Understanding IDPs in Nigerian Cities

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Researching Internal Displacement

Abstract

This research investigates the experiences of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in four Nigerian cities: Lagos, Port Harcourt, Ibadan, and Onitsha. It looks at life before, during, and after the migration to the current area, as well as the realities of modern life. This provides it with a broad viewpoint. There are similarities and differences in each of the four cities. Internally Displaced Persons find it more difficult to settle and integrate into society in Lagos and Port Harcourt, although it seems to be less difficult in Onitsha and Ibadan. There is widespread resistance to moveable IDP camps around the cities, citing a variety of risks, including ethnic, religious, territorial, and security concerns. As a direct consequence of these policies, IDPs face oppression and marginalisation, which might manifest as restricted access to the city, a settlement plan that encourages segregation, and other forms of discrimination. This study accentuates the need of understanding the processes and patterns of unassisted settlement for mobile IDPs in urban settings, particularly in cities across the Global South, with Nigeria having the most severe data gap. It emphasises the need of gaining a better understanding of IDPs as a critical component of long-term solutions for humanitarian response and sustainable urbanisation.

Keywords

IDPs: cities; self-settlement; integration; urbanisation

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1. Introduction

In the past decade, there has been a heightened focus on the intricate nature and extent of the movements and settlements of displaced populations in urban areas. The rise in urban populations is closely linked to the expanding worldwide humanitarian predicament resulting from coerced displacement and the changing nature of such crises. This has led to millions of individuals living in a state of prolonged transience, commonly known as protraction, as defined by Sanyal (2014) and Amrith (2017).

As per the report by UNHCR (2020), there has been a twofold increase in global displacement rates over the past two decades. The estimated number of displaced individuals has risen from 41 million in 2010 to 79.5 million in 2021. Around 85% of the populace dwells in nations situated in the Global South, where the phenomenon of displacement is transpiring either within the same country or across different countries within the region. Mohammed's (2022) study reveals that despite the availability of humanitarian aid in camps, internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Borno, Nigeria, opt to relocate to urban areas. This phenomenon can be attributed to the unfavourable self-image that IDPs hold of the encampment.

The existing body of evidence-primarily focuses on the migration of displaced individuals from the Global South to urban areas in the North (Crisp, 2012), with a particular emphasis on those who have been granted refugee status, while those who remain displaced within their own country and are officially classified as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) have received comparatively less attention. According to Ferris (2012), most IDP data focuses on IDPs living in humanitarian camps. As Liman and Ladan (2021) point out, this particular group of IDPs is characterised as "camped" or "encamped," ignoring mobility IDPs who migrate to metropolitan areas.

There are now continuing arguments over the terminology used to characterise internally displaced people who migrate to urban areas, with some researchers preferring to refer to them as urban IDPs (Fielden, 2008; Cantor and Apollo, 2020; Roberts, 2022). This issue happens in urban settings when the population of destitute people exposed to involuntary relocation falls within the UNHCR's (2007) designation of IDPs. Numerous comparative studies on this group, the local urban poor demographic (Fielden, 2009; Cantor and Apollo, 2020), and internally displaced individuals within cities (Roberts, 2022) have been conducted. These analyses suggest that IDPs who relocate to cities are not uniform and have distinct advantages and disadvantages when compared to the latter group.

This population suffers more than urban poor people. Lack of governmental support often leads to poverty, marginalisation, and worse labour market prospects (Jacobsen, 2011). As revealed by earlier research (Owoaje et al., 2016), women, children, and the elderly are disproportionately impacted by this condition. The absence of a humanitarian response in urban settings for IDPs who are mobile has been observed to frequently result in the entrapment of these IDPs in a cycle of exclusion and marginalisation, as noted by Landau (2014) and Aysa-Lastra (2011). This cycle may prove to be inescapable for the affected individuals, as highlighted by Cantor (2020).

The authors posit that these inclinations augment their susceptibilities, rendering them the most vulnerable demographic among city inhabitants. However, as Fielden (2008) and Haysom (2013) point out, there is a lack of knowledge about the strategies this demographic uses to navigate their settlement, integration, and other forms of urban resilience. Despite the efforts of Haysom (2012), Kirbyshire et al. (2019), and Cantor and Apollo (2020) to shed light on this issue, the available scientific data remains limited.

This has significant implications for the humanitarian response. This demonstrates that although there is an intersection and overlap between the nexus of internal displacement and urbanisation, there are also significant gaps in the data. What are the actualities of urban existence for IDPs in Nigeria who resort to self-initiated measures by relocating to urban regions as a reaction to prolonged displacement?

2. IDPs and Urbanisation Nexus

The identification of IDPs residing in urban areas poses a challenge. In contrast to IDPs residing in conventional camp environments, where they are formally segregated from nearby communities and housed in identifiable areas. The process of estimating the overall population of IDPs residing in urban areas, commonly referred to as 'IDP urban profiling', presents a significant challenge due to factors such as limited visibility and inadequate policy backing. Urban areas often lack formal organisation and support, rendering them inconspicuous and challenging to distinguish (Crisp, 2012; Fielden, 2008; Cantor, 2020). The demographic group consisting of urban residents who are considered to be the most impoverished and susceptible to harm has yet to be fully accounted for within the comprehensive urban data.

Urbanists are captivated by the concept of "big data" pertaining to cities, which includes microdata contextualising the experiences of local urban residents who are displaced as a result of forced evictions. The manner in which IDPs adapt to urban living and address their fundamental necessities, as well as the effects of their resilience strategies on urban areas and local communities, lack empirical substantiation (Landau, 2014). It is a common occurrence in literature to assume that IDPs are assimilated into pre-existing urban slums and informal settlements upon their arrival (Olarenwaju, 2019). Does this hold true for all IDPs?

Recent findings suggest that the persistent omission of this particular demographic group from large-scale urban data sets is having an impact on the development of cities that has yet to be fully comprehended (Landau, 2013). Roberts and Okanya (2018) discovered that IDPs residing in urban areas are the predominant demographic responsible for establishing novel informal settlement areas in Lagos, Nigeria. Consequently, comprehending the emerging themes of IDP urban resilience (Haysom, 2013) within the broader context of urbanisation is necessary for the integration of IDPs into urbanisation processes.

The absence of a humanitarian response policy for IDPs in urban areas has been a subject of scholarly debate. While certain scholars have presented the settlement process as a formalised intervention with predetermined indicators, others contend that numerous IDPs self-resettle and integrate without any formal assistance. These processes unfold in a series of events for which

indicators have yet to be established (Polzer, 2009). Moretti (2023) examines the primary obstacles encountered by the Libyan government and its international partner agencies in establishing sustainable solutions for IDPs in Libya. The author attributes this challenge to a dearth of consensus among key stakeholders across different levels of government, non-governmental organisations, and international community stakeholder groups.

Crisp (2012) establishes a connection between this disparity and the consequences for IDPs who reside in urban localities. The author cites Polzer and Moretti's viewpoints as the principal rationales for the reluctance of governments and humanitarian organisations to tackle the issue of mobile IDPs dwelling in urban areas. To comprehend this phenomenon, it is necessary to investigate the tangible, geographical, communal, and interpersonal framework. This includes analysing the interdependence of individuals, societies, and environments, as well as the associations between power dynamics and the frameworks of diverse interest groups (Coulter, Ham, and Findlay, 2013).

3. Urban IDPs and Integration

Some academics describe "local integration" as achieving the goal of absorption and adaptation to a new context. Jacobsen (2001), for example, refers to this de facto integration as "the lived, everyday experience of forced migrants is that of being part of the local community "of de facto integration, in which "the lived, everyday experience of forced migrants is that of being part of the local community." Access to basic necessities and services, equal freedom and rights, as well as socioeconomic and cultural integration and contact with the local host community, are all part of this. From this vantage point, Jacobsen examines the relevance of formal equal legal rights as a prerequisite for successful integration, since de facto integrated IDPs remain vulnerable outsiders without them.

Crisp's seminal paper (2004) focuses on the "assumption that IDPs will remain indefinitely in their new location by finding ways to assimilate and integrate; contrasting the assumption of temporariness inherent in forced mobility of the displaced with the precepts of potential returns and repatriation programmes" (Crisp, 2012). While data for structural settlement and integration are available, data for unassisted integration and self-settlement of IDPs in urban areas are scarce (Haysom, 2013). More recent evidence from Ethiopia, Uganda, and Kenya (Easton-Calabria and Wood, 2022) contends that a lack of data on mobile IDPs living in cities is hampered by policy positions and priorities; nations, whose humanitarian interventions are limited to the encampment, rural resettlement, and repatriation, are unlikely to collect data on this demographic.

There are various reasons for this; the causative variables have been attributed to a variety of circumstances. According to Polzer, the integration of IDPs in urban settings is a difficult process that necessitates agreements among many stakeholder groups. However, a key impediment is the lack of a decentralised humanitarian policy to facilitate such coordination (Moretti, 2023). Polzer (2009) connects this difference to the "temporary" notion of forced relocation and the mobility of the displaced to metropolitan regions. Furthermore, from a policy standpoint, the perception of "durable" solutions is primarily a structural and institutional

construct that lacks clearly defined phases or linear perspectives on the temporariness and reliability of their current life circumstances, which are frequently permanent in nature.

Obot and Edwards (2016) identify bureaucratic protection structures as a primary impediment to comprehending this group in cities. This author contends that state and local administrations are averse to structural settlement and integration of IDPs in cities because of the strongly ingrained attitude to humanitarianism as a centralised framework, where interventions are camp-based and hence money is limited. And it is for this reason that IDPs are seen as a burden to urban structures. Recommending that comprehending urban IDPs and their self-sufficiency methods needs a bottom-up approach guided and informed by IDPs, city administration, and their local host communities.

