experiences, multiple migrations, social events, the role of government and NGOs, and Demographic information.

Considering the focus of this study, specific words and experiences expressed by the participants on various themes were critically evaluated, and analytical notes were developed from the themes. According to Vaismoradi et al. (2016), it is good to approach qualitative data by reflecting simultaneously on the emerging pattern before and during the analysis. This allows analytical concepts used in this analysis to emerge by themselves. The themes were analyzed in groups as they relate and reveal complex but interwoven details. Memo writing helped lead to an ‘initial report’ of the findings, which gave rise to conceptual insights.

**3. 11 CONTENT ANALYSIS**

Content analysis was done on the textual content to reveal relevant information, including those hidden in the codes, which may have yet to fall under any of the emerging themes and categories. In this regard, the hidden details in the participants’ remarks and quotes were carefully analyzed to reveal in-depth experiences and situations at different points of their lives throughout their movement. This was done based on the broad heading of the themes for details revelation of the content contained in the themes (Bengtsson, 2016; Kuckartz, 2014). Some codes were compared to show how they relate and link to participants and how connected the coded experience is, and the level of variation among the participant’s views on the experience. The variations and connections of the coded phenomenon among the participants may not be visible without the content analysis.

The data were subjected to an initial query using the qualitative software to find the occurrence of words in the “word cloud”. This tends to reveal the most used words, which immediately point to the content of the data, giving the reader a deal of what is in the data and the central issues in the research. This is not the main analysis, but it gives an idea of what to expect in the main research. See Appendix 3. Content analysis was equally used to examine the nature of the demographic information of the migrants and how this has influenced their experiences throughout their migration trajectory. In addition, the movement of the participants were presented in a tubular analysis to highlight and show how they moved from one town to another, the number of cities they stayed in before proceeding, and why they continued movement until their current host community. See table 3

**3. 12 POSITIONALITY AND REFLEXIVITY**

Recognizing and locating one’s position in qualitative research emotionally and professionally strengthen the process and validity of the findings (Moffat, 2016; Aspers & Cortes, 2019; Reich, 2021). The researcher’s position is as essential as the position of the participants in qualitative research because it re-enforces and reflects the closeness of the researcher to the research environment and therefore provides a reflective insight into the whole investigation (Mose & Dreby, 2013; Hancock, 2018; Hoang, 2015; Davis & Khonach, 2020). There is often a dilemma in conducting research at the researcher’s home origin, often called an insider dilemma (Mandiyanike, 2009). The insider/outsider divide is linked to the researcher’s positionality with the belief that insiders may produce more quality data than outsiders may. Positionality helps to provide epistemic details essential to conducting qualitative research (Davis & Khonack, 2020). Being an insider as a researcher is assumed to strengthen the quality of the data generated because it encourages the fluidity of the data content and allows good rapport between the researcher and the participants (Laliberte & Schurr, 2015; Aspers & Cortes, 2019; Reich, 2021). However, changes in time and space due to certain factors may create unstable boundaries between the insider/outsider double or multiple positionalities, particularly when an insider comes from outside institutions (Bayeck, 2022 & Britton, 2019). The position of one may change or influence the course of the investigation based on experience, the nature of the research, and the location and spatial context of the research (Absolon & Willett, 2004). Stuart (2017) reiterated the importance of positionality and reflexivity in qualitative research as essential tools for data collection. Generally, positionality helps to reveal and understand various research encounters and required processes and gives a reflective outcome (Hopkins, 2007; Valentine, 2002).

Conducting research at home, as regard the current investigation reflects the connectedness of the researcher and the participants due to shared nationality, cultural norms, social interactions, and experience of violent conflicts. These shared similarities and commonalities encouraged the participants to be more accessible and given vital information that would not be for outsiders who do not share the same identities (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Britton, 2019).

Identity politics while researching at home become more complex for a researcher whose institution is based in a different geographical entity or country because the participants consider the researcher to have been acculturated by the foreign culture (Bayeck, 2022).

A complete insider without any duality in culture, nationality, and life experiences shared many identities with the participants. At the same time, persons considered partial insiders shared duality in cultural norms, Nationality, and life experiences with the participants (Chavez, 2008).

Conducting an extensive interview with the participants in different locations was quite exciting and reflexive due to the difficulties in getting to them. The harrowing experiences and situations of the forced migrants were quite revealing. This cast deep reflections on my positionality as a researcher and someone who has experienced such a situation previously. In discussing the research with the participants initially, I identify as a researcher in another country studying for his doctorate, driven by a passion for knowledge acquisition. On the other hand, my personal life has been influenced by violent conflicts and forced migration. When the participants desired to know me more during the data collection, I shared my experience as someone who has been in a similar situation in the past with participants. The mutual recognition of similar experiences makes the participants more relaxed in telling their stories (Wilson, 2008; Ermine, 2007; O’Connor, 2008). My double identity, both as a researcher and as an individual with experience of forced migration, played a significant role in this research. It gives credence to the data, provides enough space to reduce the possibility of subjective analysis, and is close enough to understand what might not be available to a researcher not from the locality (Hancock, 2018; Hoang, 2015; Davis & Khonach, 2020). However, I may have lost touch with changes that had happened to them over the years due to the long vacuum in our conversation and my absence from the region. Indeed, my experience in Plateau state during the previous violent crisis gave me an idea of what the migrants might have faced over the years. These were obvious during the interviews section when some participants expressed unfamiliar and problematic views. I requested further clarification of such unfamiliar situation instead of accepting and legitimizing them which was in line with Valentine, (2005). This further helps to explore the changes that might have occurred over the years, which I am not previewing.

Emotion and feelings are usually problems for researchers; I was overwhelmed by the condition and suffering of the participants as shared with me. I felt weak and powerless, and ashamed of my inability to change their situation while making them recount their unpalatable experiences (Bakewell, 2008). As recognized by Laliberte & Schurr (2015); Lorimer (2005); Bondi (2005); Golubchikov (2015), emotions and feelings often characterize this type of research, and such emotions and feelings are parts of studying forced migration.

Reflexivity toward the researcher’s double identities may help change the type of feelings they experience, which could help in the general understanding of the research ethics and positionality for both participants and the researcher.

**3. 13 ETHICAL ISSUES, ACCESS TO PARTICIPANTS, AND FIELDWORK CHALLENGES.**

During this investigation, there were several moral and physical challenges overcome. Most participants are familiar with the researcher, having lived in the study area several years ago when most participants migrated to the central parts of the country; they considered the researcher a friend who knows and understands their plight. However, the researcher was reflective of the fact that this is an investigation that must be carried out based on specified ethical rules and principles. The researcher sought to minimize how far his past familiarity with the participants might distort the information-gathering process. Most participants felt thrilled, believing their problems would be opened to public knowledge, which could attract more assistance with this interview. They think so because someone who understands and knows partly what they have gone through over the years is collecting their information probably for policy formulation. The researcher took the time to explain to them again that this investigation was not for providing relief materials for them. Still, a path-finding analysis may allow the government to formulate policies that will change how forced migrants are cared for during a crisis when it does occur.

The participants welcome both the researcher and the research assistants. The assistant researcher was a man who could speak two of the three major languages used to interview the participants. The assistant researcher served as an interpreter between the researcher and the participants who spoke the language in which the researcher needed to be more fluent. The research assistant was reminded to keep all he heard from the participants confidential. In addition, the legal implication of not keeping all issues confidential was explained to him and agreed upon at the beginning of the research.

Despite their situations, the participants offered the researcher and his research assistant food and some drinks in their various homes. Based on experience and ethical rules, we politely turned down the offer. We did not outrightly turn down the food offered to us; we thanked them with kind words of appreciation but quickly told them each time we were provided food that food could wait until we were done with the interview. Since our principal reason for coming into their houses was to go and interview them. During the interview, the participants were reminded of their freedom to stop being part of the research if they felt uncomfortable continuing with the interview, as Bryman (2012) argued. The participants chose the spaces they felt comfortable where the interview was conducted. The researcher was conscious of raising issues capable of reminding them of their traumatic and distressing experiences. When such questions were asked, and the participants reacted negatively, the researcher was careful to quickly change the mood of the interview by bringing in issues that were different but related to the one discussed, which tended to move the participants’ minds away from the traumatic experiences.

After each interview, our discussion often overshadows the issue of food at the end, and we will leave without them remembering that we did not eat the food they offered us at the beginning. We decline their food offer because, based on ethical conduct, we are not supposed to give them money or anything that could be seen as an inducement. Therefore, I felt it would be morally wrong to receive anything from them other than their time and testimonies when we cannot give anything to them in return. However, this was done so that the participants were not offended. Some children of the participants came around and saw us as big brothers or fathers who came to visit and must give them something like money at the end of the interview. Based on African culture, since we could not give money to the children, we provided some of them with a token for chocolate and biscuits. Overall, I did not allow the conditions and situations we met the participants to influence our views and belief on the principles and rules guiding the process.

Our physical challenge was our inability to get to the participant’s residence on time. It took us some time to get to the participant’s home. Though we spoke on the phone, and they gave details of their addresses, it was tough for my research assistant and me to locate them due to the remoteness of the section of town they reside. Most participant residents are found in the interior and unorganized settlements with no proper address (Postcodes) to locate them. We eventually abandoned our car because the roads were not motorable. We took a commercial motorbike to where the participants live. These motorbike riders are conversant with the terrain and every nook and corner of the locations. Therefore, we depended on them to take us to the locations of the participants. In most cases, it took thirty minutes to one hour on a motorbike to get to the participant’s house from where we parked our car. In addition to this limitation, male interpreters may have discouraged female participants from disclosing the details of their life’s ordeal due to gender differences.

**3. 14 COVID-19 PANDEMIC**

The data collection phase of this investigation was between November and December 2020, when the Covid-19 pandemic reduced the level of interaction between people in some parts of the world. However, Covid -19 pandemic restriction policies did not affect the data collection because the ban on face-to-face and restrictions of movement had been lifted in the study area during this period. This allowed the researcher to travel and move freely from one participant to the other for the interview section. However, it was mandatory for everyone in Nigeria to wear a facemask. The researcher and his assistant complied with putting on face masks and ensured that the participants also put on face masks before commencing the interview.

**3. 15 CONCLUSION**

Qualitative methods were used to achieve the aim and objectives of this investigation. Data collection started with a preliminary interview with the participants. This was done to re-familiarize the researcher with the participants after a long time of broken communication; in-depth interviews later followed. This allows a clear understanding of the issue being investigated. The field notes complemented the data generated from the discussion throughout the research, particularly during the analytical phase of the investigation. The issues of ethical conduct, positionality, and reflexivity were, discussed. The procedure for data organization and interpretation and the reasons for the methods used for the various analyses carried out in this investigation were also discussed. Other chapters of this thesis are chapters four, five, six, and seven, which deal with detailed analysis, interpretation, discussion, and reports of the findings and recommendations.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**4. 0 THE FORMS OF FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY EXPERIENCED BY MIGRANTS**

**4. 1 INTRODUCTION.**

This chapter focuses on the various forms of food security/insecurity experienced by the migrants during and after migration. The study revealed that most migrants enjoyed good food security before the crisis. The participants engaged in various economic activities that made them food secure before the violent crisis. Most participants engaged in farming, fishing, cattle rearing, transportation business, artisans, craft men, and women; others were civil servants (Blench, 2004; Ajayi et al., 2023). Before the crisis, most participants who were farmers had direct access to their farm produce, which provided them with food and made them food secure (Albert, 2012). Others earn good monies from the sales of their products, which they use to provide food for their families. See Table 3. Their belief in a communal life system to assist one another strengthen their social relationships and interdependency to improve their food-productive capacity (Okeke-Agulu, 2012). This help to strengthen their food security (Ukoha et al., 2007; Saleh et al., 2016; Bzugu, 2008). However, the situation changed after the violent conflicts that made them flee their ancestral home, leaving their livelihood behind for an unknown destination, and therefore become food insecure (Regassa & Stoecker, 2012; FAO, 2016; Tegegne & Penker, 2016; FAO et al., 2018). This made them experience hunger, starvation, and physical and emotional distress.

The various form of food insecurity experienced by the migrants are discussed in this chapter under three broad categories: short-term food insecurity, intermittent food insecurity, and long-term food insecurity. The chapter draws from multiple themes such as food sources before and after migration, food security/insecurity, psychosocial issues, decision determinants, disruption of family life, and life events to discuss in detail the various factors that gave rise to these forms of food insecurity. The different factors that link up and result in these forms of food insecurity are also discussed. These factors are; Crisis and post-crisis stressors, loss of livelihood sources, multiple migrations, social disorientation, and general despair (Nyaard et al., 2017; Min-Mang, 2021; Bogic et al., 2015; Bhui, 2014).

Due to crisis and post-crisis stressors such as emotional distress arose the issue of distrust, loss of social capital, and inability to put cultural and human capital to work to access food (Shultz, 2014; McCleary et al., 2017; Hynie et al.; 2012). Other factors are multiple migrations across different regions and cultural divides. In addition, as part of the introduction to this chapter are the socio-demographic information of the participants, which helps put in proper perspective the background of the participants. A summary story of two participants (Hadiza Ali and Adijat Ibrahim) is also included in the introduction to help lay a prelude and proper understanding of the hardship experiences during and after forced migration and the resulting food insecurity.

**Table 1 shows the social demographic information of the participants.**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| PART. | NAME OF THE PARTICIPANTS | AGE OF THE PARTICIPANTS | NO OF CHILDREN | NUMBERS IN HOUSEHOLD | EDUCATION LEVEL | INCOME BEFORE THE CRISIS PER MONTH IN (₦) | GENDER |
| A | Golla Umar | 54 | 5 | 7 | National Diploma | ₦150,000 (£263) | M |
| B | Ali Hadiza | 41 | 8 | 9 | Primary Certificate | ₦100,000 (£176) | F |
| C | Liyatu Ayuba | 47 | 6 | 8 | Secondary certificate | ₦150,000 (£263) | F |
| D | Idris Ibrahim | 67 | 4 | 6 | First degree | ₦130,000 (£229) | M |
| E | Abraham Jenifer | 41 | 5 | 7 | Secondary Certificate | ₦120,000 (£213) | F |
| F | Abubakar Mustapha | 36 | Nil | 10 | Secondary Certificate | ₦80,000  (£141) | M |
| G | Aminu Abubakar | 35 | 2 | 4 | First Degree | ₦150,000  (£263) | M |
| H | Abubakar Katum | 47 | 4 | 6 | National Diploma | ₦180,000  (£316) | M |
| I | Hajia Dogo Shefiyat | 54 | 11 | 13 | Secondary Certificate | ₦100,000  (£176) | F |
| J | Audu Umar | 25 | Nil | 8 | Secondary Certificate | ₦90,000  (£158) | M |
| K | Ibrahim Ayishetu | 32 | 4 | 6 | Primary Certificate | ₦100,000 (£135) | F |
| L | Buba Hajji | 34 | 5 | 13 | Primary Certificate | ₦95,500  (£168) | F |
| M | Isah Fatima | 28 | 4 | 6 | Primary Certificate | ₦80,000  (£141) | F |
| N | Buba Hauwa | 38 | 4 | 6 | Primary | ₦10,000  (£18) | F |
| O | Jabir | 37 | 4 | 6 | Primary Certificate | ₦120,000  (213) | M |
| P | Dairu Fatima | 29 | 5 | 6 | Primary Certificate | ₦54,000  (£95) | F |
| Q | Seidu Omuya | 42 | 4 | 6 | National Diploma | ₦90,000  (£158) | M |
| R | Ibrahim Adijat | 48 | 8 | 10 | Primary Certificate | ₦75,000  (£132) | F |
| S | Mariam | 35 | 5 | 6 | Primary Certificate | ₦10,000  (£18) | F |
| T | Ali Falimatu | 58 | 10 | 18 | Nil | ₦70,000  (£123) | F |
| U | Mustapha Abubakar | 47 | 2 | 5 | Primary Certificate | ₦1,500,000  (£2,631) | M |
| V | Ogbonna | 40 | 2 | 4 | First Degree | ₦200,000  (£351) | M |
| W | Cosmas | 30 | Nil | 5 | Secondary Certificate | ₦170,000  (£299) | M |
| X | Buba Fatima | 38 | 4 | 6 | Secondary Certificate | ₦70,000  (£123) | F |
| Y | Umar | 26 | 2 | 6 | Secondary Certificate | ₦40,000  (£72) | M |

**4. 2 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE PARTICIPANTS**

Inadequate basic statistics and unexplained demographic details of participants may create a knowledge gap on the participants’ vulnerability to different situations, including food insecurity while on the migration trajectory. Providing micro and macro-level information about the participants helps to assess their vulnerability to food insecurity and to reveal their capacity for adaptation and resilience to food insecurity in their new destination (Shultz et al.2, 014). It will also help in an in-depth revelation of the political, social, and economic consequences of forced migration to a new destination and to the policymakers and major stakeholders in migration and refugee programs. The current investigation, therefore, reveals as follows.

The participants comprised males and females in the age cohort of twenty-five to sixty-eight. Most participants are married with children and have an average household size of four to eighteen. This is revealed in Table 1. The nature and dimensions of their households had changed since their initial forced migration. Some participants later had additional children, while others lost their children because of ill health and poor feeding while migrating. These changes in the sizes of their households while on the migration trajectory had implications for their food security/insecurity. Those above the age of seventy years in the crisis areas may not have migrated. They probably did not run away from their town because of their age which makes them prefer to stay back and face whatever consequences it brings in their ancestral land than go to another culture to suffer, which may result in paying the ultimate prize. They may also have stayed back due to a lack of physical strength to embark on the forced journey, which entails strong mental and physical capabilities.

Most participants had only primary education, only a few had higher educational qualifications, and most of those with low educational qualifications learned or acquired other skills through informal education, as shown in Tables 1 and 3 below. This makes most participants less qualified for a highly skilled job and limits their chances of being engaged in government work or public service. This is probably why most participants are involved in private businesses as sources of livelihood before the crisis.  This makes their livelihood more vulnerable to attack during violent turmoil. When they lost their livelihood to the violent crisis, they moved without looking backward. This is probably because they have no ties with any government agencies that could help provide them with an alternative source of livelihood in the form of salaries or wages. In addition, the tedious bureaucratic procedure usually required by those engaged in government work before they can relocate is absent. The few participants who worked for government agencies usually required bureaucratic procedures before moving or securing their transfer to their desired location. There are few such participants in this investigation. Most participants earned enough income to guarantee their access to food and were, therefore, food secure before the crisis occurred. Table 1 above revealed that the highest income earner among the participants earned £2,631 per month, and the lowest earned £18 per month before the violent crisis. ( taking £1 equal ₦570 at the time of this interview). These earnings give the participants good access to food, making food secure before the violent crisis.

**4. 3 THE SUMMARY STORY OF HADIZA ALI**

Hadiza Ali is a forty-one (41) year-old woman, married after her primary education. After losing her husband in a crisis, they became nine (9) family members. Before the violent crisis, she was a part-time handicraft teacher under the family support program of a local government in Borno state. She taught women how to knit caps, popularly known as “Hula” in the local language. She trains women under the local government women’s support program. In addition, she had a shop where she sold clothes before the crisis. One cap could go for twenty thousand (₦20,000) naira depending on the size and the material’s qualities. Her husband was a businessperson; he sold shoes, agro-allied chemical products, and other products before his death. Therefore, they have good access to food and usually have enough food in the house and sometimes give some food items to people who need food support.   Their monthly income was over one hundred thousand (₦100,000) naira before the crisis. However, due to the violent crisis and their subsequent forced migration, they lost food access and depended on the food offered to her and her children in various towns as they migrated. She said, “We depended on the food offered to us by the people as we moved from one place to another, this was quite difficult for us because we are not used to some of the food due to cultural differences.”

The family members who ran in different directions during the crisis for safety later managed to find themselves and ran away from the town after the death of their father (her husband). They spent twenty-four (24) days in the bush, climbing chains of hills to get away from the crisis. According to Hadiza, the terrorists were killing people in the town and raping young girls and women.  Hadiza and her children walked to Askira Uba town and then to Mubi in Adamawa State. She was pregnant during the violent crisis and their subsequent forced migration. Pregnancy and her little children who could not walk made their movement difficult. Due to her condition, an unknown man assisted them with six thousand (₦6,000) naira to transport her family from Askira Uba to Mubi.  According to her, on their arrival in Mubi, a non-governmental organization helped them with relief items like mats, mosquito nets, food, soap, buckets, and drugs. According to Hadiza, the crisis later spread to Mubi three months after they had arrived. The security agencies could not contain the terrorist fighters. Therefore, she ran with her children to the Nigeria-Cameroun border for safety. “The terrorists later threatened to come for an attack on the Nigeria-Cameroun edge, where many displaced people are taking refuge,” she said. Therefore, Hadiza and her children later ran to Jemeta in Adamawa state. After a few weeks in Jemeta, they went to Yola, the Adamawa State capital, where the state government camped all the people fleeing the crisis. “Due to the growing fear of the city being attacked by terrorists, after a few months in Yola, the Government provided buses to take individuals from the camp to wherever they wished to stay across Nigeria,” she said. She then decided to go to Abuja and stay with her brother-in-law. It took them five months and twenty-four days before they arrived in Abuja. Their arrival in Abuja marked the end of the first phase of their traumas: hunger, food lack of food, and the beginning of anticipated hope to overcome trauma, have access to food, and meet other needs.

According to her, the brother-in-law who promised to help them earlier later abandoned her and her children after two years in Abuja.  According to Hadiza, her brother-in-law abandoned her and her children because he demanded that she have an intimate affair with him, which she turned down. Hadiza later decided to move into an IDP camp in Abuja as a temporary measure to guarantee their access to food. She also started knitting caps (Hula) immediately after she got into IDP Camp. According to her, Knitting was her major handcraft before the crisis that led to her family’s migration. Therefore, it was easy for her to start knitting caps again. However, because of her infant child, she could not knit many caps to earn lots of money. The government later gave her grown-up children scholarships to go back to school. This relieved her significantly from worrying about how the children would return to school. According to her, they were also trained in other skills to enhance their food accessibility using the acquired skills. She said, “Some non-governmental organizations later came to the IDP camp to train women in various crafts, such as animal husbandry, handling hairdressing machines, and sewing machines.” According to her, they also receive training to tie and dye clothes and make soap, predominantly liquid soap.   They later received sewing machines, fingerlings (small fishes), and seventy-five birds from the same organization to share among the women in the camp. She said, “The items given to us were to help us provide food for our family and reduce the trauma of not having food to feed our family.” This marked another significant phase in her life because the children had returned to school courtesy of government scholarships; she had started knitting caps and making money to feed the family. In addition, she acquired new skills and received tools to engage her in providing food for her family.

According to Hadiza, she was worried and traumatized throughout their fleeing period because she was pregnant and her husband had died. She was concerned about the well-being of her children, especially about how she would provide them with food and healthcare. It was a challenging experience for her and her children. According to her, they depended on herbs to treat ailments because there was no money for orthodox treatment.  She, however, remarked that the most difficult challenge they had was a lack of food. She said, “Lack of food made us steal from people’s farms as we walked through bushes and chains of hills in the early parts of our migration.” According to her, she also depended on picking some edible insects and wild fruit, such as date palms, as food.  In her remarks, she said, “It was a painful experience for someone like me, who had good access to food before the crisis and now depending on people’s farm and generosity to be able to feed my children.” According to her, the food provided reflected the culture of the people giving out the food to them as they arrived at various destinations, which were quite different from hers. According to her, she later adapted to the food of the host community with a series of modifications in the items and preparation. For example, they now use guinea corn to prepare “Kunu Jedda” instead of peanuts. She remarked that cultural differences prevented them from accessing food in their host town and caused much hunger. She said that at the Mubi IDP Camp, about ten people died of an ailment that could be, treated, but because the ailment combined with the effects of hunger, without proper treatment, they died.  She stressed that her worst time was during her pregnancy and after she delivered her baby. According to her, this increased their demand for food and put more pressure on her to get baby food. At times, she sent the older children to go and beg for food and money on the street for them to feed.  This was how the government agencies learned about her condition and later gave her children scholarships to return to school. However, her help from good Nigerians and some organizations was never enough to care for her family’s needs. They only began to have increased access to food when she started knitting Caps, “Hula,” in large quantities. She said that when she makes the Cap “Hula,” her grown-up girls will take them to offices and markets for sale. At times, they take the knitted caps to the major junctions in the city to sell. They sell the caps to travellers passing through the city to other parts of the country. Particularly those traveling to the country’s northern parts where these caps are used. Whatever they make from the sales is used to buy food and to take care of the family’s health needs. She is currently trying to establish a hairdressing shop in the city to use the skills she acquired at the camp to provide food for her family.

She remarked that the death of her husband created a negative consequence for the family. They are yet to get over his absence from the family. She said, “He would have been there for me when I delivered the last baby and helped to provide all the special attention needed by the new baby. This would have included buying baby food, which is currently expensive for me to handle. Although we are still happy about the new baby despite the hardship, we believe God brought the baby to replace his father”. She mentioned that her experience had shown a strong connection between forced migration and food insecurity. Because while running for safety, they could not carry any food, and as the journey progressed, they started experiencing hunger and a lack of food. “Therefore, forced migration causes hunger, death, serious ailments, and food insecurity.” She also stressed that she would never return to her hometown again because of the insecurity situation, which may remain in the town for a long time. She, therefore, believes that now that she can take care of her family, there will not be a need to return to where her safety will not be guaranteed. Moreover, she said, “ Returning would remind us of how my husband was murdered.

Similarly, Ibrahim Adijat narrated that:

**4. 4 THE SUMMARY STORY OF ADIJAT IBRAHIM**

Ibrahim Adijat, a forty-eight (48) year, was married with eight (8) children. According to her, she married after her primary education and later became a businessperson who deals in bulk sales of rice and beans. Retailers come to buy from her in bags. Her husband was a taxi driver who worked hard to earn money in collaboration with her gain; they used to provide for the family. They had good access to food and were food secure before the crisis. According to her, they were forced to migrate from their home city during a crisis caused by the Islamic terrorists known as Bokoharam in Nigeria. In her remarks, she said her husband fled the city first because the terrorists were killing the men who refused to join them early in the crisis. Her husband fled after hiding in their house ceiling for several days to avoid being killed. They both agreed that Adijat should bring the children to Kaduna, where the husband fled. It later became difficult for her to escape with the children to Kaduna. This was because the terrorists had intensified their attack on everyone in the city who refused to accept their ideology. The terrorist also began to rape young girls and women at will. She said, “I became overwhelmed with fear for my children being raped. Amid the crisis, I lost my father and my food store to the crisis. The lost store was filled with bags of rice and beans. The terrorist also burned my husband’s car parked outside the house”. According to Adijat, they ran short of food as the crisis continued. This was because they could not go out to buy food or do anything for fear of being killed. Everyone in the town also panicked because of the dangerous behaviour of the terrorists. According to her, the terrorists also blocked major roads leading to the town, making it difficult for the people to escape. The blockage also prevented people from bringing food into the town for fear of being killed by terrorists. She said, “My children were becoming ill for lack of proper feeding and medication; even if there was money for medicine, no medical outlets opened to attend to them.” In trying to figure out what to do next to save the children, one of her children died. According to her, one of her children’s deaths was fast-tracked by malnutrition and severe hunger. She later managed to escape in the night with the rest of her children along a bush footpath. The same footpath her husband escaped earlier.  According to her, she undertook the dangerous migration to avoid losing the rest of her children.

According to her, they walked along the bush footpath for four days before they got to the next town, where they received minimal assistance. She finally migrated to join her husband in Kaduna with the remaining children. This marked a significant phase in their journey and quest for food and safety. They gained minimal access to food while in Kaduna because her husband engaged in menial jobs that could not earn him enough money to buy the required food for the family. However, their stay in Kaduna was short-lived due to another violent clash between the Christians and the Muslims. In her remarks, they immediately relocated to Abuja to avoid their previous experiences. She said they spent two years in Kaduna before migrating to Abuja. During their stay in Kaduna, her husband worked as a wheelbarrow pusher. He helps people to carry loads from the market to their homes. He also helped the drivers to load their vehicles at the motor parks and marketplaces. They lost another child in Kaduna to ill health because of a lack of proper medication and poor feeding habits. Their migration from Kaduna to Abuja marked another critical phase in their migration trajectories.

She said they hoped for a better life in Abuja as they re-migrated. Unfortunately, their situation became worse when they got to Abuja. Their experience of food shortages and scarcity of food increased. This was probably because her husband did not get a job immediately upon arrival in Abuja. Being new in the city and needing to figure out exactly where to go and get menial jobs, they moved to an IDP camp at Karmajigi in Abuja to stay for a while. She said, “This gives us minimal access to food donated to assist the people at the IDP camp and also allowed me to acquire new skills that could help increase our access to food.” According to her, some organizations and individuals provided basic skills training for the people at the camp. The participants trained in catering, making polythene bags, production of creams, and popcorn making and packaging. Her husband later continued with similar work he did in Kaduna by carrying loads for people using wheelbarrows at motor parks and marketplaces around major markets in Abuja. According to her narration, her husband later met someone during his duty who asked why he does this kind of work. The husband narrated their stories to the person who pitied them. This person later bought a cab for him to use as a taxi in the city since he knows how to drive. According to her, this changed their access to food significantly, marking a turning point in their capacity to be food secure. They became food secured until the car developed faults beyond repair and had to be parked. They returned to food insecurity, and things became difficult for them again.

According to her, they later lost an additional three of their children while in Abuja, making them five children they had lost since the beginning of their migration.  After years of good relationships with people of goodwill in Abuja, she borrowed some money from the people of goodwill to start her usual business of selling rice and beans. The retailers buy with standard measures at a certain amount of money, and she makes lots of profit from the business. This gave them significant access to food because they ate from the foodstuff she sold. In addition, she makes extra cash, which helps them to raise money to rent an apartment in the town. They later moved out of the IDP camp to their rented apartment. She explains that their earlier food coping strategies have changed. She enumerated such previous schemes as skipping meals and allowing only the children to eat the little available food. They also used to delay their breakfast until about noon. This was to avoid lunch and only eat dinner at 10 pm. However, in between this time, they soak Garri for their children to drink. They sometimes add unique leaves called “Avioji” and mushrooms to their food during cooking. This makes the food last longer in the body and helps to reduce the hunger experience. It also makes them consume a lower quantity of food per day. When added to food during preparation, these leaves make the food swell in excess. This means a small amount of food to be prepared for the family, yet everyone will be satisfied. The strategy changed after she started selling foodstuff and gaining significant food access. Moreover, few family members remain after losing five children and her father. Therefore, the pressure to provide food and good healthcare for the family is reduced. They eat well now that she has also re-established her business. She, however, remarked that having lost five children, her previous food stores, and her dad, coupled with the current insecurity challenge in northern Nigeria, she is unwilling to return to her original hometown. Especially now that her family is gradually overcoming all the traumatic experiences; moreover, she is beginning to establish a permanent source of livelihood here in Abuja. She, therefore, hopes to stay in Abuja to see her three surviving children through school. She also expressed her opinion that there is a relationship between forced migration and food insecurity. According to her, forced migration means hunger, starvation, and uncertainty on the path of the migrants. They are never sure what will happen to them in the next moment while on the migration trajectory. Sometimes, people assist you and give you food, and you may not know how to eat such food; therefore, the hunger continues.

**4. 5** **LEVEL OF FOOD SECURITY BEFORE THE VIOLENT CRISIS**

The participants expressed how they lived a relatively good, peaceful, and calm life and had close relationships with friends and family before the crisis. They remarked that the violent problems caused them to embark on forced migration, which has caused them pain and varying degree of hardship experiences for several years. Most participants viewed their economic strength in terms of financial, cultural, human, and social capital and accessibility to food as good for them before the crisis. This enables them to live a comfortable life before the crisis. Most participants owned stores, farmland, animals, and other steady income sources, which guaranteed their food security before the violent crisis. The participants earn income ranging from ₦40,000 to ₦1,500,000 monthly, depending on their trades, as shown in Table 1 above. For instance, Abubakar Mustapha, a primary school certificate holder, owns and sells animals in the market and makes ₦1,500,000 monthly. While Umar, a secondary school certificate holder, works in corroboration with his father to treat people with health challenges using traditional herbs, earns ₦40,000 per month. Abubakar Mustapha appeared to earn the highest income, while Umar earned the lowest among the participants. These amount guaranteed their food security based on the region’s economy. In addition to the income they earn from the sales of their products and services they render to people, some participants do not buy food from the market; they fetch food from their farms or their food stores. Others who engaged in productive activities using their skills, such as knitting caps and local perfume production, which helped them to live quality lives before the crisis, were all forced to migrate.

The participants were forced to abandon the sources that guaranteed their food security and ran away due to violent conflicts. These are revealed in the summary of Hadiza Ali and Ibrahim Adijat’s story above. Other participants like Bala Ayishetu and Falimatu also remarked on how life was good for them and food secure they were before the violent crisis. See their remarks below.

**Bala Ayishetu** remarked “that we had good access to food before the crisis as a family. I sell Guinea corn, rice, and other cereals in a big store. I used to buy raw foodstuffs from the villages, where they are significantly cheaper, and bring them to sell in the city. I profit from the business and feed my family from the foodstuffs in the store. We do not need to buy foodstuffs from anybody or the market. The only thing we usually buy is the ingredients for soup. My husband also worked for the NASCO group of companies in Jos, where they produce biscuits and other confectionaries. We used his salary for our children’s school fees and medical care. We also used to help our extended relations that needed help. However, the situation changed after the crisis that led to the burning down of my stores. In addition, my husband was relieved from his job because of the effects of the violent conflicts on the company.  I lost everything in the store and had to run for my life.”

Bala Ayishetu’s remarks show they had good access to food before the crisis. They had a good wealth of financial, social, cultural, and human capital that guaranteed their access to food and healthcare before the violent conflicts. These factors strengthen household food security ( Niles & Brown, 2017; Kristianson et al., 2012; Douxchamps et al., 2016; Ritzema et al., 2017). They make money from multiple sources; she is involved in trading foodstuff and makes lots of profit. They do not spend money to buy foodstuff for the family; they take raw food from the store for the family. The husband also receives a salary from NASCO, where he works. In addition, he has access to biscuits and confectionaries, which supplement the family’s food needs. These multiple sources of income strengthen their financial capital. Using the husband’s salary to pay the children’s school fees and healthcare needs shows that they work together for the common goal of the family. This indicates that they maximized their social and human capital to guarantee food access for the family (Aldrich & Meyer, 2014). This enables them to assist extended family members who cannot provide food for themselves. The situation, however, changed after the crisis. They lost their freedom of movement in the town, could no longer go on business trips, and lost their stores, and the husband lost his job. This weakens their financial capital and subsequently reduces their food security level. In addition, they are subject to physical and emotional hardships in the form of physical assault, walking for a long distance to escape beating and death. Others are hunger, starvation, fear, and post-crisis panic. All these may have affected their access to food even in their new destination.

**Audu said** I had good access to food before the crisis. Food was never our problem before the crisis. All the family members were engaged in different things to get money for food. As the family’s last child, I did bricklaying work to get money and was earning up to one thousand five hundred naira daily, which was okay for me to feed myself and give a little to my aged parents. I used to have all kinds of food at home, like; cereals, grains, fruits, and tubers crops. Whichever one I wish to prepare, I prepare and eat.

**Abubakar** said, “I had good access to food before the conflict; I was into the animal business, which brought in lots of money. I had more than twenty goats, fifteen sheep, forty cows, and five donkeys for sale when the crisis broke out. I used to sell at least one to four animals a day before the crisis. I used to realize more than ₦50,000 thousand in a day. I also had more than ₦500,000 thousand naira in the house when the crisis started. I always bought whatever food I wanted for my family before the crisis. Though my wife was not doing anything to support the family, I asked her not to do anything because I alone could provide for the family”.

**Golla** said, “Before the crisis that led to our migration from Gwoza in the first place, I was working as an airport taxi driver and simultaneously carrying out farming activities. In most cases, I do not have to use the money I make from being a taxi driver to be able to feed my family. We used to go to the farm and harvest farm produce to eat. We used to have enough to eat and save the remaining one for the dry season when we could no longer go to the farm. My wife was a businessperson combined with farming; she assisted me in everything”.

**Falimatu** remarked, “We had good access to food before the crisis; I was a farmer despite my age; I have up to six hectares of land on which I cultivate different crops. I used human labour and animals to do most work on the farm. I have about five donkeys doing most of the farm work. The donkeys are also used to convey my farm produce from the farm to the house or market. I also hire people who control the animals to work on the farm. I harvested my farm produce in bags, especially rice, beans, and guinea corn. We do not have to buy food before the crisis; we usually go to the farm to harvest whatever food is needed and bring it home for meals. In addition, my children are all adults, and they work and make money for our feeding too. There was nothing like a hunger experience in the family before the crisis. I make about ₦150,000 – ₦200,000 every three months from the sales of my farm produce. It was after the crisis that we started experiencing hunger and starvation.”

The remarks of Falimatu show they had good access to food before the crisis but lost access to food after they relocated from their town. She exploited her wealth of cultural, human, financial, and social capital well to create food access for her family before the crisis. She makes lots of money from her food by selling parts to the public. She also devised cheaper cultural ways of using animals for most farm operations. They go to the farm and harvest the quantity of food they need. This saves money for her and the family. The family members were also involved in various trades that added to the family’s food needs. This is probably why she could make up to ₦150,000 - ₦200,000 every three months. This shows that they had good financial capacity to cater to the family before the crisis, in addition to guaranteed food access from the farm. These guaranteed the family’s food security before the crisis. This was the same for Abubakar Mustapha, who engaged in the sales of animals and earned up to ₦50,000 naira daily. Similarly, Audu and Golla had good access to food and were food secure before the crisis.

However, things changed after the crisis when they migrated to different localities that were completely new and could not put their wealth of human and cultural capital to bear on their food access. They started to experience hunger, starvation, and poor access to food. Their readjustment in strategies initially failed due to frustrations from multiple migrations and emotional distress. Just like Hadiza and Adijat had expressed earlier, they both have multiple sources of food access. Hadiza was an informal women’s trainer in cap knitting; she also had a store where she sold clothes and made much profit. This is in addition to her husband’s income, who also engaged in agro-allied chemical products and footwear. The combination of their income guaranteed their food security. According to Hadiza, they lack nothing in the house before the crisis. Their problems of food insecurity started after the violent crisis in which they were forced to migrate. In this vein, Adijat also expressed her family’s food security as good before the crisis. In her story, she stated that she had a big store selling foodstuffs like rice, beans, guinea corn, and others. In addition, her husband also owns a cab which he uses for taxis and makes money for the family’s upkeep. This also guaranteed their food security until the violent crisis sent them away, leaving their sources of livelihood behind.

The remarks and stories of these participants revealed that most of them were food secure before the crisis. They became food insecure after losing their source of livelihood to the crisis and were forced to migrate to a new location. In addition, to losing their sources of livelihood, they also lost their family’s breadwinners. All these subjected them to experience hunger, poor healthcare, and food scarcity in their new destination. Most even lost their family members to ailments and starvation during migration.  Therefore the participants experienced different kinds of physical and emotional hardships. Their experiences vary from one participant to the other depending on where, when, and how the crisis occurred. Terrorists, religious, ethnic, or Fulani herders are responsible for the violent conflicts.  Some conflicts started at night, while others were during the day. The time of the crisis determines how quickly the participants can move out of the city (Edward, 2016). Generally, the participants experienced fears, physical assault, anxiety, emotional distress, social disorientation, post-crisis panic, and despair to mental frustration. In addition, the loss of economic, human, social, and cultural capital and the stress of moving across cultural divides resulted in food insecurity. All these factors combined resulted in the form of food insecurity experienced by the participants, which are short-term, intermittent, and long-term, as discussed below.

**4. 6 SHORT-TERM FOOD INSECURITY**

During the crisis, people hid to avoid being hurt or killed. All private and commercial activities are halted, similar to Simeone’s (2017) opinion.  Therefore, the shop owners, food sellers, and food vendors closed their shops and food stores due to panic, despair, and fear of being attacked as the crisis raged in the city. In addition, terrorists and arsonists hunting for people to kill blocked the movement of vehicles and people into and out of the town. This made it difficult for people to bring food into the city for fear of being killed (FAO, 2018; Ville et al.,2019). The condition of not being able to access food temporarily creates short-term food insecurity in the city. When the major food stores and various food sources were destroyed due to the crisis, people who stayed indoors for fear of being hurt or killed faced chronic food insecurity. This investigation reveals that some people lost their loved ones to hunger and starvation at this crisis stage. However, to avoid this chronic food insecurity, some participants escaped from the town under challenging circumstances after a few weeks of confinement to their houses. Such participants abandoned whatever was left of their livelihood resources and ran into the safety of other towns. They run away from the crisis areas due to panic, fears, and threats to their life until they are sure of getting assistance.

Most participants escaped during the night and used the green belts to serve as a shield for them until they got to the nearest town without access to food on their way. They walked along the footpath for several days and sometimes weeks before getting help. They, therefore, experienced food insecurity for the period they walked along the bush footpath. While escaping the crisis, some participants lost family members to hunger and poor healthcare. Most participants who ran away on an empty stomach for days to avoid the horror and hardships accompanying the crisis became weak, sickly, and more susceptible to diseases and ailments. All these created short-term food insecurity for the migrants. These are revealed in the experiences of Hadiza Ali and Adijat Ibrahim in their summarized story above and the remarks of Umar and Ogbonna, as found below.

**Adijat** said, “After my husband ran away and my store burnt down, we could not access food. I was afraid to run out of the town on foot because we heard that terrorists had killed people attempting to escape the city. It took us some days before I could escape with my children. We walked through the bush footpaths for about four days before we got to where we could be helped. Before we fled the town, there was no food anywhere. You cannot get food to buy in the city even if you have money because most of the food stores have been burnt, and the few lefts are yet to be opened for fear of being attacked.  We left the city with hunger”.

**Umar remarked**, “After our house was burnt down, a good Christian fellow hid us in his house for about two weeks. For the two weeks, there was no access to many things, including food; therefore, we experienced hunger. Moreover, we could not go out to do anything because we hid from the arsonist. Even when we got a call to come to Abuja from one of my father’s customers, we could not go immediately because there was no vehicle to take us to Abuja. All activities were shut down in the city entirely.  Nothing moves in and out of the town for weeks except those living on the city’s outskirts. I almost died immediately after the crisis. There was no food anywhere for anybody in the town. The worst was that people could not go out for fear of being attacked; therefore, there was no market where people could go and buy things. There was nothing we could do to make food available to us; we, therefore, depended on drinking Garri, Kunu Jedda, and palp that ordinarily will not be regarded as a food that could sustain one for a long time”.

**Buba Haji** said, “It was a terrible experience for me; based on my experience, food is everything about life. When there was no food anywhere to eat, and you could not think of anything else. It will even be better if you are alone and have no children. When you have children who are hungry and crying to you for food, you can never be at peace with yourself and everybody around you. This has been my story of hunger during and long after the violent conflict.

**Ogbonna remarked,** “The most challenging period of my life was during the crisis when we could not go out to buy food, and the ones we had at home were exhausted. We experienced a high level of hunger at that time. Nevertheless, after the crisis, things gradually returned to normal for those whose properties and livelihood sources were not destroyed, and we started having food in the city. During my relocation from Jos to my village, we did not experience much hunger except on the day we left Jos and the day we arrived. On those days, we could not cook before leaving the town because we had arranged our cooking utensils in the car.  As we travelled to the village, we only bought snacks and soft drinks along the road”.

The investigation revealed that the participants experienced temporary or short-term food insecurity due to the destructive tendencies and acts of terrorism arising from the crisis. People’s livelihood sources were destroyed, and all economic activities were paralyzed; this essentially prevented people from accessing food, and they were subjected to chronic food insecurity. Although this might not have lasted for several months, the effects of the short-term food insecurity were gravy for the participants as some lost their loved ones to lack food, and some escaped with severe health consequences. However, their experiences vary from participant to participant.  Some participants got little crude food as they walked through the bush path. These categories of participants stole from other people’s farms, plucked wild fruits and date palms, and hunted edible insects popularly known as “para” in the local dialect. While some participants had no food and therefore did not eat anything for a number of days, they walked to escape. This is probably why some of them fainted due to hunger and starvation on arrival at their new destination. This happened to Mustapha and his friend before they got assistance with food at their new destination. The effects of short-term food insecurity were better for those who escaped through the bush footpath and could steal from people’s farms and, at the same time, get wild fruits and edible insects to eat. The situation was probably worse for those who could not escape during the crisis and had to hide in their houses without food for weeks. They probably went into hiding and could not come out for several weeks because of the killings and maiming happening around them, with no chance of surviving if they dared come out. Even though some participants have money, as stated in Adijat’s story, that could help them buy food. They starved because they would be killed if they came out. Some Muslim participants disguised themselves by hiding in Christian houses and vice versa, depending on which faith dominated the area where the participants found themselves as the crisis raged on. They remained in hiding, feeding only on liquid and low-quality food for days or weeks. Food also stopped coming into the city because people were afraid of bringing food due to the blockage of the major entrances by terrorists. However, the few participants who had food at home before the crisis exhausted all within a few days of staying indoors.

In summary, for the period the participants stayed indoors or walked through the footpath to escape, the situation remained food insecure.   This is because food stores were, shut entirely as no one could go out for any form of business due to post-crisis panic and fears of attack. It took participants time to regain courage from the tension and mental torture experienced during the crisis and make their way out of the city.

**4. 7 INTERMITTENT FOOD INSECURITY**

Multiple migrations, hunger, food scarcity, and food insecurity often characterize forced migration, as the participants run or relocate to safety (Douglass, 1999 and Hammond, 2018). The participants cross different regions and cultures when relocating or migrating. The differences in the physical environment and Cultural practices may reflect the kinds of food that will be available. This creates food insecurity for participants who cross different regions and cultures at different times and find themselves in an unfamiliar area and cultural practices (Pinstrup-Anderson, 2009); and (Candel, 2014). Multiple migrations among the forced migrants are encouraged by further threats to the migrants in their new location. This investigation reveals that such threats are from the terrorists and Fulani herdsmen who continue to trail participants just to get them killed. This is revealed in Hadiza’s and Adijat’s stories. The participants tend to relocate again once they perceive any threat to their lives. This is usually when they begin settling down and becoming acquainted with the culture, region, and food-sourcing methods. They, therefore, abandon all the efforts made so far to guarantee their food security and move to another region with different cultural practices. This condition results in intermittent food insecurity for the participants. Intermittent food insecurity is therefore discussed under two sub-headings: multiple migrations due to the threat of further violent crises in their new location, changes in cultural practices, and regional differences.

**4.7.1**  **MULTIPLE MIGRATION**

It is often difficult for the participants to get all the help they need as thought before fleeing to new places or destinations. The usually expected help includes food access, good healthcare, availability of jobs, and acquisition of skills (Crawley et al., 2018; Hagen-Zanker & Mallett, 2016; Hammond, 2018). This help may sometimes not be unavailable for the migrants; instead, they may further be threatened by fresh crises in their new destination. This happens just as they settle down and devise ways to access food. The new means include developing new skills or getting new jobs to help them access food. Once they discover any threat to their lives, they relocate immediately and again, leaving what they started behind. The inability of the participants to settle down in a new destination for a long time due to threats, fears, and despair from the terror groups makes them more vulnerable to food insecurity.  Just as they are beginning to settle down and creating access to food for themselves, they start running again due to threats and must go and start again in another place. This, therefore, causes fluctuations in their access to food and results in intermittent food insecurity.  The current investigation reveals that all the participants migrated multiple times. See Table 2 below.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| PART | 1ST DESTINATION | 2ND DESTINATION | 3RD DESTINATION | 4TH DESTINATION | 5TH DESTINATION | TOTAL |
| GOLLA UMAR | JOS | ABUJA |  |  |  | 3 |
| HADIZA ALI | ASKIRA UBA | MUBI | CAMEROUN | JAMETA | ABUJA | 5 |
| LIYATU AYUBA | JOS | MARARABAN JAMAA | LAFIA | ABUJA |  | 4 |
| IDRIS IBRAHIM | MAIDUGURI | JOS | ABUJA |  |  | 3 |
| ABRAHAM JENNIFER | JOS | YOLA | ABUJA |  |  | 3 |
| ABUBAKAR MUSTAPHA | JOS | MOUNTAIN | MAIDUGURI | ABUJA |  | 4 |
| AMINU ABUBAKAR | KATSINA | JOS | ABUJA |  |  | 3 |
| ABUBAKAR KATUM | MAIDUGURI | JOS | ABUJA |  |  | 3 |
| DOGO SHEFIYAT | JOS | GIDAN WAYA | JERE | ABUJA |  | 4 |
| AUDU UMAR | MAIDUGURI | JOS | ABUJA |  |  | 3 |
| IBRAHIM AYISHETU | JOS | MADAGALI | YOLA | ABUJA |  | 4 |
| BUBA HAJJI | JOS | MANCHOK | ABUJA |  |  | 3 |
| ISAH FATIMA | LAMINGO-JOS | ANGWA-ROGO JOS | ABUJA |  |  | 4 |
| BUBA HAUWA | ANGWA-RUKUBA JOS | ANGWA-ROGO JOS | ABUJA |  |  | 4 |
| JABIR | JOS | MANGU | KARU-NASARAWA | ABUJA |  | 4 |
| DAIRU FATIMA | GWOZA | MADAGALI | JOS | ABUJA |  | 4 |
| SHEIDU OMUYA | JOS | LOKOJA | OKENE |  |  | 3 |
| IRAHIM ADIJAT | JERE IN BORNO | KADUNA | ABUJA |  |  | 3 |
| MARIAM | JOS | GWOZA | MADAGALI | ABUJA |  | 4 |
| ALI FALIMATU | GWOZA | GULAK | MADAGALI | ABUJA |  | 4 |
| MUSTAPHA ABUBAKAR | ABBATOIR-JOS | ANGWA-ROGO JOS | ABUJA |  |  | 3 |
| OGBONNA | JOS | ABUJA |  |  |  | 2 |
| COSMAS | JOS | FARINLAMBA | ABUJA |  |  | 3 |
| BUBA FATIMA | GWOZA | MADAGALI | GOMBE | MAIDUGURI | ABUJA | 5 |
| UMAR | JOS | ABUJA |  |  |  | 2 |

**Table 2 shows multiple destinations of the participants.**

The stories of Hadiza above and the remarks of Jabir, Golla, and Abraham, as shown below, support this belief.

**Jabir remarked**, “After losing my workshop and working tools during Jos’s first and second crises. My wife and I returned to the village to start farming on our family land. The Fulani herders brought their crisis just as the situation improved for us in the village. Several people were killed when the herders invaded our village, and my wife had a miscarriage due to fear, panic, and stress.  Again, we had to run away from the town to the next city, Mangu, where we stayed for about six months. While in that town, I got involved in sand mining from a stream to enable me to feed my family until I nearly drowned one day. For fear of losing my life in the river, I stopped sand mining and relocated to Karu, a suburb of Abuja. Moreover, each time we moved from one place to another, we experienced food shortages, poor health care, hunger, and starvation.”

The remarks of Jabir show that he lost his human and cultural capital and, by extension, economic capital after the first crisis. The loss of his workshop and working tools made him unable to use his skills to work and get money to meet the family’s needs, which included food. This situation created hardships for him and his family and made him food insecure. Therefore, he relocated to another town to start a different trade to feed the family. As he was settling down, getting used to the new work, and hoping to access food, the Fulani herders brought another crisis to the town. During the problem, he lost his farm and his wife’s pregnancy through miscarriage. This created physical and emotional hardship for the family and made him food insecure. They relocated to another city, where he got involved in sand mining to ensure the family’s access to food. He later escaped drowning in the river during one of the mining sections and again lost the opportunity to access food, making him and his family food insecure. This prompted them to relocate to Karu near Abuja. He kept relocating and readjusting to the situation in every new destination. And this kept subjecting him to intermittent food insecurity.

**Mariam** said**,** “After my husband died in Jos during a violent crisis, I relocated with my children back to Borno state stay with the rest of our extended family members. I stayed for about four years in Borno State; in Borno State, I traded on fish around the Lake Chad area. The business was good because I could care for my children very well. After some time, the Bokoharam insurgence started in that axis, and I stopped the trade consequently, we experienced hunger and starvation. I decided to do other menial jobs to provide food for my children, and then the insurgents spread to our town and started killing people. We had to run from the town to the next town on foot for about two weeks in the bush. When we arrived in Madagali, we were assisted with food and water for about one month. After one month, we were told that Bokoharam members were also planning to attack the town. Therefore, we had to relocate again to another town called Mubi. We stayed in Mubi for about three months before we were advised to relocate again that there might likely be another crisis in the town soon. I then decided to come to Abuja”.

The participants’ remarks indicated that she migrated multiple times after moving from Jos to Borno State. She got engaged in trading fish and was making a fortune out of the trade to care for her children. The violent crisis that spread to her town abruptly ended the trade. This made her abandon her newfound livelihood and run for their life. This made them food insecure again. Their movement continued until they reached Abuja. Each time she tried to settle in a place and be able to earn sources of livelihood, she found herself running again for their lives. This made her experience intermittent food insecurity until she got to Abuja, where she took refuge at the IDP camp before finally moving to her permanent home after remarrying another man.

**Fatimabuba** remarked, “We stayed in Madagali after migrating from Gwoza for about two weeks, and the terrorists are still trailing us down to the place. My husband and I, therefore, agreed that I should go to Gombe State with the children and stay with his brother while he went to Abuja to find a job to do in the meantime. I, therefore, went to Gombe while he travelled to Abuja. I was in Gombe for about one year and two months. When my brother-in-law could no longer cope with our feeding and his own family, we went to Maiduguri IDP camp. The Borno state government provided food and security for the people in the IDP camp. We stayed there for about three years before we joined my husband in Abuja. Fears, panic, hunger, little access to food, and poor healthcare characterized our migration. We reunited with my husband from Jos to Gwoza to Madagali to Gombe to Maiduguri and finally to Abuja. The situation did not change even in Abuja until I started cap knitting, which now provides us food.”

Fatmabuba’s remarks showed that she engaged in multiple migrations because of her inability to access food. She, therefore, kept migrating until she got to Maiduguri, where the Borno state government took over feeding them. This was the only time she spent three years in a place before she could reunite with her husband in Abuja. The husband must have raised money from his menial jobs to transport them from Maiduguri to Abuja. Although the security of their lives may have been taken care of, the food insecurity continued until she could start her usual cap knitting, which she did before the crisis. This was the only time they began to have good access to food and become food secure.

**Katum** said, “We originally migrated from Borno state to Jos plateau when the terrorist attack became overwhelming in my hometown. The terrorists called Bokoharam were killing people at will. We then migrated to Jos in Plateau state for safety. We lived in Jos for several years until another religious crisis in Jos City. We were lucky to escape to Abuja unhurt, although we lost all we had. We relocated to Abuja because we could not return to Maiduguri, where we initially migrated. This is because the issue of Bokoharam has worsened than before our initial migration. It was awful before our initial relocation to Jos. When you wake up in the morning, you see dead bodies everywhere, and you are not sure what will happen to you and your family the next moment. We, therefore, decided not to go back to Maiduguri but to run from Jos in Plateau state to Abuja. Unfortunately, the crisis in Jos has a religious and political undertone. We came to Abuja believing my family and I would be safer in the federal capital territory.”

The participant’s remarks suggested they migrated from their hometown for safety and food insecurity, not only for safety and food insecurity reasons but also to avoid the emotional distress they undergo daily by seeing dead bodies around them. The exact reasons made him and his family migrate from Jos to Abuja, and the horror of seeing dead bodies and the uncertainty of their safety made them relocate. This, therefore, suggested that their primary reason for multiple migrations was their safety, food insecurity, and avoiding the emotional distress of seeing dead bodies around them all the time. The primary reason for numerous migrations was safety, food insecurity, and other reasons, such as poor access to healthcare.

This experience tends to limit the capacity of their social capital and networks that help to enhance their food access before the crisis. Their current situation makes their food access inconsistent and uncertain. This, therefore, creates a problem where they have food at one time and do not have it at another time.  The situation results in creating intermittent food insecurity for them. In addition, the participant’s movement from one point to another created instability and inconsistency in their access to food. When settled in a place, they may be guaranteed access to food for as long as they are there. However, when they begin to run due to threats to their life, that guarantee and assurance are lost, and they become food insecure again until they settle in another new destination.  When this situation persists for a long time, the participants keep experiencing on-and-off food insecurity, causing intermittent food insecurity.

**4.7.2 CULTURAL DIFFERENCES**

The participants experienced changes in culture, food practices, and general ways of life as they migrated from one region to another. It is often difficult for migrants to adjust to alternative food practices without their culturally preferred food (Dhokarh et al., 2011; Casali et al., 2015; Kittler et al., 2012). There are significant changes in the food available to them in every new place they arrive. These changes are linked to the differences in their culture and their physical environment (Larson, 2009; Kittler et al., 2012). Moving from one geographical region to another means experiencing different weather attributes, such as rainfall, temperature, cloud cover, sunshine, and wind movements, and Language and ways of communication, which could affect migrants’ access to food (Nevana, 2013; Tikkanen, 2007). This is probably because the migrants may not be able to communicate effectively with the people in the host community to know the names and kinds of food found in their new place. They may be unable to even ask for what they want in terms of the type and quantities of the food they want at a given time. This could subject the migrants to a lack of food and short-term food insecurity (Satia, 2010; Hadley et al., 2007). Aside from the cultural factors, the environment may influence the available food and, therefore, may determine the migrant’s choices in the new place (Larson, 2009; Kittler et al., 2012). The migrants, therefore, need to adjust and adapt to the socio-cultural norms of their new destination. These adjustments must be immediate to their food practices to ensure food security. These adjustments and adaptations are necessary because they have crossed different cultures and geographical regions and, therefore, must survive in their new locality.

This is seen in the summary story of Dairu Fatima, where they have to abandon Tuwo Masara and Tuwo Chinkafa, made from maize and rice, respectively, for Pounded yam and Akpu, which were prepared from yam and cassava, respectively. The cultivation of these crops was mainly due to differences between the two regions. Other changes in cultural features such as language, food production systems, cultural festivals, cooking procedures, and food taboos. These are seen to have influenced the migrant’s accessibility to food (Rogaia, 2002; Wright & Kwok, 2001; Risvik & Veflen, 2006 ). Like Abubakar, Mustapha said in his summary story that most festivals that allowed people to access food could not be celebrated in their place. Therefore, cultural and environmental differences caused by movement from one region to another created food insecurity for the migrants initially. The participants appeared to be unfamiliar with the food available at their destination. This is probably why they struggle with modifying available alternative food ingredients to give them something close to what they are used to consuming—for instance, replacing seasoning with locust beans and fish or meat with mushrooms, as expressed in Dairu Fatima’s story. They struggle to feed on functional food and encourage their children to eat the available food. In addition to looking for alternatives, they try to modify the available food to suit their tastes by adding certain condiments or recipes to the unfamiliar food in their current destination. This helps them adjust such food close to what they are used to before migration. Replacing seasoning with locust beans and replacing fish, and meat with mushrooms, might not have given them the perfect culturally preferred food and tastes. Still, it may have given them alternative food, cheaper and can be gotten from the surroundings with little or no cost. This appears good for financially weak participants with no hope of getting a job as soon as possible to guarantee their food access in the new place. The participant’s further movement into another environment meant they had to start improvising food for themselves again. This normally compound and increased food insecurity for the migrants intermittently. And resulting in intermittent food insecurity. The remarks of some of the participants explain more about how the changes in their culture and food practices created food insecurity for them. See the comments of Shefiyat Dogo and Falimatu, and Abubakar Mustapha.

**Abubakar** said, “The differences in our food practices affected our access to food when we arrived in Abuja; the foods are unavailable in the form we know and eat. We have to either add something or remove certain parts of the food before we can eat them. This made us either add extra money for the addition of certain items or remove certain parts of the food. Hence, constitute a restriction on our access to such food. Generally, the cost of food in our new environment made it more inaccessible for us. One can only access food when you have money to buy it and remain hungry when one does not have money to buy it.”

**Audu** said, “The differences in the culture of my host community and mine are pretty much, which created a food bottleneck for me. Though we are from the same geographical region, we speak different languages, and our norms, customs, and social lives differ in many aspects. In my place, for instance, we celebrate the new yam festival and other food festivals. During these festivals, people who cannot feed their families are provided enough that may last them for a long time. Yam is cooked, and people from all parts of the community are invited to come and participate in the celebration. This is done regularly to help people who do not have enough food to feed their families. Tubers of yam are sent to people in neighboring towns. These practices are absent here in this community, making many people unable to access food”.

**Shefiyat Dogo** said, **“**There are significant differences between our culture and the culture of our host community. There are differences in the type of food we eat and how they are prepared before being eaten. We do not know how to eat some of their food; for instance, we cook and eat “Gwote,” a local delicacy made from “Acha” in our place, but on our current site, it is prepared with maize and spinach. So many kinds of food are prepared differently in our current location from how we prepare them and what is used to prepare them in my place. These made us not eat their food on arrival, limiting the kinds and quantities of food we could buy and consume. Sometimes, my children are given food while at the camp but do not know how to eat them, yet they are hungry. I started encouraging them that our situation was abnormal and that we must learn to adjust and eat their food. It was not just because we did not know how to eat their food and the ethnic cuisine that was our problem; the food was also costly, making it more difficult to access. Until now, the prices of food items in Abuja are so high that poor and less privileged people hardly have the money to buy them. When we have money for food, we will have something to eat, but when we do not have, we have to go hungry”.

The remarks of Shefiyat reveal that significant differences in their culture created lots of differences in the food of the migrants and the kinds of food found in the host community. These differences range from the ingredients used and how the food is prepared to consumption, creating food insecurity for the migrants. The differences in the ingredients may have resulted from regional differences. For instance, where a specific region favours the production of Acha (a special kind of cereal) for making Gwote (a special delicacy), it makes Acha an integral part of that cultural food practice. Therefore, the movement of the people away from such regions limits their access to Acha, which is used for making Gwote. This limits their access to food and ultimately makes them food insecure, especially food made from Acha. The adults and the mature ones among the migrants understand that they must adjust to their current realities of change in culture and region and, hence, the kinds of food available to them. However, the children found it very difficult to understand this precarious family situation, probably because of their level of comprehension of their condition. This made them reject the available food in their current place as they still preferred the food they were used to before migrating. This has further created problems for their parents, who must seek their preferred food to reduce hunger and starvation. Therefore, the parent struggles amid their weak financial state to provide for what the children like. They must skip meals and eat more unfamiliar food than the children to keep up with the situation. Due to their weak financial capital, they could only afford a small quantity of the available food to meet the need of their entire household. When they have money, they buy the preferred food for the children, but when they do not, they make do with whatever is available. This contributed to their inability to access food, weakening their resilience to food insecurity in their new destination.

**Falimatu** remarked that: “We went through about four different cultures, and none was precisely like ours; Our languages are not the same; their dress is quite different from ours. Their farming system and the cultivated crops are different from ours. Their ways of preparing and eating food are not the same as ours. All these differences were apparent and seen each time we moved to a community as we progressed along the trajectory. For instance, in one community, when they cook food like Moi-Moi (an exceptional food made from beans), they leave such till the following morning before it is eaten. They believed eating the food the next day would be sweeter. This prevents us from eating Moi-Moi in that community because, culturally, we do not eat food left overnight. This type of situation limits our access to food in most places. Some food that would have been cheaper in some areas along the line is forbidden for consumption, depriving us of cheap food we could have purchased and had something to eat. There is a stream in Gulak where we would have gone fishing and used our catch to cook soup as our only source of protein, but they never allow people to fish in the stream because of culture, depriving us of access to food.

The remarks of Falimatu above show that differences in their cultural practices created food insecurity for them as they migrated from one community to another. The differences begin with the differences in climatic condition of the places, which influences the type of crops cultivated from food preparation to consumption. The rules guiding food consumption also differ, considering some food that is prepared and left overnight before eating. This is culturally peculiar to the community that practices such food habits. It may be because they want some fermentation or some reaction to take place on the food, which might either add a unique aroma or make it thicker than it would be if eaten on the same day of preparation. However, this seems odd to the migrants who need to learn to eat such food with difficulties. This situation confronted the migrants in most places they migrated to before their current location. The worst for the migrants were situations where they saw an opportunity to get food and were prevented from accessing food due to cultural differences. For instance, the participants saw a chance to carry out fishing on a stream and were precluded because of the cultural practices of the host community. The opportunity would have given them cheap protein at no cost and ultimately increased their food access. These cultural differences created food scarcity and food insecurity for the migrants new to the host community and still struggling to overcome physical and emotional distress. The changes in culture and regions seem to have affected the types of food available to the migrants and the ones they could access. The participants’ food access was significantly affected by cultural practices predicated on regional differences, which largely determine the food cultivated, prepared, and consumed. This is primarily determined by natural factors such as climate and soil differences. This may have created significant food insecurity for the migrants. Moreover, for the migrants to access food, they must change their food practices to suit the culture of their new place.

**4. 8 LONG-TERM FOOD INSECURITY.**

Diverse cultures, views, ideas, religions, ethnicity, race, and communal interests brewed hatred among the people in the northern part of the country, resulting in a violent crisis. These have recently characterized the north-central region and other parts of Nigeria. Maiming and killing are common among people during a violent crisis (Sarzin, 2017; Denov, 2019; IDMC, 2016). People that witness the killing or death of their family members in a gruesome manner experience emotional distress for a long time (Min Yang, 2021; Bogic,2015; Slove, 2014). The horrific scenes always re-occur in their heads and minds, and such thought continues to weigh the participants down psychologically and make them unorganized. It is worse when the surviving participants have not been doing much to support the family while the breadwinner was alive. In this regard, the participants remain unorganized in a new environment, often begging for food. Such participants kept wandering from one place to another, searching for help, safety, and food access. This situation makes them indulge in strange behaviours to enable them to access food. These behaviours include prostituting, begging, stealing, drug peddling, and addiction. These behaviours and actions can only guarantee them food access for a short time. The situation has put most participants in parts of food insecurity for a long time. In addition, most participants are low-skilled, as shown in Table 1. Therefore, they cannot secure skilled jobs in their new destination to guarantee their food source that could make them food secure. They need to develop their human and cultural capital further to help them get jobs in their new destination. Acquiring new knowledge and skills to improve their human and cultural capital that will make them fit into their current community and provide food for their families may take several months or years.   Acquisitions of these skills, usually through formal or informal training, take several months or years (Schuller, 2004; Kenton, 2023). The participants remained food insecure for the time it took to develop these new skills or attain full human and cultural capital development in their new destination. They only become food secure when the skill acquisition is completed and can be, used to provide food for the family.  As shown below, the remarks of Adijat, Comas, Mariam, and Liyatu Ayuba confirm this assertion.

**Ibrahim Adijat** said, “I lost six (6) people during our migration process. I lost my father and five children. This is in addition to different experiences of ill health as we migrated. The death of my father was a bad one for me. Because my father set up the business, I was doing before the crisis. In addition, he later gave me some amount of money to boost my capital base of the business. However, he was killed during the crisis. That was why, after the conflict, I could not start any business again because there was no one to assist me. This was why we could not feed ourselves during and after relocation. He could have helped me start my business again if he had been alive. His death and the death of my children created deep pain in my heart forever. We did not believe that this could happen to us. We will forever have to live with the pain of their death. A situation that would not have happened if not for the conflicts.

The participant lost her business which had been their source of livelihood, lost the breadwinner, who had been the financier of their business, and later lost five other family members. The breadwinner’s death made it impossible for them to start another business again after the crisis. His death reduced the family’s financial strength and, by implication, reduced their access to food and good healthcare. The breadwinner’s death created a vacuum in their access to food and created a food insecurity situation for them. This brought in lots of hardships and distress for the family members. This may have given rise to frustration and depression experienced in the family. Lack of money may have caused their inability to access food and healthcare required by the other members of the family, who later died after their initial migration. This is probably why there was high mortality in the family. The pressure to keep providing for the family was so high that she was relieved after losing the other family members. Despite losing additional family members, their food insecurity persisted for a long time until she borrowed money from her neighbours to start a new business similar to what she did before the crisis, though on a trim scale level. She could only borrow from her neighbours to start another business after spending a long time in her new place and became well-known and trusted, as she narrated in her stories. They remained food insecure for long before she could borrow money to start a new business.

**Shefiyat Dogo** said, “I had an affair with some men for money and other assistance to provide food for my children. I could not stand to watch my children starve to death, and there was no hope of getting money from anywhere to buy food. All the men I ever asked for help requested that I sleep with them before helping me. Therefore, after losing one of my children to starvation early in our migration, I accepted their proposal to get money to buy food for my children. I cannot watch others starve; therefore, I must do what I must”.

After the death of her husband, the responsibility of providing for the family fell on her. Unfortunately, she was not contributing much to the family’s upkeep when her husband was alive. Therefore, it became difficult for her to meet the food need of the family. After watching the death of one of her children, she decided to do anything that would give her the capacity to provide food for her children. She took to prostitution to get money to provide food for the family. This reveals the height of hardships, food insecurity, and emotional distress she was going through at that moment in their lives. Sleeping with other men for food was probably a behaviour she never exhibited when her husband was alive. This behaviour may not sustain their food access or make them food secure for long. It may sustain them temporarily because her constant patronage by men is not guaranteed. That means they only have access to food when she has male customers. In addition to the irregular nature of their sources of getting food, she may also be facing serious health challenges from the nature of the work she does, which may also shorten the amount of time she can spend on the job.

**Liyatu Ayuba** remarked, “After losing my husband during the crisis, my children and I stayed in Abuja for three years without significant access to food; my eldest son decided to return to Jos and work to support the family. On his return to Jos, he was affected by a bomb blast planted by terrorists at the entrance of a COCIN church headquarters in Jos. This added more sorrow to our situation; we could no longer afford simple meals. The money realized from my menial jobs and that of my second son were used to buy medicine for my son affected by a bomb blast. This caused a significant change in our eating habits. Sometimes, I would stay for days without food. This prompted my second son to go into hard drug peddling just to be able to feed the family. My children, who knew nothing about drugs before the crisis, became drug exposed. The National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) later killed one of them because of his involvement in drug peddling”.

Liyatu’s remarks show that long-term food insecurity is deeply associated with killing the breadwinners of families. Particularly the slain breadwinners whose families had not been proactive or supportive in providing food for the family while he was alive suffered the most. In the case of Liyatu and her children, they became confused and uncoordinated immediately after the death of their father, who had been providing for them. This makes them beg for food and get involved in drug peddling and prostitution to maintain food security. The family was confused for three years without food security; this may have prompted the eldest son to return to Jos to get something to do to provide for the family. He later got involved in a bomb blast, reducing their chances of being food secure. Because all the money they made from their menial jobs now goes for medication. The situation may also have led the others to drug peddling and addictions, which later resulted in the death of one of them. The participants in this category may also develop psycho-mental issues, which made them roam the street aimlessly due to the effects of drugs in their new destination. They may no longer have the mental capacity to think of how to appropriately provide or access food other than to keep begging for food until they can come out of such distress. This also created long-term food insecurity for the participants. The remarks of Idris shown below also confirm that poor mental capacity arising from the effects of the violent crisis and their subsequent migration could also cause long-term food insecurity.

**Ibrahim Idris** said, “After losing all my family members, I became sick for two years. During my sickness, people said that I used to talk alone. Right now, I do not have anybody to speak with. People sometimes see me as mentally derailed because I talk aloud to the air, but nothing is wrong with me. I do not even know that I speak to myself sometimes, except when people come to tap me to stop talking to myself”.

Ibrahim’s remarks showed that he became sick for two years after losing his family members, which is associated with the violent crisis and their migration from one place to another. His sickness may have resulted from the psychological effects of losing all his family members. From his remarks, the sickness lasted for two years, which means that for those two years, he was food insecure. He may have depended on people and charities for food. Someone who was constantly speaking to himself until he was tapped to stop due to psychological trauma may not be able to work for money and be food secure. This may have made him food insecure for two years until he was assisted out of the situation, probably through regular and proper medication.

In other circumstances, the violent experiences created a situation that led some participants to consciously forbid eating food made from meat-related products, even without alternative food in the house. Witnessing the killing of the people and seeing the blood flow out of the body created a lasting distressful memory of the barbaric act. Therefore, such a scene made some participants forbid food made from meat and prefer to starve for a long time rather than eat such food. The worst is the certain ethnic groups associated with such killing that has been tagged killers. People now avoid any food they produce at all costs. Some people vowed never to patronize such food again, even if they had to die of hunger. See the remarks by Ogbonna below.

**Ogbonna** said, “I could absorb the shock and trauma of the violent crisis, but my children and wife could not. To date, the effects of that incident are still affecting them psychologically. Because we have never experienced such a horrible experience in our lives before the crisis. Due to what happened, we stopped eating red meat in our house because we saw lots of blood flowing on the street close to our home. My children have also refused to speak a specific language to date because they felt a particular tribe perpetuated a heinous crime against their fellow human beings. Unfortunately, no counselling centre or organization counsels the affected persons. The common practice here is that the victims absorb the situation within themselves, and life continues. This should not be the case at all. I think the affected people should always be given all the necessary counselling to overcome the trauma and encouraged to continue their lives”.

Ogbonna’s remarks indicated that his children have vowed never to eat meat-related food because of what they witnessed during the violent crisis. The blood flow they saw may have created psychological effects on them eating meat-related food again. This may make them food insecure. According to his remarks, there were no counsellors shortly after the crisis to help in counselling them, which would have assisted in preventing this psycho situation. This may make them food insecure for a long time.

As stated earlier, the participants also lost their human and cultural capital. This makes the participants unable to access the monetary resources that could help them access food. In addition, the mental capacity to acquire new ones as soon as possible is also reduced to the psychological state of their mind. In addition, it takes time to develop new knowledge and skills that could help them to be food secure in the new destination. Even when specific skills are developed in new localities, there must be a financial backup for such skills to be used to secure food access. In the current situation, the participants require financial strength to practice the new skills acquired, which is not available to them. This, in the end, makes the participants have less access to food for a long time because they will depend on other people for food for a long time. As shown below, Aminu’s remarks confirm this assertion.

**Aminu** said, **“**I learned how to rear animals when I got to Abuja, which added to my skill and capacity to earn money. I did not just learn how to rear animals but also learned to make soap and other things. However, I have not been able to use the skills to provide food for myself because I do not have the resources to raise the animals or start doing the other things I learned. In addition, you know that raising animals involves much money. Right now, the skills acquired during our stay in Abuja have not helped me in any way to increase our access to food”.

The loss of human and cultural capital created food insecurity for the participants, particularly when they found themselves in a new environment where they needed more skills to do specific jobs. It takes several months or years to be able to acquire new skills that can help them to have access to food. At times, some of these new skills acquired are capital intensive, and the participants may need more time and financial capacity to start. Therefore, they remained food insecure when the new talent was not used. Sometimes, the participants may not have the mental capacity to acquire the required skills in the new environment. Judging from the participants’ educational level, as shown in Table 1, most participants have low educational qualifications, which may limit their capacity to acquire highly skilled jobs. This will make some participants remain food insecure for a long time.

**4. 9 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS**

Forced migration has a direct relationship with the violent crisis. The participants would not have migrated without violent crises (Hammond et al., 2018). The participants experienced physical hardships and emotional distress from the beginning of their migration until their final destinations (Bogic et al., 2015; Min Yang, 2021). The participants were exceptionally food secure before the violent crisis and became food insecure after the crisis, leading them to experience different hardships such as hunger, starvation, and food insecurity. These difficulties experienced by the participants are a direct consequence of the violent crisis. This investigation recognized three significant forms of food insecurity. These are short-term food insecurity, intermittent food insecurity, and long-term food insecurity.

The short-term food insecurity appeared to be chronic and more devastating for the participants. This occurs during and immediately after the violent conflicts when people are prevented from accessing food sources such as food stores and food outlets were destroyed. In addition, food is prevented from entering the crisis town. There was no market where food could be sold or bought during the crisis. This means that all the sources of getting food are entirely blocked, making the participants go through severe hunger, starvation, and food insecurity. Though short-term food insecurity may not have lasted for an extended period, it proves to be more chronic and, in some cases, fatal. Some participants lost their children due to hunger and their inability to secure food for their children. This is found in the story of Adijat Ibrahim and Shefiyat Dogo, who lost each child due to hunger and inability to escape the town on time. Aside from hunger and the inability to secure food, they also went through devastating traumatic experiences. These created physical, cultural, and social negative consequences on the life of the participants (Silove, 2014; Morina et al., 2015). Short-term food insecurity extended beyond the town where the migrants fled. Some who managed to escape through a secret footpath using the green cover, and others fleeing during the night had a tough time accessing food while on the run.

Most depended on wild fruits, stole from people’s farms, and edible insects such as grasshoppers, rodents, and date palms to survive. This could not have sustained them without severe hunger considering the number of days or weeks they walked through the bush parts before they could get help. At this stage, some participants lost their children and loved ones to minor ailments that ordinarily may not have killed but to hunger, starvation, and malnutrition. This is particularly common to children because their tender body systems could not withstand the stress of going through a long absence of food. The participants did not just experience food insecurity situations. They also experienced physical and emotional distress, including social disorientation, fears, post-crisis panic, drug addiction, depression, walking long distances for days, beating, killing, and general despair ( Min-Mang, 2021; Bogic et al., 2015; Bhugra, 2004; Bhui, 2014). However, the current investigation discovered that hunger, starvation, and physical and emotional distress are linked to most deaths, ailments, and psychological behaviors experienced by the participants in the early parts of their migration. The hardships and emotional distress accompanying short-term food insecurity appeared to be felt more by women and children than men. This is reflected in the number of children that died during the migration, which seemed to be more than adults. This is probably because most men fled the town early, leaving their wives and children behind, thinking they would be saved since they were not the target. A situation that later proved otherwise as the women and the children could not flee quickly as thought. In addition, the women and female children became vulnerable to rape. Managing the situation in the absence of the men became very difficult for the women who were with the children.

This investigation also showed that the participants gained minimal access to food sources as they escaped from the crisis town along the footpath or the migration path. This investigation revealed that the fleeing migrants gained minimal access to wild fruits, edible insects, and rodents. In contrast, others stole from people’s farms, which helped them more than when they were stocked at home at the peak of the crisis without any access to food. The movement gave them minimal access to food. In addition, some were assisted with food on arrival at their new destination. This minimal access to food later improved, and they moved out of short-term food insecurity and began to experience intermittent food insecurity. The current investigation reveals that the migrants experienced multiple migrations to help them overcome their challenges, such as a threat to their lives, emotional distress, and more access to food, just as opined by Akesson & Coupland (2018), Mangrio (2018), and Muller-Funk, (2019). Engaging in multiple migrations helps cope with emotional distress, despair, and depression. It is believed that moving the participants away from the traumatic environment to a new destination, a different culture, region, and other people will help them ease off emotionally distressful feelings. Moving away from the environment that caused the situation implies moving away from a traumatic situation (Min Yang, 2021; Vonnahme et al., 2015). Although multiple migrations increase their intermittent food insecurity, especially after an appreciable effort has been made to settle down in a new environment and suddenly they have to relocate again.

Longe term food insecurity occurred mainly due to the loss of the family’s breadwinners, particularly in a situation where the surviving participants have not been part of the food security for the family. Such families tend to be confused and psychologically unstable to develop means of food security for a long time. Others who cannot work with their initial skills due to changes in region and culture need quite a long time to acquire new ones that will make them fit to work in the new environment, which takes time. This creates long-term food insecurity for the participants. The acquisition of new skills increases their capability to access food and healthcare. This means they now have alternative job opportunities to guarantee their food access and provision of healthcare. Learning new skills also helps the participants overcome the psychological effects of losing the breadwinner and strengthen their belief in surviving without their breadwinner. Learning new skills helps remove their minds from bad feelings and experiences and assures the participants of surviving in the new environment despite their circumstances.

**4. 10          SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS**

♦ The violent conflicts caused by terrorists, Fulani herders, religious bigots, and communal disagreement caused forced migration in the region and resulted in three forms of food insecurity. The three forms of food insecurity recognized are short-term, intermittent, and long-term. Short-term food insecurity was more devastating for the participants than intermittent and long-term food insecurity because people, especially children, died more while experiencing short-term food insecurity.

♦The participants engaged in multiple migrations to avoid threats to their lives and to help them overcome their emotional distress. However, they crossed different regions and cultures, which eventually caused intermittent food insecurity for the participants.

♦Learning new skills that suit their current environment, although may take time, makes them fit for a new job that could guarantee them food security. It also allows them to ease off the psychological effects of losing their breadwinner who has been responsible for their food security and, at the same time, helps them to adjust to the new norms and culture of their host community.

In summary, the findings showed that short-term food insecurity was more devastating but short-lived among the three forms of food insecurity experienced by the participants. The intermittent and long-term food insecurity subsequently followed with more manageable circumstances. The investigation also revealed that physical and emotional distress not only resulted in deaths, ailments, hunger, depression, drug addiction, loss of social capital, and food insecurity but also caused multiple migrations. This causes the participants to move across different regions and cultures, limiting their ability to access food. The link between the loss of social, cultural, human, and economic capital and food insecurity and the migrant’s ability to utilize food in their new social context is discussed in the next chapter.

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**5. 0 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL, CULTURAL, HUMAN, AND ECONOMIC CAPITAL AND CHANGING FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AMONG THE MIGRANTS.**

**5. 1 INTRODUCTION**

The previous chapter revealed the various form and changes in the food security/insecurity experienced by the forced migrants. As described in the last chapter, the changes experienced in food security/insecurity may be due partly to economic, social, human, and cultural capital changes. The four capitals strengthen the capacity of families or a group of people to have a sustained source of livelihood (Niles & Brown, 2017; Kristianson et al., 2012; Douxchamps et al., 2016; Ritzema et al., 2017). Economic capital (financial) gives power and strengthens the capacity of the people to be food secure because it enhances people’s food purchasing power. Economic capital/power results from the combined effects of other capital, such as social, cultural, and human capital, guaranteeing people a sustainable financial capacity (Wooll, 2022; Parekh, 2018; Klein & Tremblay, 2010).

The strength of social capital in food security lies in the interdependency, trust, and networks of people to enhance their sources of livelihood. When families or a group of people agree to work together based on trust, they achieve their goals more quickly than when they choose to work individually because working together encourages reciprocity of assistance from the members, which enables their productive capacity (Neil-Adger et al., 2005; Wolf et al., 2010). A group of people that fails to work together or with weak social relationships may not be as successful as those who formed social networks and interdepend on one another to solve a problem confronting them (Burton et al., 2005; Diaz & Nelson, 2005). Good relationships and interconnectedness of people strengthen social networks, which helps people's adaptive capacity and improves their resilience to food insecurity (Aldrich & Meyer, 2014). This plays an essential role in food security/insecurity among the forced migrants before and after the crisis. Most migrants who were food secure before the violent crisis enjoyed good economic, social, cultural, and human capital. They earn good income from their various investment, which helps them to buy food for their family. Some work as taxi drivers while their spouses own stores selling food items. Others work as a trainer to develop local content, earning them money. Most participants work together as families to earn money and be able to provide for their families. They also put their cultural and human capital to work by making or producing cultural materials such as cap knitting, tie and die clothes, perfumes, and cloth weaving. Others engaged in cultural farming, animal rearing, and agro-allied businesses. All these initially guaranteed their food security before the violent crisis. The capacity of the participants to have been food secure before the crisis were based on their engaged skills and collective activities that bolstered their sources of livelihood (Schneider, 2007; Cnaan & Park, 2016). However, after the violent crisis, they lost their economic, cultural, social, and human capital when forced to migrate. In addition, they began to experience food insecurity until they could recreate or restore the lost capitals in their new destinations.

This chapter focuses on the relationships between economic, cultural, social, and human capital and changing food security/insecurity among forced migrants. It draws from themes such as food sources before and after migration, family dynamics, food practices/strategies, and cultural dynamics to discuss the relationships between economic, cultural, social, and human capital and changing food security/insecurity. The chapter discusses explicitly how these capitals served as good resources for the migrant’s food security before the crisis, how they lost the capital and experienced food insecurity, and the various efforts made after the migrations to restore them to become food security again. This chapter also includes summary stories of the two participants to help lay the background for a proper understanding of the intricate relationships observed.

**5. 2 THE SUMMARY STORY OF DAIRU FATIMA**

Dairu Fatima is a twenty-nine (29) years old woman, married to a bus driver, and had five children. She had three children before migrating and later had two more in Abuja. After primary school, she went into producing and selling local perfumes used by Hausa women. Fatima said they had good food access before the violent conflicts that made them flee their town. She said her husband makes lots of money from his transportation business. Her husband makes about ₦4,000 to ₦5,000 naira daily from the transportation business. She was also doing very well in producing and selling women’s perfumes. According to Fatima, the Hausa woman uses the perfumes she produces differently. The smell is distinct, and the waste products can be used for other things. People use this type of perfume during traditional wedding ceremonies. People also use the aroma in their room on its excellent scent. Some fragrances are burnt for the smell to circulate in the room or an enclosure, while others are sprayed on the body or clothes. She had good patronage and made lots of money from it. According to her, they used to take about ₦40,000 to ₦50,000 thousand naira at the end of every month before the crisis. They buy whatever food they want for the family before the violent conflicts. They never have any course to be afraid of what to eat at any given time. She, however, lamented that ever since they experienced conflict, food access has been difficult for them.

They initially migrated from Gwoza when the insurgence started in that region of northern parts of the country. According to her, the terrorists kill people and kidnap young women as sex slaves. She escaped with her children through an alternative route to the next town in her husband’s absence. They walked through the footpath using patches of green vegetation as cover for five days without food. She remarked, “My children became very weak and sickly and could not continue without food at some point, but I managed to get wild fruits such as guava, cashew, and palm fruits from the bush. Later we came across a farmer who assisted us with roasted maize and water. This assistance helped us continue our journey”. According to her, on arrival at the next town, the community leader ordered the people in the community to prepare food for them. She remarked, “Everyone who escaped the violent conflict looked frail, and some were very sickly because of their lousy ordeal. Most people, who arrived from the crisis area, including my children, needed medical attention, which was unavailable”.

She said, “We were provided food and accommodated in one big hall for three days and later got information that Bokoharam was planning to attack the town. The leaders of the community mobilized people to defend the town. They gave women and children transport fares to leave the town. The government also gave each family member money and food wrapped in polythene bags. This made food available for my children as we traveled to Jos”.

She travelled to the Jos Central motor park en route to Abuja and saw her husband’s friend, who is also a driver like her husband. According to Fatima, her husband’s friend told her that her husband, whom she thought had been killed, was alive and that the husband had been trying to contact her for the past two weeks. The husband also thought they were dead because they could not communicate since the violent conflict made them run in separate directions. She reunited with her husband in Jos and later decided not to proceed to Abuja as planned. However, her husband lost his bus in the conflict. He narrowly escaped death at the hands of Bokoharam while returning from a journey, unaware of what was happening. According to her, the husband ran to stay with his friend in Jos, thinking we might have been killed. They remained in Jos for about three years, and things started improving for them. Her husband started driving for people and received paid daily. This changed things; they began having good food and healthcare access. This marked a remarkable turnaround in their lives. This turnaround was short-lived because another violent conflict in Jos soon changed things for the worst for them.