Similarly, self-sufficiency and urban integration of IDPs necessitate a more nuanced investigation that takes into account migratory patterns and processes, the driving factor of such movement, as well as the multifaceted, context-specific, and emerging multiple endpoints; there is no unilinear pattern to this form of settlement and integration. Recognising these obstacles, we undertake a detailed examination of IDPs residing in four Nigerian urbanising cities. By taking a comprehensive approach to the study population's lives before and after relocation to the present area. In the following sections, we offer the findings, but first, we give background for understanding the current status of displacement, interventions, and forced migration of IDPs in Nigeria.

This is critical because, on the one hand, the relocation of IDPs to urban areas establishes cities as an essential component of long-term solutions to internal displacement. Bridging the current critical humanitarian gap, on the other hand, improves the framing of urbanisation within an inclusive development framework that includes IDPs relocating to cities. This research focuses on IDPs who were displaced in another region and relocated to Nigerian cities. It does this by investigating how this group aids their own relocation, the process of such movement as well as the dynamics of unsupported local integration.

4. Contextualising IDPs in Nigeria: Setting the Scene

Internal displacement in Nigeria has been a result of various factors, including inter-ethnic unrest, civil war, and other related events, which have occurred since the 1950s, during the country's struggle for independence. Contemporary displacement in Nigeria has predominantly arisen from conflicts pertaining to land and territorial demarcations, inter-communal religious tensions, and acts of terrorism. Currently, the primary factor causing displacement that has endured over time is the insurgency of the Boko Haram[1] terrorists in the north-eastern[2] region of the nation (Eweka & Olusegun, 2016). The Boko Haram insurrection commenced in 2002, however, it gained impetus in 2009 subsequent to the Nigerian government's apprehension and execution of its leader, Mohammed Yusuf (Imasuen, 2015).

[1] Boko Haram, officially known as Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād is an Islamic terrorist organisation based in northeastern Nigeria. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boko_Haram

[2] The northeast comprises six states: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_East_(Nigeria)

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 2022, Nigeria has the largest population of IDPs in sub-Saharan Africa, with an estimated figure of 3.1 million. This estimation solely encompasses the 40% of IDPs who reside in camps where this enumeration is conducted. The population data provided by the official IDP sources fails to incorporate the IDPs who refrain from residing in camps and instead rely on local social networks for assistance (Davis, 2012). Additionally, it does not account for those who relocate to urban regions.

The humanitarian response framework in Nigeria is a collaborative effort between the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), the National Commission for Refugees, Migrants, and IDPs (NCFRI), and various international partners including UNHCR and IOM. This framework prioritises the consolidation of collaborative endeavours within camps and adjacent host communities. A significant number of IDPs have relocated from camps to urban areas as a result of prolonged displacement, substandard living conditions, and instances of neglect and mistreatment, as reported by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in 2019 and Human Rights Watch in 2016.

The provision of humanitarian assistance is primarily limited to camps, leaving internally displaced persons who relocate to urban areas vulnerable and without protection. The limited body of literature pertaining to the concealed demographic of IDPs who reside beyond the confines of camps indicates that they are highly susceptible to various forms of maltreatment, such as unjustified confinement, sexual violence, monetary exploitation, prejudice, and subjugation within their recently established settlement societies (Owoaje, 2016; Olarenwaju, 2019; Kamta, 2021). The authors advocate for scientific investigation into the 60% of IDPs who are not residing in camps and remain unseen. The recent study conducted by Human Rights Watch in 2021 and 2022 emphasises the importance of recognising internally displaced persons who migrate to urban areas as a unique group that requires attention and discussion within the context of humanitarian efforts, forced migration, and urbanisation.

In Northeast Nigeria, IDPs often seek sanctuary in adjacent villages; Olarenwaju (2019) and Mohammed (2022) claim that this group avoids camps after displacement by moving to cities as the majority population. Yet, for more than a decade, the encampment has been the dominant type of settlement for conflict and insecurity-induced displacement in Nigeria's northeast. Following extended periods in camps, the Nigerian government and its development partners have recently begun the deconstruction of these humanitarian camps while also facilitating the repatriation of IDPs from camps as a core strategy for a long-term solution. This is despite the fact that terrorism, instability, and climate-related determinants of relocation are still prevalent in these areas. Human Rights Watch (2022a, 2022b) has criticised the policy in issue for its potential to expose vulnerable communities to safety and instability, as well as the enormous socioeconomic weaknesses of an already disadvantaged group. As a result, it may be argued that Nigeria's long-term solutions are ineffective and need a reconsideration of alternatives based on the reality of IDPs' self-help efforts in metropolitan areas.

Furthermore, there is a lack of comprehensive data on the population of IDPs living in cities, a demographic that Olarenwanju (2019) refers to as the "invisible majority." In the absence of

humanitarian aid, what strategies do IDPs employ when relocating to urban areas to address their basic needs and integrate into neighbouring societies in the absence of structured support?" This scoping exercise's key question is as follows: This research looks at the real experiences of internally displaced people (IDPs) in four Nigerian cities: Port Harcourt, Lagos, Onitsha, and Ibadan. The primary goal of this scoping research is to develop an empirical framework that takes into account the temporal, geographical, and settlement elements of internally displaced people (IDPs) in metropolitan settings.

Our method entails investigating personal contacts with internally displaced individuals (IDPs) who are mobile and staying in four Nigerian cities that are rapidly urbanising. Our study focuses on understanding IDPs' migratory patterns, the variables that influence their choice of cities, the urban circumstances they face, the coping techniques they utilise to deal with adversity, and the challenges involved with this sort of resettlement. The ultimate goal of this research is to determine the relationship between the aforementioned factors and their influence on the realisation or limitation of IDPs' entitlement to the city.

4.1 Study area rationale

Lagos is Africa's most populous metropolis, with an estimated population of 23.5 million (Wikipedia, 2018). Lagos is the seventh-largest economy in Africa (Kazeem, 2016), larger than the economies of forty-seven African nations, making it appealing to all types of migrants. Ibadan is the third largest city in Nigeria, located 138 kilometres from Lagos, with a population estimate of 3.5 million (Statista, 2022), while Port Harcourt is the fifth largest city in Nigeria's South-South region, with a population estimate of 3.3 million (World Population Review, 2021). Finally, according to the UN-Habitat (2012) study, the city of Onitsha in Nigeria's eastern area is one of the fastest-growing cities in the world. With a population of 1.5 million (Wikimedia, 2021), Onitsha is considered the entry point of eastern Nigeria; it has one of the strongest economies in Nigeria and the Sub-Saharan Africa area (UN-Habitat, 2012).

The basis for selecting cities is mostly based on population density, and all cities chosen are indicative of significant geopolitical zones in Nigeria with the greatest rates of migration and urbanisation. Collectively, these similarities provide a testing ground for investigating the various contexts of this complex form of migration and comprehending this group of city dwellers.

The primary goals of this exercise are (a) to develop a basic understanding of mobile IDPs in Nigerian cities; (b) to examine the target population's lived urban realities through an open-ended scope examination; (c) specifically, shelter and livelihood sources; and (d) to develop a specific entry point for the development of a PhD project in a specific city based on emerging rationale. This is the first empirical investigation of IDP urban migration in Nigeria.

4.2 Methodology

The study employs a research design and approach that combines both qualitative and quantitative methods. The study involved the administration of 145 surveys, out of which 107

were deemed suitable for analysis. Additionally, the research team conducted 25 interviews across the four cities under investigation.

The study's sample consisted of adult individuals who acted as representatives of their households. Although the primary focus of this study was IDPs, a considerable number of refugees from various African countries were discovered to be residing within the study population. This was an unintended finding resulting from the data sampling approach.
The study employs Braun and Clarke's (2006) research methodology to examine the preliminary encounter prior to displacement, the transformation and adjustment process during the placement, and the current state of affairs after displacement.

The approach employed is a multifactorial profiling methodology that takes into account various socio-cultural, economic, individual, household, and communal factors. The primary focus of this approach is on devising emergency response strategies, addressing basic needs, and promoting resilience practices. The qualitative extraction aimed to elicit diverse viewpoints and provide a platform for researchers to address any uncertainties regarding the subject matter. Additionally, it involved posing relevant inquiries to further investigate newly discovered data resulting from the survey tool.

Roberts and Okanya (2018) conducted an analysis of the socioeconomic impact of forced evictions in Lagos slums, during which they first identified the current particular population. This aforementioned study investigates the primary factors contributing to the emergence of new slums and informal settlements by utilising control clusters of emerging informal settlements. The study reveals that IDPs constituted the primary demographic group responsible for establishing novel informal settlements in Lagos.

The process of sample selection was initiated in Lagos, wherein the IDP communities were initially recognised at a well-attended rally called Bring Back Our Girls[3] (BBOG), in accordance with Levac's (2010) framework for investigating the unknown in scoping research. This is a campaign aimed at increasing visibility and awareness regarding the abduction of 276 girls from a secondary school in the Chibok community of Borno State in 2014 by the extremist group known as Boko Haram.

Following the establishment of connections and the cultivation of a rapport with the Chibok community in Lagos, initial interviews and unstructured conversations were conducted to categorise and contextualise current data on mobile IDPs residing in urban areas at the individual, household, and community levels. Subsequently, this information was utilised to establish the foundation of the survey and to track the IDPs in the remaining chosen urban areas based on their religious affiliation.