After about three years in Jos, there was another violent religious crisis. People were killed, and their properties were destroyed. The problem did not affect them initially, being Muslims who lived in the Muslim-dominated part of Jos. However, after the crisis, there was no longer free movement of Muslims into the Christian-dominated areas and vice vasa in the city. Secret killings started in the town by both sides of the religion. She could no longer go to the market to buy food or other things for the family. One day, the Christians attacked her husband while returning from one of his trips and nearly got killed. He narrowly escaped death on that occasion and was, hospitalized for one month. After this attack, her family migrated to Abuja, presumably safer than Jos. On their arrival in Abuja, they lived with one of her husband’s friends for about one year. According to Fatima, her husband goes to work in the motor park and receives a stipend of ₦2,000 to ₦3,000 naira daily. The money was not enough for them, but they needed to manage it to feed the family. She subsequently became pregnant with her fourth child, and things became difficult for them again due to the pregnancy. She said she had saved little from the money the husband brought to the house over time. She was able to save by making sure that they skipped meals at times to cope with the situation and be able to buy things for their unborn baby. After saving some money, she started her usual production and sales of local women’s perfume. According to Fatima, people liked the smell, so she had great patronage. Once again, their food access increased, and they could buy some of the necessary things for the new baby while maintaining reasonable access to food. They could also rent an apartment, pay their children’s school fees, and care for their health needs. They later had another child, making their children five altogether. According to Fatima, her main concern earlier, while migrating, was how she would provide food for her children in her husband’s absence. She said she was also concerned about the psychological implication of what the children had witnessed. In addition, when she became pregnant with their fourth child, they did not have enough money to buy all they needed during delivery. These were her worries throughout their migration period.

In her remarks, she said they now depended on the sales of perfume and the little earnings from the husband’s work to buy food for the family. She travelled to buy raw food from the neighboring villages where food was cheaper. At times, her husband will travel to some towns in Niger state where food items are much cheaper to buy foodstuff in bulk. Although their food access has increased, the food need of the family has also doubled. This is because they had only three children before migrating; now, they have five altogether. She lamented that additional children were a significant life event that has changed the level of their food and healthcare needs. She stated that healthcare need was as challenging for them as a lack of access to food. She said she depended more on herbs for medication than orthodox treatment because there was insufficient money to access conventional medicines. Herbs can treat malaria fever but cannot replace antenatal care during pregnancy, as she experienced.

According to her, significant differences exist between their culture and the culture of all the communities they passed through before the current host community. They speak a different language, their mode of dressing differs significantly, and their kinds of food and how they are prepared and eaten are different. They are Kanuri people, while the indigenous people of Abuja are Gbagy. However, other ethnic groups currently live in the city of Abuja. This has caused a considerable change in their food practices. She said, “Ever since we left our hometown, we have not eaten the way we were, used to before the crisis. In addition, the kinds of food we eat in our place before the migration have changed. For instance, we make Tuwo Masara from maize, Tuwo Chikafa from rice, a baked cake from maize (Masa in the local language), a baked cake from beans (Kwose in the local language), and Opka from beans. However, yam, cassava, and potatoes are common foods in our host community. These tuber crops are processed into Pounded Yam, Akpu, Garri, and porridge. They are eaten with various kinds of soup. The soups include egusi soup, vegetable soup, Gbegiri soup, and okra soup. It took us time to learn and adjust to the kinds of food in Abuja. It was the same experience we had when we arrived from Gwoza to Jos some few years ago before coming to Abuja”.

She, however, stated, “There is a strong relationship between food insecurity and forced migration. Forced migration brings hunger, starvation, and poor health care to migrating families. Forced migration is not a good thing at all. When you relocate, there will be no food for you to eat, and people will die from hunger and exhaustion. At times, it creates health pressure on the migrating family,” she added by saying, “I will not return to where I left off; instead of wasting my time and resources, I will use those resources and energy to make something for my family and myself here in Abuja.”

**5. 3 THE SUMMARY STORY OF IBRAHIM IDRIS**

Idris Ibrahim is a sixty-seven (67) year-old man with a degree from the University of Maiduguri in the 70s. He was married and had five children before the crisis that led to their migration. He worked as a civil servant in the services of the Borno state government before retiring to private businesses such as farming. He initially migrated from the crisis region of the northeast to Jos and later to Abuja because of terrorist activities and later due to a series of religious and ethnic crises in Jos. He remarked that killing at the time he migrated was too much and widespread. He abandoned all he had and ran to Jos with his family. According to him, the government’s negligence and the activities of political actors encouraged the terrorists to carry out their evil attack on the people believing that they were promoting the Islamic religion. The government keeps playing with the people’s lives and has no concern for the poor masses who cannot defend themselves. He said, “I witnessed three significant crises in the last two decades, the terrorist crisis in Borno State and two major religious crises in Jos. The politicians saw the terrorist insurgence as an opportunity to make money for themselves and become popular among the youth. Politicians give these young terrorists stipends, drugs, and arms to perpetrate the act of terror on the citizens. The same politicians later used them for thuggery during electioneering campaigns”.

Ibrahim Idris initially migrated with his family to Jos, the plateau state capital, for safety reasons. Unfortunately, after a few years in Jos, they experienced another crisis caused by the politicians and religious leaders. He lost two family members during the crisis in Jos, his wife and one of his children. According to Idris, this marked an essential but worst phase in the life of the family’s journey. They become more food unsecured because his wife, who has been supporting him to provide food for the family, has been killed. According to him, his wife was in the market selling vegetables when the crisis broke out and was trying to return to the house when she was attacked and killed.  Idris stressed that after his family members’ death, he could not move out of Jos City for two weeks due to fear of being killed. According to Idris, they were without food and no access to healthcare as they remained indoors through the crisis periods. He later managed to escape to Abuja with his remaining family members. They stayed in the IDP Camp in Abuja for a while to give them initial access to food and a place to stay. Therefore, they depended solely on what they got from the IDP Camp for several years.

He later lost the remaining two family members to an ailment while at the IDP camp in Abuja.  He remarked, “Now, as you can see, I do not have a family anymore; I am all alone now; it has been a bitter experience for me. My remaining two children probably would not have died at the IDP camp if they had fed well and had good medication. Although they decided to be alone after a few years at the IDP camp, I allowed them.  They began to do things for themselves because they felt they were mature and thought I was over-protecting them.  They did not allow me to monitor them properly, as they do their things individually. After their deaths, I became sick for about two years. People told me I spoke to the air during the sickness and did many abnormal things. However, I thank God I am well today”. According to him, he later learned new skills on how to rear livestock and how to mould blocks with local technology.   These skills now help him to be able to access food and take care of himself. This also marks a significant turnaround in his life, though he has lost his family members. He overcame the trauma of losing his family by learning new skills. These skills now help him to access food and healthcare.

Idris said his primary fear while migrating was getting food and a secure place to stay. He was also concerned about his children’s health because there was no money for medication when his children were looking weak and sickly in appearance. Their conditions were probably due to poor feeding, lack of good medical care, and lack of suitable shelter. According to him, this also happens to people who migrated from other crisis areas into the same IDP camp. He lamented that minor sickness kills people at the camp, particularly the children, due to a lack of medication, poor feeding habits, and poor environmental conditions. He remarked that he had never begged for food in his entire life until the crisis started. He said, “I have lost self-esteem and no longer have self-confidence. To this minute, I am still wondering how my life will end. There is no significant help from the government, which only made unfulfilled promises all the time”. He stressed that good Nigerians from all over the southern regions, especially the Igbos from the Southeast and the Yoruba people from the Southwest, helped them a lot while at the IDP Camp.  He later moved out of the IDP camp after losing the remaining members of his family.

Idris remarked that they had good access to food before the crisis, especially before their initial migration from Maiduguri to Jos. After his retirement as a civil servant, he started cultivating crops on a piece of land close to his house. According to him, the parcel of land gave him a good yield. They usually have surplus food at home and eat whenever they want.    However, everything changed after the initial forced migration. Their migration was characterized by poor access to food and healthcare from Maiduguri to Jos and Abuja.   He did several menial jobs in Jos while his wife sold vegetables in the market before they could feed the family until the wife was, killed. At the same time, the children served as domestic house cleaners for people and were paid. He lamented that ever since he lost his wife, the situation had become worse for the family. In addition, the love and good understanding between the family members also changed for the worse when they got to the Abuja IDP camp. At the Abuja IDP camp, his children decided to work for themselves individually because they felt they were mature and could take care of themselves. This probably marks the height of their traumatic experiences. They became a scattered family that did not care for one another anymore. This may have quickened the death of his remaining two children simultaneously because they were not there for each other.

According to Idris, he had to care for them during their sickness and could not go to work for several weeks before they passed. This reduced his earnings, so he could not raise enough money to provide food and drugs for the sick children. He finally lost them, though, at different times, he became ill for two years and several months. He could not go out to work during the period of his sickness. Idris remarked that this made him rely on people’s assistance, who provided him with food before he could eat. He, however, added that he did not need much food at that time since he was alone compared to when all family members were alive. He stressed that he had adapted to the situation and the host community's culture and food practices. His only concern at present is his age and ill health, which does not permit him to do much work to earn more money. However, he still works and earns money to buy food. According to Idris, the culture and food in the host community differ significantly from his own, but he has been able to adjust and adapt to the environment. His eating habits and the quantities of food consumed have all changed. He stressed a strong relationship between food insecurity, food shortages, starvation, hunger, and forced migration. He remarked that in his experience, forced migration means hunger and starvation, with other problems bordering on losing cultural identities. It also goes with various ailments resulting from hunger and starvation that could be life-threatening to migrants. He believes he lost his two children in Abuja to this situation.  In his opinion, forced migration causes food insecurity because, while running away from his hometown during the crisis, he left all the food in the house and the crops on the farm.  Even if he had remembered to carry a little food along, it would not have taken care of their food need as a family to date. He stated that since he had lost his livelihood and his family, he would not return to his hometown because it may awaken the trauma of past losses and the agony of losing his loved ones.

Dairu Fatima and Idris Ibrahim's summary stories reveal how social, cultural, financial, and human capital affected their food security/insecurity before, during, and after migration experiences. The subsequent sections of this chapter explain how these capitals affected the participants’ food access.

**5. 4 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AMONG THE MIGRANTS**

Social capital is an essential factor and a valuable asset for the success of a group of people in their social environment (Emlet & Moceri, 2012). It enhances and strengthens people’s resilience to solve various problems that an individual may not handle alone, this includes food insecurity and other problems such as defense and health challenges (Prewitt et al., 2014 & Parekh et al., 2018). This investigation reveals that the participants were food secure before the violent crisis due to good social relationships and interdependency of the families built on trust, which is a hallmark of social capital (Schneider, 2007; Cnaan & Park, 2016). The participants enjoy the goodwill and solidarity of one another in the family, which enables them to work hard in various spheres and then pull their resources together to ensure the family’s food security. The participants worked selflessly together to ensure their family’s food security until the violent crisis caused a separation between them, especially among the couples. The story of Dairu Fatima reveals that her husband worked as a driver while she produced local perfume, and at the end of the day, they pulled their income together to ensure their food security. If they had worked and depended on their income, they may not have been able to guarantee their family’s food security before the crisis. When Both couples met at Jos Central motor park coincidentally after losing hope of meeting again, thinking that they were both dead in the crisis, again they worked together to ensure their food security and their food security improves.

However, they lost food security again after another religious crisis occurred in Jos, which prevented the Christians and Muslims from social interaction, and the trust built over the years between the faith practitioners was broken. This prevented them from entering each other’s residential and commercial spaces. This again created food insecurity for them, and they relocated to Abuja. Due to the social relationships and trust that existed between the couples and their friends in Abuja, they were accommodated and fed for a year by their friends, and this guaranteed their food security for that year before moving out of their friend’s house. Similarly, their story states that Idris and his family were food secure before the crisis. After they migrated to Jos, Idris moulded blocks for people to earn money, the wife sold vegetables in the market to earn income, and the children served as domestic help to earn money. They put all their earnings together to ensure their food security. Idris and his family were food secure until the wife was killed while returning from the market during a crisis in Jos. The death of his wife created severe setbacks in the social relationships and the level of trust between them when they got to Abuja. This situation created food insecurity for them because they began to do things individually with mutual suspicions. They never care for one another again as before. This probably led to the death of his two children in Abuja because there was no care, no goodwill, and no solidarity for one another that could have guaranteed their success, as described by Andrew (2009); Prewitt et al. (2014); Schneider, (2007); Cnaan & Park, (2016).

The remarks of other participants also reveal that good social capital guarantees food security among families and groups of people when correctly managed and could create a food insecurity situation when not adequately managed. See the remarks of Abubakar, Golla Umar, Omuya, and Adijat below.

**Abubakar** remarked, “I moved to the Muslim area immediately after the crisis in Jos since I am a Muslim, so we can get help from our Muslim compatriots. We moved to Angwa-Rogo in Jos and stayed there for a while. The Muslim brothers organized houses for all the Muslims affected by the crisis in Christian areas. The Christians in Angwan-Rogo, an area dominated by Muslims, also escaped to the Christian-dominated areas. Some of the houses vacated by the Christians were used to accommodate those affected in the Christian regions who had come to stay in Angwa-Rogo. Some of the houses vacated by the Christians were converted into food banks where all the food donated by Muslim organizations to help those affected are stored.   There were varieties of food in the food banks in carefully chosen locations across the area for easy access to those affected by the crisis.”

Abubakar’s remarks suggested that there were no excellent social relationships, mutual trust, and interdependency between the people practicing the two faith (Christianity and Islam) in the city. That is probably why Abubakar, a Muslim, relocated from a Christian-dominated area to a Muslim-dominated area immediately after the violent crisis to ensure his safety and food security. His remarks suggested that he felt safer amid his Muslim brethren than staying among Christians. In his remark, he stressed that a food bank was set up in the Muslim areas to assist the Muslims fleeing from other parts of the town. As a religious group, this action aimed to provide food for their members affected by the crisis. This shows the social bonds, trust, goodwill, solidarity, and interdependency among Muslim members. The food bank set up by this group attracts food donors from across the Muslim faith, both within the crisis town and from outside the town, to ensure the food security of their members. In his remarks, he stressed that the food bank was located centrally to ensure easy accessibility for its members. The participant would probably be food insecure if the social network that created the food bank did not exist. He would probably have been like other participants who suffered severe consequences of hunger, starvation, and food insecurity at the early stage of the crisis, as discussed in short-term food insecurity. Explicitly Abubakar may not have experience food insecurity at the early stage of the crisis because he enjoyed a wealth of social capital through his Muslim brethren.

**Aminu** said, “When the crisis started, all the extended family members ran in different directions and were scattered. Some ran across the country’s border to the Niger Republic, and some ran to the Benin Republic. My wife and I ran to Jos initially because we have some of our extended relatives in Jos that we can stay with for some time to ensure our food security. We stayed in Jos with our extended relatives for some years. Later, when the Jos crisis started, we migrated to Abuja, where we are right now.  I have not heard from some of my family members who migrated to the Niger Republic since 2014.”

Aminu’s remarks suggested that his extended family were together before the crisis, and they enjoyed food security before the crisis. They were, however, separated during the crisis as they ran in a different direction since 2014. While others ran across the border to another country, Aminu instead chose to migrate to Abuja, where he was confident of support from his family residing in Abuja. Aminu must have enjoyed good social relationships, trust, goodwill, and solidarity from the extended family members before separating. This must have included food security because, in his story, he narrated that they were food secure before the violent crisis. This is probably why he also chose to go to another extended relative in Jos, where his food security and other assistance will be guaranteed. In his remarks, he mentioned that they stayed with their relative in Jos for some years before relocating to Abuja after another crisis in Jos. He enjoyed food security for years; he stayed in Jos with his relative. The social bond, trust, and interdependency between him and his relative must have enabled them to stay together and be food secure.

**Omuya** also said, “My wife initially left my children and me and later divorced me. Her absence has affected the family because all the responsibility of providing for the children is now left to me alone. However, she has been supportive right from Jos in providing food for the family. Now that she has gone, the responsibility of providing food for the family falls on me alone. This has pressured me and my ability to meet all the family’s food needs.”

The participant’s remarks showed that the social bond, trust, and spirit of working together with each party contributing to the family’s food needs made them food secure before the crisis. However, their food security situation changed after the crisis when his wife left him, and they became food insecure. His wife’s departure created pressure for him and the children on food security. The wife’s support for the family before the crisis may be food provision and other social needs for the family’s well-being. The wife’s departure distorted the social cohesion and relationships that made them strong and to work together for food security. This shows that social capital when utilized in a family or group of people, helps to strengthen food security and is resilient to food insecurity.

**Golla** said, “Accessing food currently takes much work for me and my children because my wife decided not to follow us to Abuja. Instead, She went to Kaduna, where she could cultivate crops and make money for herself. I proceeded to Abuja with my children and allowed her to go. This brought lots of hardship and disunity among the family. It has led to a divorce from my wife and the separation of family members. As I speak with you, we are no longer together as we used to be before the crisis. Even my children in Abuja here hardly visit me, and I hardly see them either.  My social life has changed significantly. All my social activities, like visiting friends, beer shops, and clubhouses, have all stopped. My friends are no longer with me, and I do not have money to drink or get involved in all other social activities as before the conflicts”.

The hardships experienced during the crisis may have caused disunity and disarray among the family members and shattered their social bonds and trust. Emotional distress, frustrations, and low resilience to problems may have caused the wife to divorce her husband and search for a new life devoid of their current difficulties. The wife’s absence caused further problems for the rest of the family when they arrived in Abuja. The family’s financial capacity was reduced, which made the participant unable to access his social life as he used to before the crisis. Their food access was also severed. This may have made the children copy their mother’s actions, believing that separating themselves and working for themselves will pay more than working together. This probably led to their separation from their father when they arrived in Abuja. In this situation, they lost their social capital. In the long run, this caused the family to reduce access to food and other social benefits that would have enhanced their well-being if they had worked together. In addition, he is currently experiencing poverty and dysfunctional psychosocial activities. Probably due to a lack of financial capital to carry on with his social life before the crisis. Because he needs money to drink beer, go to clubhouses, and enjoy his social life, which he can no longer enjoy, in addition to hunger, starvation, and food insecurity.

**5. 5 CULTURAL CAPITAL AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AMONG THE MIGRANTS**

Cultural capital is an integral part of the people, indicating how culturally acquired skills can enhance people’s well-being. Some cultural skills are developed around cultural norms, good ideas, and historical backgrounds to add value to people’s well-being (Andrew, 2009; Prewitt et al., 2014 & Parekh et al., 2018). When cultural capital is utilized correctly with the right human capital, it promotes the use of local technology and advances the course of people’s well-being. This includes ensuring food security and improving people's living standards since it involves using local talents to develop cultural resources for financial gain (Florida, 2002). A robust financial base ensures food security, enabling participants to access food. Cultural capital enhances the financial and social values of the people (Scott, 2000; Baum, Yigitcanlar & O’Connor, 2008). Developing cultural skills by strengthening cultural education invariably helps develop social relationships among people and human capital (Scott, 2000; Baum et al., 2008). This, in the long run, helps to create wealth and values in the forms of food security, improved healthcare, and providing solutions to other problems in society (Grossi et al., 2011; Blessi et al., 2012)

This investigation reveals that most participants relied on their cultural capital to ensure food security before the crisis. The cultural capital was later lost due to their migration, as they moved from one region to another. For instance, Hadiza Ali knits caps to make money to ensure food security, Dairu Fatima produces local perfume mainly used by Hausa women before their migration, and Abubakar was a cattle breeder. All these are cultural activities carried out by the participants to ensure their food security before their forced migration. The government also hired Hadiza Ali to help train other women in cap knitting, which enhances the human capital development of the people. All of these were lost during the crisis and their migration. They subsequently lost their financial strength and food security because of their inability to put their cultural capital to work. Consequently, the participant became food insecure because they could not access food until much later when they gradually began to settle and re-established themselves in their new destinations. The farmer participants were affected more because of regional differences, which also required different cultural practices to ensure food production on the farm.

See the comments and remarks of some participants below;

**Falimatu** said, “I was a great farmer; I had up to six hectares of land on which I cultivated different crops. I use human labour and animals to do most work on the farm. About five donkeys do most of the work for me on the farm and help convey my farm produce to the market or house. I also hire people who control the animals to work on the farm. I harvested my farm produce in bags, especially rice, beans, and guinea corn. We do not have to buy food before the crisis; we usually go to the farm, harvest whatever quantity of food is needed, and bring them home for meals. In addition, my children are growing up, they are all adults, and they work and bring money for our feeding too. There was nothing like hunger before the crisis. I make about ₦150,000 – ₦200,000 by selling my farm produce every three months. It was after the crisis that we started experiencing hunger and starvation.”

Falimatu’s remarks reveal that she was food secure because she was a farmer who did not need to struggle for food before her family could access food. Her remarks also indicated that she uses cultural practices in crop production. She does this by engaging animals in most of her farm operations; this made her cultivate a large expanse of land of over six hectares. The adoption of the cultural ways of farming must have prompted a large yield of farm produce and made her earn large sums of money when the farm produce was sold in the market. These are indications that she was food secure while deploying her cultural capital in food production. However, after the crisis, she became food insecure, and they ran for their lives. Although they later used the same cultural farming techniques to gradually gain access to food when they got to Abuja, where she loaned a piece of land and started cultivating crops as she used to. This may have indicated that her cultural capital was not entirely lost like physical property. In this case, she was later able put her cultural capital to use after several years of migration to guarantee their food security.

**Bala Ayishetu** said, “As a family, we had good access to food before the crisis. I sold Rice, Millet, Guinea corn, and other cereals in a big store. I used to go and buy foodstuff from the villages where they are cheaper, convey them to the city, and re-sell them to the public. I make a lot of profit from the business. We also take out the foodstuff in the store and eat in the house. We do not need to repurchase them from anybody or the market; the only thing we use to buy are other things for making soup. My husband was also working for the NASCO group of the company where they produce biscuits in Jos. We were using his salary to pay for our children’s school fees, medical care and to help our relations that needed help. The situation changed during and after the crisis when my store was burned down. I lost everything in the store and had to run for my life.”

The participant’s remarks indicated that she was food secure before the crisis because she traded on grains. She learned the skill over the years by interacting with the various communities and villages. She travels from one village to another buying these products and later takes them to town for sale. She must have learned when these products are harvested on the farm and when the prices are lower to enable buying at lower prices and make a profit or gain on it when she takes them to the market in the urban Center. However, this was not their only source of income that guaranteed their food security. Her husband also worked for the NASCO group of companies and earned money which they combined with Bala Ayishetu’s income to care for the family’s food needs and other things. It takes a cultural wealth of experience to go into the interior villages with different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds and religious divides with strong traditional practices and trade with them not just once but on a routine basis.

**Hadiza Ali said,** “I worked in women support welfare program under the state government as a hired trainer for cap making. I also had a shop where I sold clothing materials. One cap could be sold for twenty thousand (₦20,000) naira. My husband was a businessperson who sold locally designed shoes, traditional agricultural chemicals, and other products. Therefore, before the crisis, there was no problem with food for my family. We had good access to food. We used to have enough food in the house and even gave some food items to needy people”.

Hadiz Ali’s remarks showed that she was culturally skilled in cap making. She was making good returns from cap making in two ways. Firstly, she makes the cap and sells it to the people known for wearing such caps for either religious or traditional reasons. She sells a cap for about ₦20, 000. Secondly, the local government hired her to teach other women how to make caps and receive wages for such services. Therefore, she earns a lot of money from her cultural skills as a cap maker. This guaranteed her family’s food security all the time. Though, in her remarks, she also sold clothes in her stores, this may probably include the cap that she makes. In addition, her husband also sells locally designed shoes and traditional agro-chemical products. All these are cultural capital that brings in much money for her family, enabling them to have food security before the crisis. They, however, became food insecure during and after the crisis when her husband was killed, and they fled from their town to another, as narrated in her story in chapter 4. She could not put to use her cultural capital for several years. She was food insecure for some years and could not make a cap or engage in productive cultural activities. She became food secure again when she started making and selling caps in Abuja.

**Mustapha** said, “I worked as an iron bender for people building houses in my community, and they paid me much money. I use the money to buy food for my parents and myself. My income before the crisis monthly was quite over one hundred thousand (₦100,000) naira. We used to have enough food always to eat. However, my access to food became tough during the migration because I could no longer work. There were times I went for several days without food to eat. I almost died of hunger and starvation at a point”.

Mustapha’s remarks showed that he uses his cultural skills as an iron bender in the community to earn income. What he earned was sufficient to secure him and his family food. According to his remarks, they always had enough food at home, and none of his family members had ever gone hungry due to food insecurity. This shows that his cultural skills as an iron bender guaranteed Mustapha and his family food security before the crisis. Mustapha said they became food insecure after migrating from their town due to a violent crisis. This is probably because he could no longer use his cultural skill as an iron bender to work and earn money. This may have been because he had lost his working tools or was unable to carry his working tools along. Even if he had carried his working tools, he would probably be new in his new environment and unable to understand how things work there. It may take him time to earn the people’s trust in the community before they start engaging him. Therefore, he remains food insecure when he cannot put his cultural skill to work and earn income.

**Audu** remarked, “As the family’s last born, I did bricklaying work to earn income. I was earning up to one thousand five hundred naira daily (₦1,500), which was okay to feed myself and give a little to my aged parents. I used to have all kinds of food at home, like; cereals, grains, fruits, and tubers crops. Whichever one I wish to prepare, I prepare and eat. I also gave my neighbour’s children some food, especially fruits, to eat, mainly when I knew they would spoil if I kept them longer than necessary. However, the situation has changed since the crisis, which led to my migration”.

Audu’s remark indicated that he learned bricklaying and could earn income by using his skills to work for people in the community. His remarks said he earned about ₦1,500 daily, enough to be food secure. As the last born of the family and yet to marry, he has no dependency responsibility that would have made the amount he earns insufficient for him. Though he still gives little out of his earning to his aged parents, who does not depend on him for food, probably because Audu had elder brothers and sisters who should be responsible for providing for their parents based on African culture and tradition. He used to have enough food at home and sometimes gave some to his neighbours’ children, who probably needed more food. However, Audu became food insecure after he migrated from his town and could not earn income through his cultural skills. Just like Mustapha, he was probably unable to carry his working tools while running away from the crisis. Even if he could carry his working tools, he would be new in his new environment and, as such, not known enough by the people to be given any work to do until much later. Therefore, he remained food insecure when he could not work with his skill to earn income. This takes us further into discussing human capital in the next section of this chapter.

**5. 6 HUMAN CAPITAL AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AMONG THE MIGRANTS**

The human factor is significant in the proper utilization of both social and cultural capital. It is crucial to ensure the financial success of the people, which guarantees food security. Human capital involves integrated skills, knowledge, competencies, and all productive talent required for financial and economic development (Schuller, 2004; OECD, 1998). Wealth is created by relying on human skill through technology and institutional capital, ensuring people’s well-being, guaranteeing food security, and solving other economic problems confronting them (Kucharˇcíkov´a, 2011; Pelinescu, 2015; Roth & Thum, 2010). Time is, however, pivotal in acquiring skills that help guarantee economic development and increase people’s financial capacity. For instance, one must be trained, and certified as qualified to undertake specific tasks (Schuller, 2004; Kenton, 2023). Developing human skills also requires substantial financial investments, especially when such skill acquisition is through a formal educational system with a fixed number of years. For instance, acquiring a university degree in any chosen field. It is, however, much easier and cheaper when skills are acquired through informal educational systems (Schuller, 2004). However, both require time and financial resources for human skills to be fully developed to ensure economic development, guaranteeing the social well-being of the people (Schuller, 2004; Kenton, 2023), which includes the ability to be food secure.

The participants engaged in different sources of livelihood with the appropriate skills required before the crisis. They work using these skills to sustain their income, guaranteeing good access to food and food security before the conflicts. As they moved across the region for safety, food, and peace of mind, their human and cultural capital became untenable and irrelevant in their new destination. The once vibrant and hardworking participants with good knowledge of farming, bricklayer, trading in farm and locally manufactured products, producers of perfumes, Caps knitting, and taxi drivers suddenly became unproductive due to changes in their culture and environment. This is because they could not put their skills to practice in the new place due to differences in culture and regions to guarantee their food access (Hadley & Sellen, 2006; Hadley et al., 2010). Their inability to use their former skills to secure jobs might also be partly because most participants are low-skilled. Most participants had just primary school certificates, and only a few had up to secondary certificates. This may have made it difficult for them to get jobs in their new environment, and therefore need some new skills to secure jobs in order to guarantee their food security. Since acquiring skills requires much time and financial resources, the migrants remain food insecure for the period they undergo skill acquisition. At times, they cannot acquire skills due to their financial poverty, loss of financial capability, and being forced to migrate. Therefore, they remain food insecure for a long time. This is probably why some Non-governmental organizations and private individuals volunteered to train the participants in specific areas to ensure their quick return to food security as they use such skills to work in their new environment. Some participants learned new skills, while others strived to update and improve their former skills. They learned new skills like soap making, Vaseline production, mat making, tiling, using bikes for commercial transportation, and baking Akara. Others set up new businesses such as restaurants, catering services, cooking food, and selling to the public, as envisaged by Taylor et al. (2016), Garcia et al. (2018), and Maystadt & Verwimp (2014). However, as stated above, the acquisition of new skills varied in time and resources needed for the training; some lasted for just six months, some a few weeks, and others from one to two years. See the remarks of some participants on human capital development through new skills acquisition in their new environment to guarantee their food security.

**Mustapha** said, **“**Before the crisis, I learned how to bend and tie iron rods at the construction site where the decking of houses are involved. I arrange iron rods and secure them before casting is done. When I came to Abuja newly, most construction companies did not engage me because they were not sure of the job quality I could do. I tried to learn their ways of arranging and tying rods on the platform before casting. That improved my skills and ability to work for a longer time. Due to the additional skills acquired, most construction companies now invite me to work for them. This has improved my access to food. In addition, I had never done Okada in my entire life until I got to Abuja, when I discovered that I could make money from it. I learned to do it even though I do not have a motorcycle of my own. I borrow or rent from people to work with it; and shared my gain with the owner at the end of the day. The new skills have increased my access to food. Since I left the IDP camp, I have never gone to beg anybody for food again.”

Mustapha’s remarks showed that his forced movement from his hometown affected his general well-being and reduced his ability to access food. He initially could not get a job in his new environment due to skills limitations. His inadequacies in the required skills at his current place may have restricted him from getting jobs until after acquiring additional skills that made him fit for new roles. Before the crisis, his skills seemed inadequate or fit for the jobs in his new environment, which initially constrained him from getting a job. This automatically restricts the amount of food he can access and his food security. How does he get food to feed himself if he cannot work? This prompted him to learn new techniques on skills simultaneously how to drive motorbikes for commercial transportation. The new skills he learned later gave him good access to food and guaranteed his food security, and he even began to assist other family members. These newly acquired skills made him fit to secure a job and earn income in the host community.

**Idris** said, **“**I acquired a new skill in moulding blocks for constructing and building houses. I was taught how to use local materials to mould blocks at no cost. The skill increased my capacity for food access because I now earn income from moulding blocks for people. I used locally sourced materials and tools for moulding. This has assisted me to be able to buy food. I would not have been able to do any other job to buy food for my family.

Idris’s remarks indicated that he learned how to mould blocks using locally sourced materials and tools in his host community. He learned the new trade to enable him to access food; otherwise, he may not be able to secure a job with his previous skills in his new destination. The local materials and tools used for the moulding block must be unique to the people in the host community. This may have made it difficult for him to get a job until he acquired the new skills. After learning the new skill, he was able to work with the skill, earn income and provide food for himself. The new skill now guarantees him access to food and ultimately gives him food security. Developing new skills in using local materials for the moulding block, which now gives him access to food, indicated the importance of human capital development in capacity for food access.

**Hauwa** said, **“**I learned different skills while in the IDP camp in Abuja; different organizations came to train women and men alike on different skills and trades. They come to train us in order to empower us so that we can be able to start a business on our own or to be doing something that will enable us to be able to feed our family. They trained us on how to make soap, catering, how to make Vaseline and new technology in agricultural practices”.

The participant’s remarks indicated that they learned new skills during their migration. They received training in different fields to help guarantee food security in their current and future environments. They are meant to use the skills acquired to produce some items that will, in turn, help them generate finances that may empower them to be food security. Hauwa may have been food secure before the crisis because she had something doing that guaranteed her food security. For her to start learning new skills now in another environment shows that her old skills are not guaranteeing her food security in the new environment. Learning new skills such as making soap, catering services, making Vaseline, and application of new technology in agricultural practices may help guarantee their food security quickly because these are products needed by people in everyday life. This will make them make good product sales and earn money that will guarantee their food security. In summary, this guaranteed their financial capacity to be food secure. This leads to the next section of this chapter, which relates financial capital to food security/insecurity among forced migrants.

**5. 7 ECONOMIC CAPITAL AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AMONG THE MIGRANTS**

Financial capital is the most common form of capital known to many people and is often the most sorted capital in society (Wooll, 2022: Klien & Tremblay, 2010). This is probably because it is one of the most required resources in addition to human capital to produce value, items, and other gains needed for people’s well-being in society (Wooll, 2022; Parekh, 2018; Klein & Tremblay, 2010). The effective combination and utilization of other forms of capital, such as social, cultural, and human capital, results in financial capital (Schuller, 2004; Wooll, 2023). The financial capital, in turn, helps guarantee the people's excellent well-being, which includes food security.

The good financial strength of the participants before the crisis makes them food secure. The combination of social capital, cultural capital, and human capital by the participants, as discussed in the previous sections above, strengthens their financial capability, which enables them to be food secure before the crisis. The participants earned good income, with the highest income of ₦1,500,000, while the lowest earned ₦40,000, as reflected in Table 1. The amount they earned before the crisis was enough to guarantee their food security. The participants did not just come to earn this amount of money (economic capital); it was through the collective hard work of the family (social capital), using their cultural and human skills (cultural and human capital) as discussed in the sections above. Because the participants were financially strong, they had good food access and food security before the crisis. They, however, became food insecure as soon as they lost their financial sources. They remained food insecure for as long as they did not have access to financial capital, except those who went into farming by tilling the land and eating their crops without going to buy from the market. Others become food secure again when they have the significant financial strength to afford food. The participants’ remarks show that they were food secure before the crisis because they could afford to buy a variety of food with their money and, however, lost their food access when they could no longer afford it. See the participant’s remarks as shown below;

**Abraham Jennifer** said, “My husband and I were working before the crisis, I was a caterer, and my husband was a taxi driver. We used to realize four thousand (₦4000) naira daily as our income”.

The participant’s remarks reveal that they both worked and combined their earning summing up to ₦4000 daily. The amount they earn daily guaranteed their food security. They, however, became food insecure after the crisis when they were forced to relocate. The sources and means by which they earned income that guaranteed their food security were lost due to forced migration. This means they can only become food secure again when they have access to financial capital, as it were through the means and sources they were earning income from before the crisis.

**Buba Haji** said, **“**We had good access to food before the crisis, I was working as a tailor, and my husband owned a big poultry farm. My late husband earned a lot from selling poultry products like eggs and broilers, providing both income and protein for the family. We used to have enough food at home and even help others needing food before the crisis. The situation became hard for the children and me after losing all that, including my husband’s life. We can no longer feed ourselves; we depend on people’s assistance before eating. We went through hunger for a long time before I re-married my current husband.”

Buba Hajji and her family were quite comfortable and had good food access, which guaranteed their food security before the crisis. They earn much money from multiple sources. They, however, lost their food security after the crisis, when they lost their sources of income and her husband, with whom she was working to earn money. In her remarks, she was food insecure for a long time until she re-married. Implicitly, she became food secure again after remarrying, which indicated that her new husband started working with her or assisting her in earning enough money as she used to before her former husband’s death. The improvement in her financial earning due to her remarrying may have increased her food access and guaranteed her food security.

**Katum** said, “I had good access to food before the crisis. I was a good farmer who cultivated crops such as rice and beans. In addition, I also rear cattle. We eat out of whatever I produce from the farm and sell the remaining to the public. Whatever we make out of it as money was, used to pay our children’s school fees until the crisis forced us out. I could sometimes make up to ₦180,000 a year; it could be higher”.

Katum’s remarks showed he was food secure and earned good money before the crisis. In his remarks, he indicated that he could make up to ₦180,000 from his farm and could be higher when he experienced a good harvest from his farm. In addition to tilling the land to produce crops, he rears cattle to make extra money. All these multiple sources of financial capital guaranteed his food security before the crisis. He, however, lost his financial strength when he lost all the sources of his income during the crisis. This ultimately resulted in his being food insecure throughout his migration.

**Omuya** said, **“**I had no problem providing food for my family before the crisis. Even after the first crisis, I still did not have problems providing food for my family. We used to have enough food at home throughout the months. Then, once I receive my salary, my wife will travel to Miango in Bassa local government to buy food in large quantities. At times, the food she bought will take us throughout the month. We also had a big supermarket that brought in lots of money. We could buy enough food for the family, have good access to health facilities and treatment whenever anybody was sick, and pay our child’s school fees until after the third crisis, which made my employer lay me off. After a few months, I was laid off; we started having issues with feeding. We cut down the food we consumed in the house by half. We also started buying food on credit until I could not repay the debt”.

Their remarks about Omuya reveal that he had two sources of financial capital before the crisis. According to him, he earns a salary from where he works, and he owns a supermarket in conjunction with his wife. While he earns a salary and brings it to the table, his wife also earns money from the supermarket, which she also brings to the family to enhance their well-being. These double sources of financial capital made their food secure. His wife goes to the nearby villages where food is cheaper and buys enough for the family. From his remarks, they never lack food or anything else in the house, even after the first and second crises. After the third crisis, they started having financial problems when he lost his job and the supermarket. Gradually, they started buying food from people in debt and could not repay them. They subsequently migrated to Lokoja, hoping to get access to financial fortune. However, the situation never changed until much later when he loaned a motorbike from someone and used it for commercial transportation so that he could have little access to food. Omuya and his family became food insecure when he lost his job and the supermarket, which incapacitated them financially. Moreover, they could no longer afford food because they lost their financial sources. Therefore, they lost their food security and became food insecure. This investigation has revealed that the participants were initially food secure because they had good financial strength. That made them food security until they lost such financial strength to the crisis and became food insecure.

**5. 8 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS**

This investigation revealed that the participant’s livelihood sources are shaped by the social, cultural, human, and economic capital (financial, property, and working tools) attained at any given time. It also revealed that intricate relationships exist between the loss of capitals, such as social, cultural, human, and economic capital, and food insecurity. Since the participant lives in a closed political kingship/traditional system where clan and communal system adheres (Okeke-Agulu, 2012; Ukoha et al., 2007; Saleh et al., 2016; Bzugu, 2008), social, cultural, human, and economic capital plays significant role in their food security/insecurity. The capital, primarily social, cultural, and human, are linked and ensure the participants' financial sustainability, which is also a measure of food security/insecurity. The interwoven nature of the capital makes it possible for the participants to enjoy food security before the violent crisis, particularly cultural and human capital that revolves around applying skills to making or producing material things sold for financial gain as envisaged by Grossi et al. (2011); Blessi et al., (2012). The ability to make large quantities of such materials things depend on social capital, which is centered on trust to work together, social cohesion that ensures the flow of information in real-time, networking on contemporary technology to produce more materials and even resulted in the division of labour among the participants families which enhances their productivity. In the end, all this enhances their economic values and financial sustainability. This investigation showed that all the capitals work together and enhancing the well-being of the participants, especially ensuring their food security and the protection of their families. This deviates from Andrew (2009), Prewitt et al. (2014) & Parekh et al. (2018), who emphasize that social networks (social capital) alone through community engagement improve the well-being of people. The working and integrated nature of the capital tends to strengthen the capacity of the participants to be food secure. However, where the links and interwoven connections between the capitals are not well managed, it results in the poor financial status of the participants, poor access to food, and the well-being of the participant’s families. This is probably why the participants experienced food insecurity and poor health because these capitals were either lost or poorly managed during their ordeal.

This investigation also reveals that physical and emotional distress resulting from the crisis caused distrust, limited social relationships, and interdependency among the participants. This resulted in the loss of social capital they enjoyed over the years. This is evident in the case of Golla and Idris’s family, who had worked together to enhance their food security, but separated when they got to Abuja and later lost their food security. Idris lost the remaining two members of his family. This confirms Hall and Pretty (2008), who opined that people make more progress, especially in food security, when socially connected than when an individual operates alone. Although their progress may not be because they are socially connected, the quality of such social connection matters, as envisaged by Lin (2008); Bourdieu (2008), because it determines how resources are shared among the participants. Quality social interaction and relationships may be challenging to achieve as long as they remain physically and emotionally traumatized. They cannot re-establish the social bond, interdependency, and networking attitudes between them, which could have helped improve their food security. However, the situation differed in the case of Hadiza Ali and some other participants who were quick to reorganize themselves, re-established their social capital, and put their cultural capital to work. Hadiza Ali started making caps after some years in Abuja, and her grown children took them to various offices to sell. They also waited at some strategic junction of the city, targeting the politicians who used the cap primarily for good patronage. After some years in Abuja, the re-established social bond and relationships between Hadiza and her children, with the application of cultural and human skills, made them work together to guarantee their food security.

The ethnolinguistic and religious diversity among the people in the region (Blench, 2004; Ajayi et al., 2023) may have also worked against their social relationships and networking, which would have helped their food security. This is evident in the case of Abubakar and Fatima Isah, who, because of religious divides, relocated from the Christian-dominated area to Angwa-rogo, where a food bank was established for only the Muslims. However, the Christian victims were deprived of the opportunity to benefit from the food bank. This was due to differences in their religion founded on cultural beliefs.

This study also revealed that most participants are low skills because they do not have higher educational qualifications. Most participants are either primary school certificate holders or secondary school certificate holders, which makes them low skilled. This indicates that they have low human capital development. This is probably why they engaged in small-scale businesses such as producing local perfume, Cap knitting, farming, and tailoring. Even though they have multiple businesses as sources of income (finances), they lack proper and advanced coordinating skills that would have helped them stay food secure despite the crisis. Their low human capital development before the crisis made it necessary for them to acquire new skills that required a short time to acquire in their new environment to cope with food security. Higher qualifications are not required for the training they had in their new environment. The participants were trained in an area that could quickly return them to food security with little effort. Training such as how to make Vaseline, soap, poultry farming, and other agri-businesses using local knowledge and materials. These areas of skills require little time to train and little financial capital to start. Although others chose to acquire skills similar or closely related to what he/she engaged in before the crisis to upgrade their skills, though still low skills. For instance, Audu, a bricklayer, acquired new skills to lay tiles similar to bricklaying. This made it easier for him to learn the new trade quickly and later learn how to drive a motorbike for commercial transportation. As the participants in his narrative expressed, combining these two skills quickly made him food secure.

In conclusion, returning to the parts of food security by the participants requires the combination of the primary capital such as social, cultural, human, and economic (financial, working tools, and properties) to help reposition and shape their sources of livelihood. The proper engagement of social, cultural, and human capital will gradually move them toward greater financial sustainability, which will help push them toward food security. Sustaining and adequate engagement of the capital will ensure sustained food security. At any point, these capitals are sustained, and the livelihood of the participants is equally sustained. Moreover, when they lose the principal capital, the well-being of the people will be lost, including food security.

**5. 9 SUMMARY OF THE FINDING**

►The social, cultural, human, and economic (financial) capitals are significant factors shaping the participant’s livelihood sources before and after the crisis that caused their migration.

►There is an intricate relationship between the social, cultural, human, and economic capitals and food security/insecurity.

►The level of financial sustainability of the participants is primarily determined by the functionality of the other three capitals (social, cultural, and human capital)

►All the capitals are linked and interwoven and therefore contribute immensely to shaping the food security/insecurity of the participants before and after the crisis.

**CHAPTER SIX**

**6. 0 FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AS TRAJECTORY**

**6. 1 INTRODUCTION**

Food security/insecurity is linked to the factors that shape the participant’s sources of livelihood; such factors determine people’s food access at any given time. From the previous chapters, the factors that shape and control the livelihood of the participants are social, cultural, human, and economic capital (financial capital, working tools, and properties). These factors invariably control the participant’s access to food at any given time. Adverse changes in these factors make people go through food insecurity and become vulnerable to hunger, and a reversal in the changes at any time makes people’s food secure (Moraes et al., 2021; Hamilton, 2009). In the same vein, Garthwaite (2016); Petrie et al. (2019); Purdam et al. (2016); Panori et al. (2019) opined that government or non-governmental policies or any other factors that affect social, cultural, human, and economic capital might result in transiting from a food secure situation to a food insecure situation and vice-vasa when the situation is reversed. The non-permanent status of food security/insecurity makes it a trajectory phenomenon. A conflict is an unforgettable event that causes the migrants to abandon their sources of livelihood, robust family plan, and environment for the unknown. This ultimately affects their food acquisition, preparation, modification, and general food practices (Tamara et al., 2006). In addition to the capital (social, cultural, human, and economic) shaping the livelihood sources of the migrants, which determine their food security/insecurity status, life events also significantly determine their level of food security/insecurity and how resources and power are shared among the migrants family.

The migrants are forced during their journey to redirect and concentrate on replanning and rebuilding new livelihood sources in a new place (Boyle, 2009; Evans et al., 2013; Hynie et al., 2012; and Shakya et al., 2014). They experience different life events such as death, new birth, divorce/separation, marriage, and acquiring new skills, ailments, and others during migration. These life events are, linked directly or indirectly to the factors that shape their sources of livelihood and the level of access to food. The life events either may negatively or positively affect migrants’ paths and their ability to maintain food security (Deeming, 2011; Woltil, 2012; Nnakwe, 2003; Sidenwel et al., 2001). Occurrences of life events such as death/bereavement, an ailment, marriage, divorce, employment, and birth across the life course affect and create dynamism in food choices, strategies, and consumption patterns (McKenzie & Watts, 2019). For instance, food insecurity results in different forms of ailment among the elderly and young people across society, including displaced people (Courtney, 2014; Laraia, 2013; and Carmen, 2015). This condition of ailments is associated with the participants as they experienced different food-induced ailments on the migration path. In most cases, this has caused severe constraints on their financial capacity, and therefore struggle to maintain food access and access to good health care. They not only experience financial incapacitation, but the situation also limits their human and cultural capital, considerably resulting in food insecurity. The forced movement of the participants goes with several changes and transitions in their physical, social, and economic activities (Adesote, 2017; Mukhtar et al., 2018). In addition, the migrants’ adverse experiences result in the migrants experiencing emotional distress and depression (Fazel et al., 2012), resulting in food insecurity (Leung et al., 2015; Sheri et al., 2011).

The participants later acquired new skills, and some developed new small businesses to enhance their resilience to food insecurity and social needs (Taylor et al., 2016; Garcia et al., 2018; Maystadt & Verwimp, 2014), a situation that later made them reasonably food secure. The situation of being food secure before the violent crisis and becoming food insecure during the forced migration when sources of livelihood are lost and subsequently becoming food secure when changes linked to the participants’ lives are experienced. This situation makes food security/insecurity a trajectory.

This chapter, therefore, focuses on linked and delinked factors that characterized food security/insecurity as a trajectory. It draws from themes such as Life events, Family dynamics, food sources before and after migration, and food strategies to discuss the linked and delinked factors. In addition, the summary stories of two participants are included as part of the introduction of this chapter to lay a framework for the chapter. The chapter is concluded with a summary discussion of the findings.

**6. 2 THE SUMMARY STORY OF SHEFIYA DOGO**

Shefiyat Dogo is a fifty-four (54) year-old woman who married and had eleven (11) children before the crisis. She lives in Miango town, a suburb of Jos City in Plateau State, with her family of thirteen. She said they were food secure before the crisis because her husband was a civil servant earning one hundred thousand (₦100,000) naira monthly from the local government and earning additional income from their farm produce. She said their earnings were enough for the children’s school fees and the family’s well-being. This made them always have enough food and even sell the remaining food in bags. However, everything changed after the husband was murdered, making it difficult for them to access food again, and there was not enough help coming in for them.

Fulani herders murdered her husband during a violent crisis started by the herders. According to her, they were attacked at night, and their house was set on fire. The attackers also shot sporadically in different directions, leading to her husband’s killing. She said, “This attack happened after an argument over a piece of farmland which the herders claimed for their herding activities; the Fulani herders carried out this attack to ensure they grab the land from us at all cost. The rest of us escaped to the next village after my husband’s death, where we stayed for about two days and later moved to a major town called Gidan-Waya in Kaduna state”. According to her, a man accommodated them in two rooms and fed them for a few weeks. This marked the beginning of deplorable food insecurity conditions in the lives of her family.

For a few weeks spent in Gidan-Waya, she could not get any job to do to be able to provide food for her eleven (11) children. According to her, the man who accommodated them began to request that she have sex with him, which she turned down. She, therefore, decided to relocate to another town called Kafanchan with her children. She hopes to find a job to do when they get there. According to her, on arrival, the city chief advised the people fleeing from the crisis area into the city to go to Abuja for better protection. The town chief explains that the Fulani herders have also been coming to attack them. Therefore, he advised that their security could only be guaranteed in Abuja. In addition, they will also get help from the Federal government. They, therefore, re-migrated to Abuja.  According to her, on arrival in Abuja, they located an IDP camp at Karmajigi on the outskirts of Abuja and moved in to stay. They stayed in that camp for about three (3) years. Shefiyat and her children, over sixteen years old, started going out to do menial jobs to get food for the family. This is in addition to what they got as food donations at the camp. Sometimes, they do not have food due to fewer or no food donations to the camp. Any day they experience such a situation, they sleep without food. The case later became tough for them, and they could no longer cope with the family’s food needs. She said, “I started accepting to have affairs with men in return for money or food to feed my family.” According to her, she depended on such assistance from men for about two years until one of the men decided to rent an apartment for her to move in. She also saved a small amount of money and later started a small business.  She started buying and selling second-hand clothes. This marked a significant change in her capacity to access food positively. She became more food secure than in the previous years of their migration.

She remarked that she questioned her ability to provide food and healthcare for her children early in their migration.   As she narrated, her significant fears and concerns were how she would provide for her children being a woman whose husband is, killed and has no assistance insight. They initially planned to stay in a town close to their hometown. This would have given her access to her husband’s farm, where to get food. However, they could not stay in the closest town because of the sound of gunshots and threats to their lives. Therefore, they continued migrating to avoid being killed and to prevent her daughters from being raped. She also thought of what would become her children’s future. Their father, who has been responsible for their school fees, is no more, and they will not be able to go to school again because nobody will pay their fees. According to her story, she was not doing any job when her husband was alive. Her husband made her take care of the children and the home front while he did the farm and, at the same time, worked at the local government council. She said, “Everything changed after my husband was murdered; it became difficult for us to access food and no help for us; instead, the men wanted to sleep with me in return for any use.”  This made her children, over 16 years; work at the motor park by carrying loads for people to earn money. They supported their mother in providing food for the family, but it was not always enough. According to her, this was because more of her under-age children than grown-up ones could not do any job to help the family.  She remarked that the differences in the host community’s culture and hers also initially hindered their access to enough food.   However, they have gradually adjusted to the situation. The differences in the culture created differences in the types of food practices for them. They did not know how to eat some food found in their host community for some time. For instance, they eat “Gwote,” a local delicacy made from “Acha” in their hometown.  However, in their current host community, it is prepared with maize and spinach.  Many kinds of food are prepared differently in their current place than in her hometown. These limit the amount of food they enjoy upon their arrival. However, she encouraged her children to eat whatever food they could find, as their situation was unexpected. Therefore, they must adjust and learn how to eat the food in their host community. They can currently prepare their indigenous food with the local food items in the host community.  However, the high cost of food in their host community made things worse for them. According to her, she believed that a strong relationship exists between forced migration and food insecurity. This is because people left their hometowns in a hurry without being able to carry any food along with them. In addition, they do not have food waiting for them at their chosen destination. Therefore, she stressed that forced migration will always accompany food insecurity, hunger, starvation, lack of access to good food, and poor healthcare. She noted that she would never go back to her hometown. She said, “I do not wish to return to where my husband was murdered. In addition, a place that has caused our suffering to date. Well, I will never go back, but if any of my children wish to go back later in life, that will be their decision, and I cannot be against it”.

**6. 3 THE SUMMARY STORY OF MARIAM**

Mariam is a 35-year-old woman married with five children. According to her, she desired that her children get a good education because she could not enjoy one as she only stopped at primary school. She said her husband was a commercial tricycle driver while she sold both used and new clothes in the market. According to Mariam, they are not rich but do not lack anything. They lived peacefully with their neighbours until the conflict started. She said that although they are not from Plateau state, they were both born and raised in Jos, the Plateau state capital. She said her husband was killed during the crisis in Jos, and she relocated with her children back to Borno state to get help from her extended family members. According to her, she could not get help from her extended family members as anticipated on arrival, except for a certain man who later borrowed her some money to enable her to start a fish business. This marked a significant turning point in her capacity to access food. The man proposed to marry her but later failed to do so. She said, “The marriage proposal failed because the man in question later realized that the responsibilities of my children would be too much for him.” She stayed and traded fish between her village and places around Lake Chad for four years. She provided food and other care needed by her children within those four years until Bokoharam started killing people in her town. There was no vehicle to convey them from her village to the nearest safer one. This is because all the cars stopped plying the roads when Bokoharam started killing people. According to her, she ran with her children from her village to the nearest town on foot. They spent about two weeks in the bush, walking day and night. According to Mariam, everything stood at a standstill in the town for a long time. There was no food for them even as they ran through the bush; they depended on the crops from people’s farms and wild fruits found in the area for food. In the process, she lost one of her children to stress and hunger.

She later got to Madagali, the nearest town and the safest during the crisis. According to her, the people in the host town assisted them with food for about one month. After one month in Madagali, they were, told that Bokoharam was planning to attack the town. Therefore, they relocated again to another town called Mubi. This time, the military personnel conveyed them to Mubi with their van. They stayed in Mubi for about three months before being advised to relocate again to another town because there might be another crisis soon. She said the Adamawa state government later provided vehicles to carry all the migrants anywhere they chose in Nigeria. She then decided to go to Abuja. On their arrival in Abuja, she decided to go to the IDP camp to have food access. Because that was the only place, she could stay and get food for her children since there was nobody to assist her then. According to her, she later became very sick and could not walk with her legs for some time, probably because of the stress she had undergone for more than one year trying to move from one place to another. Mariam narrated that when the situation became overwhelming for her and her children, she remarried another man who agreed to help her take care of her children. She said, “My current husband is a seasonal irrigation farmer who cultivates many crops like tomatoes, watermelons, carrots, and other vegetables. Since I married him, the situation has become easier for my children and me”. Her remarrying another man marked another significant point in her capacity to access food positively. However, they still need help to cope with many things, such as food types, healthcare services, and the way of life in Abuja.

According to Mariam, her fears while migrating included how she would get food to feed her children, bearing in mind that their father is late and does not know precisely the situation of food where they are going. She was also concerned about her children’s health, particularly when they became weak and sickly due to hunger and exhaustion. The condition they had never experienced when their late father was alive. According to Mariam, they had good access to food before the first conflicts that led to her husband’s death. Her late husband earned about (5,000) naira daily from his tricycle transportation business, while she earned about (3,000) naira from her clothing business. This used to give them reasonable access to food before the crisis. According to Mariam, before the crisis, whenever she finished cooking a meal, her husband instructed her to keep leftover food for the children begging for food on the street. They never had problems with food access until the conflict started. They started experiencing hunger and starvation after the crisis in Jos, especially between when they left Jos for Borno state and a few months after they arrived in Borno state. Their situation worsened when they were forced again to move from one town to another due to fear of attack. Their situation changed slightly when they got to Abuja because they went to an IDP camp to stay, where they were given food and other assistance. They started having good access to food again after her marriage to her current husband. They now have food at home constantly and earn income from the sales of farm products all year round.

According to Mariam, she acquired new skills during migration but did not use the newly acquired skill. She acquired these new skills while at the IDP camp through the training series carried out by various NGOs and individuals. She said, “The training was capacity-building to enable the migrants to provide food for their families.” Although she said she could not put the skills to practice because she needed financial capital to start the trade, which was not available. She narrated that before she remarried another man, while at the camp in Abuja, she tried to start doing something but needed help because raising money for any business was very difficult. To cope with poor access to food then, she used to add lots of water to cooked food to increase the quantity. She also used to look for broken pieces of raw yam tubers and potatoes in the market and bring them home to cook for her family. Most time, the people selling this product will give these items to her for free because of her situation. According to her, things changed positively for her after she remarried.

She reiterated that she was happy for her decision to have migrated when they did; otherwise, they would have been killed. According to her, the decision to migrate from one place to another was based on safety, except for her first move from Jos to Borno, which was based on anticipated help from extended family members. Nevertheless, that did not work for long because she did not get the anticipated help from her extended family members. She expressed sadness at losing her former husband and one of her children. She lost her former husband during one of the crises and one of her children to hunger and stress as they moved from one place to another. She said, “The death of my former husband created food insecurity for my children and me, but my current husband had filled the vacuum created by the death of my former husband.” Mariam said her current husband was a widower who wanted a widow with childcare experience to help him care for his children, which she quickly accepted. Ever since she got married to him, her bad experiences have stopped.

According to Mariam, the differences between her culture and the host community's culture contributed to their poor access to food each time they arrived in a new town. The differences are mainly in food systems, religious beliefs, practices, festivals, celebrations, and geographical regions, which translated into their food practices. For instance, in her community, they produce onion, garlic, sugar cane, and rice combined with animal husbandry. However, the host community cultivates more tuber crops such as yam, cassava, potatoes, and other vegetables. This created many differences in their food practices. Therefore, on arrival, this reduced their capacity to get enough food, increasing their hunger and starvation. She stated that there are relationships between food insecurity and forced migration. According to her, when there is forced migration, those migrating are exposed to insufficient food. They are usually unsure when the next meal will come and where it will come from. That was the experience she had all along. According to her, the migrants are usually concerned with the safety of their families and cannot carry the quantity of food that will sustain them throughout the journey; even if they can carry some food along with them, it may only support them for a while. In addition, because they find themselves in another environment where they are entirely new, getting food will be very difficult. Therefore they will always experience hunger and starvation. She added that she would not return to her place of origin. She said she is happily married now, and her new husband loves her. She said she could not leave him for any place again. As shown above, Shefiyat and Mariam's experiences and stories reveal much about the link between their lives and food security/insecurity. Events experienced by the participants reveal that food security/insecurity changes as their lived life experiences change, making food security/insecurity a non-static phenomenon. The lived life experiences of the participants are summarized in Table 3, as shown below, to help reveals the participants’ lived experiences.

**Table 3 shows the nature of live events.**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| PARTICIPANTS | BIRTH | DEATH | DIVORCE/  SEPARATION | MAJOR  AILMENTS | ACQUIRED  SKILLS | NEW  MARRIAGE |
| PT/A Golla Umar | - | - | 1 | 3 | 1 |  |
| PT/B Ali Adisa | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | 3 |  |
| PT/C Liyatu Ayuba | - | 3 | - | 2 | 3 |  |
| PT/D Idris Ibrahim | - | 5 | - | - | - | - |
| PT/E Abraham Jenifer | - | 1 | - | 3 | 3 | - |
| PT/F Abubakar | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| PT/G Aminu Abubakar | 1 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | - |
| PT/H Abubakar Katum | 1 | - | 2 | 3 | 2 |  |
| PT/I Hajia Dogo Shefia | - | 2 | 1 | 3 | - | - |
| PT/J Audu Umar | - | - | 1 | - | 2 | - |
| PT/K Ibrahim Ayishetu | 2 | - | - | - | 3 | - |
| PT/L Buba Hajji | - | 2 | - | 3 | - | 1 |
| PT/M Isah Fatma | - | - | - | 4 | - | - |
| PT/N Buba Hauwa | 2 | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| PT/O Jabir | 4 | - | - | 3 | - | - |
| PT/P Dairu Fatima | 2 | - | - | 2 |  |  |
| PT/Q Seidu Omuya | - | - | 1 | 3 |  |  |
| PT/R Ibrahim Adijat | - | 6 | 3 | 3 | - | - |
| PT/S Mariam | - | 2 | - | 4 | 3 |  |
| PT/T Ali Falimatu | - | - | 1 | - | 2 | - |
| PT/U Mustapha | 2 | - | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| PT/V Ogbonna | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| PT/W Cosmas | - | 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 | - |
| PT/X Buba Fatima | 4 | - | 1 | 5 |  |  |
| PT/Y Umar | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| TOTAL | 19 | 24 | 17 | 48 | 27 | 3 |

**6. 4 DYNAMICS OF LINKS AND DELINKS OF FAMILIES/HOUSEHOLDS MEMBER ON MIGRATION TRAJECTORIES**

This study revealed significant dynamics in the link between the participants’ families while on the migration trajectories. These dynamics links appeared to either undermine their well-being (food insecurity) or improve their welfare (food security).  The complex dynamics are caused by new births, deaths, marriages, and divorce/separations among family members at different times. This investigation revealed that there were nineteen (19) new births, twenty-four (24) deaths, seventeen (17) separations and divorces, and three (3) marriages, as shown in Table 3.

New births increase the number of migrants, while death decreases the number of migrants. These have implications for their food access. Those with new deliveries struggle to get additional resources for children’s food (infant formula). This probably added more pressure on the lean resources of the participants with already limited food access and poor access to healthcare. On the other hand, the death of family members reduces the number of families that need to be cared for, and a reduction in family members increases their chances of getting more food. This increases their chances of more resources required for food access, mainly when the deceased is an infant. It depletes their chances of more resources and access to food when the deceased is an adult and probably the family’s breadwinner. Similarly, some participants married on the trajectories, giving them reasonable access to food and good healthcare for their children. This is common among widows with children who need the assistance of a man to cater to their children. They brought their fatherless children into their new husband’s home to enjoy the protection of the man and reasonable access to food.

The other dimension in the family dynamics revealed by this study involves sharing responsibilities, duties, and resources among the family members. Young and underage children were taxed to carry responsibilities beyond their capacity. They bear the burden of providing food for the family in various ways. They are made to beg for alms or work as domestic house help for people. Others are made to assist in selling the products from their parents’ creative businesses and ideas. The young and underage involvement in domestic work and begging in the streets are intended to enhance the family’s access to food. However, this deprives the children of their education and endangers their lives. It was considered necessary by the parents, who seemed helpless and could not provide for the entire family. Most participants who engaged their children in this act are widows or widowers with significant family members to cater for.

 The participants also experienced family separation while on the migration path. The types of separation experienced varied from family to family. It also depends on the nature of the crisis that forced the participants to embark on the forced migration. Four types of separation among the participants are recognized in this investigation. Firstly is the break of family members at the point of crisis. In this case, the family members were caught up at different locations during the crisis and could not reunite with other family members. They, therefore, run in different directions for the safety of their lives without being able to come together for a long time. Secondly, the separation of family members also occurred due to personal interests, business reasons, and selfish gain. In this case, one or two parties decide to go on their separate ways for selfish good or due to an inability to cope with the pressure associated with emotional distress resulting from the crisis. In this case, one of the spouses feels their quality of life after migrating has dropped and therefore pulled out of the union. This accounted for the divorce cases, as revealed in this investigation.  Thirdly, some families divided themselves into two smaller units and stayed in two locations to give them more access to food. The fourth type of separation is caused by the refusal of some family members to migrate with others. In this case, some aged people refused to relocate due to their old age and preferred to die in their ancestral home than in a strange land. In addition, these ancient people may not have had the strength to endure the stress and rigor of forced migration. However, the remarks of some participants showed that they reunited with their family members after several years of separation. They later continued to stay together, worked together, and moved together since their unification for greater access to food. As shown below, the remarks of Aminu, Falimatu, Omuya, and Cosmas revealed the nature of family dynamics during the forced migration. This is in addition to the pieces of evidence in the summary stories of Adijat and Shefiyat at the beginning of this chapter.

**Aminu s**aid, “When the crisis started, all the extended family members ran in different directions and were scattered. Some ran across the country’s border to the Niger Republic, and some ran to the Benin Republic. My wife and I ran to Jos initially because we have some of our extended relatives in Jos that we can stay with for some time. We stayed there for some years. Later, when the Jos crisis started, we migrated to Abuja, where we are right now.  I have not heard from some of my family members who migrated to the Niger Republic since 2014.”

Aminu’s remarks suggested that his extended family has been separated since 2014 when the crisis first broke out. All the extended family members must have been caught in different places by the problem, which made them run in different directions. Otherwise, all should have migrated in the exact rules and to the same site. His remarks also suggested that they have not met as families since 2014, which shows they have been separated since the beginning of the crisis and may not have been able to communicate with one another since then. This may have imparted negatively on their usual family’s collective efforts at sorting out food access. The situation invariably may have caused food insecurity for the extended family members, who are now in disarray and must depend on individual efforts to access food.

**Falimatu** also said, “The crisis separated my family members. My husband and some of my children are in Borno state, while the rest are in Abuja.  My husband refused to migrate with us because he felt that at his age of over seventy years, he would rather stay and be killed in his country home than die in a strange land. Initially, my children and I ran away and left him behind, but later some of my children returned to stay with their father. If not for the crisis, we would not have separated. Although we are not divorced, I am unsure when we will likely be together again.”

The participant’s remark showed they were separated right from the beginning of the crisis when her husband refused to migrate with them. The husband declined to relocate with them probably because of his age; he must have felt that there would not be the strength to accomplish the task of migrating at seventy. Presumably, he believes that whether migrating or not, both may mean death and therefore decided to stay back. Although some of her children later returned after several years in Abuja to be with their father after the terrorist had spared their father’s life. The terrorist perhaps considered the man too old such that it made no sense to kill a man who cannot change anything for them, whether dead or alive.

**Omuya** also said, “My wife initially left my children and me and later divorced me. My wife left me and started having fun when we got to Okene. She started following other men around because she felt I could no longer provide enough for the family. Her absence has affected the family because all the responsibility of providing for the children is now left to me alone. Moreover, she has been supportive from Jos in providing for the family. Now that she has gone, the responsibility of providing for the family falls on me alone. This has pressured me and my ability to meet all the family’s needs.”

The participant’s remark showed that his wife left him after multiple migrations due to his inability to cater to the family adequately. The wife may have seen other men ready to cater to her needs more than her husband, and she left to be with such a man. Her departure from the family created a big problem for her husband and the children. This is probably why the participants said she has supported providing for the family. The participants have experienced the current pressure to provide food for the family would not have arisen if she had not left the family.

**Cosmas r**emarked, “While in Abuja, we sometimes skip meals and go to bed without food. The situation improved when my father approached the officials in the IDP camp to find out if we could come to stay there. After listening to my father, they told us to come and stay at the camp, and then we divided ourselves into two and stayed at our pastor’s house. My father and my other brothers went to stay at the camp. They get food from the camp, and we get food from the pastor’s house. This reduces the burden on the pastor because we all stay with the pastor initially. Now, this has increased our access to food and other things. This was how we started experiencing less hunger than when we initially stayed together in one place with only one source of help.”

Cosmas’s remark suggested they must have stayed with a particular family who was probably a pastor on their arrival in Abuja. The pastor must have accommodated them first because his father is also a pastor. They must have previously been colleagues. Later, his father divided the family into units, one in an IDP camp and the other in the pastor’s house. The separation was done to access more food for the family. This now enables them to get food from two sources. They get food from the camp and the pastor’s house. This form of separation seems to increase their food access, while the other forms of separation, as discussed in Aminu, Falimatu, and Omuya’s remarks, reduce their food access and make them food insecure.

**6. 5 LIFE EXPERIENCES AND LINK TO FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY**

The life events of the participants significantly affected their access to food at one time or another. Their lived experiences showed strong links to food security/insecurity at different times before and after the violent crisis. Some of the lived experiences enable them to be food secure at some time; when such lived experience changes negatively, they become food insecure, making food security/insecurity a trajectory that people move in and out of depending on the participants’ lived experiences at a given time. As mentioned earlier, some of these lived experiences are the death of family members, separation of family members, divorce, remarrying, new birth, and skills acquisitions.

This investigation reveals that before the violent crisis that caused their migration, the participants. Lived an extended kind of family system or communal system where they interdepend on one another and therefore have linked lives. This ensures food security because a breadwinner always takes charge and coordinates the family’s food access and well-being. As soon as the breadwinner dies or is killed in the crisis, the rest of the family seems delinked and, as such, cannot access food, making them food insecure. This is evident in the summary stories of Shefiyat and Mariam above.

**Shefiyat** said, “Everything changed after my husband was murdered; it became difficult for us to access food and no help for us; instead, the men wanted to sleep with me in return for any use.”

**Mariam** said, “We are not rich financially but do not lack anything. We lived peacefully with our neighbours until the conflict started, and my husband was killed during the crisis in Jos and had to migrate with my children back to Borno state to get help from our extended family members, the help I never got”.

Their remarks showed that when the link between them and their husband, who were the breadwinners, got severed or delinked by death, they lost food security and became food insecure. Getting help of any sort became very difficult for them. They did not have access to food for a long time until Mariam remarried, creating a new link to life, while Shefiyat did not remarry but took to prostitution before she could barely provide food for her children. The sections below discuss how these lived experiences shaped food security/insecurity as a trajectory.

**6. 6 DEATH AND LINKS TO FOOD INSECURITY**

The interview with the participants revealed two ways death occurred during and after the migration. Several people were murdered during the crisis; some died during the migration, and others at the end of the migration. Most people murdered during the crisis are adults with various responsibilities for their family members. Most of them are the breadwinners of their families, including men and women. As discussed earlier, the death of breadwinners tends to limit food accessibility to the remaining family members. The remaining family members likely comprise more children than adults and are forced to run for their lives. The breadwinners murdered would have been responsible for providing food for them as they migrated, and now no more, thereby making the survivor food insecure. The other kinds of death experienced by the migrants are those that died because of an illness related to hunger and lack of proper healthcare while on the migration trajectory. This is probably why most participants depended on herbs to treat various diseases, even those that required orthodox medicine. This results in their death. Though they would have loved to treat themselves with conventional medicine, they could not because they were financially weak and could only afford herbal treatment. The occurrence of death limits their capacity and resilience to food insecurity, especially if the dead person is linked significantly to providing direct support for the family, especially by providing food for the family. In some cases, the families would have finished committing their lean resources to treat the sick person, yet the person still died. This will further deplete their ability to access food, making them food insecure. In other instances, where the dead person is an infant or a child, it relieves the family by reducing their spending on healthcare, and infant formula, which usually takes a chunk of their lean finances. However, it may be excruciating to lose such a child, as expressed by the participants. Abraham Jennifer, Aminu, and Cosmas's remarks reveal much about the link between death and food insecurity.

**Jennifer** said, **“**After my husband’s death, the situation became hard for us. We could not even eat one good square meal a day. My children started growing lean and emaciated. I became confused and scared about what to do to cope with starvation and be able to access food. His death hurts every member of the family in so many ways. His death drastically reduced our access to food and healthcare. After his death, there was no assistance from anybody. We had to face the challenges ourselves. The responsibilities my husband carried all alone until his death”.

In the remarks, Jennifer became scared and confused because they had lost their food security due to her husband’s death. She became worried about providing food for the family because she had not been doing that before her husband’s death. The husband was the sole provider for the family before his death making the link between them as a family very strong. The situation, however, became problematic for her after her husband’s death: They could no longer access food. They began to experience hunger and starvation, which led to the deplorable health condition of her children. The children became emaciated and physically retarded in growth. Their situation did not attract help, even from extended family members. This is probably because other extended family members may have all run to different cities for safety and facing the same problems. The situation created pressure for Jennifer and her children and probably resulted in emotional distress. If their father were alive, they would not have felt the impact of their relocation that much. The breadwinner would have stood by the family and provided for them. This shows that the death of a family’s breadwinner creates food insecurity for the remaining family members.

[**Aminu**](file:///C:\Users\Geography\Desktop\THEMES\50b6d438-6937-41e1-99d9-24868e702309) said, “I lost my baby during the migration period. If there was no crisis and I did not migrate, maybe my baby would not have died. He died because I could not afford to buy drugs for him. I would have been able to buy medicines for him and even give him better treatment in a good hospital if there were no violent crises. However, it relieves us of the pressure of getting his kinds of food (a costly baby formula). The money that used to go for his food before his death is now used for other things, increasing our access to food. In addition, for the period he was sick, I could not do any other things to get food for the family because he took our time, attention, and lean resources”.

Inthe remarks, Aminu lost a baby during their migration because he could not provide money for the child's treatment when the child was sick. This was probably because they had lost all they had to the crisis before embarking on the migration journey. His remarks showed they were under pressure to provide baby formula and medication for the child, which they could not do sufficiently. They probably could not provide the baby formula for the child in the required quantity because there was no money. This may have contributed to the child’s poor health condition, which led to his death. They may have suffered the same fate of being unable to feed well because their little resources were concentrated on caring for the child while other needs were suspended. They could not provide for themselves properly. In addition, they spent the time that should have been used to work and earn money caring for the sick baby. This is probably why they felt relieved after losing the child. This shows that losing children who cannot contribute to the family’s needs during forced migration may be a relief to the participants. The money they would have continued spending to care for the sick child is now being converted into other uses, such as buying food for the family. In addition, they use their time to work and earn money to buy food. This eventually increases their food access and ensures their food security.

**Ibrahim Adijat** said, “I lost six people during our migration process. I lost my father and five children. This is in addition to different experiences of ill health as we migrated. The death of my father was a bad one for me. Because my father set up the business, I did before the crisis. In addition, he later gave me some amount of money to boost my capital base. However, he was killed during the crisis. That was why, after the conflict, I could not start any business again because there was no one to assist me. This was why we could not feed ourselves during and after relocation. He could have helped me start my business again if he had been alive. However, the death of my children created deep pain in my heart forever, though it has relieved us of the pressure of providing more for the family. We did not believe that this could happen to us. We will forever have to live with the pain of their death. A situation that would not have happened if not for the conflicts.

The participant lost her business which had been their source of livelihood, lost the breadwinner, who had been the financier of their business, and later lost five other family members. The breadwinner’s death made it impossible for them to start another business again after the crisis. His death reduced the family’s financial strength and access to food and good healthcare. The end of the breadwinner created a vacuum in their access to food. This brought in lots of hardships and distress for the family members. This may have given rise to frustration and depression experienced in the family. Lack of money may have caused their inability to access food and healthcare required by the other members of the family. This is probably why there was high mortality in the family. The pressure to keep the family was so high that she was relieved after losing the other family members. Now the family may not need much food and other resources to survive.

**Liyatu Ayuba** remarked, “After losing my husband during the crisis, my children and I stayed in the IDP camp temporarily for three years (3) to enable us to access food. Later my eldest son decided to return to Jos and work to support the family. On his return to Jos, he was affected by a bomb blast. Terrorists planted the bomb at the entrance of a COCIN church headquarters in Jos. This added more sorrow to our situation; we could no longer afford simple meals.   The money realized from my menial jobs and that of my second son was used to buy medicine for my son affected by a bomb blast. This caused a significant change in our eating habits. Sometimes, I would stay for days without food. This prompted my second son to go into hard drug peddling just to be able to feed the family. My children, who knew nothing about drugs before the crisis, became drug exposed. The National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) later killed one of them because of his involvement in drug peddling”.

The participant’s remarks revealed they were food secure when the breadwinner was alive, probably because they did things together that linked them as a family with the breadwinner as the coordinating figure. This ensures their food security; however, killing the breadwinners of families, among other losses, delinked the collaborative relationships and created food insecurity for them. They became confused and uncoordinated immediately after the death of the breadwinners. The condition of one of the family members hospitalized due to the bomb blast further degraded their food access. This made them spend the available resources on the sick person, and the time they would have to work and earn money. This makes the other members involved in drug peddling, leading to his death.

**6. 7 AILMENTS/DISEASES AND LINKS TO FOOD INSECURITY**

Most participants were affected by various ailments and diseases related to poor feeding habits and stress while migrating to a new place. Their children seem to have been severely affected by different illnesses. This is probably why several death was recorded during the migration. From Table 3, a total of 48 significant ailments and 24 death were recorded. This shows how vulnerable the participants must have been to food insecurity because the money and the resources that would have been used for food are used for medication. In addition, the other members of the family who are not sick cannot go to work because they have to stay and provide care for the sick ones. This makes them food insecure, but they become food secure when they can pass through this phase of food insecurity by acquiring new skills or setting up businesses they become food secure.

**Liyatu Ayuba** said, “He spent two years in the hospital with all our meager resources going in for his treatment, and yet he was not okay until we got help from a foreign organization that later helped us to pay for his treatment. We could not afford a good meal during this period because all our money and other resources went to his treatment. This was after losing his father during the crisis and his younger brother, who was killed by National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) while peddling drugs to help provide food for the family. The absence of these two people contributed to our suffering and lack of reasonable access to food to date”.

The participants' remarks revealed that they had problems accessing food because, after the death of their father during the crisis, her eldest son became sick and was hospitalized for several years. They spent all their little earnings that would increase their access to food to treat him. Although he became okay in the long run, this was not without the help of the foreign organization. If not for the intervention of the foreign body that assisted in treating the patient, they would probably have lost him after spending lots of money and other resources on treating him. That would have been more painful. The situation of losing children after spending much money to treat them happens to some participants, as found during this investigation. Participants like Adijatu Ibrahim, who lost six people, including five children, and Shefiyatu Dogo, who also lost two children during their migration period. The ailment has a significant influence on food access for the participants. The more people are sick, the more they spend resources that would have increased their food access. This is probably why most participants used herbs to treat their ailing persons during their migration. Sometimes, they self-medicate, which tends to escalate the sick person’s condition, as found in the story of Falimatu above. Similarly, Liyatu’s second son also died in the hands of a narcotics agency while peddling hard drugs to earn money and help provide food for the family. The second son’s death may have caused a severe blow to their chances of getting food, as stressed by Liyatu. This ultimately reduced their food access and made them insecure for a long time.

**Idris** said, “When the children were also sick while at the camp, I could not go out to work and get money for food, and I stayed back and took care of them. During that period, I had poor access to food. When I finally lost them, I became sick and could not have food to eat until I became well again. During my travail, people assisted me with whatever they shared at the camp before I could eat. However, losing four members of my family and leaving me as the only survivor has caused a significant reduction in the amount of food I require for my survival”.

The remarks of Idris showed that he spent money and time treating his children when they were sick. The time he would have used to work and earn money to ensure his food security. Therefore, this gave him poor access to food because he could not work during that time. Even after the death of his children, he became sick. His sickness after the end of his children may be a result of shock from the death of the remaining members of his family. When he was ill, he could not go to work for food; he depended on the help he could get from the people to feed himself. This means that in addition to spending money that would have been used for food on the sick person, just like in the case of Liyatu Ayuba above, the time spent taking care of the sick also deprives them of having access to food.

**Hauwa** said, “Since we came to Abuja, my husband has had health challenges. He was diagnosed with diabetes. As I speak with you, my husband cannot do much work to support the family to ensure our food access like before. I am the only person knitting and taking the knitted cap and sweater to the offices and motor parks to sell before we can access food, but lately, I asked him to join me in the business, and he agreed”.

The participants' remarks revealed that they have had poor access to food since arriving in Abuja due to her husband’s poor health. Due to health challenges, the husband cannot do much to help improve the family’s food access. This has placed much burden of fending for the family on her alone. Although, in this case, the participant is not prevented from committing her time to work as experienced by other participants, it puts lots of pressure on the available resources.

**6. 8 BIRTH AND LINKS TO FOOD INSECURITY/SECURITY**

New birth means an increase in migrants’ condition, already overwhelmed with little or no access to food. New birth increases their demand for food in an already worse food shortage situation. This not only increases their need for the kinds of food they have been surviving on, but it also places a demand for a new kind of food for the infants, which requires more money to be spent on buying food, as seen in Aminu’s remarks above. They also need more money to provide healthcare for the newborn because the child might be too fragile for herbal medication, which the adult depends on for treatment. This reduces their capacity to access the required food for the entire family, creating food insecurity for the migrants. This is seen in the remarks of Abubakar, as shown below.

**Abubakar** said, “My wife got pregnant and gave birth to a baby after some years in Abuja. We had only one child; when we left Jos and had an additional one later, making them two children now to care for. We spent lots of money to provide for his antenatal care before birth.

During childbirth, my wife had complications that resulted in her being surgically operated on. The surgical operation cost us lots of money.

After birth, we had to buy unique baby formula (food). We offered him this food that cost lots of money for more than three years after his birth before he started eating regular food with us. This situation created lots of pressure on our feeding system.

We spend lots of money on medical bills during antenatal, especially when the mother becomes hypertensive. This reduces our ability to meet up with sufficient food for the family because we spent much money on treating her condition to prevent unforeseen circumstances during childbirth.

In the remarks, the participant revealed three critical stages in which having additional babies increases the pressure on their lean resources and reduces their access to food, making them food insecure. These three stages are during the pregnancy when the mother needs to go for antenatal care; during birth, which involves a surgical operation and after the baby’s birth, when infant food formula is needed to feed the new baby who cannot feed on a regular food for the primary time. All of these created a situation of food insecurity for the rest of the family. The family focused on the new baby as they stressed to ensure they provided all it took to keep the baby alive. The remarks reveal that having additional babies during forced migration creates significant food and healthcare needs, resulting in food insecurity.

[**Bala Ayishetu** said,](file:///C:\Users\Geography\Desktop\THEMES\96286f03-1196-4fa4-b8d9-24868f45cc51)**“**I had two children before migrating to Abuja and later had an additional two when we got to Abuja, making four children. My husband and I could provide effectively for the family when we had only two children. However, everything became hard for us when we had an additional two. During pregnancy, there was no money to go for antenatal checks regularly, as expected. All we had, which was usually not enough, went for food. I could not actively contribute to providing food for the family until the baby was delivered. We only have to depend on what my husband brings to the house at such times for survival. This affected our ability to feed and care for the family, hence the family’s general well-being. We had to buy clothes and other things for the babies each time I gave birth. This significantly affected our ability to purchase

other items for the family’s well-being and secure good food access”.

In the remarks, the participants had good access to food when they had only two children before migrating. However, the situation became hard for them after they had their third and fourth children. This was when they significantly lost their access to food because adding children increased their budget for food procurement and healthcare. It was so hard for them that she could not go for antenatal during her pregnancy. Not only did their food budget increase, but also her pregnancy condition always stopped her from contributing to the family’s finances. This is because she could not work again at the advanced stage of the pregnancy. The entire burden fell back on her husband alone. The husband worked at the motor park and could not earn much to sustain the family. Therefore, they continued to have low access, which made them more food insecure than when they had only two children.

**Hauwa** said, “I had only two children before leaving Jos and had another one in Maiduguri, making them three. When we left Maiduguri, we had increased to five family members. I had an additional one in Abuja. We are now six members of the family. We now have four children together with my husband. We are now six in the family. This created food problems for us considering our condition of no sources of livelihood.”

The participants’ remarks revealed that they had two children in Jos and an additional two in Maiduguri and Abuja, respectively. She revealed that their food requirement increased each time she had an additional child. As migrants without sources of livelihood, they were food insecure. Their frequent movement from one region to another may have worsened their food insecurity situation. Until she can settle and have a real source of livelihood with the capacity to provide for the family, they may remain food insecure for a long time.

**6. 9 SKILLS AND LINKS TO FOOD INSECURITY/SECURITY**

As discussed in chapter five (5), the participants engaged their cultural and human capital to ensure their livelihood (food security) before the crisis. They work using their skills to sustain their income, guaranteeing good access to food and food security before the conflicts. As they moved across the region for safety, food, and peace of mind, their human and cultural capital became untenable and irrelevant in their new destination. This is due to cultural differences and regions that do not support their food practices and are not guaranteeing their food access (Hadley & Sellen, 2006; Hadley et al., 2010). As discussed in the previous chapter, the once vibrant and hardworking participants with good knowledge of farming, bricklayer, trading in farm and locally manufactured products, producers of perfumes, Caps, and taxi drivers suddenly became unproductive due to changes in their culture and location. They, therefore, become food insecure. Some participants quickly learned new skills in their new destination to guarantee food access and ensure food security. At the same time, others strive to update and improve their former skills. They learned new skills like soap making, Vaseline production, mat making, tiling, using bikes for commercial transportation, and baking Akara. Others set up new businesses, restaurants, catering services, cooking food, and selling to the public, just like Taylor et al. (2016), Garcia et al. (2018), and Maystadt & Verwimp (2014) opined. The participants who established food-related businesses derived double benefits; the family members eat at the restaurant or from the food they cook. They also make money from the services they render to the public. These gave them reasonable access to food and gradually became food secure.

**Abraham Jennifer** said,**“**I received training while at the camp on making soap, Vaseline, and keeping livestock. Some non-governmental organizations brought rabbits, birds, and goats to the center for us. They trained us on how to raise them. They also introduced the people to how to cook. However, I was already a professional cook before the crisis, and the training helped update my cooking skills. In a short while, I started cooking for people during ceremonies and earning income for such services. I follow people to church ceremonies, wedding ceremonies, and naming ceremonies to help them cook and earn income. At times, they give me food for my family in return. This also increases and perfects my skills in cooking for a large number of people. The skill helped strengthen my food accessibility because it sustained our food access for quite a long time”.

The participant’s remarks showed that her training at the camp helped her access food. Though she was a professional cook before the crisis, her training at the camp helped update her skill, which sold her to the people. She started having high patronage, especially for those who organized a large church, birthday, and marriage ceremonies. This helps her to earn income, which she uses to provide for her children. Sometimes, her customers give her food in return for her payment.

**Audu** said, **“**I started learning to drive a motorcycle and lay tiles. I included training on how to lay tiles because I already have an idea of bricklaying, which is like laying tiles. I finished the training and started working for people within a short time. I combine this work with driving a motorcycle to make money. I started buying food from whatever I made daily to support what my brother brought to the house. We have continued like that now for the past two years. When I work for people using the new knowledge, they pay me about three to four thousand naira daily. We buy food like yam, cassava flour, potato, and local rice in quantities that take us long before they finish”.

Audu’s remarks showed that his involuntary movement from his hometown affected his general well-being and reduced his ability to access food when he moved from one place to another. He was initially prevented from getting a job in his new place due to skills limitations. His inadequacies in the skills required at his current place may have restricted him from getting jobs in the community. This automatically restricts the amount of food he may be able to access. How does he get food to feed himself if he cannot work? This prompted him to learn two skills simultaneously: driving motorbikes for commercial transportation and learning how to lay tiles. The new skills he learned later gave him good access to food, and he even began to assist his brother and other family members. These new skills are probably culturally compliant with the host community. His former skills seem not in good demand in contemporary society, which initially constrained him from getting a job.

**Katum** said, “I decided to learn carpentry work, which I now combine with small dry-season farming. I cultivate spinach and watermelon on the cleared mine-dumb land and earn money from the sales. Because my wife and I are now working, we can feed our family again. We eat out of the farm products and sell the remaining ones. The money realized from the sales is, used to buy other things we cannot produce ourselves. Our access to food has increased significantly.”

Katum’s remarks revealed that he was not food secure on their arrival in Abuja because he had lost his sources of livelihood during the crisis. He, therefore, learned carpentry/woodwork to ensure a new source of livelihood. In addition, he also started farming on a piece of land where he cultivated spinach and other vegetables. He sells the vegetables and earns money from it. Combining carpentry work with farming now guaranteed his food security. Therefore moving him from the condition of food insecurity to food security.

[**Hadiza Ali**](file:///C:\Users\abuon\OneDrive\Desktop\Thesis%20main\9483e3a5-0369-495f-92d9-248693cde059) said, “While at the IDP camp, some non-governmental agencies came to train women on various skills and animal husbandry. They also brought some animals for us to raise and earn money from it. In addition, I learned to do hairdressing for people using various machines. We were also taught to tie and dye dresses and make predominantly liquid soap. The training was free, while a woman called Chizom brought about twenty-five (25) sewing machines, fingerlings (small fishes), and about seventy-five Birds for the women at the IDP camp. She also trained people to sow dresses and do fishing farming and brought in people to teach the young boys how to do poultry farming”.