The involvement with the Lagos IDP community serves as the foundation for the use of a purposive sampling strategy. The group in Lagos informed the research area across cities; the group in Lagos and Port Harcourt requested anonymity owing to fear of forced evictions; and the group in Onitsha and Ibadan agreed to the disclosure of their present location in this report.

[3] Bring Back Our Girls is a diverse group of citizens advocating for speedy and effective search and rescue of all our abducted school girls in Chibok, Borno State in 2014. https://bringbackourgirls.ng/

At the community level, significant interviews were done with the chief community leader, officially known as the Sarkin[4], and a female leader from each city. To overcome language and cultural challenges, as well as to prevent ideological prejudice and distortion, the interviews were mediated by a Hausa-speaking post-graduate student team assistant selected from local universities in each location. Although the majority of the participants spoke Hausa (a northern Nigerian dialect), some combined broken English and the local dialect. The research assistant transcribed the native language interviews verbatim into English. Kruger's (2003) work served as a guide for qualitative data extraction. Respondents were questioned about their experiences and their assessments of their degree of experience.

Key informant interviews were done with a local community leader in Onitsha, UNHCR, NCRMI, and a local lawmaker from Abuja who had previously come into touch with some of the IDPs when they were living in informal camps in Abuja. Aside from the official confirmation of the information with NCRMI, the IDPs were excluded because they stated a lack of contact with formal government institutions.

Evaluative analysis was used in conjunction with quantitative analysis via unsophisticated descriptive statistics reporting; qualitative analysis was context-deductive in nature. We assess IDPs' rights to the city using self-resilience techniques developed by IDPs. The analysis was conducted using two lenses: (1) macro (community social capital, such as ethnicity, religious affiliations, and communal reciprocity) and (2) micro (individual and household (e.g., strong or weak ties)) in meeting their individual, household, and communal needs in the cities where they live.

In order to answer the major study goals, participants compared and contrasted these criteria. A check of the notes ensured the veracity of the data acquired. Other researchers and the professor author of this paper transcribed, thematized, and evaluated the qualitative data while the survey data was cleaned and prepared for analysis. Finally, the transcripts were reviewed several times to categorise emerging themes and ensure that similar approaches were observed.

We do not claim to fully present a generic snapshot of Nigerian mobile IDPs living in cities with this data; rather, what his working paper presents is intended to activate situational breadth and insight for humanitarian response actors, international institutions, civil and academic society, as well as Nigeria's national, state, and local governments, to begin to consider this group of city dwellers from various perspectives, both directly and indirectly. While its scope and coverage are limited, it serves as a guide for possible coordinated approaches to social and urban planning policy interventions that would otherwise be hidden by large and broad urban data sets.

5. Findings

This section presents the findings in five main categories: sampling socio-economic profiles; mapping migratory patterns; push, pull, and processes; urban realities; resilience strategies; and

[4] Sarkin refers to a formal leadership title for a community leader of the Hausa tribe in Nigeria. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hausa_people

future plans. It is positioned to take stock of how this form of migration occurs, the motivating factors informing the choice of the city, lived experiences, primarily access to basic shelter and livelihood, understanding settlement and integration, stakeholder mapping, perceptions of acceptance and belonging, as well as associated challenges, opportunities, and unintended consequences of self-resettlement. The final section constitutes the key reflection and the conclusion.

5.1 Socio-economic profile

This section describes the social and economic factors of the respondents. This section shows the age, gender, current city, household status, religion, state of origin, household size, level of education, and previous and current occupation of the respondents.

5.1.1 Age

Figure 1 shows the distribution of ages of internally displaced persons. Out of the sampled 107 respondents, 62% were between 31-43 years old, 32% were between 44-55 years, 5% were between 18-30 years, and the remaining 1% were aged 61 years and above. The result revealed that most of the internally displaced persons were between 31 and 43 years old.

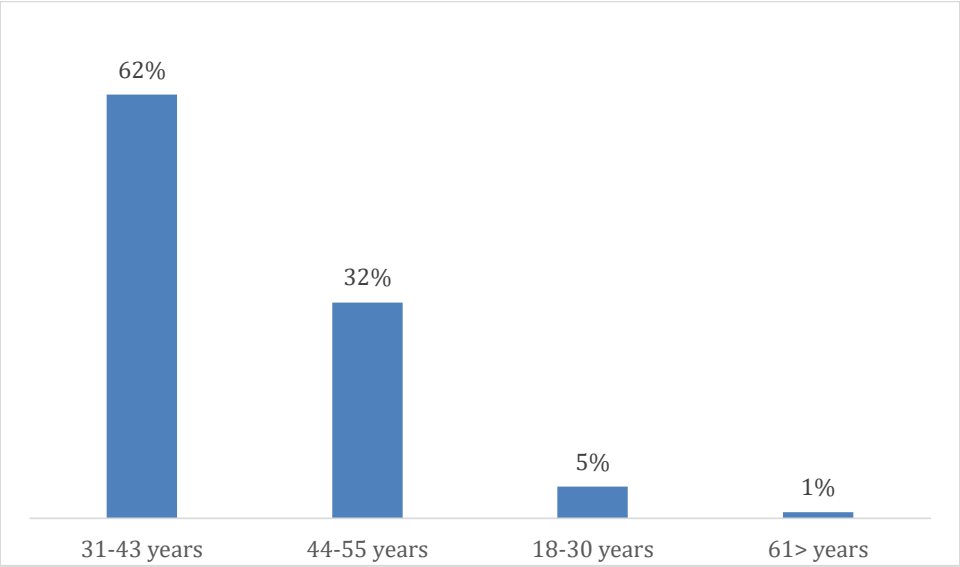


Figure 1: Age of respondents

5.1.2 Gender

Figure 2 shows the gender distribution of the respondents. The figure shows that the respondents indicated their gender as male or female. Most (52%) of the respondents were female.

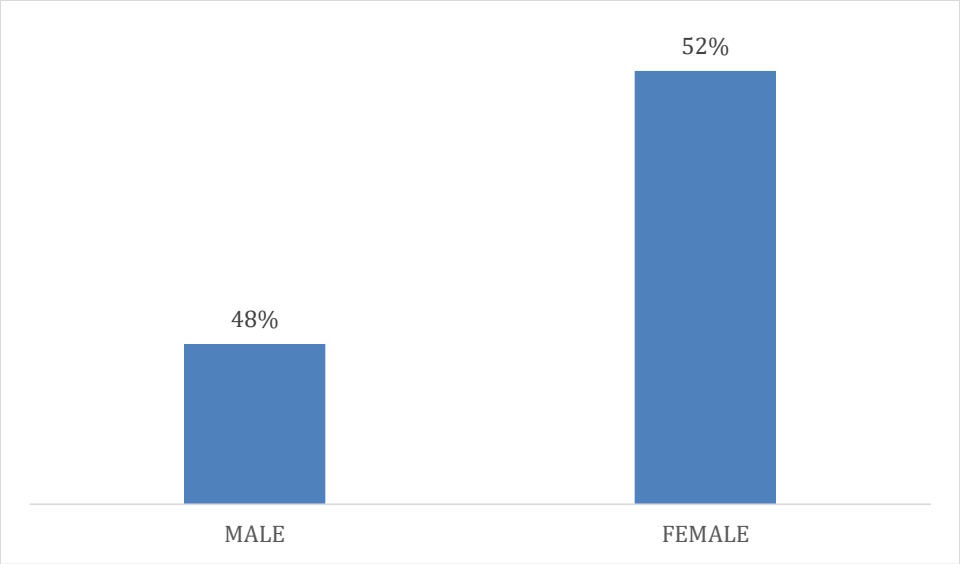


Figure 2: Gender of respondents

5.1.3 Current city

Figure 3 shows the distribution of the current city of the respondents. Out of 107 respondents, 37% were from Lagos, 28% were from Ibadan, 23% were from Onitsha, and 12% were from Port Harcourt. This implies that most of the internally displaced people are from Lagos state (37%), followed by Ibadan (28%).

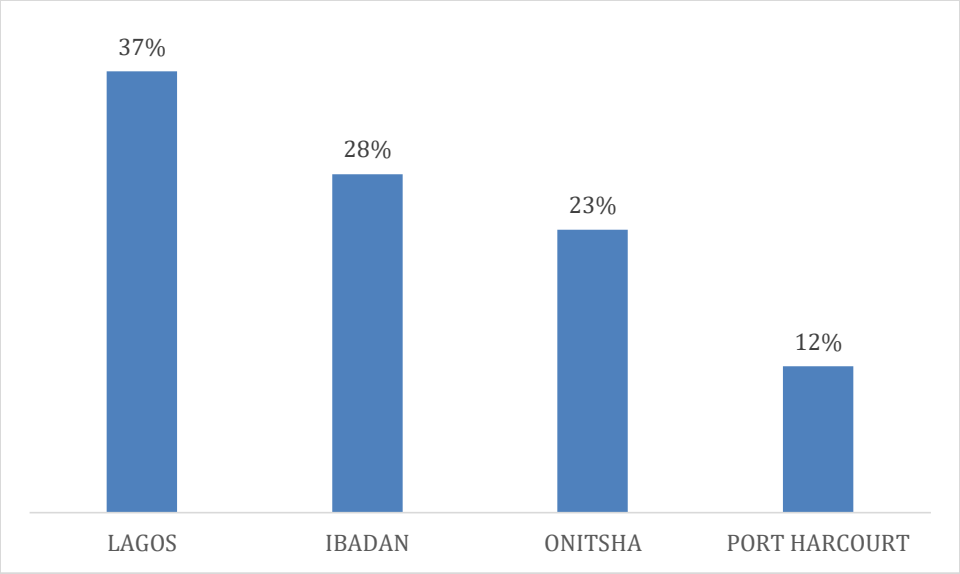


Figure 3: current city of the respondents

5.1.4 Household status

Figure 4 shows the distribution of the status of the respondents in their various households. Out of 107 respondents, 41% were fathers, 50% were mothers, 4% were adult children, and the

remaining 5% were squatters. This implies that most internally displaced people held the position of mothers in their households followed by fathers.

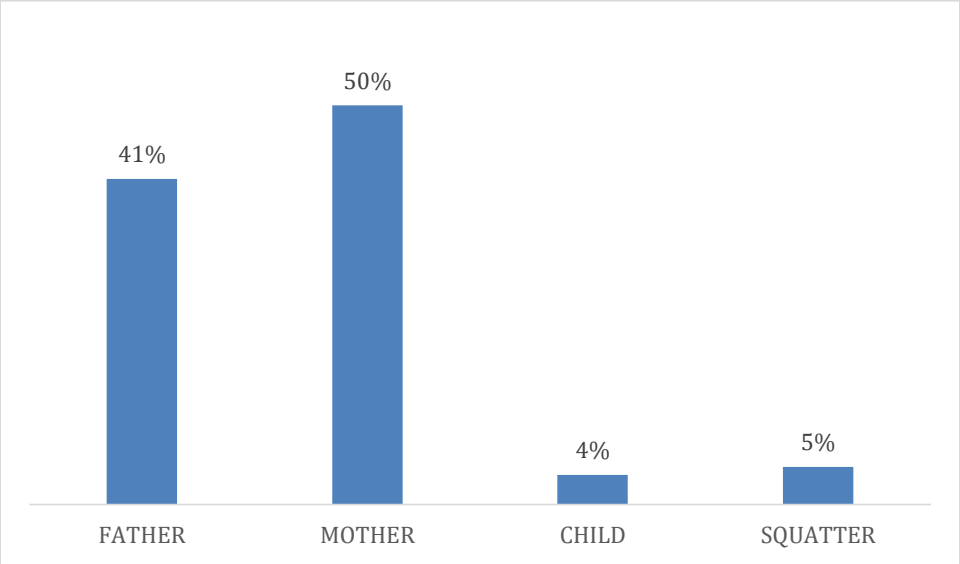


Figure 4: Household status of respondents

5.1.5 Religion

Figure 5 shows the religion of internally displaced people. Out of 107 respondents, 48% were Muslims, 51% were Christians, and the remaining 1% were traditionalists. This implies that the most internally displaced people were the Christians followed by Muslims.

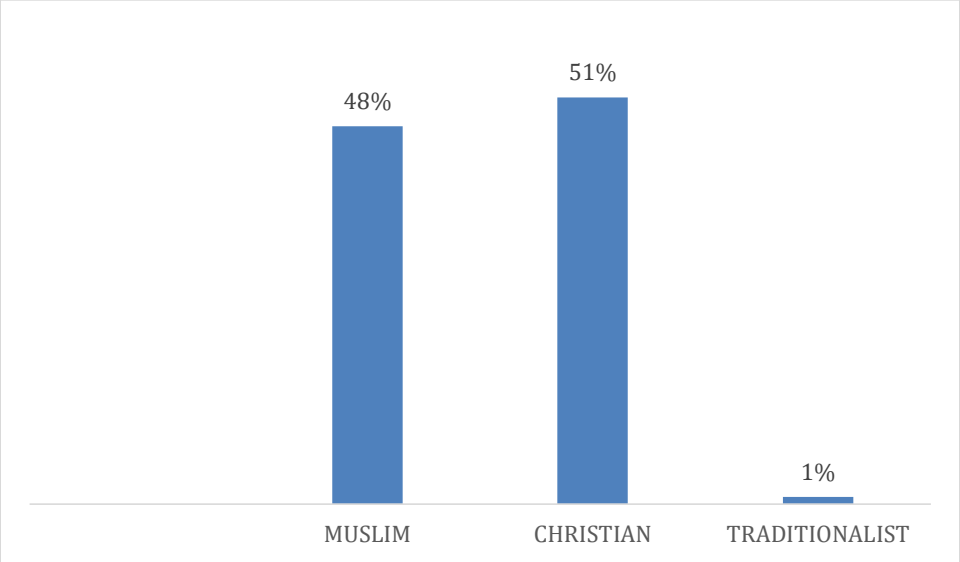


Figure 5: Religion of respondents

5.1.6 State of origin

Figure 6 illustrates the geographic distribution of the IDPs based on their respective states of origin. The study sample consisted of 107 respondents, with varying proportions of participants from different states and countries. Specifically, 7% of the respondents hailed from Yobe State, 25% from Borno State, 10% from Taraba State, 10% from Adamawa State, 12% from Bauchi State, 16% from Gombe State, 8% from Benue State, 1% from Katsina State, 7% from Cameroon, 2% from Mali, 1% from Niger State, and the remaining 1% from Togo. This suggests that the individuals who were displaced internally originated from the region of Borno State. The refugee demographic, while included in the dataset, was not the intended focus and was incidentally encountered within the group of internally displaced persons with the largest population in Onitsha.

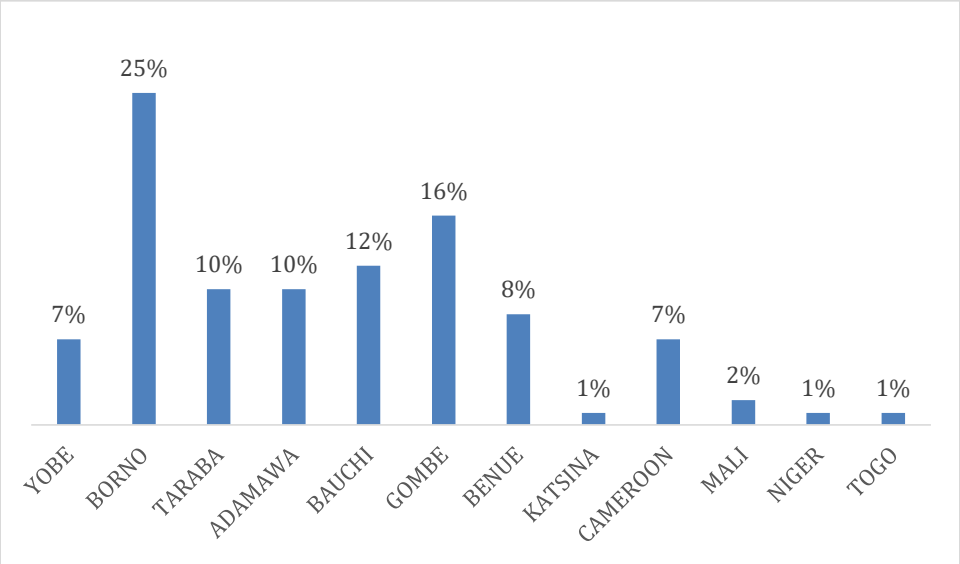


Figure 6: State of origin of respondents

5.1.6 Household size

Figure 7 shows the household size of internally displaced people. Out of 107 respondents, 37% were between 10-15 households, 22% were between 6-9 households, 34% were between 16-20, 1% were between 16-18, 2% were between 3-5, 1% were between 14-16, and the remaining 3% were between 14-18. This figure shows that most internally displaced people households are between 10-15, followed by 16-20, qualitative data indicates these numbers include extended families for Christian households while Muslim households are more likely single-unit households.

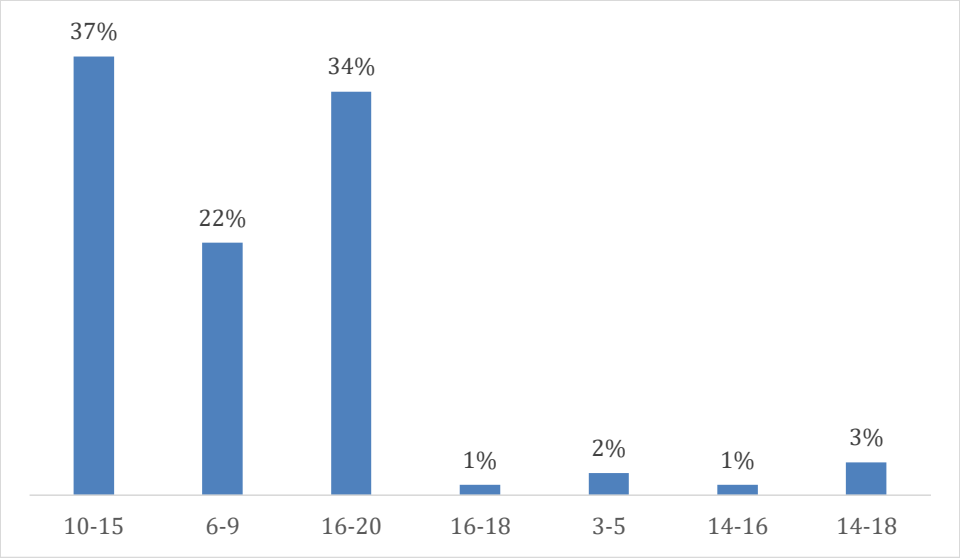


Figure 7: The household size of the respondents

5.1.7 Level of education

Figure 8 shows the highest level of education among internally displaced people. Out of 107 respondents, 50% of them were primary school certificate holders, 22% of them were secondary school certificate holders, 20% of the respondent have higher education certifications and the remaining 8% were not educated. This reveals that the highest level of education among internally displaced people was primary school education.