The participant’s remarks showed she learned different skills at the IDP camp. These skills also created multiple ways of making food available to the participants. Her former skills may not have been able to create the kind of food access she required to feed her children. With the new one incorporated, more food access is made for her. She now sews clothes for people with the help of the training and the sewing machine she received. She is also planning to start a hairdressing business and her initial business of Cap knitting. These multiple skills will likely create multiple income sources and increase her financial capacity. This has given her more access to food and the ability to provide the healthcare her children require. She has also been able to save for the children’s school fees. She is thrilled that she went to stay in IDP Camp for some time before moving out because it allowed her to learn these skills that are now helping her to have the financial capacity for more incredible food access.

**Hauwa** also said, “I learned different skills while in the IDP camp in Abuja; different organizations came to train women and men alike on different skills and trades. They come to train us to empower us so that we can be able to start a business on our own or to be doing something that will enable us to be able to feed our family. They trained us on how to make soap, catering, how to make Vaseline and new technology in agricultural practices”.

The participant’s remarks showed that she acquired new skills during her migration to enable her to engage in new sources of livelihood, having lost their previous livelihood sources and food insecurity. The Non-governmental organization and individuals who afforded them this skill acquisition opportunity made it free for them probably because they do not have the capacity to pay for the training. These people cannot provide food for their families for lack of financial capital. How, then, will they be able to pay for the training? The new skills acquired created a source of finance, and they became food secure. Due to forced migration, the food insecure people become food security at some point in their lives after acquiring new skills that now provide them a new source of livelihood.

**Dairu Fatima** said, “After saving some amount of money from the little my husband earns from his motor park work, I started my usual production and sales of local women’s perfume. The people liked it very well, and they patronized me. I started making some money from it, and it increased our food accessibility. This continued until I delivered my baby and was able to buy all things required for the baby while our accessibility to food also increased reasonably.”

Dairu’s remark revealed they were not food secure during and after their forced migration. The husband worked as a motor park conductor, earning them a meagre amount of money that could not ensure their food security. They became food security after she had put her skill to work by producing local women’s perfume, which the people in the area loved and patronized. They were food secure before the violent crisis that caused their moment because they had good sources of livelihood. After their migration, they became food insecure because they lost their source of livelihood. Moreover, later, after updating her skills, now providing sources of livelihood for them, they become food secure again.

**Jabir** said, “I learned traditional sand mining skills from moving water during our migration to help us earn money for food. Though it was a risky job, I did it just for my family to access food. The job was risky because one needed to enter the stream and use a shovel or spade to scoop out the sand moving under the stream or riverbed. I can sometimes bring out a load of big trucks in one week, which goes for ₦15,000 naira. It helps us a lot to be able to buy food. No other job could have brought in such much money for me in one week.”

Jabir’s remarks showed he learned sand mining skills from the riverbed using traditional methods. This made him food secure, having lost his livelihood during the previous violent crisis in Jos and become food insecure. In his remarks, he earned much money from the job. Jabir, a motor mechanic in Jos before the crisis, lost his working tools and became food insecure. Now that he can work as a sand miner from the riverbed, he earns money, ensuring his access to food and making him food secure.

**6. 10 DIVORCE/SEPARATION AND LINKS TO FOOD INSECURITY/SECURITY**

Quite a few participants were involved in divorce from their spouses while migrating. They got divorced for various reasons, while some family members were, separated for different reasons. Some participants divorced because they felt their spouses could no longer provide food for the family members. Therefore, they felt that divorcing their husband or wives and returning to their parents in another state would guarantee their food security. Others left and went to remarry other men they believe can provide for their needs. In the case of separation, just as discussed above, some families separated due to the chaos that characterized the crisis and their movement. Some family members have not met since they ran in different directions due to a violent crisis. Some got divorced to gain more access to food, a guarantee for food security in their new place. See the remarks of Omuya and Golla below.

**Omuya s**aid, “My wife left me when we arrived in Okene and started following other men around because she felt I could not provide enough for the family. Her decision to divorce me affected my family because she has supported me from Jos in ensuring food for the family. Now that she has gone, the responsibility of providing for the family falls on only me. This has put lots of pressure on me to provide for all the needs of the family, especially food and other needs”.

[**Golla**](file:///C:\Users\abuon\OneDrive\Desktop\Thesis%20main\a6a1f67b-3868-417c-9ed9-24869347479b) said, “My wife decided she would no longer follow us to Abuja. She said she would instead go to Kaduna to cultivate crops for herself. I left her to go her way and proceeded to Abuja with my children. Her departure created lots of hardship for the rest of the family members. The rest of the family now live a separate life, and there is no unity among the family members. As we speak, we are no longer together; even my children in Abuja here hardly visit me, and I hardly see them too”.

The remarks of the two participants, Omuya and Golla, revealed that they both lost their wives to divorce while migrating. The divorce denied both men the support they would have had from their wives for more incredible food access. Not only did they lose their wives' support, but the situation also caused a separation between the other family members, which destroyed the family’s bond and limited their access to food. The problem caused them to lose their social capital, which they would have used to their advantage to access more food, as discussed in Chapter 5. One of the divorcing women decided to go and start a new life by cultivating crops in Kaduna, while the other went to remarry. The two women may have gone to where they will have good access to food than their current husbands can provide. While they moved to excellent food access, their departure caused decreased food access for the family members they left behind. Therefore, divorce as a life event tends to have two sides for those affected. It tends to help increase food access for those who divorce their spouses and remarry other men with sufficient resources to provide them with a good and desirable life—at the same time, decreasing food access for the deserted.

**6. 11 MARRIAGE AND LINKS TO FOOD INSECURITY/ SECURITY**

Several marriages took place among the migrants while on the migration trajectories. The nuptials help increase food accessibility and food security, particularly for the women who married after losing their husbands. Some women who lost their husbands during the crisis or while migrating remarry other men to have guaranteed access to food for their children. The death of their husbands created a big vacuum in the family, such as food insecurity that needed to be, filled. The death of their spouses reduced the family's strength to meet their food and healthcare requirements and to sustain the family, particularly those with several children. The food insecurity situation might be worse for these women if they were not doing much to assist their husbands while he was alive. Therefore, they find it difficult to cope with the responsibilities of providing for the family, especially food and healthcare. The summary story of Mariam above and the remarks of Buba Hajji, as shown below, reveals a lot about the women who remarried after their husbands’ death.

[**Buba Hajji**](file:///C:\Users\abuon\OneDrive\Desktop\Thesis%20main\9f40cc26-a440-42cf-84d9-24868fada55e) said, “After my first husband’s death, caring for five children alone was overwhelming especially providing food, shelter, and healthcare for them. I then decided to remarry to have someone beside me who could assist me in caring for my children. Since I remarried, the situation has become a lot better for my children and me. Our experience of food scarcity changed; we now have good access to food and other basic needs”.

Buba Hajj’s remarks show that the situation became overwhelming for her to provide for the children after her husband’s death. Mainly when no help came from any quarters that could alleviate their suffering and provide food, catering for five children alone can be overwhelmingly complex for a widow who does not have good shelter and no assistance from anywhere. Buba Hajji and her children, therefore, were food insecure and must seek how to cope with the situation in order to be food secure. She remarries when she gets a potential husband. From the testimony of the participants, as soon as she remarried, her situation of poor access to food and healthcare changed. They now have good access to food and healthcare courtesy of her new husband. Having good access to food may not have been the only reason for her action. She also needed a man beside her to raise her five children. Raising five children as a single parent may not bring out the best in the children growing up.

[**Mariam**](file:///C:\Users\abuon\OneDrive\Desktop\Thesis%20main\88a87c7d-07f8-415a-add9-248697316b67) said**, “**After my first husband’s death, the situation became challenging for us. Therefore, I needed to remarry another man who agreed to help me care for my children. My first attempt to remarry failed because the man felt that caring for another man’s children would be too much for him, although he lent me some money. I later married my current husband, a seasonal irrigation farmer. Since I married him, the situation has become easier for my children and me. My new husband has provided food for us; I do not have to struggle again to get food for my children. However, we are still adjusting to many things, such as food types, healthcare services, and the way of life generally in Abuja, because Abuja is too expensive”.

The participants’ remarks show that, after the death of her husband, providing food and other essentials for the family became tough for her, and therefore became food insecure. Her first attempt to remarry failed because the man who wanted to remarry her saw the enormity of the problem in the number of her children. The man may have thought of the long-term implication of such a large family on his economic capital and social implications. Therefore, he decided to help her with money and allow her to carry her cross. The man’s assistance could only help her in the interim. She finally married another man who agreed to marry her because he was an irrigation farmer who could provide food from his farm. He may also have seen the opportunity of exploiting the children as cheap labour to increase his productivity on the farm. This confirmed the opinion of Taylor et al. (2016), Garcia et al. (2018), and Maystadt & Verwimp (2014) that forced migrants may be exploited as a source of cheap labour in their new place. Otherwise, the initial man who proposed to remarry reneged upon the knowledge of the number of children she had. Probably the initial man was not a farmer that may need such cheap labour to work on the farm. Although the participant remarrying, a farmer paid off for her and her children because they now have good access to food and healthcare. Therefore, remarrying another man marked an essential turnaround in her life and that of her children. Thus, it brought them hope, joy, and access to food and healthcare, ensuring food security. The people who lost their food security to the death of their breadwinners and became food insecure at some point in their lives become food security again after they remarry.

**6. 12 DISCUSSIONS OF THE RESULT**

This investigation revealed intricate and dynamic intra-social links (within the family) and inter-social links (between the families) among the participants’ families while on the migration trajectories. These links are seen in each member’s level of care, support, and prudent utilization of available resources (Girardin et al., 2018; Gilligan et al., 2018). These links, as identified by this investigation, either undermined the participants’ well-being (food insecurity) or improved their well-being (food security), as envisaged by Vidal and Baxter (2018). Most links between the participant’s families existed long before the crises, while some were created during and after the violent crisis. De-links occur during and after violent crises, resulting from the deaths of family members, changes in marriages, and separations among family members at different times. In the opinion of Bell (2018), a link is intra when the social interaction and relationship is within the immediate family members, which affects their well-being, including food security/insecurity, and inter when it is the social relationships between the extended family members or friends who are bound by circumstances during and after their migration. The intra-linked social interaction among the family members produces more influence on the family members who have lived together for several decades than inter-linked social interaction, which reflects more diversity between two different households or families (Bell, 2018). This is probably why the death of breadwinners, divorce/separation, and ailment of immediate family members create devastating shocks and emotional distress, resulting in food insecurity for the surviving family members (Sheehan, 2014; Bhugra, 2004; Bhui et al., 2014). For instance, when Mariam lost her husband and became food insecure, she returned to their extended family members for help which she did not get. She further attempted to remarry in the first instance to ensure her food security and failed. Although she got little assistance from the man, she failed to marry him, which would have probably ensured her food security for a long time. In the case of Hadiza Ali, after migrating to Abuja to stay with her brother-in-law, she was kicked out of the house after a while. The relationship between Hadiza and her brother-in-law appears to be inter-links. This would not have happened if her husband had been alive, which would have been intra-links. However, the intra-social link between her and her children kept and gave her the courage to re-establish her cultural skills and resume the production of Cap, which made them food secure. While she produces the cap, the children sell it in the city. Similarly, Shefiyat Dogo suffered the same fate when she migrated to Gidan Wire after her husband’s death. She was subjected to sexual harassment, and her children were inhumanely treated by a man who hosted them for a while. The man may probably be a distant or extended family member. Despite their adversity, the intra-link instinct between them kept them together until they got to Abuja. Some of them worked as domestic house cleaners to add to whatever their mother brought from prostitution to have food. Intra-social relationships were absent among the immediate family of Golla, Idris, and Omuya, who separated, and each went their separate ways. This, however, proved that it is not just social capital that enhances food security but quality social relationships, as found in the family of Hadiza Ali and Sefiyat Dogo. Such quality social relationships were not found in Golla, Idris, and Omuya’s families, which led to their continuous food insecurity and a devastating end.

This investigation provided insight into how power and the meagre available resources are shared across the ranks of the family members as envisaged by Widmer (2010); Gouveia (2014). The resources are shared based on the need of the individual members as they migrated and not based on age or gender. In sharing the limited available resource, the participants and their migrating families seem to prioritize those who are sick and need care and the new babies who need special care before deploying the remaining resources for other uses. This is evident in the remarks of Aminu, who concentrated much of their lean resources on ensuring his son’s health. He also bought expensive baby food for the baby first and later used whatever was left to buy food for the rest of the family. This is probably why he was relieved after the son’s death through a very excruciating experience. That now improves their chances of increasing their food security and social well-being. It was the same situation for Liyatu, who concentrated her meagre resources that would have been used for food to care for her son, who was hospitalized due to a bomb blast. This was not different from Idris’s case, who stayed to care for his children when they were both sick, depriving himself of work to earn money and spending his meagre resources to take care of them. The power to share resources among the migrant family, however, lies the on the person who provides the resources and usually acts as the family’s breadwinner. This could be adult male, female, or young underage family members who provide for the family after losing the main breadwinner during the crisis.

The investigation reveals that there were switched responsibilities among the family members. This occurred because of death, divorce, and separations of spouses. When the breadwinners of the family die, the responsibilities of fending for the family switch automatically to the living spouse or children. Young and underage children assumed a particular responsibility for providing for the family. They do this by begging for alms in the street, working as domestic house help in private homes, or selling craft products from the surviving parents. These are evident in the remarks of Fatima Isah, who sent the children to beg for alms on the street and bring back their catch before they could eat; children were made to engage in street hawking to raise money for food.

After the initial loss of social, cultural, human, and economic capital, causing them to lose their livelihood, they gradually re-established these capitals, making them food secure again. This invariably indicates that social, cultural, human, and economic capitals are not static but can change depending on the participant’s capacity to utilize the available resources well. Most participants gradually returned from the path of food insecurity to the path of food security as soon as they were able to re-establish social, cultural, human, and economic capital. For instance, Hadiza Ali and her children work together using their cultural skills to produce Cap and earn financial capital, which returns them to food security. Similarly, Comas and his family divided themselves into two parts. One part work in the church, and the other work on the fishery farm; this also quickly return them to the path of food security. Audu, Katum, and Huawa also used their newly acquired skill to return to food security. Adding new skills improves their human and cultural capital that suits their new destination culturally. Skills acquisition assisted the participants in two ways; it helped them overcome emotional distress (Leung et al., 2015; Sheri et al., 2011) and simultaneously helped them improve their food security.

During their movement, the participants sought diverse ways to survive by planning and rebuilding their future, which seemed uncertain (Boyle, 2009: Evans et al., 2013; Hynie et al., 2012; Shakya et al., 2014). This created a significant change in the social and physical well-being of the family members, especially women, and children, who appear more affected than men are affected. This is probably why more women left their spouses than men left their wives.

This investigation reveals that aside from skills acquisitions and marriages, which tend to help improve the participant’s food security, other life events negatively affected the participant’s food security. This is because participants’ acquisition of new skills strengthens their ability to access food in their new place. The same for marriages; those that get married gain considerable access to food and strengthened food security. This is probably because the participants now socially have a partner with whom they could join forces to work and get food. In addition, skills acquisitions and marriages help the participants out of emotional distress quickly.

All other life events had negative consequences for the participants’ food security. The breadwinner’s death caused the family to lose access to food. Such losses trigger damaging emotional distress and depression in the surviving family members, as Fazel et al. (2012) asserted. According to Leung et al. (2015); and Sheri et al. (2011), this condition causes food insecurity for the participants. This was evident in some participants who could not do anything to increase their food access on a long-term basis but instead depended on short-term ways of getting food, like prostitution, begging, and other non-dignifying acts.

Ailment and sickness appeared to have affected the migrant’s food access, making them food insecure in two ways. First, it removes the little resources they could have used to buy food. These meagre resources are spent on medication and other healthcare needs instead of using such for food. This reduces their capacity and resilience to food insecurity. Secondly, once the participants or any other family members are sick, such can no longer work to earn money for food. Therefore, they remained food insecure when they could not work due to ill health. Food insecurity causes ailments and sickness and sometimes results in death, especially among children and the elderly (Courtney, 2014; Laraia, 2013; Carmen, 2015). This further leak their chances of food security because when the participants become unhealthy, they cannot go to work and may not be able to earn any money for food. Sometimes it may be a member of the family that is sick and make the participants spend time taking care of the ill member. This prevents the participants from working to earn money for food.

Other life events, such as divorce and separation, made the participant food insecure. The divorce or separation of family members causes many distressing issues resulting in the disunity of the family members and causing them not to work together. This later caused them to lose social capital (Shultz, 2014; McCleary et al., 2017; Hynie et al., 2012; McMichael, 2010; Weine et al., 2014). These eventually result in food insecurity, as already discussed in previous chapters.

Additional childbirth results in the participants’ food insecurity in two ways, as revealed in this investigation. First, during the pregnancy, the money for food is, used for antenatal care. The cost of antenatal care is very high and therefore takes lots of money they should have used for food. This is probably why some participants used traditional herbs for their antenatal section. Secondly, when the child is born, they need money for the baby’s infant food, which is often expensive. They use the funds meant to purchase food for other members of the family for the child alone. In the long run, the birth of a baby increases the number of the family, which also means an increase in the food needed by the family (Deeming, 2011; Woltil, 2012; Nnakwe, 2003; Sidenwel et al., 2001). This confirms the finding of McKenzie and Watts (2019) that changes in life events such as marriage, divorce, employment, and childbearing across the life course affect food choices, strategies, and consumption patterns.

The participant’s physical, social, and economic lives experienced many changes. Some households increased in numbers while others decreased in their numbers. Some families could sustain themselves economically through various means, while others depended on others and IDP camps for food throughout their movement. Most participants used IDP camp as a transiting platform that enabled them to access food in the main time without alternative and later found their way out when they had alternative food access. This is similar to Adesote's (2017); Mukhtar et al. (2018) opinion.

**6. 13 SUMMARY OF THE FINDING**

♦The violent crisis caused dynamics in families/household composition during and after forced migration resulting in the loss of social, cultural, human, and economic capital, subsequently shaping their food security/insecurity. The lost capitals were later re-established and sustained through new human and cultural skill acquisition after a long period of food insecurity, reverting their situation to food security.

♦Intricate intra-social links (within the family) and inter-social links (between the families) exist among the participants while on the migration trajectories. These links are recognized in each member’s level of care, support, and prudent utilization of available resources for the benefit of others. These links can undermine the participants’ well-being (food insecurity) if not adequately managed or improve their well-being (food security) if managed well.

♦The resources are shared based on the need of the individual members, prioritizing those who are sick and need care and the new babies who need special care more before deploying the remaining resources for the use of the others. Gender and age are not considered in this case. At the same time, the power to share resources lies the in the person who provides the resources and acts as the family’s breadwinner. This could be adult male, female, or young underage family members who provide for the family after losing their main breadwinner during the crisis.

♦ Life events have positive and negative effects on the food security/insecurity of the participants. Death/bereavement, childbirth, and divorce/separation cause food insecurity for the participants. New birth tends to increase the migrant’s demand for food in the face of insufficient resources. This tends to create food insecurity for the migrant. The migrants reduce their spending on healthcare in favour of food. This makes them rely on the herbal resource for treating ill health conditions.

In contrast, skills acquisition and remarrying increase the participants’ food security level. Some migrants remarried to ensure their accessibility to food and guarantee their food security.

♦ Most of their human and cultural capital became untenable in their new environment and therefore had to develop new ones to ensure food security.

♦ Life events give rise to rebuilding and re-planning their lifestyle physically, economically, and socially resulting in different adaptive measures, creating resilience capability and various dynamic coping strategies to the numerous adversities confronting them.

♦ Emotional distress, inability to live a good life, and the failure of a few spouses to absorb the pressure of forced migration led them to divorce their husbands. Adolescents and underage children were made to undertake the adult responsibilities of providing food for the family. They were made to beg for alms in the streets and work as domestic help for people to provide food for their families.

♦ Information on the participants’ movements and vital details are not correctly tracked and documented. This created a more deplorable condition for the participants. This is because there was no data to plan and make provisions for them. Their needs, acceptability, and comfortability in their host community could not be assessed.

♦ Most help for the participants came from private individuals, religious bodies, and non-governmental organizations. The support from the religious bodies was, based on religious and ethnic sentiments.

♦ The participants are unwilling to return to their original hometown after years of forced migration. This is because they have established new sources of livelihood and started a new life in their current destinations. Moreover, they do not want to be reminded of their past trauma by returning to where it started.

♦ The participants learned new skills and creative ventures to strengthen their capacity to access food and enhance their resilience to food insecurity.

**CHAPTER SEVEN**

**7. 0 MAIN DISCUSSION**

**7. 1 INTRODUCTION**

The present study explores the experiences of forced migrants using an in-depth narrative interview conceptualized on a life course approach with specific use of Linked Lives to contribute to the limited research on the relationship between forced migration and food insecurity in central Nigeria. This investigation sought to contribute to the knowledge of forced migration and the consequences on food security/insecurity. In addition to helping contribute and develop a basic frame for policy formulation concerning forced migration and food security/insecurity. As discussed and outlined in the concluding parts of chapter two, the gap in the existing literature is significant and, therefore, needs to be investigated to help develop and formulate policies that will help mitigate the usual deplorable condition of forced migrants regarding food insecurity and their general well-being while on the forced migration path. The research questions that help lay the basis for this investigation are; what forms of food security/insecurity do migrants on their life course trajectories experience? How does the change in the social, cultural, human, and economic capital of the migrants shape their food security/insecurity? How do links/delinks in the interaction between the migrants and their livelihood sources and lived experiences determine when and how they experience food security/insecurity? What strategy do migrants adopt to increase their food security? Moreover, how do these strategies change over time?

To make meaning of the participants’ experiences, the investigation was conducted on twenty-five participants who have experienced forced migration for over twenty years into central Nigeria. They spoke about their experiences during and after the forced migration within and into central Nigeria. Their responses were recorded, transcribed, and coded using computer-assisted software called NVIVO. About ten themes emerged, providing a broad spectrum for coherent analysis and findings that answer the research questions. Details interactive discussion is done to ensure that the intended users of this investigation understand the results clearly. The discussion is therefore, focused on the summary of the findings concerning the experiences of forced migrants and food insecurity, the various food strategies adopted by the participants, which helped them survive throughout the journey, were discussed. Other salient problems that border on food security/insecurity are, equally discussed. In addition, in the chapter, the strength and limitation of the research were, discussed. Findings and recommendation were, made to give meaningful directions for future investigation and finally,policy implications of the research and conclusion were, made. This chapter structure is based on twenty major headings with a sub-heading under each significant title for clarity and easy digestion of the findings.

The major headings are the forms of food security/insecurity experienced by the migrants, the various decisions taken by migrants during and after migration, the capitals (social, cultural, human, and economic capitals), and food security/insecurity. Others are Links and Delinks between the migrant’s family and food security/insecurity, food strategies, cultural differences, food utilization, life events during and after the crisis and the linkage to food insecurity, returning or none returning of the migrants, policy implications of the findings, conclusion, and recommendations.

**7. 2 NATURE AND FORMS OF FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY EXPERIENCED BY MIGRANTS**

This investigation revealed that the participants would not have migrated without violent crises, just like Hammond et al. (2018) opined. This showed that forced migration is directly related to the violent crisis resulting from religious differences, terrorist activities, Fulani herder attacks, and communal clashes. The participants were exceptionally food secure before the violent crisis and became food insecure after the crisis, leading to hunger, starvation, and food insecurity. These difficulties experienced by the participants are a direct consequence of the violent crisis. This investigation recognized three significant forms of food insecurity experienced by the participants. These are short-term food insecurity, intermittent food insecurity, and long-term food insecurity.

The short-term food insecurity appeared to be chronic and more devastating for the participants. This investigation reveals that this form of food insecurity occurs during and immediately after violent conflicts where participants are prevented from accessing food and food sources such as food stores and food outlets. Some of the food stores and outlets were destroyed during the crisis. Food is prevented from entering the crisis town, and no market where food can be sold or bought during the crisis. This means that all food sources were entirely blocked, making the participants go through severe hunger, starvation, and food insecurity. Though short-term food insecurity did not last for an extended period, it proved more chronic and, in some cases, fatal. Some participants lost their children due to hunger and the inability to secure food for them during and immediately after the crisis. This is found in the story of Adijat Ibrahim and Shefiyat Dogo, who lost each child due to hunger and inability to escape the town on time. Aside from hunger and the inability to secure food, they also went through devastating traumatic experiences. These created physical, cultural, and social negative consequences on the life of the participants (Silove, 2014; Morina et al., 2015). Short-term food insecurity extended beyond the town where the migrants fled. Some who managed to escape through a secret footpath using the green cover, and some fleeing during the night had a tough time accessing food while on the run. The situation made the fleeing participants depend on wild fruits, stole from people’s farms, and edible insects such as grasshoppers, rodents, and date palms to survive. This could not have sustained them without severe hunger considering the number of days or weeks they walked through the bush parts before they got help. At this stage, some participants lost their children and loved ones to minor ailments that ordinarily should not kill but to hunger, starvation, and malnutrition. This is particularly common to children because their tender body systems cannot withstand the stress of going through a long walk without food. The participants did not just experience food insecurity situations; they also experienced physical and emotional distress, including social disorientation, fears, post-crisis panic, drug addiction, depression, walking long distances for days, beating, killing, and general despair ( Min-Mang, 2021; Bogic et al., 2015; Bhugra, 2004; Bhui, 2014). The hardships and emotional distress accompanying short-term food insecurity appeared to be felt more by women and children than men. This is, reflected in the number of children that died during the migration, which seemed to be more than adults. This is because some men fled the town early, leaving their wives and children behind, believing they would be safe since the women and children were not the targets. A situation that later proved otherwise as the women and the children could not flee quickly as thought. In addition, the women and female children became vulnerable to rape. Managing the situation in the absence of men became very difficult for women with children.

This investigation also showed that the participants gained minimal access to food sources after escaping the crisis as they moved along the footpath or the migration path. This is against the opinion of Douglas (1999) and Hammond et al. (2018), who opined that the more the forced migrants relocate, the less access to food they have. In this investigation, the fleeing migrants gained minimal access to wild fruits, edible insects, and rodents, while others stole from people’s farms, which sustained them along the path. This was better than when stranded at home at the crisis’s peak without food access. The movement gave them minimal access to food. In addition, some were, assisted with food on arrival at their new destination. This minimal access to food later improved, and they moved out of short-term food insecurity to start experiencing intermittent food insecurity.

The current investigation reveals that the migrants experienced multiple migrations to help them overcome their challenges, such as a threat to their lives and emotional distress, and to create more access to food, just as opined by Akesson & Coupland (2018), Mangrio (2018), and Muller-Funk, (2019). Engaging in multiple migrations helps cope with emotional distress, despair, and depression. It is believed that moving the participants away from the traumatic environment to a new destination, a different culture, region, and other people will help them ease off emotionally distressful feelings. Moving away from the environment that caused the situation implies moving away from a traumatic situation (Min Yang, 2021; Vonnahme et al., 2015). On the other hand, multiple migrations increase their intermittent food insecurity, especially after making an appreciable effort to settle down and suddenly having to relocate again due to threats to their lives. In this situation, the participants have just finished struggling to create a new source of livelihood in their new destination and have to start relocating again. This causes them to start from scratch wherever they find themselves. This makes them experience intermittent food insecurity. The finding of this investigation showed that the experience of intermittent food insecurity worsened due to regional and cultural changes. Because regional and cultural differences create barriers for the participants to access food in their new destination.

Long-term food insecurity occurs mainly due to the loss of the family’s breadwinners and the inability of the participants to use their human and cultural skills to work and access food in their new environment. This situation makes them undergo another round of skill acquisition before they can have the skills to access food. This investigation revealed that most dead breadwinners had been the major provider for the participant’s families, with little or no contribution from the surviving participants. Such families tend to be confused and psychologically unstable about developing means of food security after the death of the breadwinners for a long time. Therefore, this makes them food insecure for a long time. This was the situation of Shefiyat Dogo and Liyatu Ayuba and their children. In the case of Shefiyat, after losing her husband, she could no longer secure food for her children which also led to her losing one; she took to having intimate affairs with other men to provide for the rest of her children. Her condition of food insecurity persisted for a long time until when a certain man decided to assist her in starting the sales of second-hand clothes. Main while the children were also made to serve as house cleaners and domestic workers for other people before they could have something to eat. In the case of Liyatu Ayuba, after losing her husband, the main breadwinner, they became food insecure for a long time. This prompted one of her sons to return to Jos in desperation to provide food access for the family. This led to his being affected by a bomb blast, which later made other family members spend their time and lean resources on his medication. The time they would have spent working to earn money was spent caring for him and, at the same time, spending the limited resources they would have used for food procurement on him. Her other children took to drug peddling, and one was later killed by a Narcotic agent. This situation made them food insecure for a long time. Similarly, Idris, who lost his wife, that had supported him in providing food for the family all along, also suffered the same fate. The death of his wife created disunity in the family, leading to their separation, and eventually, his remaining children died. To fill the gap created by the dead breadwinner regarding food security, some participants remarried. This study suggests that the breadwinner's death creates food insecurity for the remaining family members, as envisaged by Leung et al. (2015); and Sheri et al. (2011). This was evident in some participants who could not do any job to increase their food access on a long-term basis but instead depended on short-term ways of getting food, like prostitution, begging, and other non-dignifying acts because all along; the breadwinners have been responsible for the family’s food needs.

In other circumstances, some participants who cannot work with their initial skills due to changes in region and culture need quite a long time to acquire new ones to make them fit to work in the new environment, which takes time. This creates long-term food insecurity for such participants. The acquisition of new skills increases their capability to access food and healthcare in their new destination. Acquiring new skills creates means of getting a job in their new environment to guarantee their food access and healthcare. Learning new skills may also help the participants overcome the psychological effects of losing the breadwinner and strengthen their belief in surviving without their breadwinner. Learning new skills helps remove their minds from bad feelings and experiences and assures the participants of surviving in the new environment despite their circumstances (Min Mang, 2021). However, developing new skills takes a long time in training, and substantial financial resources may be required (Breisinger et al., 2015; Thome et al., 2018; Jones, 2017). Therefore, participants may remain food insecure for the period it takes to acquire the skills, which may be, worsened by a lack of financial resources for such training. This is important for policy implications because the provision of support can be about providing the missing resources enabling them to do what they are motivated and capable of doing, which could mean they are no longer ( or less) dependent on assistance.

**7. 3 SHADES OF DECISION DURING AND AFTER MIGRATION**

The current study indicated that the participants were forced to migrate without a prior plan or warning. The participants had little time to decide where to go.  Therefore, they prioritize safety and ensure to flee to safety before thinking of anything else. This is evident in the stories of Hadiza Ali, Adijat, Shefiyat Dogo, and other participants.  The participants, therefore, do not have time to carry much of their belongings along as they run, including food items. They later struggle for food and healthcare services on the migration path. This probably resulted in their severe hunger and starvation at the initial stage of the migration until they could establish permanent sources of livelihood in their new places, as revealed by this investigation. The participants’ movements are characterized by Physical and emotional distress, multiple migrations, hunger, food scarcity, and food insecurity on the migration path. This is like the finding of Douglass (1999), Hammond (2018), Jones et al. (2018), and Temple (2018). Their subsequent decisions were made based on physical and emotional distress, non-availability of food, and threats to their lives. They assess a danger based on information from the host community and government agencies and decide where to go. However, the participants are inclined to move to where any help is guaranteed as they flee. The type of help they need includes food access, good healthcare, availability of jobs, and acquisition of skills. This revelation is like Crawley et al. (2018), Hagen-Zanker and Mallett (2016), and Hammond (2018). The current study reveals that social-cultural factors do not influence their decision, as suggested by Douglass (1999), Hammond (2018), Jones et al. (2018), and Temple (2018). This is, therefore, at variance with the previous investigation. Social-cultural factors do not influence their decision and direction of movement; otherwise, the participants would not have moved into a different cultural background and later begin the process of adaptation and food modifications, as discussed in chapter four. However, the participants were exposed to various cultures as they engaged in multiple migrations, which made them unable to access food. This created a certain level of food insecurity for them, as discussed in chapter four. This is similar to Pinstrup-Anderson (2009) and Candel (2014).

Other decisions were made by the individual family members primarily determined by their state of mind in a given circumstance. For instance, the decision to divorce or separate oneself from the rest of the family members is found in Golla’s wife and Idris’s children, who decided to divorce Golla and Idris’s children, who separated themselves from the rest of the family members. This affected their food access negatively, as discussed in chapter six. There are also decisions to start up small-scale businesses to ensure their food security and the decision to remarry for more food security. In some instances, those who ordinarily should not be part of the decision-making make various decisions among the household members. This happens mainly when adolescents assume the responsibilities of the family’s breadwinner. Just as found in Ridsdel (2014), Colman et al. (2019), and Weine et al. (2014).

Critical digestion of this section indicates that the decision and its influences on food access and food security are in three categories. Firstly, the decision taken at the beginning of the forced migration was in favour of the safety of the family members; in these instances, the participants did not consider socio-cultural affiliations and food access at this point when making decisions. They want to flee to safety to make sure they continue to live. The stories of Adijat Ibrahim and Shefiyat Dogo suggested this. In the case of Adijat Ibrahim, the family agreed that the husband should flee first through the footpath since his life was most threatened after the husband had hidden in the ceiling for several days to avoid being killed by the terrorist. When it was time for Adijat Ibrahim to join her husband, it became difficult for her and the children to leave the town. Later, she lost one of their children; this prompted her to try the same dangerous route the husband fled to escape from the city. Similarly, after the brutal killing of Shefiyat Dogo’s husband, she took her children and fled to another town. During their movements, they did not consider their chances of accessing food while fleeing, and this is probably why they experienced chronic hunger and food insecurity throughout their movement. The other participants had similar experiences.

Secondly, as the journey progresses, family members begin to make decisions that best suit their conditions. These individual decisions are divorce, separation from other members, starting up small-scale businesses, remarrying, and allowing the adolescents and young stars to beg for alms or do cleaning jobs to provide food for the family. In the case of divorce, when Golla’s wife divorced the husband and left the family while relocating to Abuja, it was because she wanted more access to food and other resources the husband could not provide at that time. It was precisely why Idris’s children decided to separate themselves from their father after their mother’s death. They thought that decision would create more access to food for them than continue to lurk together as one family. In the same vein, the decision to remarry by Buba Hajji and Mariam was to create access to food for them and their children. Their decision appears to have worked for them because they became food secure after remarrying other men. Other decisions by participants include sending their adolescent and young children to the street to beg for alms. This was also for them to have food to eat. In addition, other participants decided to set up small-scale businesses to guarantee permanent access to food and, by extension, long-term food insecurity.

Thirdly, the family members decide to divide the family into two groups: some stay at a particular place and others at another. This decision was taken to improve food access and have food security in the end. This experience helps Cosmas and his family survive in Abuja long before his father can establish a fishery. They divided themselves into two groups; one stayed in the pastor’s house while the other remained in the IDP camp. This decision created double food sources for them; they got food from donations to the camp and, at the same time, depended on their pastor for food. These decisions positively influenced participants’ food access and strengthened their resilience to hunger and starvation. Therefore, aside from the initial decision that revolves around the safety of the participants, all other decisions made as the journey progressed were for food access and security. These decisions significantly influenced the participants’ food security while migrating for several years.

**7. 4 SOCIAL, CULTURAL, HUMAN, AND ECONOMIC CAPITAL AND FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY**

This investigation reveals that the participants’ social, cultural, human, and economic capital (financial, property, and working tools) significantly shaped their livelihood sources before, during, and after migration. This invariably determines their food accessibility at any given time. This, therefore, reveals a dynamic relationship between changes in social, cultural, human, and economic capital and food security/insecurity. Changes in the participants' social, cultural, human, and economic capitals also mean food security/insecurity changes. The participants lived in a closed political kingship/traditional system where clan and communal system adheres (Okeke-Agulu, 2012; Ukoha et al., 2007; Saleh et al., 2016; Bzugu, 2008). Therefore, social, cultural, human, and economic capital plays a significant role in food security/insecurity. The capital, primarily social, cultural, and human, through integrated processes linked to ensure the participants' financial sustainability. Noting that financial sustainability is also a measure of food security/insecurity. The interwoven nature of the primary capital makes it possible for the participants to enjoy food security before the crisis, particularly cultural and human capital that revolves around applying skills to making or producing material things sold for financial gain as envisaged by Grossi et al. (2011); Blessi et al., (2012).

The result of this investigation showed that all the capitals, through integrated processes, are linked to enhance the well-being of the participants, especially in ensuring their food security and the protection of their families. This deviates from Andrew (2009), Prewitt et al., (2014) & Parekh et al., (2018), who emphasize that social networks (social capital) alone through community engagement improve the well-being of people. The working and integrated nature of the capital tends to strengthen the capacity of the participants to be food secure. However, where the links and interwoven connections between the capitals are not properly utilized, it results in the poor financial status of the participants, poor access to food, and the well-being of the participant’s families. This is probably why the participants experienced food insecurity and poor health because these capitals were lost during the period of their ordeal until when they were able to re-establish the capitals.

This investigation also reveals that physical and emotional distress resulting from the crisis caused distrust, limited social relationships, and interdependency among the participants, resulting in the loss of social capital they enjoyed over the years. This is evident in the case of Golla and Idris’s family, who had enjoyed each other’s trust and worked together to enhance their food security all along, but separated when they got to Abuja and later lost their food security, and caused Idris to lose the remaining two members of his family. This confirms Hall and Pretty (2008), who opined that people make more progress, especially in food security, when socially connected than when an individual operates alone. Although their progress may not just be because they are socially connected, the quality of such social connection matters, as envisaged by Lin (2008); Bourdieu (2008), because it determines how resources are shared among the participants, this may be difficult to achieve as long as they remain physically and emotionally traumatized. They cannot re-establish the social bond, interdependency, and networking attitudes that existed between them before the crisis, which could have helped improve their food security. However, the situation differed in the case of Hadiza Ali and some other participants who were quick to re-organize themselves, re-established their social capital, and put their cultural capital to work. Hadiza Ali started making caps after some years in Abuja, and her grown children took them to various offices to sell. They also waited at some strategic junction of the city, targeting the politicians as their biggest customers who used the cap primarily, and they had good patronage. After some years in Abuja, the re-established social bond and relationships between Hadiza and her children, with the application of cultural and human skills, made them work together to guarantee their food security again.

The ethnolinguistic and religious diversity among the people in the region (Blench, 2004; Ajayi et al., 2023) may have also worked against their social relationships and networking, which would have helped their food security. This is evident in the case of Abubakar and Fatima Isah, who, because of religious divides, relocated from the Christian-dominated area to Angwa-rogo, where a food bank was established for only the Muslims. However, the Christian victims were deprived of the food bank’s benefits. This was due to differences in their religious beliefs and cultural differences.

This study also reveals that most participants are low skilled because they lack higher educational qualifications. Most participants are either primary school certificate holders or secondary school certificate holders, which makes them low skilled. This indicates that they have low human capital development. This is probably why they engaged in small-scale businesses such as producing local perfume, Cap knitting, farming, and tailoring. Even though they have multiple businesses as sources of income (finances), they lack proper coordinating skills that would have helped them stay food secure despite the crisis if not for their low skills. Their low human capital development before the crisis made it necessary for them to acquire new skills that required a short time in their new environment to cope with food insecurity. Higher qualifications are not required for such training. The participants were trained in areas that could quickly return them to food security with little effort and minimal resources. Training such as how to make Vaseline, soap, poultry farming, and other agri-businesses using local knowledge and materials. These areas require little time to train and little financial capital to start. Although others chose to acquire skills similar or closely related to what he/she engaged in before the crisis to upgrade their skills, though still low skills. For instance, Audu, a bricklayer, decided to acquire new skills on how to lay tiles, similar to bricklaying, that he had previously learned and practiced. This made it easier for him to learn the new trade quickly and later learn how to drive a motorbike for commercial transportation in addition. As the participants in his narrative expressed, combining these two skills quickly made him food secure.

In conclusion, returning to the parts of food security by the participants requires the combination of the primary capital, social, Cultural, human, and economic (financial, working tools, and properties) to help reposition and shape their sources of livelihood. The proper engagement of social, cultural, and human capital will gradually move them toward greater financial sustainability, which will help push them toward food security. Sustaining and adequate engagement of the capital will ensure sustained food security. At any point that these capitals are attained and sustained, the livelihood of the participants will equally be sustained. Moreover, when they lose the principal capital, the well-being of the people will be lost, including food security.

**7. 5 CHANGES IN THE MIGRATION PATH**

The study suggests that the participants experience changes in the physical environment, cultural practices, food practices, and skills. They also experience the loss of lives of close relatives, sources of livelihood, cultural capital, and social capital. These changes and losses created food insecurity for the participants, except for skill acquisitions that increased their chances of accessing food.

Changes in the physical environment created food insecurity for the participants by exposing them to an unfamiliar environment that did not support their ways of producing, preparing, and consuming food. According to Larson (2009) and Kittler et al. (2012), the environment may influence the availability of food and, therefore, may determine the migrant’s choices in the new place. This investigation suggests that changes in geographical regions between the migrant’s home origin and their new place gave rise to significant changes in their food. This is because the two regions have different weather characteristics that favour the production of varying food species. A critical look at the story of Dairu Fatima indicated that they replaced Tuwo Masara and Tuwo Chinkafa, made from maize and rice, respectively, with Pounded yam and Akpu, which were prepared from yam and cassava, respectively. The region where Dairu Fatima came from supported the growth of maize and rice and did not support the development of Yam and Cassava. Therefore, her original home region naturally makes way for the production and preparation of Tuwo Masara and Tuwo Chinkafa. On the contrary, their new place does not support the growth of rice and maize but supports the development of Yam and Cassava, which accounted for the switch. Similarly, Sefiyat Dogo's story indicates that the Acha production used for preparing Gwote is only possible on the Jos Plateau. Acha cannot be produced under the weather of their current place. This, therefore, denied them access to Gwote in their new place. The production of Acha used for preparing Gwote as food is alien to the host community’s weather. This suggested that changes in the participants’ physical environment caused changes in their food practices, as envisaged by Dhokarh et al. (20011), Casali et al. (2015), and Ayala et al. (2008). This situation, therefore, subjected the participants to food insecurity on arrival in their new place. Although the participants gradually modify the available food to suit their needs in the long run.

**7. 6 CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND FOOD INSECURITY**

Cultural changes exposed the participants to an unfamiliar culture and, by implication, unfamiliar food. The participants found it difficult to adjust to the consumption of this culturally different food, particularly the children. According to Gorton (2009), it costs more money in a diverse ethnocultural community to access food, and acculturation may become increasingly difficult for migrants. The difficulty in acculturation makes them unable to access food, creating a certain level of food insecurity for them, as found in Pinstrup-Anderson (2009) and (Candel, 2014). Aside from the food type changes, other cultural practices used to create opportunities for them to access food and improve their food security are not found in their new place. For instance, the celebrations of specific festivals that used to help provide food for the weak and food insecure people are not practiced in their new place. This is because such cultural celebrations are not recognized in their new home. Language is an integral part of the culture and was expected to have created concern for the participants in their access to food, as viewed by Hadley and Sellen (2006); Hadley et al. (2007); Hadley et al. (2010); and Kaiser et al., (2002). On the contrary, language and communication skills did not create any problems for the participants as regards food access. The finding of this study suggests that the participants did not have any language and communication skills challenges. This is probably because the Hausa and pidgin English languages are spoken widely in the entire region of the country. The participants, therefore, understand a bit that enables them to communicate with people in their host community. This supports the finding of Himmel-green et al. (2005), who believed that the inability to adjust quickly to food and food consumption in the new community creates more food insecurity for the migrants than the language barrier and low financial capacity. However, lack of financial capital is revealed as one of the main problems that hindered the participants from accessing food in this investigation. This made the finding of Himmel-green et al. (2005) differ from the result of this investigation but similar in the inconsequential nature of language in the accessibility of food by the participants. The finding of this investigation also contradicts the view of Satia (2010); Hadley et al. (2007), who supported the assertion that the participants need to understand the language of the host community to be able to indicate the quantities of food required; otherwise, it could result in food insecurity.