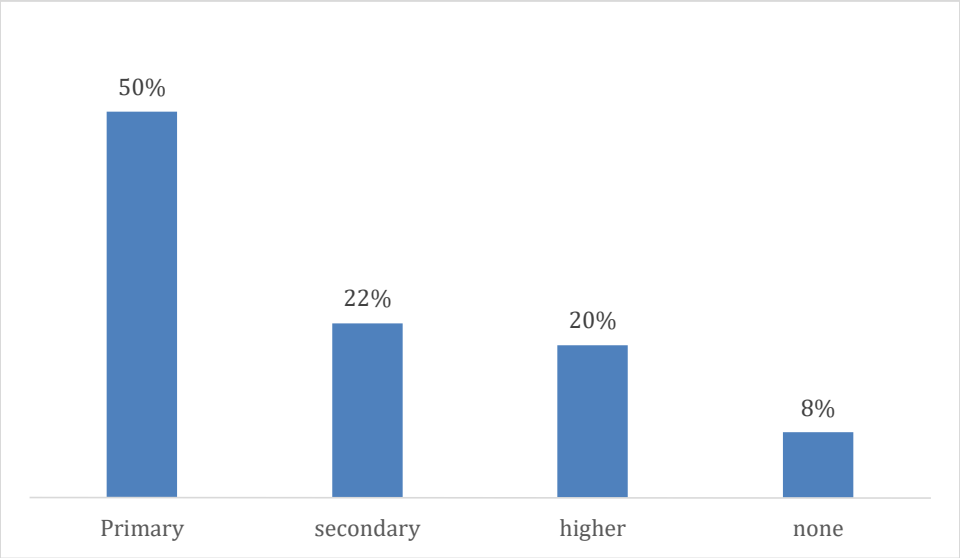


Figure 8: The highest level of education of respondents

5.1.8 Previous occupation

Figure 9 shows the previous occupation of IDPs. Out of 107 respondents, 22% were in civil service, 51% were in farming, 27% of them were unemployed, and the remaining 1% were teachers. This revealed that IDPs were more into farming before their displacement

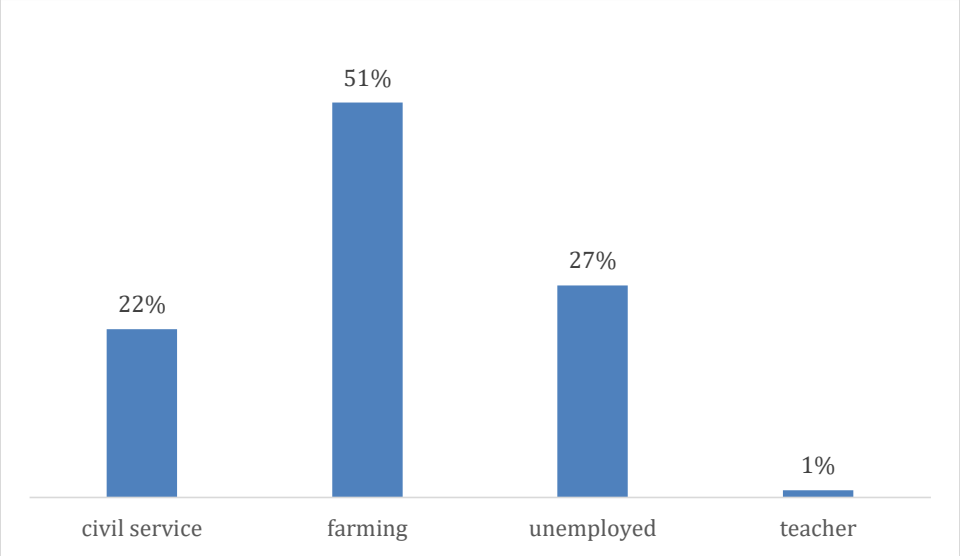


Figure 9: Previous occupation of respondents

5.1.9 Current occupation

Figure 10 reveals the current occupation of the respondents. Out of 107 respondents, 32% of them were into informal transportation, 36% of them were into petty trading, 17% of them were unemployed, and the remaining 20% were into farming. This shows that IDPs were more into petty trading (36%) after their displacement, also informal transportation (32%).

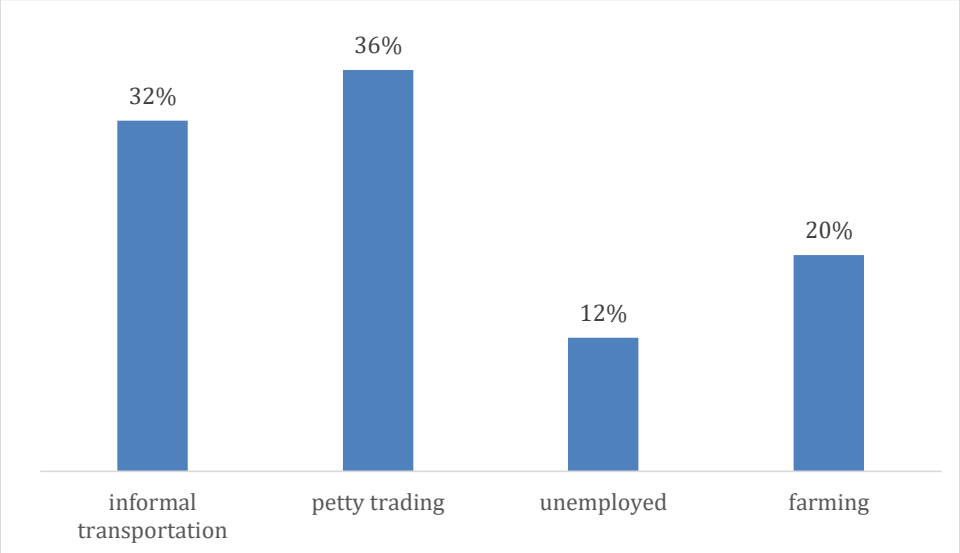


Figure 10: Current occupation of respondents

5.2 Trans-local mobility patterns

This section delineates the relocation process of internally displaced individuals. The aforementioned variables include the number of displacements experienced, the age at which the initial displacement occurred, the year of the first displacement, and residency in an internally displaced persons (IDP) camp. Data shows that the IDPs relocated from the northern region, whereas all of the refugee population migrated from the refugee camp situated in Calabar City, Cross Rivers state in the South-south region which was their initial point of entry into Nigeria.

5.2.1 Displacement more than once

The data presented in Figure 11 illustrates the frequency distribution of individuals who have experienced internal displacement on multiple occasions.

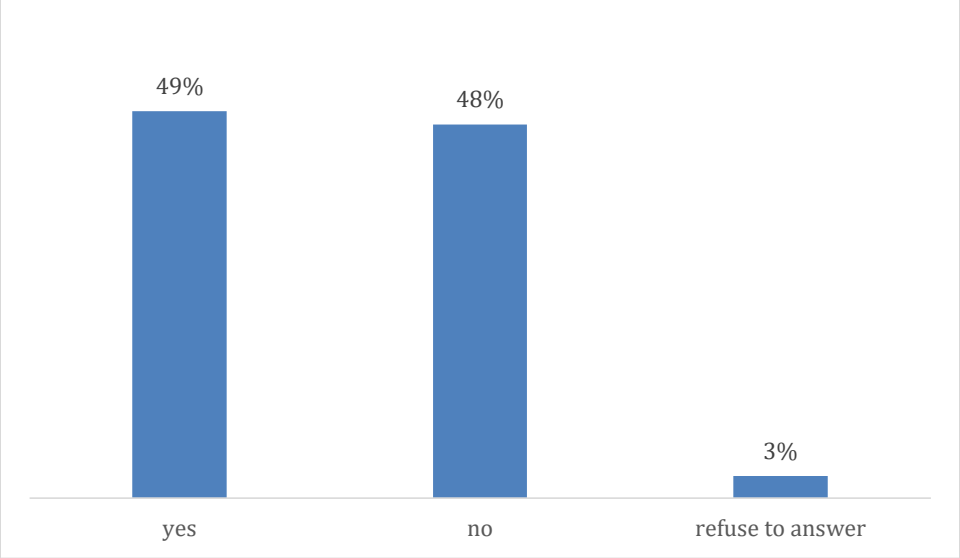


Figure 11: Have you been displaced more than once?

Based on the interviews conducted, it was found that secondary displacement was mainly observed in the northeastern region, where the affected individuals relocated to adjacent villages and towns subsequent to their initial displacement. Among the 107 participants, it was found that 49% experienced displacement on multiple occasions, while 48% experienced it only once. The remaining 3% declined to provide their response. The individual being referred to in the following response provides a comprehensive overview:

> *"We did not live in a camp immediately after Boko haram destroyed our place, we move to a village near because we knew people there, there were we again displaced, and then we move to another village around Kaduna because we had some family there with the farm, in 2017, Fulani herdsmen have displaced us again, then we move from Kaduna city to Benin city, then we went to Lagos, but, Lagos life is too hard for IDPs, another IDP family we know helped in 2019 us to move to Ibadan where my husband farms part-time and rides the tricycle business"* (Female, 39, Ibadan)

5.2.2 First displacement age

Figure 12 describes the age of the first displacement of internally displaced people. Out of 107 respondents, 5% were between 13-19 years, 46% were between 20-26 years, 17% were between 27-33 years, 29% were between 34-40 years,2% were between 41-47 years, and 1% were between 48-54 years. This reveals that the highest age of the first displacement was between 20-26.