**7. 7 FOOD MODIFICATION**

Regional and cultural differences led to changes in their food practices, which was a significant problem for the participants in the early part of their migration. They found it difficult to adjust to the new ways of food practices. This led the participants to use the available ingredients and food-related materials to modify their food to suit their needs. Quite a few modifications were made that eventually changed their food practices in the long run. For instance, they were brewing a local beer called “burukutu” with locally produced cereals such as guinea corn, maize, and groundnut. This modification gave them the taste of what they were used to consuming before migrating. The participants also used maize to prepare Gwote instead of Acha, as done on the Jos plateau. This modification helped the participants to cope with food scarcity and reduce hunger among their family members. The ability to carry out this modification confirms the argument of Parasecoli (2014) that the availability of cheap alternative ingredients and the participants’ ingenuity could bring about rapid change in their food practices and increase food access. However, changes and modifications to their available food seem to have caused health challenges for the participants, particularly the children. Their body systems seem not to adjust to the changes quickly. This may probably be one of the reasons why the death of one of Mariam’s children, as she narrated in her story. Mariam described that, at times, her children developed abnormal health conditions unknown to her. However, such conditions disappear with time after herbal treatments. Mariam said many people who undergo forced migration die not just because of hunger and starvation but probably because of changes in their body systems due to changes in their food and water intake. This may also have been responsible for the death of Idris’s two children almost in the same period. This indicates that participants are unsure of the consequences of food modification; they keep doing trier and error. Until they can get what resembles their original food and at the same time suits their needs. This is probably why the number of death and significant ailments recorded among the participants while on the migration path was relatively high. A total of 24 death and 48 major ailments were recorded, as shown in Table 3. This revelation appears to be one of the new frontiers that may need further investigation.

**7. 8 PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL DISTRESS**

The present study’s findings suggest that the participants experienced both physical hardships and emotional distress from the beginning of their migration until their final destinations, as Bogic et al. (2015) and Min Yang (2021) opined. These conditions resulted from physical exhaustion from walking long distances and days, beating received from the terrorist, killing of family members, fears, post-crisis panic, depression, social disorientation, and general despair. This is like the findings of Min-Mang, (2021), Bogic et al. (2015), and Bhui (2014). This condition impacted the forms of food insecurity experienced by the participants. For instance, short-term food insecurity is experienced during and immediately after the crisis when the shop owners, food sellers, and food vendors closed their shops and food stores due to panic, despair, and fear of being attacked as the crisis raged in the town. This ordinarily means that food is temporarily unavailable to the participants. Food movement into the city is also halted, meaning there will be no food coming into the town. In addition, the participants are also afraid to come out of their hiding places, thereby confining themselves in hiding for as long as the crisis lasts, except for the brave ones that manage to escape. When they finished the quantities of food they had at home before the crisis, they began to experience hunger and starvation. At this point, they are still not sure of where they are likely going to get food. Even those that managed to escape through the bush footpath had to steal from peoples’ farms to survive. Those who did not have the opportunity to steal from the people’s farms depended on wild fruit and edible insects and begged for food before getting to their destination, as discussed in the sections above. This condition created short-term food insecurity for the participants. Most of the participants experienced this short-term food insecurity. Because after their escape, they walk for several days and weeks to months without any significant food source. Some lost their children during this period due to illnesses closely associated with hunger and poor feeding habit. Adijat Ibrahim lost one of her children to this condition and later lost five children. Shefiyat Dogo also lost one of her children to this condition. The participants also appeared vulnerable to people who wanted to catch in and exploit them for their selfish gain. For instance, the man who housed Shefiyat Dogo at Gidan Waya in Kaduna wanted a sexual relationship with her, not minding her condition and state of mind.

Intermittent food insecurity is associated with physical and emotional distress, promoting distrust and loss of solidarity. Ultimately, it weakens family ties and encourages individualism among displaced people. This is like the findings of McMichael et al. (2010); McCleary (2017). Fear, stress, depression, and social disorientation constitute parts of the significant emotional distress experienced by the participants as they migrate multiple times. Most participants appeared terrified; they panicked, despaired, and feared the unknown as they migrated from one point to another. The accumulated effects resulting from their ordeals, coupled with a long walk without food and other essentials of life, made it worse for them. The accumulated anxiety, post-crisis panic, social disorientation, and threat to their lives result in depression. This probably could cause attitudinal change toward one another and result in disunity. This ultimately strains the love and bond between family members and the ability to use their social capital to access food. Instead of working together to have good access to food, they work as individuals. This is like the findings of Shultz (2014), McCleary et al. (2017), and Hynie et al. (2012). The stories of Ibrahim Idris and the remarks of Golla support this assertion. Their children decided to live separate lives after they arrived in Abuja. Their children may have chosen to live independently because of disunity and lack of love for one another, which probably emanated from depression and emotional distress. In addition, their mother’s absences may have contributed to their inability to stay together. This may also explain why some women choose to leave or divorce their husbands, as revealed in the case of Golla and Omuya, respectively. The unstable nature of their attitudes caused by emotional distress and frustrations results in their inability to work together or to work at all. This resulted in their failure to have guaranteed access to food. This may have created intermittent food insecurity for the participants. However, the situation seems different in some families. It, therefore, suggests excellent coordination from the head of the family to keep the family together. As revealed by their stories, Ibrahim and Golla tried to unite their children and failed.

The inability of the participants to settle down in a new destination for a long time due to threats, fears, and despair from the terror groups makes them more vulnerable to food insecurity. Participants’ movements are characterized by multiple destinations due to threats to their life. Just as they are beginning to settle down and create access to food for themselves, a danger to their lives makes them start running and must go and begin again in another place. These conditions make them experience multiple migrations, as discussed in chapter four of this study. This, therefore, causes fluctuations in their access to food and results in intermittent food insecurity.  Hadiza’s, Shefiya Dogo’s, and Adijat’s stories give more insight into this. In addition, Jabir, Golla, and Abraham’s remarks suggest that the participants experienced intermittent food insecurity. In addition, no participants experienced less than three multiple migrations, which indicates that they were never stable in one place for a long time to have a permanent source of food until they arrived in Abuja.

Several maiming and killing occurred in most places where violent conflicts have occurred across Nigeria. This may be because people have diverse cultures, views, ideas, religions, ethnicity, race, and collective interest. This is like the view of Sarzin (2017), Denov (2019), and IDMC (2016). People who witness the killing or death of their family members gruesomely are subjected to emotional distress and depression for a long time. The horrific experience will keep re-occurring in their heads and minds always. The pain resulting from the death of murdered family’s breadwinner creates long-term food insecurity for the participants. If the dead person has provided food for the family all along, there will be nobody to provide for them anymore. The thought of the lost breadwinner causes emotional distress and depression for the participants and makes them unorganized. It is worse if the surviving participants have not been doing much to support the family while the breadwinner is alive. In this regard, coupled with the new environment, the participants, therefore, remain unorganized and result in begging for food. Such participants kept searching for help, safety, and food access. This situation makes them put up with amoral behaviours to access food. These amoral behaviours include prostituting, begging, stealing, and drug addiction. This situation has put most participants in parts of food insecurity for a long time. These behaviours and actions can only guarantee them food access for a short time. In other instances, having lost their financial, human, cultural, and social capital by migrating from one cultural entity into another, they began learning new skills and handcrafting. This is like the findings of Shultz (2014), McCleary et al. (2017), Hynie et al. (2012), McMichael (2010), and Weine et al. (2014).  This enables them to develop their human and cultural capital, make them fit for jobs in their current community, and provide food for their families. Learning new skills that make them get a job enhances their chances of more access to food and increases their financial capital.

Most of the participants are low-skilled, as shown in Table 1. Therefore, they may not be able to secure skilled jobs in their new destination with ease. They must develop their human and cultural capital to help them get jobs in their new destination Shultz (2014), McCleary et al. (2017), Hynie et al. (2012). Acquisitions of the skills usually take several months or years to accomplish. The participants remained food insecure for the time it took to develop these skills or attain full human and cultural capital development. They only become food secure when the skill acquisition is completed and can be, used to provide food for the family.  As shown in chapter six, the remarks of Adijat, Comas, Mariam, and Liyatu Ayuba confirm this assertion. Physical and emotional distress influenced the food insecurity of forced migrants and significantly affected their physical, cultural, and social well-being. This is like Silove’s (2014) and Morina et al. (2015) view. In conclusion, emotional distress and depression are significantly associated with food insecurity, as found similarly by Leung et al. (2015); Sheri et al. (2011). This study suggests that acquiring new skills and probably remarrying may help the participants experiencing emotional distress overcome it.

**7. 9 LINKS AND DELINKS AS FACTORS OF FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY TRAJECTORY**

This investigation revealed dynamic intra-social links (within the family) and inter-social links (between the families) among the participants’ families throughout their migration trajectories. The links are shown in the level of care, support, and sharing of available resources (Girardin et al., 2018; Gilligan et al., 2018). The links, as identified by this investigation, either undermined the participants’ well-being (food insecurity) or improved their well-being (food security), as envisaged by Vidal and Baxter (2018). The links and social connections that existed among the forced migrant families long before the crises seem to have helped guarantee their food security. De-links occur during and after violent crises, resulting from family members' deaths, marital status changes, and separations among family members at different times.

The intra-linked social interaction exists among the family who had lived together for several decades, as reflected in the quality of care and support they enjoyed, which guaranteed their food security before the crisis. The crisis affected the links, resulting in several consequences for the migrating family members. On the other hand, interlinked social interaction reflects more diversity between two different households or families (Bell, 2018). In the case of Intra-link, the death of breadwinners, divorce/separation of a spouse, and ailment of immediate family members create devastating shocks and emotional distress, resulting in food insecurity for the surviving family members (Sheehan, 2014; Bhugra, 2004; Bhui et al., 2014). For instance, when Mariam lost her husband (intra-link broken) and became food insecure, she returned to their extended family members (inter-link) for help, which she did not get. She further attempted to remarry in the first instance to ensure her food security and failed. However, she got little assistance from the man, which did not culminate in marriage, which would have probably ensured her food security for a long time. In the case of Hadiza Ali, after migrating to Abuja to stay with her brother-in-law (inter-link), she was kicked out of the house after a while. This would not have happened if her husband had been alive. However, the intra-social link between her and her children kept and gave her the courage to re-establish her cultural skills and resume the production of Cap to make them food secure. While she produces the cap, the children sell it in the city. Similarly, Shefiyat Dogo suffered the same fate when she migrated to Gidan-Wire after her husband’s death. She was, subjected to sexual harassment, and their host, who probably was an extended family member (inter-link), treated her children inhumanely. Despite their adversity, Shefiyat and her children (intra-link) kept moving together until they got to Abuja. Some of her children later worked as domestic house cleaners to add to whatever their mother brought from prostitution to ensure they had food. The intra-social relationships were, however, absent among the immediate family of Golla, Idris, and Omuya, who separated, and each of them went their separate ways and remained food insecure.

The investigation reveals that there were switched responsibilities among the family members. This occurred because of death, divorce, and separations of spouses. When the breadwinners of the family die, the responsibilities of fending for the family switch automatically to the living spouse or children. Young and underage children assume a particular responsibility for providing for the family (Ridsdel, 2014). They do this by either begging for alms in the street, working as domestic house help in private homes, or selling craft products from the surviving parents. These are evident in the remarks of Fatima Isah, who sent the children to beg for alms on the street and bring back their catch before they could eat; children were made to engage in street hawking to raise money for food. It was considered necessary by the indigent parents, who seemed helpless and could not provide for the entire family.

The participants also experienced family separation while on the migration path. The types of separation experienced varied from family to family. Four types of separation among the participants were recognized in this investigation. Firstly is the break of family members at the point of crisis. In this case, the family members were caught up at different locations during the crisis and could not reunite with other family members. They, therefore, run in different directions for the safety of their lives without being able to come together for a long time. For instance, Abubakar remarked that he had not seen his extended family members in the past fourteen years. Similarly, Katum also lamented that he had not seen his younger sister since 2004 when they first fled their town to date. Secondly, the separation of family members also occurred due to personal interests, business reasons, and selfish gain immediately after the crisis, when it became clear to them that they must migrate. In this case, one or two parties decide to go on their separate ways for selfish good or due to an inability to cope with the pressure associated with emotional distress resulting from the crisis. In this case, one of the spouses feels their quality of life after migrating has dropped and therefore pulled out of the union. This accounted for the divorce cases, as revealed in this investigation.  Thirdly, some families divided themselves into two smaller units and stayed in two different locations to give them more access to food. This was the case of Cosmas and the other members of the family, who divided themselves into two smaller units; one group stayed in their pastor’s house while the other stayed in the IDP camp. The fourth type of separation was caused by the refusal of some family members to migrate along with others. In this case, some aged people refused to relocate due to their old age and preferred to remain in their ancestral home and accept the consequences of the crisis than go to a strange land. In addition, these elderly people may not have had the strength to endure the stress and rigor of forced migration. However, the remarks of some participants showed that they reunited with their family members after several years of separation. They later continued to stay together, worked together, and moved together since their unification for greater access to food. The remarks of Aminu, Falimatu, Omuya, and Cosmas revealed the nature of family dynamics during the forced migration. This is in addition to the pieces of evidence in the summary stories of Adijat and Shefiyat in the previous chapters.

**7. 10 UTILIZATION OF RESOURCES AMONG THE FORCED MIGRANTS**

This investigation provided insight into how the limited resources are shared across the ranks of family members, as envisaged by Widmer (2010); Gouveia (2014). The resources are shared based on the need of the individual members as they migrate and not based on age or gender. In sharing the limited available resource, the participants and their migrating families seem to prioritize those who are sick and need care and the new babies who need special care more before considering the deployment of remaining resources for the use of the others. This is evident in the remarks of Aminu, who concentrated much of their lean resources on ensuring his son’s health. He also bought expensive baby food for the baby first and later used whatever was left to buy food for the rest of the family. This is why he was relieved after the son’s death, as that now improves their chances of increasing their food security and social well-being. It was the same situation for Liyatu, who also used her lean resources that would have been used for food to provide care for her son, who was hospitalized after his involvement in the bomb blast. This was not different from Idris’s case, who stayed to care for his children when they were both sick, depriving himself of work to earn money and spending his meagre resources to take care of them.

The power to share, however, lies on the person who provides the resources and usually acts as the family’s breadwinner. This could be adult male, female, or young underage family members who provide for the family after losing the main breadwinner during the crisis. The family’s breadwinner appears responsible for providing and allocating the resources before their passing. Once they passed, the role switched to whoever was responsible for providing for the family.

**7. 11 FOOD SECURITY/INSECURITY AS A TRAJECTORY**

After the initial loss of social, cultural, human, and economic capital, causing them to lose their livelihood and become food insecure, they gradually re-established these capitals in their new environment, making them food secure again. This invariably indicates that social, cultural, human, and economic capitals are not static but can change depending on the participant’s capacity to utilize the available resources well. Most participants gradually returned from the path of food insecurity to the path of food security as soon as they were able to re-establish social, cultural, human, and economic capital. For instance, Hadiza Ali and her children work together using their cultural skills to produce Cap and earn financial capital, which returns them to the path of food security. Similarly, Comas and his family divided themselves into two parts. One part work in the church, and the other work on the fishery farm; this also quickly return them to the path of food security. Audu, Katum, and Huawa also used their newly acquired skill to return to food security by engaging their skills to work and earn money, which they use for food. Adding new skills improves their human and cultural capital that suits their new environment culturally. In the same vein, the participants who lost their spouses, making them food insecure, re-married to gain considerable access to food and strengthen their food security. This is probably because the participants now socially have a partner with whom they could join forces to work and get food. In addition to engaging their skills to work and earn money, developing new skills and re-marrying may have helped the participants out of emotional distress (Leung et al., 2015; Sheri et al., 2011). Therefore, being out of emotional condition will help to improve their food security, as this will put them in the right frame of mind to work and earn money.

Ailment and sickness appeared to have affected the migrant’s food access, making them food insecure in two ways. First, it removes the little resources they could have used to buy food. Their meagre resources are spent on medication and other healthcare needs instead of using such for food. This reduces their capacity and resilience to food insecurity. Secondly, once the participants or any other members of the family are sick, such can no longer be able to work to earn money for food. Therefore, they remained food insecure when they could not work due to ill health. Food insecurity causes ailments and sickness and sometimes results in death, especially among children and the elderly (Courtney, 2014; Laraia, 2013; Carmen, 2015). This further leak their chances of food security because when the participants become unhealthy, they cannot go to work and may not be able to earn any money for food. Sometimes it may be the member of the family that is sick and make the participants spend time taking care of the ill member. This prevents the participants from being able to work to earn money for food.

Other life events, such as divorce and separation, made the participant food insecure. The divorce or separation of family members causes many distressing issues resulting in the disunity of the family members and causing them not to work together. This later caused them to lose their cultural and human capital (Shultz, 2014; McCleary et al., 2017; Hynie et al., 2012; McMichael, 2010; Weine et al., 2014). These eventually result in food insecurity, as already discussed above.

Additional children’s birth results in the participants’ food insecurity in two ways, as revealed in this investigation. First, during the pregnancy, the money that should have been used for food is used for antenatal care. The cost of antenatal care is very high and therefore takes lots of money they should have used for food. Secondly, when the child is born, they need money for the baby’s infant food, which is often expensive. They use the funds meant to purchase food for the whole family members for the child alone. In the long run, the birth of a baby increases the number of the family, which also means an increase in the food needed by the family (Deeming, 2011; Woltil, 2012; Nnakwe, 2003; Sidenwel et al., 2001). Changes in life events such as marriage, divorce, employment, and childbearing across the life course affect food choices, strategies, and consumption patterns (McKenzie & Watts, 2019). This goes either enhances food security or causes food insecurity. When the changes are positive, it causes food security; otherwise will result in food insecurity, thereby making food security/insecurity a trajectory.

**7. 12 ADAPTATION AND MAINTAINING NEW FOOD PRACTICES**

The participants adapted to their new environment and culture by employing varied strategies. Although it was argued that acculturation and adaptation of forced migrants to a new place without financial strength often takes time, as Gorton (2014) claimed. The participants did not have sufficient money to adapt to the new environment and culture but devised different means that helped them settle and adjust quickly. They modified their food and farming systems to suit their taste. However, it was challenging for the participants to adapt, as envisaged by Dhokarh et al. (20011), Casali et al. (2015), and Ayala et al. (2008). The participant’s ability to lease land from the indigenous people, carry out cultivations of crops using techniques such as tube well irrigation, convert refuse dumpsite into vegetable cultivation, production of caps, perfume, and Vaseline, and use the available food items such as substitutes for food modification made it easier for the participants to adapt within the shortest possible time. This means that availability of alternative food ingredients combined with the participants’ ingenuity could rapidly change their food practices and quickly adapt to their new environment. However, this differs from Parasecoli (2014), who based his argument on the availability of food ingredients alone with no reference to the human factor to make the adaptation possible.

**7. 13 RETURNING OR NONE RETURNING OF THE MIGRANTS**

The findings of this investigation suggest that most participants went through difficult times in their lives as they experienced forced migration. They lost many of their valuables, including their family members. They lost their human, cultural, social, and financial capital as they crossed different cultural backgrounds from one region to another. In addition, they went through lots of physical and emotional pains throughout their migration. Some participants appeared to have been dehumanized but managed to survive the journey. They experience hunger and starvation with little resilient capability. After several years of these horrible experiences, they set up small businesses that tend to elevate their food security. Some have acquired new skills that make them fit to get jobs and become financially buoyant to access food in their new place. Therefore, most participants do not want to return to their original home origin because of their previous experiences. Moreover, some have lost everything back in their home origin. In addition, most participants stated that they do not want to remember their previous experiences now that they have overcome such experiences. This is like the view of Min Yang (2021) and Vonnahme et al. (2015). Those that witnessed the gruesome murder of their loved ones during the crisis are still bitter about it. The traumatic experiences created by such killings in the mind of the participants continue to influence them for the rest of their lives. However, this investigation suggests that relocating from such an environment may reduce emotional pain but not completely erase it from their mind. Most of these participants do not want to remember such an experience or return to where such things have happened. However, some remark that they can only visit their ancestral home and return to where they are now. Generally, the majority do not want to return at all.

**7. 14 FOOD STRATEGIES**

The violent crisis has direct multiple consequences for the participants resulting in food insecurity and creating additional difficulties for the participants. The findings of this investigation suggest that food insecurity appeared to be a significant problem among the participants on the migration path, which is similar to Berhane et al. (2014); Breisinger et al. (2015); Ecker (2014); Mabiso et al., (2014). The other problems, as revealed by this investigation, include hunger, starvation, varied illnesses, and death in some cases. Therefore, the participants made different attempts to cope with food insecurity. This study suggested that the participants seize every opportunity to increase their access to food and, by implication, increase their resilience to food insecurity.

Six food strategies were recognized from the careful engagement with the data and in-depth analysis. These strategies are simple food strategy, adaptive food strategy, indirect adaptive food strategy, proxy food strategy, complex food strategy, and multipurpose food strategy. The migrants employed these strategies to access food while on the migration trajectory exploiting every opportunity and circumstance at any given location throughout their involvement in multiple migrations to date. This investigation also reveals that these food strategies appeared transitional, beginning with the simple food strategy, which based on centered on the management of the already available limited food to the participants at the early stage of their movements and gradually moving through a more difficult adaptive, indirect adaptive, complex, and proxy to multipurpose food strategies.

**7. 14. 1 SIMPLE FOOD STRATEGIES**

A simple food strategy was mainly used when the migrants had little or no food at the beginning of their journey. It was a strategy where the migrants learned to manage whatever food was available or could be picked up along their migration path. It was also commonly used on arrival at a new destination where the migrants were still new and needed to eat something. The migrants with multiple destinations depended more on these strategies until they settled and began associating with the indigenous people in the new community. The strategy changes when they become familiar with the people and environment in the new destination and can recognize other substantive and more permanent ways of getting food. This strategy includes skipping meals, searching for wild fruits, hunting games for food, patronizing cheap stores, working for people on their farms in return for food, and begging for alms. This is like the findings of Del-Ninno et al. (2003), Davidson and Morrell (2018); Hammelman (2017); Kuyper (2014); Blake (2018). This is supported by the remarks made by [Ibrahim Adijat, who](file:///C:\Users\abuon\OneDrive\Desktop\Thesis%20main\57b7c5c1-3617-4f02-99d9-248694eeebf2) said, **“**Aside from skipping meals and reducing our food intake, we also look for cheap food to buy to have enough food that will go around for all of us when prepared**.”** She stressed that while at Kaduna, they typically delay their breakfast until about noon so that they would not have to bother about lunch for that day and only eat whatever they have by 10 pm as their dinner. However, in between this time, they try to give their children whatever they can get as food. This is because children cannot withstand hunger like adults. They also have unique leaves called “Avioji” and mushrooms, which they add to their food during cooking. This makes the food last longer in the body without feeling hungry for a long time. Aside from avioji leaves, they add a species of mushroom to their food to fill them up quickly and stay for a long time without being hungry.

The participants’ remarks show that this strategy borders on managing the little available food to keep them out of hunger. The participants are not after quality food in this case; they want to have food to eat and prevent starvation. The participants using this strategy give more attention to the children because the children are more vulnerable to hunger and starvation. They skip meals, reduce food intake, buy cheap food from stores and open roadside markets, and delay their meals. As revealed in her story, the participants also give the children watery food called garri between meals. This is because they feel the children cannot skip meals and may be affected physiologically. All these management strategies are described as simple food strategies (Hammelman, 2017; Kuyper, 2014; Blake, 2018; Eele, 1994). A simple food strategy is a participant’s modest way of maintaining certain food access to prevent hunger and starvation. Furthermore, to ensure food security before a more long-lasting food strategy is devised. As the participants settled down, a more permanent food strategy emerged.

**7. 14. 2 ADAPTIVE FOOD STRATEGIES**

The migrants who partially settled down in their new destinations used this strategy. This strategy involves adapting to the new place and exploiting the available opportunity using their human and cultural skills to create access to food. They put their skills to use to get food for their family members. They do not just depend on and try to manage the existing food as found in simple strategy. They either produce food directly from their farms or produce items with their skills and sell them to the public, and the money realized is used to buy food for the family. They engage in agricultural production and mining from the riverbed for construction. They also produce Vaseline, detergent, caps, perfume, etc. The product sales strengthened their financial capital and helped them consolidate their cultural capital. This strategy is a more permanent and reliable way of being food secure.

For instance, Jabir said, **“**The conflicts in Jos led to the destruction of my workshop and working tools. We then relocated to another town when we could no longer cope with hunger and hardship in Jos. While in the new city, I took to farming, which gave us access to food for a while. Things became more accessible for us then, and we could access food. Parts of our harvested crops were sold, and the remaining ones were kept at home as family food. This continued until we had an attack from the Fulani herders one night, who came to kill people and chase us away from our farmlands. I later started going to the stream to mine sand to sell to the people who were building houses, block moulders, and construction workers. Until when I narrowly escaped death one day while I was inside the river scooping sand out when the volume of the river increased. I finally left for Karu near Abuja, where I had a temporary workshop, and started repairing people’s cars just like before the crisis that sent us out of Jos. What I make now is enough to provide food for the family, and the remaining is saved for future use”.

The participant’s remarks show that he lost his food security after losing his workshop and working tools and could no longer cope with hunger and starvation in Jos. His relocation to another town allowed him to start farming; he cultivated crops, harvested and ate from the crops, and sold the remaining ones to the public. This gave him a more reliable food source than when he was in Jos immediately after the violent crisis. Because, in this case, he walks into his farm and harvests crops for food at any time of the day. Again, when he got to the other town where he engaged in sand mining, people depended on him to get sand for building and molding blocks. This allowed him to make money and use the money to buy food. When he finally relocated to Karu near Abuja, he had a workshop where he started repairing cars for customers and earning income. All these are more permanent ways of making money and using the money to buy food. Therefore, an adaptive strategy guarantees food security more than a simple strategy, where the participants just manage the available food to keep them out of hunger.

**7. 14. 3 INDIRECT ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES**

The participants used this strategy after a while in their new place when they had developed social interaction and became known to the people in that community and could be trusted. They hire working tools, workspaces, and machines from the people to work using their skills. Depending on the contractual agreement, they make money, pay a certain amount earned to the tool’s owner, and then use the remaining to buy food for the family. The amount paid to the tool’s owners can be daily, weekly, or monthly. This strategy is common to the participants who are skillful in Tailoring, hairdressing, motorbike transportation, and taxi services but do not have the financial capital to buy their tools. Therefore, they depend on the tools provided by others to make money for themselves and the owners of the devices. In this case, they do not just create food access for themselves but also create wealth for the owners of the tools.

For instance, Aminu said, **“**I was able to hire a cab from one of my new friends because I know how to drive. I started doing cab business in the city and earning money. After I delivered the agreed amount to the cab's owner, we used the remaining amount for food and general family upkeep. I make up to five thousand naira (₦5,000) daily. I deliver Two thousand naira (₦2,000) to the cab’s owner and take the remaining amount home for my family. It was pretty enough for us to buy whatever kind of food we wanted daily**”**.

These participants hired working tools because they did not have money to buy their devices, probably because of their current situation. After paying the tools owners, they could buy food for their families. Although it was unclear if what they earned after deliveries was enough to feed them, at least they were sure of having food to eat daily if they worked. Aminu’s remarks show they might be making enough for themselves after deliveries. Otherwise, he would not have continued with the job. Some participants hired working spaces for their knitting job; others hired land for agriculture, especially Falimatu and her children. In this strategy, the participants depend on the tools provided by others and use their own human and cultural capital to strengthen their financial wealth. This guarantees the participants food access as long as they continue working with the hired tools or spaces.

**7. 14. 4 COMPLEX FOOD STRATEGIES**

This strategy involves converting the fixed assets of the migrants into liquid cash to buy food for the family. The fixed assets of the migrants are in the form of farmland, machinery, and other working tools that were untouched during the crisis, probably because they cannot be burnt like other livelihood sources. However, the crops on the farm may be destroyed, but the farming tools and the land remains. These assets are later sold, and the owners use the money realized from them to buy food for the family. Some participants may only use some money realized for food; some hired land for agricultural purposes, where they can continue to farm as before the crisis. This helps the participant get involved directly in providing food for themselves. For instance, the remarks of Cosmas and Falimatu explain this further.

Cosmas said, **“**After two (2) years in Abuja, my father raised money to start fishery farming here in Abuja. He raised money by selling off the land he previously used for fishery farming before the crisis. He also sold some other items that could not be moved to Abuja. Aside from the land, some items sold to raise money are dilapidated houses and other tools**”.** In the same vein, Falimatu also said, **“**My son went to sell the remaining items left on my farm, which include my working tools and animals used for farm operations because nobody uses them again. The money raised from the sale was used to provide food for the family. The terrorist did not destroy the tools because they were all on the farm and not in the town where the crisis occurred. My husband refused to migrate with us and was given part of the funds for his upkeep**”.**

The participants sold their assets to enable them to create an opportunity to keep accessing food as they had been forced to migrate. The assets sold are usually fixed assets that cannot be transferred or moved from one place to another. Significant parts of the fund raised from the sales went for immediate feeding of the family; the remaining portion of the money is used to either hire or buy land for the continuation of food production, which they were doing before migration, as Falimatu said in her ordeal. Instead of leaving the assets to remain fallow and unused in their previous towns, they sold them, giving them a permanent source of livelihood and greater access to food. This makes them more food secure than staying in the IDP camp and depends on what they get from the camp. It is also more productive and dignified than begging for food on the street. This is at variance with Del-Nino (2003), who envisage the conversion of assets to liquid cash after the violent crisis with a focus on the non-functionality of industries and public assets after the violent crisis without putting into consideration the possibility of individuals converting their own fixed assets to sustain their livelihood.

**7. 14. 5 PROXY FOOD STRATEGIES**

According to this investigation, widows, widowers, divorcees, and some parents employed this strategy. These categories of migrants remarried for the sole aim of being able to feed their children, which they cannot handle alone without the help of a partner. This strategy also involves those that send their children to work for people either as house cleaners or beg on the street and bring the money realized back to the house for food. Those begging on the streets and along the roads were allowed by their parents to eat edible food given to them while on the street begging, but they must bring back all the cash realized to the family. The children involved are usually underage, cannot decide for themselves, and still need parental care and guidance. Therefore, they must comply with their parents' instructions on what to do with their gain. Other participants in this category are those who went to stay in the IDP camp because that would guarantee their access to food. They enjoy food donations from the public, government, and non-governmental organizations. In addition, some depended on community food banks created after the crisis for more than one year. For instance, [Buba Hajji, in her remarks,](file:///C:\Users\abuon\OneDrive\Desktop\Thesis%20main\9f40cc26-a440-42cf-84d9-24868fada55e) said, **“**After the death of my husband, the responsibility of caring for five children alone was overwhelming, providing them food, shelter, and health care. I then decided to remarry to have someone who could assist me in caring for them. Since I remarried, the situation has improved for my children and me. Our experience of food scarcity changed; we now have good access to food and other basic needs**”**.

The participant's remarks reveal that they became food insecure after her husband's death. Because of the overwhelming food insecurity situation and the need to have someone beside her who could play a fatherly role for the children, she remarried again. She also may have remarried because of her desperation to see her children feed well and have good access to healthcare. The situation changed in her favour as she had thought before remarrying. She became food secure, and the children began to enjoy the fatherly love they had missed since their father died. Furthermore, the children now have good access to food, which they got by proxy, courtesy of their stepdad.

In separate remarks, Fatima Isah also said, **“**After the second crisis between the Christians and the Muslims, people started missing every day due to silent killing by both religions in the city. It was only the children that were safe on the street at that time. Therefore, we allow our children to go out and beg for alms. They bring back whatever they are given except cooked food. We use the money they realized to buy food for all of us. When the situation worsened, we relocated to Abuja and moved to an IDP camp to give us access to food donated to the camp and a place to stay for some time. While at the camp, our children also sell sachet water at motor parks and along the highways in Abuja to help make money to buy food for the family. The children often go to their friends’ houses to eat with them too**”**.

The participant’s remarks revealed that they had relied on their children to feed the whole family on different occasions. When the security of their lives as adults were threatened in Jos, they sent the children, who were safer on the street, to beg for alms before they could eat. This was after the food bank created for the affected person had been exhausted. Even when the threat to their lives made them relocate to Abuja, they went to stay in the IDP camp, which still made them dependent on food donations to the IDP camp. When they relocated to Dede in Abuja, they re-engaged the children to sell sachet water along the highway and junctions before they could feed the family. The participants tend to always depend on social structures, people, or organizations before accessing food. However, the strategy seems to work for the participants but appears not as a reliable long-term food strategy. The participants do not seem to make reasonable efforts to secure a permanent way of accessing food. This strategy only earns them temporary food security, which cannot stand for long. For instance, when the food bank created for them in Jos was, exhausted, they returned to a situation of food insecurity. They will always move back into a food-insecure state. Similarly, the participants that remarry may one day find themselves in the same food insecurity situation they moved out of if their present husband decides to divorce her or dies like their former husband. They, therefore, need to make a reasonable effort to create a permanent strategy of access to food like those who have established farms, restaurants, fisheries, and Cap knitting.

**7. 14. 6 MULTI-APPROACH STRATEGIES**

This strategy involved the participants setting up food-related businesses that enable the family members to eat directly from the food they sell and simultaneously earn income for other family’s needs. This strategy involves setting up restaurants, cooking, and catering services for birthdays, naming ceremonies, and church programs. Others fry yams and Akara for certain population categories, like taxi drivers, motorbike riders, and schoolchildren. Some migrants also trade in foodstuff; they travel to the interior villages where foodstuff is cheaper and buy and bring it to re-sell in the main town. The participants who employ this strategy eat from the food and still make a profit from the sales at the end of the business day. The remarks of Abubakar, Jabir, and Ogbonna, as revealed in their stories, gives a good explanation of this strategy. In the case of [Ogbonna,](https://d.docs.live.net/ceed969c5e312d6c/Desktop/TRAUMA/fdbc9a06-14bd-4897-a1d9-2486984e319b) he said, **“**While in Abuja, my wife could not get another paid Job as she had in Jos, but has acquired skills and experience in cooking food; we decided to open a restaurant for her, which she currently manages. We now feed from the food cooked in the restaurant, which has reduced our expenses on food and increased our access to food. This is in addition to earning a good profit from the food sales**”**. In the same vein, Abubakar alsosaid, **“**After a while at the IDP camp, I erected a tent for my wife to enable her to cook rice and beans and sell to the people at the camp, especially the boys doing the taxi and motorbike transport business. We eat from the food she cooks food for sale, which helps us reduce the pressure of looking for what to eat. In addition, we used her earnings from the sales to solve other problems in the family**”**.

The participants' remarks reveal that their wives cook and sell to certain population categories. This provides a steady and constant income for the family because these categories of customers always come to patronize their food business. The family members eat out of the food, which removes the pressure of looking for food for the family. The profit made from food sales is used to solve other family needs. It was like using one stone to kill two birds. They gradually become food secure. This is in addition to what their husband brings back from their daily engagements. These strategies slowly brought them to a situation where they did not lack food, like before moving into the IDP camp. Although Ogbonna and his family never stayed in the IDP camp since they left Jos, the wife who was engaged in Jos as a teacher before the crisis could get a job since they migrated. Their restaurant now provides Job for her and, at the time, help to provide food for the family. This has made their food access secure. They now have good access to food.

In summary, the participants used various food strategies to cope with changes in their food security to insecurity. These strategies are simple food strategy, adaptive strategy, indirect adaptive strategy, complex food strategy, proxy food strategy, and multi-purpose food strategy. The food strategies emerged from the participant’s experiences and approaches to diverse issues that border their food security or insecurity. Food acquisitions, sustenance, preparation, and modification form the core consideration for the participant’s food strategy, as Tamara et al. (2006) asserted. The participants created small-scale businesses as food strategies through their creative ability and ingenuity. This tends to have added to the economy of the host community, as stressed by Taylor et al. (2016), Garcia et al. (2018), and Maystadt & Verwimp (2014). However, this investigation could not ascertain the level of the participant’s contribution to the host community’s economy by establishing small-scale businesses. However, their presence in the new society did not cause any crisis, as Fisk (2019) and Bohmelt, Bove, and Gleditsch (2019) envisaged.

**7. 15 THE STRENGTH OF THE STUDY**

The current study presents rich data and an in-depth analysis that gives insight into the life experience of forced migrants. The rich qualitative data collected and used for this investigation is a significant strength. The qualitative method used in this investigation allowed the researcher to gather details that ordinarily would not have been possible using other methods. Unveiling queries that other methods would not have revealed. This study is the first of its kind carried out in sub-Saharan Africa. The diversity in participants across dimensions of gender, age, and place of origin used in the current investigation added to its strength. This diverse and varied sample size gives a wide range of data collection and analysis. This help to reveal a wide range of issues and experiences of the migrants in detail without missing out on both micro and macro experiences.

The findings of the current study significantly contributed to the existing information on forced migration. Such contributions include the consequences of physical and emotional distress, food acculturation and modifications experiences, how decisions are made at different stages of the migrant’s movements, adaptation processes, and food management strategies across their life experiences. It showed significant commonalities of the problems of the forced migrants. It explained the multi-layered nature of their experiences irrespective of where they migrated regarding emotional distress, resilience to food insecurity, and adaptation process. This makes it easier for professionals and policymakers to view and assess the participants’ problems comprehensively and holistically and therefore make policies and strategies to eliminate the deplorable conditions of the participants. This study unveiled the silent and unrecognized discrimination against forced migrants regarding accessibility to resources, jobs, and economic benefits. This led most migrants to embark on new skills acquisitions to reduce their tension.

**7.16 THE LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The level of physical and emotional distress could not be, measured; this would have assisted in the proper understanding of the mental health condition of the participants. The use of male interpreters may have discouraged female participants from disclosing the details of their life’s ordeal due to gender differences. The previous studies suggested that an interpreter may influence the quality of data collected and the results of the findings when gender, age, and religion are involved (Chiumento et al., 2018). The study also did not reveal the migrants’ nutritional assessment, which would have shown the quantities and qualities of food needed by the participants to make their food secure. In addition, this study is a qualitative study involving intensive contextual data; the researcher could not have presented the entire data collected for analysis; therefore, some salient themes and issues may not have been covered in the analytical phase. However, these limitations did not invalidate the findings of this study; the current research has contributed immensely to the existing views and knowledge of forced migration and food security/insecurity, which were hitherto unknown. Moreover, the current studies have also opened a new frontier for further investigation.

**7. 17 KEY FINDINGS**

▶Food security/insecurity is a dynamic phenomenon; it changes from time to time depending on the circumstances and events of the moment. It is a trajectory that people move in and out depending on their circumstances at any given time.

▶Three forms of food insecurity were recognized, these are short-term, intermittent, and long-term food insecurity. Short-term food insecurity was more devastating for the participants than intermittent and long-term food insecurity because people, especially children, died more during short-term food insecurity.

▶The social, cultural, human, and economic capitals are significant factors shaping the participant’s livelihood sources before and after the violent crisis that caused their migration.

▶Intricate intra-social links (within the family) and inter-social links (between the families) exist among the participants while on the migration trajectories. The level of the links/delinks determines the level of care, support, and utilization of resources among the migrating families. These links/delinks may result in the improved participants’ food security and well-being when properly managed or undermine their food access resulting in their food insecurity and poor well-being when not properly managed.

▶Utilization of resources is based on the need of the individual members of the migrant family, prioritizing the sick and babies who need special care more before deploying the remaining resources for the use of the others. Gender is not a factor in this case. While the power to share, however, lies on the person who acts as the family’s breadwinner and provides the needed resources. The person could be adult males, females, adolescents, or young underage family members who provide for the family after losing their main breadwinner during the crisis.

▶Regional and cultural differences and physical and emotional distress are significant factors of food insecurity /security for the forced migrants

▶There are six food strategies engaged by the forced migrants for food access. These are simple food strategy, adaptive food strategy, indirect adaptive food strategy, complex food strategy, proxy food strategy, and multipurpose food strategy.

▶Most migrants do not want to return to their home origin because of their distressing experiences of the past. Moreover, the transformation in their capacity to access food and other needs for the family in their new destinations has gone excellently well, which has improved their access to food and resilience to food insecurity. Therefore, they do not need to change location anymore.

**7. 18 RECOMMENDATIONS.**

▶Vital information about the forced migrants, especially information on deaths, childbirth, divorce/separation, illnesses, and a brief history of the cultural background, should be collected at the point of entry to their new destination. This is required to enable effective plans that could ameliorate the immediate suffering of the migrants.

▶Information on the skills/educational background of the forced migrants should be detailed on their arrival. This will enable proper support for the migrants in their critical areas of vocational skills to reposition them for job opportunities in their new location and further increase their food access, ultimately making them food secure.

▶Individual migrants’ financial histories and experiences should be assessed to enable expert assistance, which could guarantee the start of small businesses as a food strategy. This will improve the migrants’ access to food, secure food, and contribute to society's economic and social development.

**7. 19 POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH**

This investigation raises several policy concerns on forced migrants and food security/insecurity for policymakers. The current investigation findings show that the participants had numerous losses throughout their movements. As discussed in the previous chapters, the losses vary from participant to participant and are similar to Kokou-Kpolou et al., (2017). Some of these losses created food insecurity for the participants. Therefore, this should form an essential focal point in addressing food security/insecurity among the forced migrants.

► Multi-dimensional nature of the forced migrant’s experiences needs an interdisciplinary policy approach. Therefore, an integrated policy system, ranging from collecting the migrant’s vital statistics to the final policy statements, need to be employed. All the agencies connected or saddled with the responsibility of care for forced migration and disaster management, such as the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) and Nigeria Regional Refugee Response Plan (NRRRP). Others are the National Population Commission (NPC), National Commission for Refugees, and Migrant and Internally Displaced should be involved in the policy formulation phase. Although logistics and inadequate funds may challenge the integrated approach, the Federal Ministry of humanitarian affairs should take responsibility for providing all the logistics and funding needed.

►Recognizing migrants’ differences regarding cultural beliefs and practices and making it a key policy issue may allow for policy intervention that makes the participants settle quickly and lay ground for them to self-help strategies that will elevate their food access.

►Since most participants lost their human and cultural capital and, by implication, livelihood sources, which makes them, strive to acquire new skills to make them fit in their new place, as highlighted in this study, the policymakers should consider policies that encourage vocational training. This will enable proper support for the migrants in their critical areas of vocational needs, repositioning them for job opportunities in their new area and further increasing their food access, ultimately making them food secure. This is critical in ensuring their long-term resilience to food insecurity and greater access to economic and social resources.

►Policies that encourage social interaction of the migrants with the host communities should be encouraged and made effective. This may be one of the most significant ways of preventing stigma between the participants and host communities, as Byrow et al. (2019) suggested. This will guarantee their sense of security, the assurance of future progress, and, more importantly, their food security. Although stigmatization and language barriers (Kiselev et al., 2020 & Dogan et al., 2019) may appear to create problems for such policies, in the long run, such policies may significantly enhance the migrants’ food access and general well-being.

►Policymakers and professionals may consider the vulnerability of the women and children among the forced migrants more. The findings of this study revealed that women and children were more vulnerable to food insecurity and other social issues. Therefore, the needs of these people must be a priority in policy formulations, similar to the suggestion of Cankurtaran & Albayrak (2019). Their needs may be children-specific and gender-inclined. In addition, this study indicated that in some families, adolescents, young children, and widows turned the breadwinners after losing their primary breadwinners. As revealed in this investigation, this situation increases women’s and children’s suffering, similar to the view presented by Suerbaum (2018); Yalım & Kim (2018).

►The policymakers may also consider developing and modifying Community food security resilience programs, as Veale et al. (2019) suggested. This will douse the tension associated with the isolation of the migrants and encourage a sense of inclusion, which may take care of some psychosocial issues of the migrants regarding food practices, modification, and acculturation problems.

►The policymakers should consider the adversities and vulnerabilities of forced migrants as related to health-related disasters and appropriately cater to such needs. For instance, the Covid-19 health crisis proved that forced migrants were exposed to health and socioeconomic problems (UN, 2021). Many children of the forced migrants were denied access to education because they did not have facilities for online studies since many academic activities were not face-to-face but virtual during the pandemic (UNICEF, 2021).

**7. 20 CONCLUSION**

This study has demonstrated that the qualitative method focused on the life course of forced migrants on food security/insecurity reveals lots of information with flexibility and a details understanding of their experiences and various strategies that help them survive. It unveils the complex situation and dynamics associated with forced migrants and food strategies. The findings of this investigation revealed the interplay of complex relationships between the migrants’ social, cultural, human, and economic capital in determining the participant’s livelihood and, by extension, food security/insecurity. Others are the links/delink of the migrants, physical and emotional stress, and food security/insecurity. The study provided insight into how violent crises bring chaos among families and strain the bond between friends and family members, resulting in food insecurity. In addition, it demonstrated that forced migrants not only experience losses and emotional distress on the migration path but also develop resilience and adaptation strategies and ultimately create new opportunities for themselves. The current study has demonstrated that using qualitative methods to investigate integrated social problems such as forced migration, food security/insecurity, and life course events makes it easier for professionals and policymakers to formulate policies and decisions that can comprehensively address them.

In conclusion, it is essential to re-examine the focus of the previous policies and procedures on forced migration and food security in the north-central region of Nigeria. In addition, migration laws, food policies, and disaster management policies in Nigeria must be reviewed. In the interim, the conditions of the forced migrants should be understood, and all the necessary assistance be accorded to them to alleviate their current deplorable situations.

**REFERENCES**

Absolon, K., & Willett, C. (2004). Aboriginal research: Berry picking and hunting in the 21st century. *First Peoples Child & Family Review 1*(1), 5–17.

Adamu, A. & Ben, A. (2015). Migration and Violent Conflict in Divided Societies, Non-Boko Haram Violence against Christians in the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria. Working Paper 1, Africa Conflict Security Analysis Network (NCSAN). World Watch Research, Open Doors International, Netherlands, p. 19-21.

Adesote, S. A. (2017). Internal conflicts and forced migration in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective*; Journal of identity and migration studies* Vol. II No 1.

Adesote, S. A., & Omojeje, A.V. (2012). Violence and Internal Population Displacement in Nigeria, 1999-2011. The 2nd Toyin Falola Annual International Conference on Africa and the African Diaspora at Excellence Hotel, Ogba, Lagos, 2nd - 4th July,

[Ajayi](https://www.britannica.com/contributor/JF-Ade-Ajayi/3476), J. F. A., [Kirk-Greene](https://www.britannica.com/contributor/Anthony-Hamilton-Millard-Kirk-Greene/3573), A. H. M., [Udo](https://www.britannica.com/contributor/Reuben-Kenrick-Udo/3017), R. K., [Falola](https://www.britannica.com/contributor/Toyin-O-Falola/4560), O. T. (2023). Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.

Akesson, B., & Coupland, K. (2018). Without choice? Understanding war-affected Syrian families’ decisions to leave home. *Migration Research Series 54*. *International Organization for Migration.*

Akgün, A. A., Van-Leeuwen, E., Nijkamp, P. (2012). A multi-actor multi-criteria scenario analysis of regional sustainable resource policy. *Ecol. Econ. 78, 19–28.* <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2012.02.026>

Albert, I. O. (2012). Mapping the Discourse: History, Social Conflict, and Conflict Management. Albert, I.O (ed). *A History of Social Conflict and Conflict Management in Nigeria*. Institute of African Studies, p.6

Aldrich, D. P., and Meyer, M. A. (2014). Social capital and community resilience. *Am. Behav. Sci.* 59, 254–269. Doi: 10.1177/0002764214550299

Allen, P. (2009). Mining for justice in the food system: Perceptions, practices, and possibilities. Agriculture and Human Values 25: 157-161.

*American Political Science Review, 94*, 251–267.

*Annual Behavioural Medicine; 38 Supplement 1*; 56-73.

Aluaigba, M. T. (2008). The Tiv-Jukun Ethnic Conflict and the Citizenship Question in Nigeria, Aminu Kano Centre for Democratic Research and Training, Bayero University, Kano, 2008, p. 10.

Alubo, S.O. (2009). Citizenship Rights and Ethnic Contestations in Central Nigeria, in Muazzam I. (ed.): The Citizenship Question in Nigeria, Kano, Nigeria, 2009.

Anderson, J. E. (2011). “The Gravity Model”, *Annual Review of Economics*, 3:133- 160.

Anderson, K., Apland, K., & Yarrow, E. (2017). The Systemic Vulnerability of Unaccompanied Migrant Children in South Africa. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: Taking Stock after 25 Years and Looking Ahead, ed. By Liefaard and Sloth-Nielsen, (2016).

Andrews, R. (2009). Civic Engagement, ethnic heterogeneity, and social capital in urban areas: Evidence from England. Urban Affairs Review, 44(3), 428–440. Doi:10.1177/ 1078087408321492

Andrews, B. Q, M., & Valentine, J. D. (2002). Experience of Shame Scale (ESS) [Database record]. APA PsycTests. [https://doi.org/10.1037/t39071-000](https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/t39071-000)

Anifowose, R. (2003). The Changing Nature of Ethnic Conflicts - Reflections on the Tiv-Jukun Situation, in Babawale T. (ed.): Urban Violence, Ethnic Militia and the Challenge to Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria.

Arno, P. S., Knapp, K. A., Russo, S., & Viola, D. (2015). Rising food insecurity and conservative policy in the US: Impact on the elderly. *World Journal of Social Science Research, 2(1), 13-23.*

Arrow, K. J., Dasgupta, P., Goulder, L.H., Mumford, K.J., Oleson, K., (2013). Sustainability and the measurement of wealth: further reflections. *Environ. Dev. Econ. 18, 504–516*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1355770X13000193>.

Aspers, P., & Corte, U. (2019). What is qualitative in qualitative research? *Qualitative Sociology* 42: 139–160.

Ateca, A. V. (2008). Determining heterogeneous behavior for theatre attendance. Journal of Cultural Economics, 32, 127–151.

Awowusi, O & Jegede, A. (2010). The problem of bulk selling Yams in Harvest and Poverty of Farmers in Ekiti State, Nigeria. African Research Review, *An International Multi-Disciplinary Journal, Ethiopia. Vol. 4(3b) pp. 179-191.*

Ayala, G. X., Baquero, B., Klinger, S. A. (2008) systematic review of the relationship between acculturation and diet among Latinos in the United States: Implications for future research. *J Am Diet Assoc.* ***108****(8): 1330-44.*

Badjie, M., Yaffa, S., Sawaneh, M., Bah, A. (2019). Effects of climate variability on household food availability among rural farmers in central river region-south of the Gambia. *Analysis of climate change* 5(17) ISSN 2394-8558 EISSN 2394-8566.

Bailey, D. M., Jackson, J. M. (2003).Qualitative data analysis: Challenges and dilemmas related to theory and method. *The American Journal of Occupational Therapy*. 57(1): 57-65. <http://dx.doi.org> /10.5014/ajot.57.1.57

Bailey, A. J, (2010). Population geographies, gender, and the Migration development nexus. *Progress in Human Geography* 34(3) pp375-386 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132509344269>

Bakewell, O. (2010). Some Reflections on Structure and Agency in Migration. Theory, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 36:10, 1689-1708,  DOI: [10.1080/1369183X.2010.489382](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2010.489382)

Ballard, T., Kepple, A., & Cafiero, C. (2013). The Food Insecurity Experience Scale: development of a global standard for monitoring hunger worldwide. Rome: FAO. Retrieved from [http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/ess/voh/FIES\_Technical\_Paper\_v1.1.pdf. Accessed 21 Aug 2017](http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/ess/voh/FIES_Technical_Paper_v1.1.pdf.%20Accessed%2021%20Aug%202017)

Barkindo, A. & Tyavkase B. (2015). Our Bodies, Their Battle Ground Boko Haram and Gender-Based Violence against Christian Women and Children in North-Eastern Nigeria since 1999 NPVRN Working Paper No. 1, Abuja-Nigeria,

Barman, B. C. (2020). Impact of Refugees on Host Developing Countries. Refugee Crises and Third-World Economies, 103–111. Emerald Publishing Limited

**ISBN-13:** 9781839821905 **DOI:** [10.1108/978-1-83982-190-520201011](https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-83982-190-520201011)

Basit, T. N. (2003). Manual or electronic? The role of coding in qualitative data analysis. Educational Research, 45, 143-154. Doi:10.1080/0013188032000133548

Bastian, A., & Coveney, J. (2013). The Responsibilization of food security: What is the problem represented to be? Health Sociology Review, 22(2), 162-17

Baum, S., Yigitcanlar, T., & O’Connor, K. (2008). Creative industries and the Urban

Hierarchy: The position of lower-tier cities in the knowledge economy. In: T. Yigitcanlar, K. Velibeyoglu, & S. Baum (Eds.), Knowledge-Based urban development: Planning and applications in the information era. IGI Global, Information Science Reference, United States of America, Pennsylvania, Hershey, pp. 42–57.

Bayeck, R. Y. (2022). Positionality: The Interplay of Space, Context an Identity. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *21*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069221114745>

Bazeley, P. (2013). Qualitative Data Analysis with Nvivo second edition. ISBN 978-1-84920-302-9, ISBN 978-1-84920-302-6 (Pbk) SAGE Publication LTD. London

Abellán, B., & Guereña, A. (2022). Armed conflict and forced displacement as drivers of food insecurity institute of studies of conflicts and humanitarian action. Food emergency in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique

# Bell, D. (2018). Exploring Family Theories: past, present and Future. Journal of family theory and Review, Vol. 10 (1) <https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12240>

Bengtsson, M. (2016). How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis. *Nursing Plus, Open*, *2*, 8-14, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.npls.2016.01.001>

Bengtson, V.L., Allen, K.R. (2009). The Life Course Perspective Applied to Families Over Time. In: Boss P., Doherty W.J., LaRossa R., Schumm W.R., Steinmetz S.K.(eds) Sourcebook of Family Theories and Methods. Springer, Boston, MA

DOI <https://doi-org.sheffield.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/978-0-387-85764-0_19>

Berhane, G., Gilligan, D.O., Hoddinott, J., Kumar, N. & Taffesse, A.S. (2014). Can social protection work in Africa? The impact of Ethiopia’s productive safety net program. Economic Development and Cultural Change. 63(1): 1–26. The University of Chicago Press.

Bergh, K., Oronzo, P., Gugerty, M. K., & Anderson. C. L. (2012). Yam value chain in Nigeria. EPAR Brief No 207. Evans School of Policy Analysis and Research. The University of Washington.

Bergstrand, K., Mayer, B., Brumback, B., & Zhang, Y. (2015). Assessing the Relationship between Social Vulnerability and Community Resilience to Hazards. *Social Indicators Research*, *122*(2), 391–409. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24721426>

Beverelli, C., Keck, A., Larch, M., & Yotov, Y. V. (2018). Institutions, trade, and development: A quantitative analysis,” CESIFO working paper no. 6920

Bhugra, D. (2004). Migration and mental health. Acta Psychiatr Scand, 109(4):243-258.

[**https://doi.org/10.1046/j.0001-690X.2003.00246.x**](https://doi.org/10.1046/j.0001-690X.2003.00246.x)

Bhugra, D. (2004). Migration, distress, and cultural identity. British medical bulletin, 69:129-141. Pre-publication history <https://doi.org/10.1093/bmb/ldh007>

Bhui, K., Mohamud, S., Warfa, N., Curtis, S., Stansfeld, S., and Craig, T . (2012). Forced residential mobility and social support:: impacts on psychiatric disorders among Somali migrants Bhui et al. BMC International Health and Human Rights 2012, 12:4

Billari, F. C. (2009). The life course is coming of age (Editorial). Advances in Life Course

Research, 14(3), 83–86. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2009.10.001

Bisogni. A. C; Jastran .M; Shen, L., Devine, C. M. (2005). A Biographical Study of Food Choice Capacity Standards, Circumstances, and Food Management Skills.

Division of Nutritional Sciences, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York (*J Nutr Educ Behav.* 2005;37:284-291.)

Blake, K. M. (2018). More than just Food: Food security and resilient place-making through Community Self Organising. Sustainability 11(10) 2942; <https://doi.org/10.3390/su11102942>

Blessi, G. T., Tremblay, D. G., Sandri, M., Pilati, T. (2012). New trajectories in urban regeneration processes: Cultural capital as source of human and social capital accumulation – Evidence from the case of Tohu in Montreal. Cities 29 397-407 homepage: [www.elsevier.com/locate/cities](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/cities)

Bloch, A. Doná, G., Fabos, A. H. (2019)Forced Migration: Current Issues and Debates; Refugee Sponsorship: Lessons learned, ways forward Refuge Canada's Journal on Refugees Vol. 35, No 2, URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1064828ar>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7202/1064828ar>

Bogic, M., Njoku, A., Priebe, S. (2015). The long-term mental health of war refugees: A systematic literature review. *BMC International Health and Human Rights, 15*(1)*,* 29-70. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12914-015-0064-9>

Bohmelt, T., Bove, V., Gleditsch. K. S., (2019). Blame the victims? Refugees, state capacity, and non-state actor violence. *Journal of Peace Research* 56(1): 73–87.

# Bondi, L. (2005).Troubling Space, Making Space, Doing Space. Group analysis, sage journal [Volume 38, Issue 1](https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/gaqa/38/1) <https://doi.org/10.1177/0533316405049381>

Booth, S., Smith, A. (2001). Food security and poverty in Australia-challenges for dietitians. *Aust. J. Nutr. Diet. 58, 150–156*

Bourdieu, P. (2008). The forms of capital. Readings in economic sociology (pp. 280-291) Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Boyle, E. H., (2009). Young refugee, in Furlong (ed) Handbook of the youth and young adulthood new perspectives and agendas (pp. 89-94) New York: Routledge.

Bradley, E. H,, Curry, L. A., Devers, K. J. (2007). Qualitative data analysis for health services research: Developing taxonomy, themes, and theory. Health Services Research. 42(4): 1758-72. PMid:17286625 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6773.2006.00684.x>

Braithwaite, A., Salehyan, I., Savun, B., (2019). Refugees, forced migration, and conflict: Introduction to the special issue. Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 56(1) 5–11 The Author(s) sagepub.com/journals-permissions DOI: 10.1177/0022343318814128 journals.sagepub.com/home/jpr

Braun, V., & Clarke, V (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101.

Braun, V., Clarke, V., & Weate, P. (2016). Using thematic analysis in sport and exercise research. In B. Smith & A. C. Sparkes (Eds.), Routledge handbook of qualitative research in sport and exercise (pp. 191-205). London: Routledge

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2016). (Mis) Conceptualizing themes, thematic analysis, and other problems with Fugard and Potts’ (2015) sample-size tool for thematic analysis. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* *19*(6), 739–743.

Breisinger, C., Ecker, O., & Trinh, T, J. F. (2015). Conflict and food insecurity: How do we break the links? In IFPRI, ed. 2014–2015 Global Food Policy Report, pp. 50–61. Washington, DC, IFPRI.

Britton, J. (2019). Being an insider and outsider: Whiteness as a key dimension of difference. Qualitative Research, 1–15(3), 340–354. <https://doi.org/10.1177/146879411987459>

Brod, M., Tesler, L. E., Christensen, T. L. (2009). Qualitative research and content validity: developing best practices based on science and experience. Quality of Life Research. 18(9): 1263-1278. PMid: 19784865 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11136-009-9540-9>

Brookings. (2011). From Responsibility to Response: Assessing National Responses to Internal Displacement*.* The Brookings Institution - London School of Economics Project on Internal Displacement, 2011.

Brown, A. (2011). Understanding food: Principles and preparation (4th Ed.).Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th Ed.) New York: Oxford University Press. 3. Cohen,

Brubaker, R. (2017). Between nationalism and civilizations: The European populist movement in comparative perspective. Ethnic and Racial Studies 40(8): 1191–1226.

[Burton](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/authored-by/Burton/Rob.+J.F.). R. F. J., [Kuczera](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/authored-by/Kuczera/Carmen), C.,  [Schwarz](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/authored-by/Schwarz/Gerald), G., (2008). Exploring Farmers' Cultural Resistance to Voluntary Agri-environmental Schemes Journals of the European Society for rural sociology https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9523.2008.00452.x

Byrow, Y., Pajak, R., McMahon, T., Rajouria, A., & Nickerson, A. (2019). Barriers to mental health help seeking amongst refugee men. International journal of environmental research and public health, 16(15), 2634-2649. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16152634>

Bzugu, P.M., S. Hassan & A.O. Ani, (2008).Socio-Economic factors that influence the adoption ofagricultural innovations among rural women farmersin Hong Local Government area of Adamawa state, Nigeria. Nigerian Journal of Tropical Agriculture

Cadieux, K. V., Slocum, R. (2015). What does it mean to do food justice? Journal of Political Ecology 22: 1-26

Candel, J. J. (2014). Food security governance: A systematic literature review. Food Security, 6(4), 585–601.

Cankurtaran, O., & Albayrak, H. (2019). Suriye’den Türkiye’ye kadın olmak. Hacettepe Üniversitesi Kadın Sorunları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi. [http://www.huksam.hacettepe.edu.tr/Turkce/suriyedenturkiyeye\_TR\_21051 9.pd](http://www.huksam.hacettepe.edu.tr/Turkce/suriyedenturkiyeye_TR_21051%209.pd)

Cantekin, D. (2019). Syrian refugees living on the edge: Policy and practice implications for mental health and psychosocial wellbeing. *International Migration, 57*(2), *200-220*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12508>.

Carling, J., & Schewel, K. (2018) “Revisiting Aspiration and Ability in International Migration.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* *44 (6): 945–963.* Doi:10.1080/1369183X.2017.1384146.

Carling, J. & Talleraas, C. **(**2016**).** Root Causes and Drivers of Migration. PRIO Paper. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo.

Carlson, B. E., Cacciatore, J & Klimek, B., (2012). A risk and resilience perspective and unaccompanied refugee minors. Social work 57(3) 259-269 <https://dx.doi.org/10.1093/sw/sws003>

Carmen, M., Pérez,V. (2015).Conceptualization of Food Insecurity in Puerto Rican Elders: Importance of its UnderstandingDoctoral dissertation partially fulfil the requirements for a Doctor in Public Health specializing in Social Determinants of Health.

Carr, D. (2018). The linked lives principle in life course studies: Classic Approaches and

Contemporary advances. In D. F. Alwin, D. H. Felmlee, & D. A. Kreager, Social Networks and the Life Course (pp. 41–63). Springer.

Carril-Caccia, F., Paniagua, J., Requena, F. (2021).Asylum migration, borders, and terrorism in a structural gravity model, *Politics and Governance*, 9(4):146- 158.

Caruso, C. C. (2014). Searching for food (justice): Understanding access in an under-served food environment in New York City. Journal of Critical Thought and Praxis 3: 8.

Carvalho, D., Nico, M., & Carvalho, H. (2021).Family Ties, Knots and Gaps: Mapping the Linked Lives Principle in the Family and Life Course Literature, Marriage & Family Review, DOI: 10.1080/01494929.2021.1975862

Casali, M. E., Borsari, L., Marchesi, I., Borella, P., Bargellini, A. (2015). Lifestyle and food habits changes after migration: a focus on immigrant women in Modena (Italy) 27:1

Charmaz, K. (2006).Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis. ISBN 10 76197352. A sage publication. London.

Chavez, C. (2008). Conceptualizing from the inside: Advantages, complications, and demands on insider positionality. The Qualitative Report, 13(3), 474–494

Chen, J. H., Waite, L. J., & Lauderdale, D. S. (2015). Marriage, Relationship Quality, and Sleep among U.S. Older Adults. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *56*(3), 356–377. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022146515594631>

Chilton, M., & Rose, D. (2009). A rights-based approach to food insecurity in the United States. American Journal of Public Health, 99(1), 1203- 1211

Chilton, M., Black, M. M., Berkowitz, C., Casey, P. H., Cook, J., Cutts, D., Jacobs, R S., Heeren, T., de Cuba, P. S. E., Coleman, S., Meyers, A., and Frank, D A. (2009).Food Insecurity and Risk of Poor Health Among US-Born Children of Immigrants(Am J Public Health. 2009; 99:556–562. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2008.144394)

Chiumento, A., Rahman, A., Machin, L., & Frith, L. (2018). Mediated Research Encounters: Methodological considerations in cross-language qualitative interviews. Qualitative Research, 18(6), 604-622. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794117730121>

Choi. S., Chung, I., Breen, R. (2016). How Marriage Matters for the Intergenerational Mobility of Family Income: Heterogeneity by Gender, Life Course and Birth Cohort <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:b281a16d-4cd7-4fd9-8824-f864f0d>

Claridge, T., (2018). Functions of Social Capital–bonding, bridging, linking. Social Capital Research 20, 1-7.

Clark, W.A.V., & Huang, Y. (2003). The life Course and Residential Mobility in the British Housing market, Environment and Planning A, 35, 323-339

Clark, W. A.V., & Ledwith, V. (2006). Mobility, housing stress, and neighbourhood context: evidence from Los Angeles. Environment and Planning A, 38, 323-339

Cnaan, R. A., & Park, S. (2016). The multifaceted nature of civic participation: A literature

Review. Voluntarists Review, 1(1), 1–73. Doi:10.1163/24054933-12340001

Coates, J., Frongillo, E. A., Rogers, B. L., Webb, P., Wilde, P. E., & Houser, R. (2006). Commonalities in the experience of household food insecurity across cultures: what are measures missing? The Journal of Nutrition, 136(5), 1438S–1448S.

Costanza, R., de Groot, R., Braat, L., Kubiszewski, I., Fioramonti, L., Sutton, P., Farber, S., Grasso, M., (2017). Twenty years of ecosystem services: how far have we come and how far do we still need to go? Ecosyst. Serv. [https://doi.org/10.1016/j. ecoser.2017.09.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.%20ecoser.2017.09.008).

Cohen, J. (2005). Remittance outcomes and migration: theoretical contests, real opportunities. *Studies in* *Comparative International Development* 40, 88–112.

Coleman, J. A., Matthew, P. R., Christian, A. G., Singh, A. (2019). *Household Food Security in the United States in 2018*, ERR-270, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service.

Collyer, M. (2005). “When do social networks fail to explain migration? Accounting for the movement of Algerian asylum-seekers to the UK”, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 31(4): 699–718. <https://doi.org/> 10.1080/13691830500109852.

Connell, J. (2007). Local skills and global markets? The migration of health workers from the Caribbean and Pacific Island states. *Social and Economic Studies* 56, 41–66. Editor 2008: *The international migration of health care* *workers*. New York: Routledge

Counihan, C. M. (1999)**.** The Anthropology of Food and Body*:* Gender, Meaning, and power. New York, NY: Routledge.

Courtney, A. K. (2014). Household food insecurity among recent immigrants to Canada: A quantitative analysis. Master of Arts, Program: Immigration and Settlement Studies Ryerson University

Crawley, H., & Skleparis, D. (2018). “Refugees, Migrants, Neither or Both: Categorical Fetishism and the Politics of Bounding in Europe’s ‘Migration Crisis.” Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2017.1348224

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. London: SAGE

Crush, J. (2013). Linking food security, migration, and development. *International Migration, 51*(5), 61- 75.

David, F., Bryant, K., Larson, J. J., (2019) Migrants and their Vulnerability to Human trafficking, modern slavery, and forced labour: International Organization for Migration. [www.iom.int](http://www.iom.int)

Davidson, A. R., & Morrell, J. S. (2018). Food security prevalence among university students in New Hampshire. Journal of Hunger and Environmental Nutrition. <https://doi.org/10.1080/193202482018.1512928>

Davis, G., & Khonach, T. (2020). The paradox of positionality: Avoiding, embracing, or

Resisting feminist accountability. *Fat Studies* 9 (2): 101–113.

Deeming, C. (2011). Food and nutrition security at risk in later life: Evidence from the United Kingdom expenditure & food survey. Journal of Social Policy, 40(3), 471- 49

Del-Ninno, C., Dorosh, P., & Smith, I. (2003). Public policy, food markets and household coping strategies in Bangladesh. Lesson from1998 flood. Food consumption and nutrition division paper No 156 Washington, DC, IFRI.

De-Maio, F., Mazzeo, J., & Ritchie, D. (2013). Social determinants of health: A view on theory and measurement. Rhode Island Medical Journal, 96(7), 15-19

Dejesus, K. M. (2018). Forced migration and displacement in Africa: contexts, causes and consequences, African Geographical Review, 37:2, 79-82, DOI:10.1080/19376812.2018.1447332

Dennefer, D., & Miklowski, C. (2006). Development in the life course, in the future of old age, John A. V, Chris R P. and Murna D. (eds) chapter 3 p 30, sage publisher.

Doi <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446211533.n3>

Derek, J. & Kerryn, W. (2020). Qualitative Data Analysis Methods “the Big 6”. Grand Coach <https://gradcoach.com/author/djgcred35235589/page>

Dessein, J., Soini, K., Fairclough, G., Horlings, L., (2015). Culture in, for and as Sustainable Development: Conclusions from the COST Action IS1007 Investigating Cultural Sustainability. University of Jyv¨askyl¨a, Finland.

Devine, C. M. (2005). A Life-course Perspective: Understanding Food Practices in Time, Social Location, and History.” Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior 37: 121–128.

Devine, C. M, Connors, M., Bisogni, C. A., Sobal. J. (1998). Life-Course Influences on Fruit and Vegetable Trajectories: Qualitative Analysis of Food Choices Division of Nutritional Sciences, 14853-4401 *Journal of Nutrition Education Volume 30 Number* 6

Dhokarh, R., David, A., Himmelgreen, P., Yu-Kuei P., Pe´rez, S. S., Amber, H. F., Rafael, P. E. (2011). Food Insecurity is Associated with Acculturation and Social Networks in Puerto Rican Households (J Nutr Educ Behav. 43:288-294.

Diaz, P., Nelson, M., (2005). The changing prairie social landscape of Saskatchewan: The social capital of rural communities. Managing Changing Prairie Landscapes 35, 41.

Diniz, S. C., & Machado, F. (2011). Analysis of the consumption of artistic-cultural

goods and service in Brazil. Journal of Cultural Economics, 35, 1–18.

Doğan, N., Dikeç, G., & Uygun, E. (2019). Syrian refugees’ experiences with mental health services in Turkey: “I felt lonely because I wasn’t able to speak to anyone.” Perspectives in Psychiatric Care, 55(4), 673-680. https://doi.org/10.1111/ppc.12400

Douglass, S. M, (1999). The state's role in international migration at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Population and development review, Vol 25. No 2. PP 303-322

Douxchamps, S., VanWijk, M. T., Silvestri, S., Moussa, A. S., Quiros, C., Ndour, N. Y. B., et al. (2016). Linking agricultural adaptation strategies, food security, and vulnerability: evidence from West Africa. Reg. Environ. Chang. 16, 1305–1317. doi: 10.1007/s10113-015-0838-6

Duerr, L. (2006). Food security status of older adult Home-Delivered Meals Program participants and components of its measurement. Journal of Nutrition for the Elderly, 26(1/2), 1-26

Duruz, J. (2016). Love in a hot climate: foodscape of trade, travel, war and intimacy doi.10.1525/gfc.2016.1.16. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/208328049>

Dwyer S. C., Buckle, J. L. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 8(1), 54- 63.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690900800105>

Ecker, O. (2014). Resilience for food security in the face of civil conflict in Yemen. In Fan, S., Pandya-Lorch, R. & Yosef, S. eds. 2014. Strength for food and nutrition security, pp. 53–64. Washington, DC, IFPRI.

Edstrom, K. M., Devine, C. M. (2001). Consistency in women’s orientations to food and nutrition in midlife and older age: a 10-year qualitative follow-up. *J Nutr Educ*;33:215-223.

Edwards, A. (2016). *Global forced displacement hits record high*. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/afr/news/>

Eele, G. (1994). Indicator for food security and nutrition monitoring: A review of experience from measuring food insecurity. D G Maxwell, southern African food policy 19(3) 314-328.Elder G. H. Jr & Giele J.Z. (2009). Life Course Studies. An Evolving Field. In Elder G. H. Jr & Giele J.Z. (Eds.). The Craft of Life Course Research (pp 1–28). New York, London: The Guilford Press

Egwu, S. (2004). Contested Identities and the Crisis of Citizenship in Nigeria, in Nigerian Journal of Policy and Strategy, 14:40–64

Elder, G. H., Jr. (Ed.) (1985). Life course dynamics, trajectories, and transitions*,* 1968–1980. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.[Google Scholar](http://scholar.google.com.sheffield.idm.oclc.org/scholar_lookup?title=Life%20course%20dynamics%2C%20trajectories%20and%20transitions%2C%201968%E2%80%931980&publication_year=1985)

Elder, G. H., Johnson, M. K., & Crosnoe, R. (2003). The emergence and development of life course theory. In J. T. Mortimer & M. J. Shanahan (Eds.), Handbook of the Life Course. Kluwer Academic Publications.

Emlet, C. A., & Moceri, J. T. (2012). The importance of social connectedness in building

age-friendly communities. Journal of Aging Research, 2012, 1–9. doi:10.1155/2012/173247

Ermine, W. (2007). The ethical space of engagement. *Indigenous Law Journal, 6*(1), 193–203.

Evans, R., Loforte, C., and McAslan, F E., (2013). UNCHR’s engagement with displaced youth: <https://www.unhcr.org/513f37bbg.pdf>

Ewald, A., Gilbert, E., & Huppatz, K. (2020). Fathering and flexible working arrangements: A systematic interdisciplinary review. Journal of Family Theory & Review, 12(1), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12363>

Fagen, P. W. (2014). Flight to the cities in Forced Migration Review issue 45 www.fmreview.org/crisis

FAO, (2018). The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World 2018. Building climate resilience for food security and nutrition. Rome: FAO. Retrieved from http://www.fao.org/3/i9553en/i9553en.pdf

FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP &WHO. (2018). The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the world 2018. Building climate resilience for food security and nutrition. Rome: FAO. Retrieved from <http://www.fao.org/3/i9553en/i9553en.pdf>.

FAO. (2016). *Migration, agriculture and rural development*, Technical report, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

FAO, IFAD, IOM, & WFP. (2018). *The Linkages between Migration, Agriculture, Food Security and Rural Development*. Available from: http://www.fao.org/3/ CA0922EN/CA0922EN.pdf.

FAO, (2008). Rural Women and Food Security: A Paper Women’s Development Rights. Routledge, New York. Presented on the Occasion of the International Day

of Rural Women, October 15th, 2008, New York.

Fazel, M., Wheeler, J., Danesh, J. (2005). Prevalence of serious mental disorder in 7000 refugees resettled in western countries: A systematic review. Lancet 2005; 365(9467):1309-1314. PMID: 15823380.

Fazel, M., Reed, R V., Panter, B. C., & Stein, A., (2012). The mental health of displaced and refugee children settled in high-income countries: Risk and protection factors, Lancet, 379 (9812), 366-282 <https://doi.org/10.1016/50140-673(11)> 60051-2

Fisk, K. (2019). Camp settlement and communal conflict in sub-Saharan Africa. Journal of Peace Research 56(1): 58–72.

Frelick, B., Kysel, I., & Podkul, J. (2016).The Impact of Externalization of Migration Controls on the Rights of Asylum Seekers and Other Migrants. *Journal on Migration and Human Security***4**(4): 190–220.

Florida, R. (2002). The rise of the creative class. And how it’s Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Life. New York: Basic Books

Francis, D.J. (2013). Peace and Conflict Studies: An African Overview of Basic Concepts. Best, S.H (ed). *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa: A Reader*. Ibadan, Spectrum Books Limited, p.6

Frankenberger, T. & Coyle, P.E. (1993). Integrating household food security into farming systems research/Extension. Journal of farming systems research/Extension 4(1), 35-65 [Giele](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Janet_Zollinger_Giele) J and Elder G.H, (eds) Methods of Life Course Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches, Sage Publications, 1998 [ISBN](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Standard_Book_Number) [0-7619-1437-4](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/0-7619-1437-4)

Frongillo, E.A., Valois, P., Wolfe, W.S. (2003). Using concurrent events approach to understand elders' social support and food insecurity. Fam. Econ. Nutr. Rev., 15, 25.

Frongillo, E. A., & Horan, C. M. (2004). Hunger and aging. Generations, 28(3), 28-33.

Frongillo, E. A., Namana, S., & Wolfe, W. S. (2004). Technical Guide to Developing a Direct, Experience-Based Measurement Tool for Household Food Insecurity. [http://jn.nutrition.org/content/suppl/2004/01/14/133.12.4158.DC1/Food\_insecurit y\_tool\_technical\_guide\_1-12-04.pdf](http://jn.nutrition.org/content/suppl/2004/01/14/133.12.4158.DC1/Food_insecurit%20y_tool_technical_guide_1-12-04.pdf)

Fruh, W. (2004). In halts analyse. Theories und Praxis (5th ed.). Konstanz: UVK.

Gabaccia, D. R. (1998). [We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans](https://archive.org/details/wearewhatweeatet00gaba_0). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. [ISBN](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISBN_(identifier)) [9780674948600](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/9780674948600).

Garcia, J; Walker S, Bartlett A, Harun O & Sanghi A. (2018). Do refugee camps help or hurt hosts? The case of Kakuma, Kenya. Journal of Development Economics 130(January): 66–83.

Garthwaite, K. (2016). *Hunger Pains: Life Inside Foodbank Britain*. London: Policy Press.

Geddes, A. (2008). Immigration and European Integration: Beyond Fortress Europe? Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Gesser-Edelsburg, A.; Endevelt, R.; Zemach, M.; Tirosh-Kamienchick, Y. (2013). "Food Consumption and Nutritional Labeling Among Immigrants to Israel from the Former Soviet Union.” [Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Journal_of_Immigrant_and_Minority_Health)

Giele, J. Z., & Elder, G. H., Jr. (1998). Methods of life course research: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, Netherland.

Gilligan, M., Karraker, A., & Jasper, A. (2018). Linked lives and cumulative inequality: A multigenerational family life course framework. Journal of Family Theory &Review 10(1), 111–125. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12244.

Gina M. A. (2014). The University of Tampa: Food and identity: Food studies, cultural, and personal identity Journal of International Business and Cultural **studies**Volume 8

Girardin. M., Widmer, E. D., Connidis, I. A., Castren, A. M., Gouveia, R., Masotti, B. (2018). Ambivalence in Later-Life Family Networks: Beyond Intergenerational Dyads. *Journals of marriage and family.* Wiley library online https://erepo.uef.fi/bitstream/handle/123456789/6636/Girardin\_et\_al.

Goldenberg, S M., (20114). Right Here Is the Gateway”: Mobility, Sex Work Entry and HIV Risk Along the Mexico-US Border, International Migration, 52.

Golubchikov, O. (2015). Negotiating critical Geographies through a “feel-trip”: experiential, affective, and critical learning in engaged fieldwork. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education.*  DOI: 10.1080/03098265.2014.1003800

Gorton, D., Bullen, C. R., Mhurchu, C. N. (2009). Environmental influences on food security in high-income countries. Nutrition Reviews, 68(1), 1-29.

Gouveia, R. (2014). Personal networks in Portuguese society: A configurational and

Lifecourse approach [Doctoral Dissertation]. Universidade de Lisboa.

Grossi, E., Sacco, P. L., Blessi, T. G., & Cerutti, R. (2011). The interaction between

culture, health and psychological well-being: Data mining from the Italian

culture and well-being project. Journal of Happiness Studies, 6(4), 387–410.

Guest, G., MacQueen, K. M., & Namey, E. E. (2012). Applied thematic analysis. Thousand Oak Sage.

Guiso, L., Sapienza, P., Zingales, L., (2004). The role of social capital in financial development. Am. Econ. Rev. 94, 526–556. https://doi.org/10.1257/ 0002828041464498.

Haas, H. (2005). International migration, remittances, and development: myths and facts. *Third World* *Quarterly* 26, 1269–84. Turning the tide? Why action will not stop migration. *Development and Change* 38, 819–41.

Hadley, C. & Sellen, D. (2006). Food security and child hunger among recently resettled Liberian refugees and asylum seekers: A pilot study. Journal of Immigrant Health, 8, 369–375.

Hadley, C., Patil, C. L., & Nahayo, D. (2010). Difficulty in the food environment and the experience of food insecurity among refugees resettled in the United States. Ecology of Food and Nutrition, 49, 390–407.

Hadley, C., Zodhiates, A., & Sellen, D. W. (2007). Acculturation, economics, and food insecurity among refugees resettled in the USA: A case study of West African refugees. Public Health Nutrition,10(4), 405–412

Hagen-Zanker, J., & Mallett. R. (2016). Journeys to Europe: The Role of Policy in Migrant Decision-Making. Overseas Development Institute, London.

Hall, J., Pretty, J., (2008). Buy-in’ and ‘buy out’: Linking social capital and transitioning to more sustainable land management. Rural Futures: Dreams, Dilemmas, Dangers. University of Plymouth, Plymouth, UK

Hamidu, A. T, Renard, R, Lodewijk, S. (2013). Empirical evidence from northern Uganda shows food aid and household food security in a conflict situation. Food policy 43, 14-22. [www.elsevier.com/locate/foodpol](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/foodpol)

Hamilton, K., Hepburn, C., (2014). Wealth. Oxf. Rev. Econ. Policy 30, 1–20.

https://doi. org/10.1093/oxrep/gru010.

Hamilton, K., Liu, G., (2014). Human capital, tangible wealth, and the intangible capital residual. Oxf. Rev. Econ. Policy 30, 70–91. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/gru007>.

Hamilton, K., Ruta, G., Bolt, K., Markandya, A., Pedroso-Galinato, S., Silva, P., Ordoubadi, M.S., Lange, G.-M., Tajibaeva, L., (2005). Where Is the Wealth of Nations? Where is wealth nations? Meas. Cap. 21st century. [https://doi.org/10.1596/978-0- 8213-6354-6](https://doi.org/10.1596/978-0-%208213-6354-6).

Hamilton, K. (2009). Low-income families: Experiences and responses to consumer exclusion.*International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 29(9/10): 543–557.

Hammelman, C. (2018). Urban migrant women’s everyday food insecurity coping strategies foster alternative urban imaginaries of a more democratic food system, Urban Geography, 39:5, 706-725, DOI: 10.1080/02723638.2017.1382309 <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2017.1382309>”

Hammond, L., Grebmer, K., Bernstein, J., Patterson, F., Sonntag, A., Klaus, L. M., Fahlbusch, J., Towey. O., Foley, C., Gitter, S., Ekstrom, K., & Fritschel, H. (2018). Forced migration and hunger. Global hunger index

Hanappi, D., Bernardi, L., & Spini, D. (2015). Vulnerability as a heuristic concept for interdisciplinary research: Assessing empirical life course studies' thematic and methodological structure. Longitudinal and Life Course Studies, 6(1), 59–87. <https://doi.org/10>. 14301/llcs.v6i1.302

Hancock, B. H. (2018). Embodiment: A dispositional approach to racial and cultural analysis. In *Approaches to ethnography: Analysis and representation in participant observation*, eds. Colin Jerolmack and Shamus Khan, 155–184. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hauck-Lawson, A. (2004). Introduction to the special issue on the food voice. *Food, Culture, and Society, 7* (1), 24-25.

Healy, L., (2012). Unable to see the future: refugee youth in Malawi speak out. Forced migration review, 40, 5-6 <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journal/unable-see-see-future-refugee-youth-malawi-speak-out/docview/1040420148/see>.

# [Heid](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/authored-by/Heid/Benedikt), B., [Larch](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/authored-by/Larch/Mario), M.,  [Yotov](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/authored-by/Yotov/Yoto+V.), Y. V. (2021). Estimating the effects of non-discriminatory trade policies within structural gravity models *Canadian Journals of Economic Vol. 54, issue 1 p 376-409* <https://doi.org/10.1111/caje.12493>

Heinz, W. R. (2003). Combining Method of Life-Course Research. A mixed blessing? Walter R Heinz and Victor W Marchhall (eds). Social dynamics of interrelations pp73-90. New York Aldine de Gruyter.

Hendriks, S. (2015). The food security continuum: a novel tool for understanding food insecurity as a range of experiences. Food Security, 7(3), 609–619.

Himmelgreen, A. B, Perez-Escamilla, R., & Bermudez, Y. P. A. (2005). Birthplace, length of time in the U.S., and language are associated with diet among inner-city Puerto Rican women. Ecology of Food and Nutrition, 44, 105–122.

Hoang, K. K. (2015). *Dealing in desire: Asian ascendancy, Western decline, and the hidden currencies of global sex work*. Oakland: the University of California Press.

Holloway. I., & Galvin. K. (2016). *Qualitative Research in nursing and healthcare* (4th ed.). Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Hooyman, N. R., & Kiyak, H. A. (2011). Social gerontology: A multi-disciplinary perspective. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Hopkins, P. E. (2007). Thinking Critically and Creatively about Focus Groups. *Area*, *39*(4), 528–535. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40346074>

HRW. (2005). Human Rights Watch: The Cycle of Violence in Plateau and Kano States Revenge in the Name of Religion Vol. 17, No. 8 (A)

Hutchison, E.D. (2010). Dimension of human behaviour: the changing life course; sage London.

Hyndman, J. (2009). Acts of aid: Neoliberalism in a war zone. *Antipode, 41*(5), 867–889.

Hynie, M., Guruge, S., & Shakya, Y. B. (2012). Family relationships of Afghan, Karen, and Sudanese refugee youth. *Canadian Ethnic Studies, 44*(3)*,* 11-28. https://doi.org/101353/ces.2013.0011

IDMC. (2016). *Global Report on Internal Displacement.* Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre.

ICMPD. (2018). International Centre for Migration Policy Development: ‘Trafficking Along Migration Routes to Europe: Bridging the Gap between Migration, Asylum, and Anti-Trafficking.

IDMC. (2017). Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre:*Global Report on Internal Displacement*. Geneva, Switzerland: IDMC. <http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-report/grid2017/>

IDMC (2022), Internal Displaced Monitoring Centre’s Global Report on internal displacement

IOM. (2018). International Organization for Migration: World Migration Report 2017. Geneva: IOM

IOM. (2017). International Organization for Migration: Agriculture and migration in the context of climate change. Rome.

IOM. (2016). Mixed Migration: Flows in the Mediterranean and Beyond: Compilation of Available Data and Information 2015. IOM, Geneva.

ISSN: 1040-2608/doi:10.1016/S1040-2608(04)09001-X

[Jackson](https://www.tandfonline.com/author/Jackson%2C+Dennis+L), A. (2009).Revisiting Sample Size and Number of Parameter Estimates: Some Support for the N:q Hypothesis. Structural Equation Modelling: A Multidisciplinary Journal Vol.10 Issue 2 Pages 128-141 <https://doi.org/10.1207/S15328007SEM1001_6>

Johnston, P.J. & Stoll, K. (2007). Remittances as unforeseen burdens: considering displacement, family and resettlement contexts in refugee livelihood and wellbeing. *Family Relations* 57, 431–43.

Jones, S.J., Draper, C.L., Bell, B.A., Burke, M.P., Martini, L., Younginer, N., Blake, C.E., Probst, J., Freedman, D., Liese, A.D. (2018). Child hunger from a family resilience perspective. J. Hunger Environ Nutr., 13, 340–361.

Jones, A. D. (2017). Food insecurity and mental health status: a global analysis of 149 countries. American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 53(2), 264–273.

Kaa, D J. (2010). Universal History and population change. Demographia. 53: 5-20

Kaiser, L. L., Melgar-Quinonez, H. R., Lamp, C. L., Johns, M. C., Sutherlin, J. M., & Harwood, J. O. (2002). Food security and nutritional outcomes of preschool-age Mexican-American children. Journal of American Dietetic Association, 102(7), 924-929.