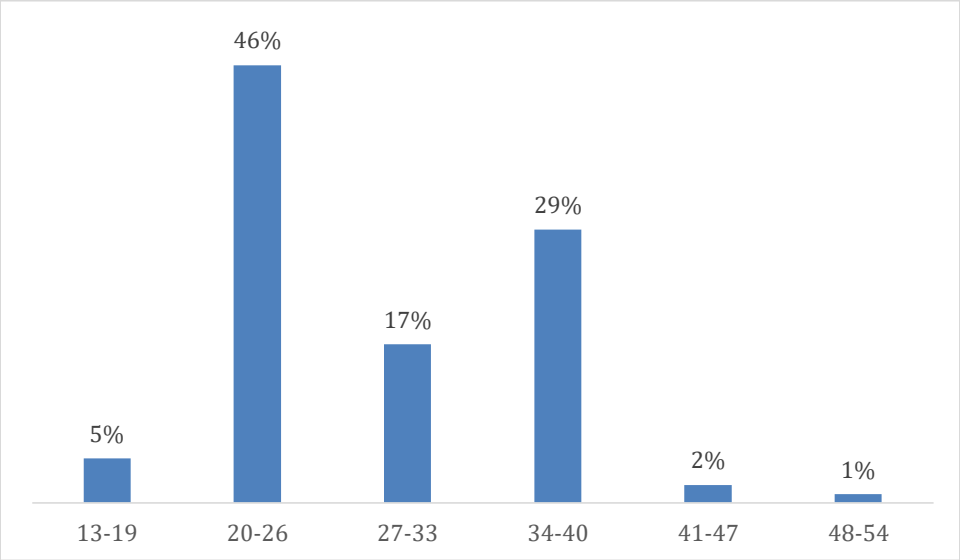


Figure 12: Age of the first displacement

5.2.3 Year of first displacement

Figure 13 shows the first year of displacement of the respondents. Out of 107 respondents, 7% were displaced in 2011, 2% were displaced in 2012, 38% were displaced in 2013, 33% were displaced in 2014, 12% were displaced in 2015, 7% were displaced in 2016, and 1% were displaced in 2017. The result revealed that most of the respondents were displaced in 2013 and 2014.

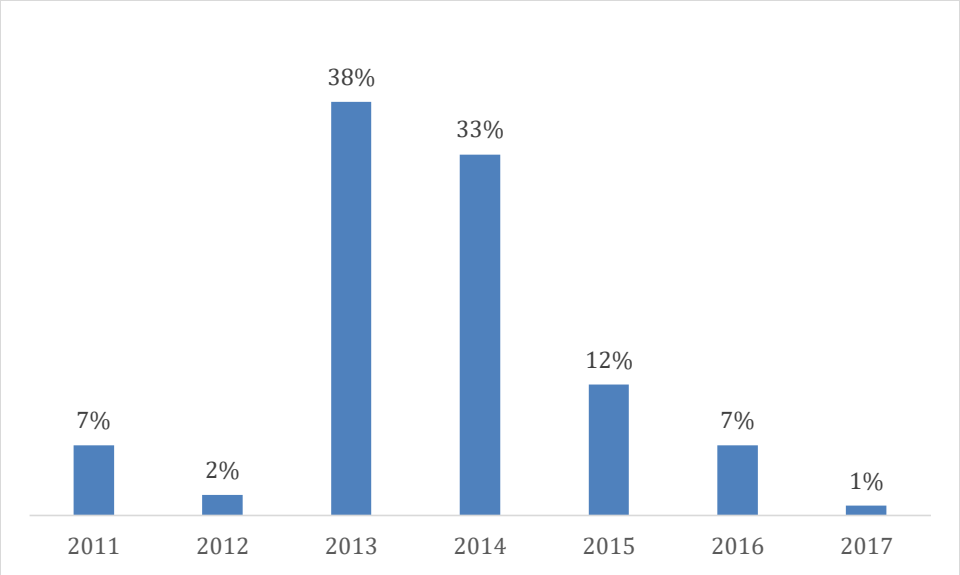


Figure 13: The first year of displacement

5.2.4 Camps

Figure 14 describes if the respondents or their families ever stayed in IDP camps. Out of 107 respondents, 14% said no, 85% said yes, and 1% of the respondents refuse to answer. This revealed that most of the respondents or their families stayed in IDP camps.

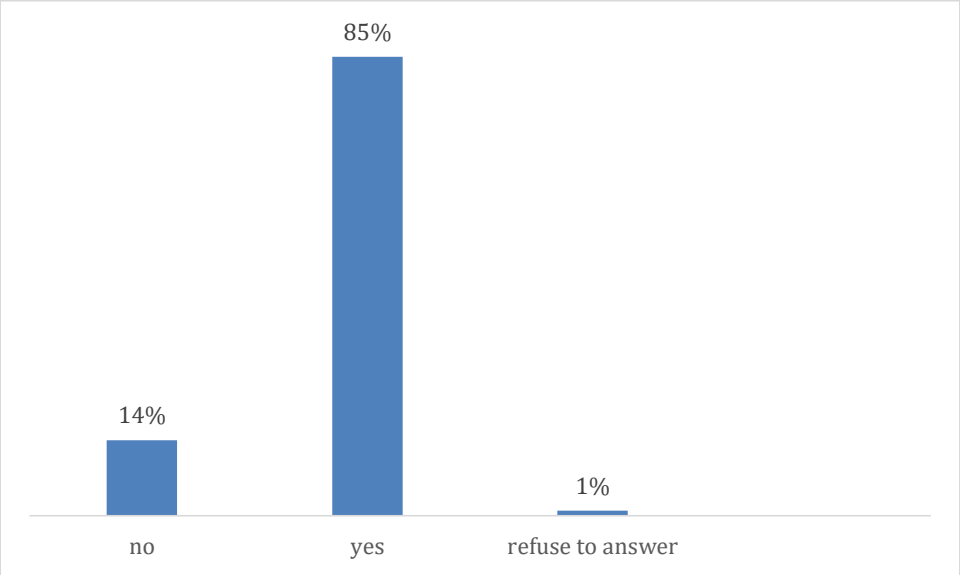


Figure 14: Did you or your family ever stay in IDP camps

5.2.5 Push

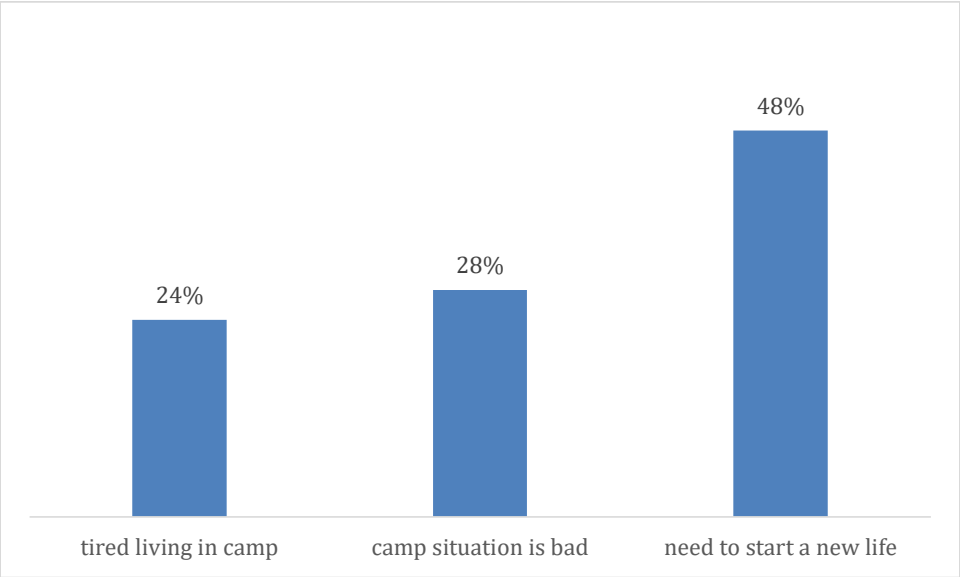


Figure 15: why did you move to this city

Figure 15 depicts the underlying causes that prompt individuals who have been internally displaced to relocate to urban areas. Among the 107 participants, it was found that 24% expressed weariness with their current living situation in the camp, 28% reported dissatisfaction with the camp conditions, and the remaining 48% indicated a desire to embark on a new life. The findings indicate that a majority of the IDPs opted to depart from camps in order to initiate a fresh chapter in their lives.

5.2.6 Pull

This examines the movement incentives to the specific cities of preference. We cultivate the use of qualitative data to understand these indicators in more detail.

Figure 16 above shows the important reason why internally displaced people moved to their current city. Out of 107 respondents, 39% came to their current place of residence for better opportunities, 41% were for safety and security, and the remaining 20% were based on an existing social network. The result revealed that most of the respondents came to their current city because of better opportunities and safety and security.

The factors accountable for the relocation of IDPs to their current urban areas are illustrated in Figure 17. The presented data indicate that a majority who reported relocating to their current urban location for improved economic prospects cited the rationale as being the pursuit of a fresh start in life. Likewise, a majority moved to their present urban areas in pursuit of safety and protection, with the intention of commencing a fresh chapter in their lives. The data depicted in the illustration above indicates that a majority of the sample population relocated to their present urban areas motivated by their pre-existing social connections; citing unfavourable conditions in the IDP camp as the primary cause for their decision.