Keeley, B. (2007). Human Capital: How What you Know Shapes your Life. OECD.

Kenton W, (2023). Human capital, definition, types, examples, and relationship to the economy. <https://www.invetopedia.com/terms/h/humancapital.asp>

Khan, S. N. (2014). Qualitative Research Method: Grounded Theory International Journal of Business and Management; Vol. 9, No. 11: ISSN 1833-3850 E-ISSN 1833-8119 Published by Canadian Center of Science and Education 224 doi:10.5539/ijbm.v9n11p224

Kingma, M. **(**2005) *Nurses on the move*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Kiselev, N., Pfaltz, M., Haas, F., Schick, M., Kappen, M., Sijbrandij, M., De Graaff, A. M., Bird, M., Hansen, P., Ventevogel, P., Fuhr, D. C., Schnyder, U., & Morina, N. (2020). Structural and socio-cultural barriers to accessing mental healthcare among Syrian refugees and asylum seekers in Switzerland. European Journal of Psychotraumatology, 11(1), 1717825. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20008198.2020.1717825>

Kittler, P.G., Sucher, K.P., & Nelms, M.N. (2012). *Food and culture (6th ed.).* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Klein, J. L., & Tremblay, D. G. (2010). Can we have a ‘‘Creative City’’ without forgetting social cohesion? Some avenues of reflection. PLAN Canada St-John’s University.

Kniazeva, M.; Venkatesh, A. (2007). "Food for thought: A study of food consumption in postmodern US culture.” Journal of Consumer Behaviour. **6** (6): 419–435. [doi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doi_(identifier)):[10.1002/CB.232](https://doi.org/10.1002%2Fcb.232)

Koc, M.; Welsh, J., (2017). ["Food, Identity, and Immigrant Experience"](https://web.archive.org/web/20170620212642/http:/www.ryerson.ca/content/dam/foodsecurity/publications/articles/FoodIdentity.pdf) (PDF). Ryerson. Archived from [the original](http://www.ryerson.ca/content/dam/foodsecurity/publications/articles/FoodIdentity.pdf) (PDF) on 20 June 2017. Retrieved 22 February 2017.

Kokou-Kpolou, C. K., Moukouta, C. S., Masson, J., Bernoussi, A., Cénat, J. M., & Bacqué, M. F. (2020). Correlates of grief-related disorders and mental health outcomes among adult refugees exposed to trauma and bereavement: A systematic review and future research directions. Journal of Affective Disorders, 267, 171-184. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2020.02.026>.

Kristjanson, P., Neufeldt, H., Gassner, A., Mango, J., Kyazze, F., Desta, S., et al. (2012). Are food-insecure smallholder households making changes in their farming practices? Evidence from East Africa. Food Security. 4, 381–397. doi: 10.1007/s12571-012-0194-z

Kucharˇcíkov´a, A., (2011). Human capital - definitions and approaches. Hum. Rasources Manag. Ergon. 5.

Kuckartz, U. (2014). Qualitative text analysis: A guide to methods, practice, and software use. Los Angeles: SAGE

Kuyper, E., Barbara M.S., Stephanie N. (2014). California food guide: Hunger and food insecurity chapter 25.

Laliberte, N., & Schurr, C. (2016). The stickiness of emotion in the field: complicating feminist methodologies. *Gender, place, and culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 23(1):72-87

Landry, C. (2008). The creative city. A toolkit for urban innovators (2nd ed.). London:

Earthscan (first ed. 2000).

Landry, C. (2006). The art of city making. London: Earthscan

Laraia, A. B. (2013). Food Insecurity and Chronic Disease Division of Community Health and Human Development, School of Public Health, University of California Berkeley, Berkeley, CA Adv. Nutr. 4: 203–212,

Larson, N., & Story, M. (2009). A Review of Environmental Influences on Food Choices.

latest/2016/6/5763b65a4/global-forced-displacement-hits-record-high.html

Lifestyle and food habits changes after migration: a focus on immigrant women in Modena (Italy)

Leung, C. W., Epel, E. S., Willett, W. C., Rimm, E. B., & Laraia, B. A., (2015). Household Food Insecurity Is Positively Associated with Depression among Low-Income. Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program Participants and Income-Eligible Nonparticipants1–3. The Journal of Nutrition Community and International Nutrition

Leyva-Flores R, Infante C, Gutierrez JP, Quintino-Perez F, Gómez-Saldivar M, Torres-Robles C. (2019). Migrants in transit through Mexico to the US: Experiences with violence and related factors, 2009-2015. 14(8):e0220775. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0220775.

Li, S. M. (2004). Lifecourse and residential mobility in Beijing, China. Environment and Planning A, 36, 24-43.

Lin, N. (2008). A network theory of social capital. In D. Castiglione, J. W. van Deth & G.

Wolleb (Eds.), The Handbook of social capital. (pp. 50–69). New York, NY US: Oxford

University Press.

Lindsay, S. (2008). Source monitoring. In: Roediger HL, III, Byrne J, editors. Cognitive Psychology of Memory. Vol. [2] of Learning and Memory: A Comprehensive Reference. Oxford: Elsevier. p. 325-48.

Lorimer, H. (2005). Cultural geography: the busyness of being `more-than-representational' progress in human [Volume 29, Issue 1](https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/phgb/29/1) pp 83-94 <https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132505ph531pr>

Luborsky, M. R., & Rubinstein, R. L. (1998) ‘Sampling in qualitative research: rationale, issues, and Methods,’ *Research on Aging*, vol. 17, pp. 89–113

Mabiso, A., Maystadt, J-F., Vandercasteelen, J. & Hirvonen, K. (2014). Resilience for food security in refugee-hosting communities. In Fan, S., Pandya-Lorch, R.

& Yosef, S. eds. 2014. Resilience for food and nutrition security, pp. 45–52. Washington, DC, IFPRI.

Macmillan, R. (2005).The Structure of the Life Course Standardized Individualized Differentiated. Advances in Life Course Research, Volume 9, 3–24. Elsevier Ltd.

Mallett, R., & Hagen-Zanker, J. (2018). Forced migration trajectories: an analysis of journey- and decision-making among Eritrean and Syrian arrivals to Europe Migration and Development, 7:3, 341-351, DOI: 10.1080/21632324.2018.1459244

Mandiyanike, D. (2009). The dilemma of conducting research back in your own country as a Returning Student – reflections of research fieldwork in Zimbabwe. Area, 41(1), 64–71. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2008.00843.x>

Mangrio, E., Zdravkovic, S., & Carlson, E. (2019). Refugee Women’s Experience of the Resettlement process: A qualitative study. *BMC Women’s Health, 19*(1), 1-6. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12905-019-0843-x

Mason, J. (2018). Qualitative Researching. Third edition ISBN-13 978-1473912182. Sage Publication Ltd.

Mason, J. (2011). Facet Methodology: The case of innovative research orientation Online 6(3) 75-92. ISSN: 1748-0612 Online Doi:10.4256/min.2011.008

Maxwell, D. G, (1996). Measuring food insecurity; the frequency and severity of “coping strategies” food policy Vol. 21 No 3 pp 291-303. Elsevier Science Ltd.

Mayblin, L., & James P., (2016). Factors influencing asylum destination choice: A review of the evidence, University of Warwick.

[https://asylumwelfarework.files.wordpress.com/2015/03/asylum-seeker-pull-factors-working -paper.pdf](https://asylumwelfarework.files.wordpress.com/2015/03/asylum-seeker-pull-factors-working%20-paper.pdf)

Mayer, K. U. (2009). New directions in life course research. *Annual Review of Sociology,35*, 413–433.

Mayer, V.L., McDonough, K., Seligman, H., Mitra, N. and Long, J.A. (2016). Food

Insecurity, Coping Strategies, and Glucose Control in Low-Income Patients with

Diabetes. Public Health Nutrition, 19, 1103-1111.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1368980015002323>

Maystadt, J. F., & Philip, V. (2014). Winners and losers among a refugee-hosting population. Economic Development and Cultural Change 62(4): 769–809.

McAdam, J. (2014).The concept of crisis migration in Forced Migration Review issue 45 [www.fmreview.org/crisis](http://www.fmreview.org/crisis)

McAuliffe, M. (2018)**.** “The Nexus Between Forced and Irregular Migration: Insights from Demography,” pp. 217-232 in G. Hugo, M.J. Abbasi-Shavazi, and E.P. Kraly, eds., Demography of Refugee and Forced Migration. International Studies in Population, International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Vol. 13. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

McCleary, J. S. (2017). The Impact of Resettlement on Karen Refugee family relationships: A qualitative exploration. *Child & Family Social Work*, *22*(4), 1464-1471. https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12368

Mckenzie, J. S & Watts, D. (2019). Understanding changing eating Practices across the Life. Food Culture and society, https:/doi.10.1080/15528014.2019.1679559

McMichael, C., Gifford, S. M., & Correa-Velez, I. (2010). Negotiating family, navigating resettlement: Family connectedness amongst resettled youth with refugee background living in Melbourne, Australia. *Journal of Youth Studies, 14*(2), 179-195. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2010.506529>

Mills, A.J., Durepos, G., and Wiebe, E. (Eds) (2010) Encyclopaedia of Case Study Research, Volumes I and II. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Min-Yang. (2021). Migration trajectories and their relationship to mental health among internal migrants in urban China. Shutterstock.com Design and layout: Legatron Electronic Publishing, Rotterdam Printing: Ipskamp Printing, Enschede January 2021 Copyright 2021 © Min Yang ISBN: 978-94-6421-165-8

Moffat, M. (2016). Exploring Positionality in an Aboriginal Research Paradigm: A Unique Perspective International Journal of Technology and Inclusive Education (IJTIE), Volume 5, Issue 1,

Montanari, M. (2006).Food is culture;New York, USA: Columbia University Press.

Monteil, C., Simmons, P., Hicks, A. (2020). Post-disaster recovery and sociocultural change: Rethinking social capital development for the new social fabric. International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction, 42, p.101356.

Molina, L. C., Jhawar, M., & Wallace, S. P. (2007). Falls, Disability, and Food insecurity present challenges to health aging <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3r91r5vb>.

Moore, R. G., & Garland, A. (2003). Cognitive Therapy for Chronic and Persistent DepressionISBN: 9780471892786. Online ISBN: 9780470713495 |DOI:10.1002/9780470713495. John Wiley & Sons Ltd

Moraes, C., McEachern, M. G., Gibbons, A., Scullion, L., (2021).Understanding Lived Experiences of Food Insecurity through a Paraliminality Lens **Vol.** 55(6) 1169–1190. sagepub.com/journals-permissions DOI: 10.1177/00380385211003450 journals.sagepub.com/home/so

Morina, N., Schnyder, U., Schick, M., Nickerson, A., & Bryant, R. A. (2016). Attachment style and interpersonal trauma in refugees. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, *50*(12), 1161-1168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0004867416631432>

Morina, N., & Hoppen, T. H. (2019). The prevalence of PTSD and major depression in the global population of adult war survivors: a meta-analytically informed estimate in absolute numbers. *Eur J Psychotraumatol*. 10(1):1578637. Doi.10.1080/20008198.2019.1578637. PMID: 30834069;

Moschis, G. P. (2007). Life course perspectives on consumer behaviour. J. of the Acad. Mark. Sci. (2007) 35:295–307 DOI 10.1007/s11747-007-0027-3

Mose, B., Tamara, & Dreby, J. (2013). Family and work in everyday ethnography. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Mukhtar, S., Aznie, C. R., Lam, K.C., Mokhtar, J., Kadaruddin, A., & Toriman, M. E. (2018). Spatio-Temporal Analysis of Internal Forced Migration in North-eastern Nigeria. I*nternational Journal of research in business and social sciences.*

*http://dx.doi.org/10.6007/IJARBSS/v8-i13/4811 DOI: 10.6007/IJARBSS/v8-i13/4811*

Muller-Funk, L. (2019). Adapting to staying, or imagining future elsewhere: Migration decision-making of Syrian refugees in Turkey. (IMI Working Paper; No. 154). International Migration Institute (IMI). https://www.migrationinstitute.org/publications/adapting-to-staying-or-imagining-futures-elsewhere-migrationdecision-making-of-syrian-refugees-in-turkey

Murcott, A. R. (2001). Understanding lifestyle and food use: contribution from the social sciences, British Medical Bulletin, 2000, 56. No 1, pp 121-132

Nam, Y., & Jin-Jung, H. (2008). Welfare reform and older immigrants: Food stamp program participation and food insecurity. The Gerontologist, 48(1), 42-50.

Neil-Adger, W., Arnell, N. W., & Tompkins, E. L. (2005). Successful adaptation to climate change across scales. Glob. Environ. Change. 15, 77–86. Doi: 10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2004.12.005

Nevana, S .(2013). Understanding Culture: Food as a Means of Communication PL ISSN 0239-8818. Hemispheres, No. 28.

Niles, M. T., & Brown, M. E. (2017). A multi-country assessment of factors related to smallholder food security in varying rainfall conditions. Sci. Rep. 7:16277.

Doi: 10.1038/s41598-017-16282-9

Nnakwe, N. (2003). Dietary pattern and the prevalence of food insecurity among older persons. Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences, 95(4), 113-118.

Noble, S. M., & Schewe, C. D. (2003). Cohort segmentation: An exploratory of its validity. Journal of Business Research, 56, 979–987.

Nurse, K., (2006). Culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable development. Small stateseconomic. Rev. Basic Stat. 28–40.

Nussbaumer, J., & Moulaert, F. (2004). Integrated area development and social innovation in European cities. City, 8(2), 249–257.

Nygaard, M., Sonne, C., Carlsson, J. (2017). Secondary psychotic features in refugees diagnosed with post-traumatic stress disorder: A retrospective cohort study. BMC Psychiatry 2017; 17(1):5. PMID: 28056884. Office of Nutrition Policy and Promotion, Health Canada, Government of Canada, Ottawa.

O’Connor, K. B. (2008).Challenging paradigms: Deconstructing and reconstructing my positionality as a non-Indigenous researcher. In A. H. Churchill (Ed*.*), *Rocking your world: The emotional journey into critical discourses* (pp. 67–80). Boston, MA: Sense.

OECD. (1998). Human Capital Investment: An International Comparison. Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Centre for Educational Research and Innovation.

**OHCRHR. (2016). Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Report on Declaration of human rights Geneva.**

Olabiyi, O. M., McIntyre, L. (2014). Determinants of food insecurity in higher-income households in Canada.J. Hunger Environ Nutr., 9, 433–448.

Onyeanusi, A. E & Akinyemi, I. G. (2012). Wildlife management and food security in Nigeria. In poverty Alleviation from Biodiversity Management, edited by Matt.F.A.Ivbijaro. ISBN:978-978-921-022-0 (soft) 978-978-921-023-7 (cased). Pp 171-195. BookBuilders, Editions Africa

Okeke-Agulu, K. I. (2012). Analysis of the Impact of Physical and Social Capital Asset Holdings on Poverty Among Farm Households in Nigera. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Submitted to the Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nigeria Nsukka, Enugu State, Nigeria.

Orjuela-Grimm, M., Deschak, C., Gama, C. A., Carreño, S., Hoyos, L., Mundo, V., Infante, C. (2022). Migrants on the Move and Food security/insecurity: A Call for Research. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-021-01276-7

Paniagua, J., Peir´o-Palomino, J., & Picazo-Tadeo, A. J. (2021). “Asylum migration in OECD countries: In search of lost well-being”, *Social Indicators Research*, 153(3):1109-1137.

Panori, A., Mora, L., & Reid, A. (2019). Five decades of research on urban poverty: Main research communities, core knowledge producers, and emerging thematic areas. *Journal of Cleaner* *Production* 237(10): 1–13

Paquette, M.C., Devine, C. M. (2000). Dietary trajectories in the menopause transition Among Quebec women. *J Nutr Educ.*32:320-328

[Parasecoli, F.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fabio_Parasecoli) (2014). [Food, Identity, and Cultural Reproduction in Immigrant Communities](https://www.jstor.org/stable/26549625). [Social Research](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_Research). **81** (2): 415–439. [ISSN](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ISSN_(identifier)) [0037-783X](https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0037-783X). [JSTOR](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/JSTOR_(identifier)) [26549625](https://www.jstor.org/stable/26549625).

Pelinescu, E. (2015). The impact of human capital on economic growth. Procedia Econ. Financ. 22, 184–190. <https://doi.org/10.1016/S2212-5671(15)00258-0>

Perks, R., & Thompson, A. (Eds). (2016). *The oral history reader*. New York: Routledge.

Peterie, M., Ramia, G., Marston, G. (2019). Social isolation as stigma-management: Explaining long-term unemployed people’s ‘failure’ to network. *Sociology* 53(6): 1043–1060.

Peterman, J. N., Wilde, P. E., Silka, L., Bermudez, O. I., & Rogers, B. L. (2013). Food insecurity among Cambodian refugee women two decades post resettlement. Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 15, 372–380.

Piaseu, N., Komindr, S., & Belza, B. (2010). Understanding food insecurity among older Thai women in an urban community. Health Care for Women International, 31(12), 1110-112

Pierson, P. (2000). Increasing returns, path dependence, and the study of politics. *The*

Pinstrup, P. (2009). Food security: definition and measurement. Food Security, 1(1), 5–7

Prewitt, K., Mackie, C. D., & Habermann, H. (Eds). (2014). Civic engagement & social

cohesion: Measuring dimensions of social capital to inform policy. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

[Proulx](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/authored-by/Proulx/Christine+M.), C. M., [Helms](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/authored-by/Helms/Heather+M.), H. M., [Buehler](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/authored-by/Buehler/Cheryl), C. (2007). Marital Quality and Personal Well-Being: A Meta-Analysis.*Journals of Marriage and Family* [**https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2007.00393.x**](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2007.00393.x)

Purdam, K., Garratt, E. A., & Esmail, A .(2016). Hungry? Food insecurity, social stigma and embarrassment in the UK. *Sociology* 50(6): 1072–1088.

Putnam, R. D., Feldstein, L., & Cohen, D. J. (2003). Better together: Restoring the American Community. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Rabbitt, M., Coleman, J. A., & Smith, M. D. (2017). “Who is the world food insecure? New evidence from the food and agriculture Organization. Food insecurity Experience Scale.” World development. Vol. 93 pp 402-412.

Rautenbach, E., & Crowley, J*.* (2021).Qualitative Data Analysis Method, Grand Coach, an online text. <https://gradcoach.com/author/djgcred35235589/page>

## Reddy, G., & Dam, R. M. V. (2020). Food, culture, and Identity in multicultural societies:

## Insights from Singapore. [Appetite](https://www.sciencedirect.com/journal/appetite) [Vol 149](https://www.sciencedirect.com/journal/appetite/vol/149/suppl/C), 1, 104633 Science Direct.

## Appetite journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/appet

Reed, H. (2018). Forced Migration and Undocumented Migration and Development Institute for Demographic Research: United Nations Expert Group meeting to review and appraise the program of action of the international conference on population and development. New York.

Regassa, N., & Stoecker, B. J. (2012). “Household food insecurity and hunger among households in Sidama district, southern Ethiopia” *Public Health Nutrition*, 15(7):1276-1283.

Reich, J. A. (2021). Power, Positionality, and the Ethic of Care in Qualitative

Research Qualitative Sociology 44:575–581 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-021-09500-4>

Ridsdel, J. (2014). Adolescence, food crisis, and migration Review issue 45 www.fmreview.org/crisis

Risvik, E., Rødbotten M., & Veflen, N. O. (2006). Cross-cultural dimensions in food choice: Europe, *Understanding Consumers of Food products* Cambridge, England: Woodhead Publishing Ltd.

Ritzema, R. S., Frelat, R., Douxchamps, S., Silvestri, S., Rufino, M. C., Herrero, M. (2017). Is production intensification likely to make farm households’ food adequate? A simple food availability analysis across East and West Africa smallholder farming systems. Food Security. 9, 115–131. doi: 10.1007/s12571-016-0638-y

Roberts, J. A., Manolis, C., & Tanner, J. (2003). Family structure, materialism, and compulsive buying. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 31(3), 300–311.

Rogaia, M. A. (2002).Life in Khartoum: Probing Forced Migration and Cultural Change Among War-Displaced Southern Sudanese Women. The Anthropology of Contemporary Issues

<https://www.amazon.co.uk/Wanderings-Anthropology-Contemporary>

Roth, F., Thum, A., (2010). Does Intangible Capital Affect Economic Growth? CEPS Work. Doc.

Ruegger, S. (2019).Refugees, ethnic power relations, and civil conflict in the country of asylum. Journal of Peace Research 56(1): 42–57.

Rush, T., Irwin, J. D., Stitt, L. W., & He, M. (2007). Food insecurity and dietary intake of immigrant food bank users. Canadian Journal of Dietetic Practice and Research, 73 68(2), 73-78.

Russell, J., Flood, V., Yeatman, H., & Mitchell, P. (2014). Prevalence and risk factors of food insecurity among a cohort of older Australians. The Journal of Nutrition, 18(1), 3-7

Ruta, G., Hamilton, K. (2007). The capital approach to sustainability. In: Atkinson, G., Dietz, S., Neumayer, E. (Eds.), Handbook of Sustainable Development, pp. 45–62.

Sadiddin, A. A., Cattaneo, M. C., & Miller. M. (2019). “Food insecurity as a determinant of international migration: evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa”, *Food Security*, 11(3):515-530.

Saleh, R. A., Mustapha, S. B & Burabe, B. I. (2016).Analysis of Women Farmers’ Participation in Agricultural Activities in Konduga Local Government Area of Borno State, Nigeria American-Eurasian J. Agric. & Environ. Sci., 16 (1): 119-125. ISSN 1818-6769 DOI: 10.5829/idosi.aejaes.2016.16.1.12771

Sanginga, P.C., Kamugisha, R.N., Martin, A.M., (2007). The dynamics of social capital and conflict management in multiple resource regimes: a case of the southwestern highlands of Uganda. Ecol. Soc. 12, 6.

Sarzin, Z. (2017). Stocktaking of Global Forced Displacement Data Fragility, Conflict, and Violence Cross-Cutting Solution Area February world bank group policy research working paper 7985.

Satia, J. (2010). Dietary acculturation and the nutrition transition: an overview. Applied Physiology Nutrition & Metabolism, 35, 219–223

Savun, B., & Gineste, C. (2019). From protection to persecution: Threat environment and refugee scapegoating. Journal of Peace Research 56(1): 88–102.

Schapendonk, J. (2015). “What if networks move? Dynamic social networking in the context of African migration to Europe”, Population, Space and Place, 21(8): 809–819. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1860>

Scharlach, A. E. (2009). Creating aging-friendly communities. Generations, 33(2), 5–11.

Schneider, J. A. (2007). Connections and disconnections between civic engagement and social capital in community-based non-profits. Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 36(4), 572–597. Doi:10.1177/0899764006297236

Schuller, T. (2004). Three capitals. A framework. Routledge Resources online.

Ebook ISBN: 9780203390818 P. 23

<Https://www.taylorfrancis.com/.../three-capital-tom-schuller>

[Schweitzer](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-4020-8567-3_7#auth-Robert-Schweitzer), R., & Steel, Z. (2008).Researching Refugees: Methodological and Ethical Considerations. Doing cross-cultural research Volume 34,

87-101., ISBN: 978-1-4020-8566-6

Scott, A. (2000). The cultural economy of cities. London: Sage.

[Seligman, H. R.](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11606-007-0192-6#auth-Hilary_K_-Seligman), [Andrew. B. B.](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11606-007-0192-6#auth-Andrew_B_-Bindman),  [Eric V.](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11606-007-0192-6#auth-Eric-Vittinghoff),  [Alka M. K.,](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11606-007-0192-6#auth-Alka_M_-Kanaya) & [Margot B. K.](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11606-007-0192-6#auth-Margot_B_-Kushel) (2007). Food Insecurity is Associated with Diabetes Mellitus: Results from the National Health Examination and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) 1999–2002 [Journal of General Internal Medicine](https://link.springer.com/journal/11606)

Shakya, Y. B., Guruge, S., Hynie, M., Htoo, S., Akbari, A., Jandu, B., Murtaza, R., Spasevski, N B., & Foster, J., (2014). Newcomer refugee youth as “resettlements champions” for their families: Vulnerability, resilience, and employment. In Simich L., and Anderman, L., (eds). Promoting strength and mental health among resettled refugees and forced migrants (131-154). Springer <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7923-5-9>.

Sharkey, J. R. (2011). Food security in older adults. Journal of Nutrition in Gerontology and Geriatrics, 30(2), 103-104.

Sharkey, J. R., Dean, W. R., & Johnson, C. M. (2011). Country of birth is associated with inadequate food security among Mexican American older adults living in colonies along the South Texas border with Mexico. Journal of Nutrition in Gerontology and Geriatrics, 30(2), 187-200

Sheehan M., (2014). Human Resources Management and Performance: Evidence from small and medium scale firms. International Business Journal, 32(5): 545-570. DOI 10.1177/0266242612465454

Sheri, D. W., Sera, L. Y., Craig, R C., Margot, B. K., Alexander C. T., Phyllis C T., Hatcher, A. M., Frongillo, A. F., & Bangsberg, D. R. (2011). A conceptual framework for understanding the bidirectional links between food insecurity and HIV/AIDS1–4

Shultz M. J., & Garfin, D. R., Espinel, Z., Araya, R., Oquendo, M A., Wainberg, M L., Chaskel, R., Gaviria, S L., Ordóñez, A E., Espinola, M., Wilson, F E., García, N M., & Ceballos, A. M. G., Garcia-Barcena, Y., Verdeli, H., & Neria, Y. (2014). Internally Displaced “Victims of Armed Conflict” in Colombia: The Trajectory and Trauma Signature of Forced Migration *Curr Psychiatry Rep* (2014) 16:475 DOI 10.1007/s11920-014-0475-7.”

Sidenvall, B., Nydahl, M., & Fjellström, C. (2001). Managing food shopping and cooking: the experiences of older Swedish women. Aging and Society, 21(2), 151-168

Siew-Peng, L. (2015). "Eating Solo: Food Practices of Older Hong Kong Chinese Migrants in England.” Food and Foodways. **23:3**: 210–230.

Silove, D. (2014). The Adapt model: A conceptual framework for mental health and psychosocial programming in psychosocial settings. *Intervention, 11,* 237-248

Sleijpen, M., Haagen, J., Mooren, T., & Kleber, J R. (2016) Growing from experience: an exploratory study of posttraumatic growth in adolescent refugees, European Journal of Psychotraumatology, 7:1, 28698, DOI: 10.3402/pt.v7.28698 To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.3402/ejpt.v7.28698

Simeon, J. C. (2017). A New Protection Orientation and Framework for Refugees and Other Forced Migrants. Laws, MDPI 6, 30; DOI: 10.3390/laws6040030

Smith, M. D., Rabbitt, M. P., & Coleman-Jensen, A. (2017). Who is the world’s food insecure? New evidence from the food and agriculture organization’s food insecurity experience scale. World Development, 93, 402–412.

Smith, M. D., Kassa, W., & Winters, P. (2017). Assessing Food Insecurity in Latin America and the Caribbean using FAO’s Food Insecurity Experience. *Food Policy, Vol. 71 pp48-61* Doi: 10.1016/j.foodpol.2017.07.005

Soilita, N. Z., Kafrouni, R., Bouard, S., Apithy, L., (2021). Do cultural and social capital matter for economic performance? An empirical investigation of tribal agriculture in New Caledonia Ecological Economics 182 (2021) 106933. Journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ecolecon.

Strange, D., Takarangi, M. K. T. (2012). False memories for missing aspects of traumatic events. Acta Psychol. 141:322–6.10.1016/j.actpsy.2012.08.005

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. M. (1990). Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques. Sage Publications, Inc.

Stuart, F. (2017). Introspection, positionality, and the self as research instruments toward a model of abductive reflexivity. In *Approaches to Ethnography: Analysis and representation in participant* *observations*, eds. Colin Jerolmack and Shamus Khan, 211–237. New York: Oxford University Press.

Suerbaum, M. (2018). Defining the other to masculinize oneself: Syrian men’s negotiations of masculinity during displacement in Egypt. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 43(3), 665-686. <https://doi.org/10.1086/695303>

Sutton, D. E. (2001). *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*.New York.

Talarico, T., & Moore, C. (2015). Inclusion to exclusion: women in Syria: 30 Emory international review 213 https://scholarworks.law.ubalt.edu/all-fac/974.

Tamara. D., Acevedo-Garcia, D., Salkeld, J., Lindsay, A. C., Subramanian, S. V., & Peterson, K. E., (2007). Life course, immigrant status, and acculturation among low-income mothers in food purchasing and preparation. Department of Society, Human Development and Health, Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, MA, USA: Public Health Nutrition: 10(4), 396–404 DOI: 10.1017/S1368980007334058

Tarasuk, V. (2001). Discussion paper on household and individual food insecurity.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/245946029

Tarfa, B. D., Amapu, I. Y., Kayode, D. C., Arunah, U. L., Shero, I. A., Yakubu, A. A., Adeogun, N. A., Bakodo, T. T., Raymond, I. P., Marinus, U. F., Dauda, H., & Ogbodo, O. U.(2017).Optimizing Fertilizer Use within the Context of Integrated Soil Fertility Management in Nigeria.[*https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318654369*](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318654369)

Taylor, J. E., Filipski, M.J., Alloush, M., Gupta, A., Valdes, R. I. R., & Gonzalez-Estrada, E. (2016). The economic impact of refugees. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1604566113>.

Tegegne, A. D., & Penker. M. (2016). “Determinants of rural out-migration in Ethiopia: Who stays and who goes?”, *Demographic Research*, 35:1011- 1044

Teklu, T. (1992). Household response to declining food Entitlement. The Experience in Western Sudan. Quarterly journal of international agriculture 31(3) 247-261.

Temple, J. B. (2006). Food insecurity among older Australians: Prevalence, correlates, and well-being. Australasian Journal on Ageing, 25(3), 158-163

Temple, J. B. (2008). Severe and moderate forms of food insecurity in Australia: Are they distinguishable? Aust. J. Soc. Issues, 43, 649–668.

Temple, J. B (2018). The Association between Stressful Events and food insecurity: Cross-Sectional Evidence from Australia. International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health. Doi:10.3390/ijerph 15112333 [www.mdpi.com/journal/ijerph](http://www.mdpi.com/journal/ijerph).

Thielemann, E. (2004). Does Policy Matter? On Governments’ Attempts to Control Unwanted Migration London School of Economics working paper 112

Thomas, W. H., & Blanchard, J. M. (2009). Moving beyond place: Aging in community.

Generations, 33(2), 12–17.

Thome. K., Meade, B., Daugherty, K., & Christensen, C. (2018). International food assessment, GFA-29. Department of Agriculture and Economic Research services.

Tikkanen, I. (2007). Maslow’s hierarchy and food tourism in Finland: Five cases: British food journal 109(9) 721-743

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21632324.2018.1459244>

Tori, L. D., Andrew F. B., Robert S. K., Klein, M. D. (2013). Food Insecure Families: Description of Access and Barriers to Food from one Pediatric Primary Care Center J Community Health DOI 10.1007/s10900-013-9731-8

Tremblay, R., & Tremblay, D. G. (2010). La classe créative selon Richard Florida: un paradigme urbain plausible? Québec-Rennes: Presses de l’université du Québec and Presses universitaires de Rennes. <http://www.puq.ca/media/produits/ documents/456\_D2509\_FPR.pdf>.

Tumen, S. (2016). The economic impact of Syrian refugees on host countries: Quasi-experimental evidence from Turkey. American Economic Review 106(5): 456–460.

Ukoha, O.O., Mejeha, R. O., & Nte, I. N. (2007). Determinants of Farmers Welfare in Ebonyi State, Nigeria. *Pakistan Journal of Social Science* 4 (3):351-354.

UNHCR.(2021).United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees. Global trends: Forced displacement in 2020. https://www.unhcr.org/60b638e37/unhcr-globaltrends-2020.

UNICEF. (2021). United Nations Children’s Fund. Turkey Humanitarian Situation Report No. 41. https://www.unicef.org/documents/turkey-humanitariansituation-report-no-41-syria-refugees-1-jan-31-mar-2021.

UNHCR. (2017) Global trends: Forced displacement in 2016. Geneva.

UNSD. (2014). "Report of Statistics Norway and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on statistics on refugees and internally displaced persons." United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2014.

Uphoff, N, (2000). Understanding Social Capital: Learning from The Analysis and Experience of Participation, in: Social Capital: A Multifaceted Perspective, pp. 215–252.

Uphoff, N. and Wijayaratha. (2000). Demonstrated Benefits from Social Capital: The Productivity of Farmer Organizations in Gal Oya, Sri Lanka. [*World Development*](https://www.researchgate.net/journal/World-Development-0305-750X)28(11):1875-1890 DOI:[10.1016/S0305-750X(00)00063-2](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(00)00063-2)

Vaismoradi. M., Jones. J., Turunen, H., & Snelgrove, S. (2016). Theme development in qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis. *Journal of Nursing Education* *and Practice*, vol.*6 No.*5,100-110, https://doi.org/10.5430/jnep.v6n5p100

Vaismoradi, M., Turunen, H., Bondas, T. (2013). Content analysis and thematic analysis: Implications for conducting a qualitative descriptive study. Nursing & Health Sciences. 15(3): 398-405. PMid: 23480423 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/nhs.12048>

Valentine, G. (2005). Geography and ethics: Moral geographies? Ethical commitment in research and teaching. *Progress in Human Geography*, *29*(4), 483–487. <https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132505ph561pr>

Vallianatos, H., Raine, K. (2008). "Consuming Food and Constructing Identities among Arabic and South Asian Immigrant Women.” Food, Culture & Society. 11 (3): 355–373. [doi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Doi_(identifier)):[10.2752/175174408X347900](https://doi.org/10.2752%2F175174408X347900). [S2CID](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S2CID_(identifier)) [155356504](https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:155356504).

VanDerVelde, M., & Van-Naerssen, T. (2015). Mobility and Migration Choices: Threshold to Crossing Borders. Routledge, Netherland.

Veale, A., Shanahan, F., Hizazi, A., & Osman, Z. (2019). Engaging men to promote resilient communities among Syrian refugees in Lebanon. Intervention, 18(1), 52-60. <https://doi.org/10.4103/INTV.INTV_55_18>.

Vidal, S., & Baxter, J. (2018). Residential relocations and academic performance of Australian Children: A longitudinal analysis and life course studies. Doi: 10.14301/LLCS.V912.435

Ville, A. S., Tsun, J.Y.P., Sen, A., Bui, A., Melgar-Quiñonez, H. A. (2019). Food security and the Food Insecurity Experience Scale (FIES): Ensuring progress by 2030. International Society for Plant Pathology and Springer Nature B.V. 2019 Food Security (2019) 11:483–491 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12571-019-00936->

Vonnahme, L. A., Lankau, E. W., Ao, T., Shetty, S., Cardozo, B. L. (2015). Factors associated with symptoms of depression among Bhutanese Refugees in the United States. J *Immigr Minor Health; 17(6):*1705-1714. PMID: 25348425.

Walk, F. (2018). Global Slavery Index (4th Edition)

Weine, S. M., Ware, N., Hakizimana, L., Tugenberg, T., Currie, M., Dahnweih, G., & Wulu, J. (2014). Fostering resilience: Protective agents, resources, and mechanisms for adolescent refugee’s psychosocial well-being. *Adolescent Psychiatry, 4*(3)*,* 164-176. <https://dx.doi.org/10.2174/221067660403140912162410>

Welsh, E. (2002). Dealing with data: Using Nvivo in Qualitative data analysis process. Qualitative social research Vol. 3 No 2.

Widmer, E. D. (2010). Family configurations: A structural approach to family diversity.Ashgate Publishing.

Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood.

Wolfe, W. S., Olson, C. M., Kendall, A., & Frongillo, E. A. (1996). Understanding food insecurity in the elderly: A conceptual framework. The Journal of Nutrition, 28(2), 92-100.

Woltil, J. (2012). The impact of emotional support on elder food security. Sociation Today. Retrieved from <http://www.ncsociology.org/sociationtoday/v102/elder.htm>

Woolcock. M. (1998). Social capital and Economic Development, towards a Theoretical Synthesis and policy framework. Theory and Society 27(2), 151-208.

Wooll, M. (2022). Discover the type of capital that is most valuable in today’s workplace. <https://www.betterup.com/blog/social-capital-vs-culural-capital>

Wright, L., Nancarrow, C., & Kwok, P. (2001). Food taste preferences and cultural influences on consumption.*British Food Journal* Vol. 103, No. 5, pp. 348-357

Yalim, A. C., & Kim. I. (2018). Mental health and psychosocial needs of Syrian refugees: A literature review and future directions. Advances in Social Work, 18(3), 833-852. <https://doi.org/10.18060/21633>.

Zelinsky, W. (1971). The hypothesis of the mobility transition. *Geographical Review* 61, 219–49

Zhang, X. S., Spiller, m. W., Finch, B. K., Qin, Y. (2014). "[Estimating Labour Trafficking among Unauthorized Migrant Workers in San Diego](https://ideas.repec.org/a/sae/anname/v653y2014i1p65-86.html)," [The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science](https://ideas.repec.org/s/sae/anname.html), Vol. 653(1), pages 65-86, May. DOI: 10.1177/0002716213519237

**APPENDIX 1**

**INTERVIEWED QUESTION**

1. Would you please tell us about yourself and all life events that characterized your

migration to date?

2. What were your fears and concerns while migrating?

3. How would you describe your access to food before the conflicts and after your migration?

4. How would you describe your experience of hunger and lack of food availability? In addition, how did you overcome these experiences?

5. What strategies have you adopted to overcome the problems of hunger and lack of food while migrating?

6. Would you like to tell us about the new knowledge or skills acquired during and after forced migration that has assisted you in making food available to your household and how it has strengthened your food accessibility?

7. Would you like to describe any extraordinary action you took to have helped you cope with hunger and food insufficiency for the period you migrated?

8. How would you describe the contributions of your household members to making food available during and after migration?

9. How would you describe your decision to migrate and why you chose your current place?

10. How would you describe migration infrastructure and other factors that ease your hardship? If not available, what do you think should be done to help people like you who have been forced to migrate unplanned?

11. What problems would you say persisted throughout your migration and the consequences of such issues on your social life and well-being? How were the problems managed?

12. What life events would you describe having influenced your migration process significantly, and how has it affected your food accessibility during and after migration?

13. Would you describe such life events as having positive or negative effects on your accessibility to food and why?

14. How would you describe the differences between your own culture and the culture of your current host community? Make the differences, and if there are, reflect on your food accessibility.

15. How would you describe your food ways and the changes that have occurred since you got to your new place?

16. How would you describe the relationships between food insecurity and forced migration? Would you like to return to your place of origin in the future?

**Appendix 2**

**Codebook**

| Name | Description | Files | References |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Adaptive Strategies | Participants use their acquired skills for producing items and selling to get money to buy food, e.g., Farming, Making Soaps, Vaseline, Knitting Caps, and Sand Mining | 20 | 52 |
| Adoption of Food Strategy | Migrant’s assessment of the various strategies used to access food and the level of satisfaction derived from such strategies | 15 | 30 |
| Ailments & food access | Migrants view and understanding how incidents of illness affected their access to food during migration | 18 | 39 |
| Attitudes & Food-ways | Migrants’ attitudes and understanding of changes in their food ways and how it influences their food accessibility | 13 | 19 |
| Birth & food access | Migrants believe and understanding how new birth into the family reduces or increases their accessibility to food | 9 | 26 |
| Changes in Social activities | Changes in the social interactions of the migrants over the years along the trajectory | 17 | 47 |
| Complex Consumption Strategies | Converting Fixed Capital such as Land, Machines, and working tools to Liquid Cash to buy food | 3 | 10 |
| Crisis Causes | The causes of the violent crisis and significant conflict resulting in forced migration | 20 | 35 |
| Culture & Food Access | Migrant’s understanding of culture and its possible consequences on food accessibility | 25 | 48 |
| Death & Food accessibility | Migrants believe and understanding how the death of family members reduces or increases their food accessibility | 12 | 40 |
| Decisions determinants | The factors that determined their decisions at every point they moved or stayed | 25 | 49 |
| Demographic Information | Demographic information of the participants | 25 | 39 |
| Divorce & Separation | Migrants believe and understanding how divorce and separation of couples reduce or increase their food accessibility | 8 | 14 |
| Family Contributions to Food accessibility | The contributions of each member of the family to food accessibility, the role each played in having food available along the migration trajectory | 25 | 34 |
| Fears and Concerns during Migration | Thoughts and concerns of migrants during their movements and possible access to food and other help required | 25 | 42 |
| Food Source After | Participant’s Source of food after migration, their current occupation, and how it influences their food accessibility | 16 | 38 |
| Food Sources Before Crisis | Participant’s Sources of food before the conflict, how well they feed before the conflict, and how their occupation influences their accessibility to food before the crisis | 25 | 42 |
| Food ways & food access | Migrant’s Understanding of food ways and how changes in their food ways have affected them in accessing food in their new place | 25 | 54 |
| Income Before Crisis | Participant’s level of income before the conflict, how it affects their food accessibility, and their income level after the conflict | 10 | 14 |
| Indirect adaptive Strategies | Participants render services by using hired tools that require that they deliver a fixed amount of money to the owners of the devices and then use the remaining money left for buying food, e.g., Tailoring, hairdressing, taxi services, and motorbike services | 17 | 32 |
| Job Loss & Job Created & food access | Migrant’s explanation of how the loss of job has affected their food accessibility | 13 | 35 |
| Marriage | Participants that married or remarried | 4 | 13 |
| Migrants Track and Wellbeing | This highlighted how they move from one point to another and how they manage their welfare | 23 | 54 |
| Migration Infrastructure & Food | Migrant’s Perception of migration infrastructure and How it has assisted them in accessing food and improved their wellbeing over the Years | 24 | 60 |
| Multi-approach Strategies | Migrants set up food businesses so that they will make money and at the same time feed family members from the business directly, e.g., trading in foodstuff and setting up Restaurants | 15 | 38 |
| NGO & food accessibility | Assistance and contributions of Non-Governmental Organizations in providing food and other basic needs for the migrants | 10 | 17 |
| Perception Of Hunger | Migrant’s thoughts and understanding of hunger and food shortages during the migration process | 24 | 63 |
| Persisted Problems throughout | The problems that persisted throughout the migration period | 25 | 40 |
| Proxy Approach Strategies | Migrants who are Widows, Divorcees, and Widowers that re-married to be able to feed their children and Migrants sending their children to go and work and bring money for food or to beg on the street and bring whatever they are given to the house whether cooked or raw or money. Migrants staying in IDP sometimes to access food or depend on the community food bank | 21 | 64 |
| Psycho-social effect of hunger | Psycho-traumatic experiences of the migrants on hunger and food insecurity over the years as expressed by the migrants | 22 | 71 |
| Regions & food access | Migrant’s explanation of how differences in the geographical regions and where they migrated contributed to differences in the kinds of food available to them at any point in time | 10 | 14 |
| Relationships Between Forced Migration and Food insecurity | All the comments on the relationships between forced migration and food insecurity during forced migration along the trajectory | 24 | 28 |
| Return or None return migrants | Migrants willing to return to where they migrated from or not want to return and why they want or do not want to return | 23 | 24 |
| Saving of money Strategy | Money saved before crisis periods is used to buy food | 13 | 24 |
| Simple Consumption Strategies | Simple consumption strategies such as skipping meals, searching for wild fruits, hunting, patronizing cheap food vendors, working for people on their farms in exchange for food only | 25 | 89 |
| Skills after migration | Skills acquisitions during and after migration and how it changed their food accessibility | 25 | 57 |
| Suggested Solutions to food insecurity | Possible Solutions to food insecurity among the forced migrants in the country as expressed by the migrants | 17 | 21 |

**APPENDIX 3 WORD CLOUD**

Participants Abraham wf

A picture containing text

Description automatically generated

Participants Abubakar wf

A picture containing text

Description automatically generated

Participants Buba Hajji wf

Text

Description automatically generated