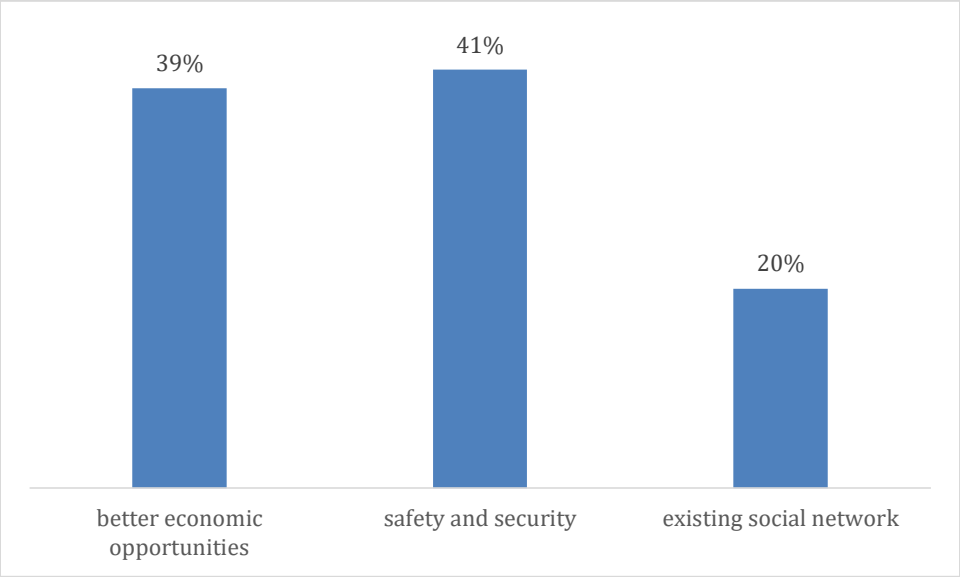


Figure 16: what is the important reason for moving to this specific city?

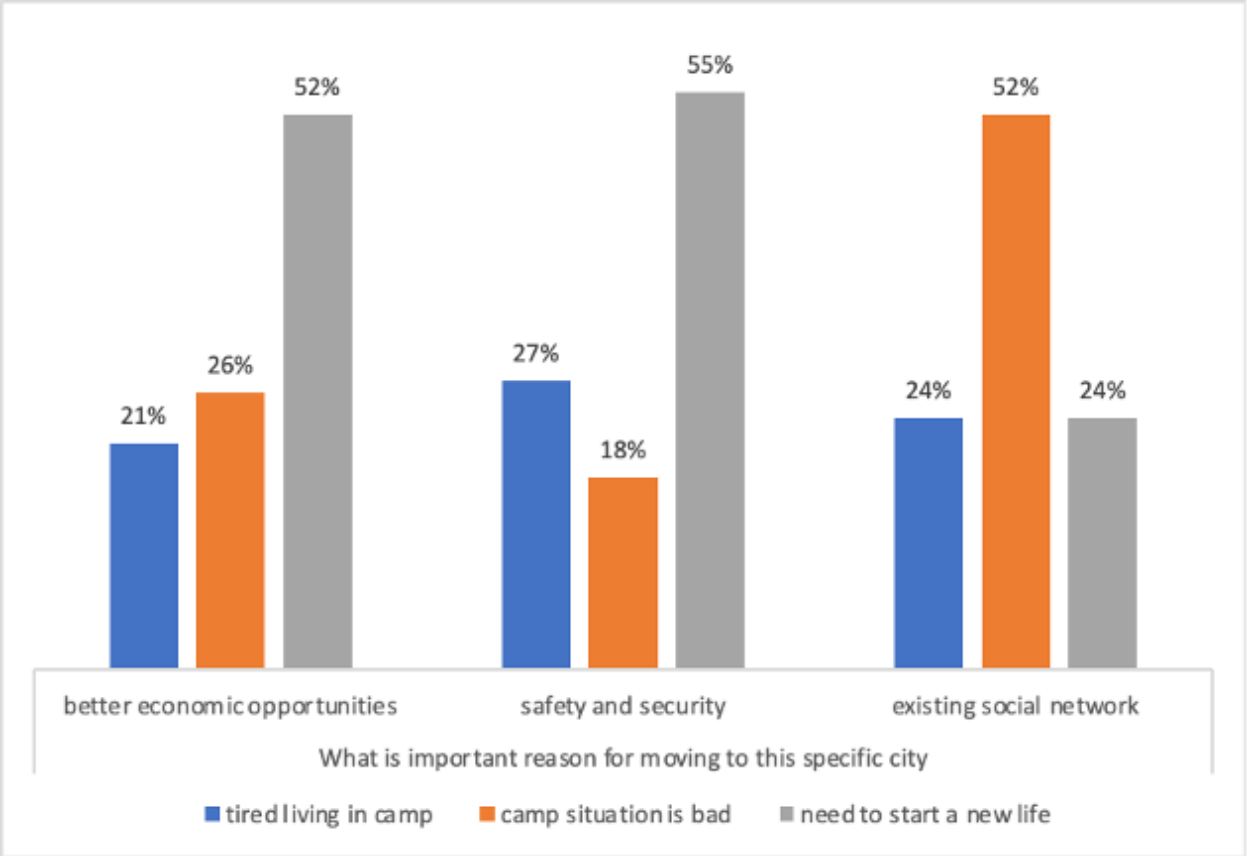


Figure 17: Movement - pull comparative variables

Group arrival on a good cargo truck into Lagos. The capturing of this photo was arranged by the IDP leader in Lagos (2019), for the researcher to capture the new expected arrival to the city at the Lagos-Ogun state border. Source: Author

The survey is triangulated with qualitative data in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the movements and patterns. This is done in two phases, namely the initial displacement and eventual relocation to the current city. The following excerpts depict the phenomenon of migration subsequent to an initial displacement.

> *"I came to Lagos in 2017, before then I lived in two camps, one in Maiduguri and one in Abuja, before leaving when there was a conflict in the Abuja camp where my brother was killed. I am one of the female leaders in this community. Before displacement, I was a farmer; I first moved to a nearby village where I could access land to continue farming; again, Boko Haram displaced us; then we moved to Kaduna, another issue; and now, we came to Lagos mainly because of ways to make money; I do a small business selling food at the construction site."* (Female, 48)

Representing the refugee population, 42 year old male respondent from Mali narrate the process of movement for their demography. He explains how the ongoing conflict in Mali is also pushing many protracted refugees to move in a similar pattern as the IDPs to Nigerian cities. Below he states the challenges associated with living in Lagos as a refugee:

"The challenges of living in Lagos are particularly arduous for individuals in our demographic, as we are plagued by the constant fear of being deported and must therefore conceal our presence. Nevertheless, Lagos remains a lucrative destination for us, as it offers ample opportunities to generate income with relative ease. As a Muslim, I first moved to Maiduguri, Adamawa state due to the similarities to my Ismlaic background, things were very hard in that camp, so I moved to the camp in Calabar. In Calabar, I found some refugees and IDPs moving to Lagos to make money, so many of us followed them. At present, I am 42 years of age and my sustenance, as well as that of my family, is derived from engaging in the informal economic sector as a street trader in Lagos traffic. Lagos is difficult because not only are we displaced and vulnerable but we face a lot of oppression and discrimination, but Lagos is also one of the only places in Africa where you can do many things even as refugees and make very good money. Even though I am a refugee, I send money back to Mali to some of my family also displaced, struggling to meet their daily needs but too old to move to a hectic city like Lagos. As a refugee, I am able to provide for my children's education through this means. What other regions in Nigeria or even Africa are there where making a living as a poor or displaced is more lucrative than Lagos?"

"I was displaced at a very young age in 2013, and my family stayed in camp for three years, but as a young man, I cannot live like that forever, so in 2016, I followed some of our people to Lagos to ride the Okada[5] *business."The Lagos State government is opposed to IDPs entering, so they utilised the Okada ban to drive us out, therefore I relocated to Ibadan to continue riding in 2019. I have no schooling and no way of returning to Borno State, where the fighting is still ongoing. The only option I have is to remain where I can make money and be protected."* (Male, 23)

"My first displacement occurred when I was 14 years old. My family and I travelled about a lot, sleeping with local relatives and friends, until we ultimately ended up in an Abuja camp owing to the rising insecurity in these areas. My brother died as a consequence of ongoing Boko Haram assaults, and we relocated to Abuja in 2017. By 2018, I had abandoned my family in Durumi camp in Abuja with some other individuals and moved to Lagos. Lagos is a fantastic place to make money; here, I ride Okada, and from there, I transfer money back home to Abuja for my inner-city riding. It has had a significant impact on my income and I am a financial sponsor for many of my displaced family members in the north. They outlawed Okada in Lagos is frustrating our effort as IDPs were abandoned by the government and society to resettle. Life is really difficult for IDPs, all our efforts to help ourselves are opposed by the government and this is why some of our people are going back to the north to join Boko Haram for safety and which then allows us to live peacefully in our place" (Male, 21)

The aforementioned proceedings demonstrate that the mobility encountered by IDPs and refugees encompasses multiple pauses, with subsequent movements being driven by challenges related to integration, particularly economic integration. Secondly, as demonstrated by the refugee, the decision to migrate is influenced by the familiarity with local cultural settings, such

[5] An okada (also achaba, going, inaga) is a motorcycle taxi commonly used in Nigeria and other African countries. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Okada_(motorcycle_taxi)

as the resemblance between Adamawa and a Muslim Malian refugee. In due course, both factions are ultimately motivated by the aspiration for improved living conditions to relocate to a different urban centre. During the relocation procedure, individuals establish social networks to aid in their transition to their new surroundings. In general, the narratives indicate that the migratory behaviours of IDPs and refugees are primarily shaped by their opportunities for maintaining their livelihoods. Furthermore, we delineate the progression of displacement from its inception to its present whereabouts:

> Respondent 1: We travelled for 3 weeks by trekking and trying to stop cars, trucks and buses and plead with them to carry us to the nearest city until we get to our destination as we cannot pay for the transportation
> Researcher: Are they also going to your destination? And what happens if they are not going as far?
> Respondent 1: Then we follow them to that since and find a way from there. Like when we were going to Lagos, it took us so long because when we got to Benin City, we actually wanted to stay there, we tried to find a place to stay even though we didn't know anyone there. But it was really difficult as people kept chasing us away from where we were sleeping, so we decided to continue our journey to Lagos.
>
> Respondent 2: We trekked to Adamawa city[6], then from there, we took a public bus and went to Abuja[7] because we had relatives in Abuja who were living in an Abuja camp. We stayed in Kubwa camp[8] for like 9 months, then there was a clash between the police and the IDPs in this camp and it was not so good as it reminded us of the suffering we have suffered by Boko Haram and so for our peace of mind, we left again because someone said Onitsha was a good city to go to and some of our people were there living peacefully. So we took a bus to Onitsha.
>
> Respondent 3: I trekked from the mountain in Borno to Cameroon, because someone who came from a camp there said they saw my brother who was missing since Boko Haram invaded our place. I got there and it was true that my brother was living in a camp there. I lived there for 9 months and our cousin sent messages to us through one of our community people that they were settling in Port Harcourt and there it was easy to ride Okada and do other business. We didn't have any money, so we trekked again from Cameroon to Adamawa, and from Adamawa, we went to Abuja and from there found money to take a bus to Port Harcourt.

The data indicates that this particular type of migration is characterised by irregularity and significant risk. The above-mentioned process was delineated in the course of a focus group discourse, wherein community leaders asserted that a substantial number of the sample, demography are unable to bear the cost of transportation and frequently depend on the benevolence of truck drivers to facilitate their movement from one urban centre to another until they reach their ultimate destination.

[6] Adamawa city is the capital of Adamawa state in north-east Nigeria
[7] Abuja is the capital of Nigeria located central of the country
[8] Kubwa camp is an IDP located in the country's capital city, Abuja

The process was discovered to be considerably more arduous for women and children, who frequently resort to exchanging sexual favours with truck drivers in return for transportation, whereas a significant proportion of the qualitative participants disclosed travelling for several days to relocate from one location to another.

This section outlines the intricate moving patterns of the IDPs, revealing that a significant proportion of this population relocates an average of three to five times prior to settling in their current location. The qualitative evidence corroborates the survey data by providing support for the notion that enhanced economic prospects serve as a magnet for certain urban areas. Furthermore, the data indicates that the migration patterns of prior farmers exhibit slight variations; specifically, this cohort does not prioritise relocation to a major urban centre immediately following displacement.

Despite several efforts to relocate independently and pursue agriculture in adjacent regions, coupled with recurrent displacements, IDPs are eventually compelled to conform to urban economics by shifting to an unregulated urban economy. The aforementioned statement provides support for the findings presented in Koo and Smith's 1983 publication regarding the relinquishment of agricultural pursuits by uprooted individuals who have relocated to urban areas.

5.3 Realities of Urban for IDPs

This section provides a concise overview of the strategies employed by the IDPs to navigate the challenges of urban living upon their arrival. We conduct a mapping of essential stakeholders, as well as an analysis of social capital and network. Here we examine variations and commonalities among four urban areas by analysing distinct variables, including access and settlement structure, group solidarity, sense of membership, reception, and prospective objectives. Among the total sample of 107, a proportion of 14% expressed a need for stable housing, while the majority of 56% indicated a desire for a stable livelihood. Additionally, 20% of the respondents reported a need for access to clean water, while 10% identified a need for access to legal documentation. This finding indicates a stable livelihood was identified as the primary basic necessity for individuals who have been internally displaced.

Do IDPs have Access to urban basic services? This section describes whether the IDPs have the right to urban basic services

Figure 18 shows if the internally displaced people have access to urban basic services. Out of 107 respondents, 100% have no access to all of the basic needs. This reveals that none of the internally displaced people benefit from urban basic services.

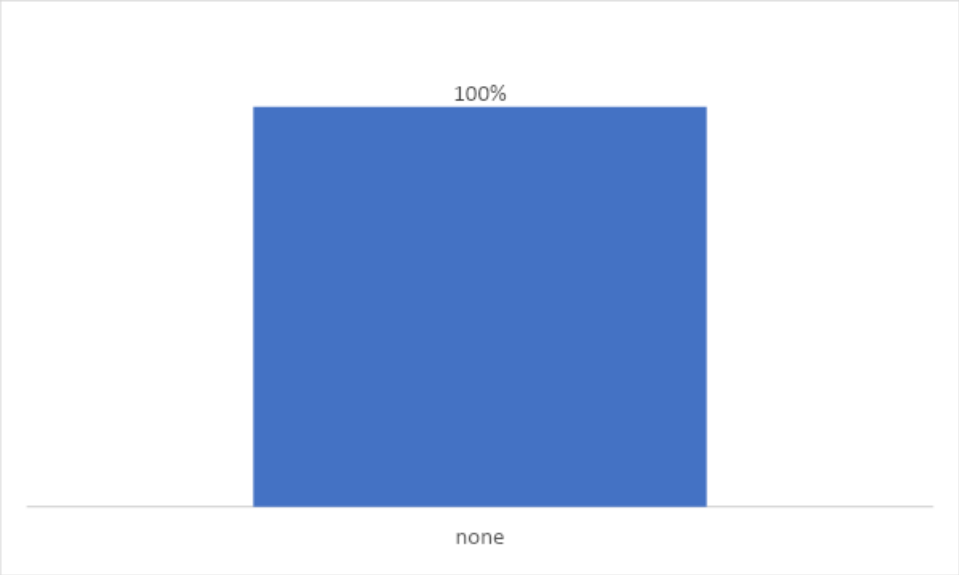


Figure 18: Does your household have access to one, any, or all of the following

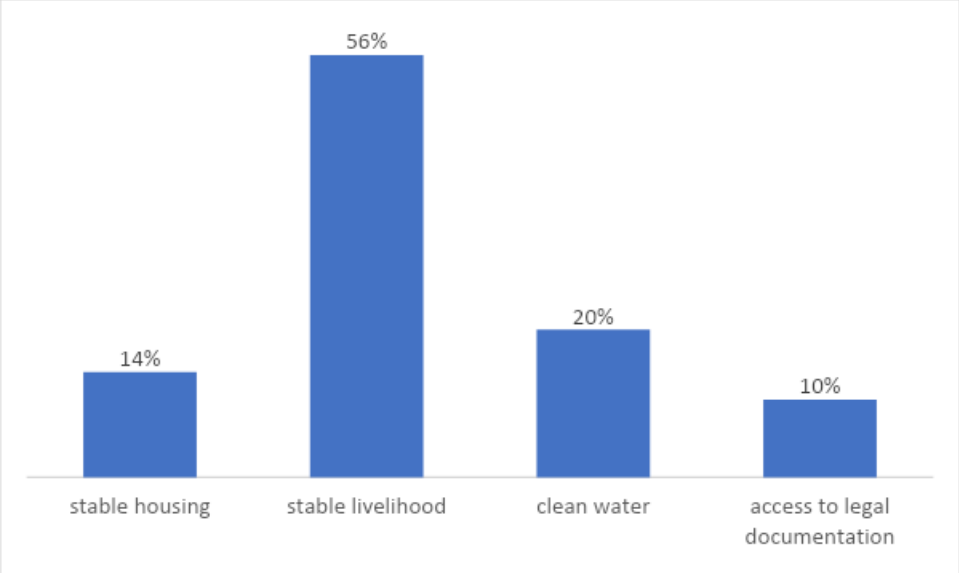


Figure 19: Most Urgent Basic Needs at Arrival

By combining the survey results with qualitative data, it has been observed that the interviews present a contrasting view to the survey findings. The interviews suggest that housing is the most pressing requirement, especially during the initial phase of arrival. The following excerpts provide a summary of Ibadan and Port Harcourt.

> *"When IDPs first arrive in Ibadan, the most important thing is to find a place to stay; some people can stay with other IDPs, and some if they're lucky, the local community will give them a place to stay until they can get back on your feet and start paying rent, but after a while, you'll need to work to afford your own place"* (Female, 41, Ibadan)

> *"When an IDP first comes to Port Harcourt, knowing someone already, either other IDPs or a church, helps because you have to find a place to live, which is the most important thing at that point. These sorts of shelters are definitely not pleasant at that time, even if you sleep beneath a bridge or in abandoned buildings like our group here; you are paying rent to stay there. Housing is the most necessary, no matter how you look at it, but money is more crucial since, without it, you are sleeping on the pavement as an IDP. It's even better if the husband and wife or other family members work"* (Male, 45, Port Harcourt)

We contacted the UNHCR office in Abuja to explore potential support mechanisms for the IDPs relocating to urban areas. Subsequently, we received notification that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) does not provide IDPs moving to cities in Nigeria, as the UNHCR´s Nigeria mandate is strictly aligned with the national humanitarian policy. The above-mentioned agency provided us with guidance to approach the National Humanitarian Agency located in Abuja for additional information. Additionally, they informed us that this ministry has established liaison offices throughout the thirty-three states of Nigeria.

Nevertheless, all endeavours to establish communication with the aforementioned agency for the purpose of conducting an interview were unproductive during the period of data collection spanning from 2019 to 2020. Additionally, the survey investigates the level of awareness among IDPs regarding the information and support services accessible to them across the states in Nigeria.

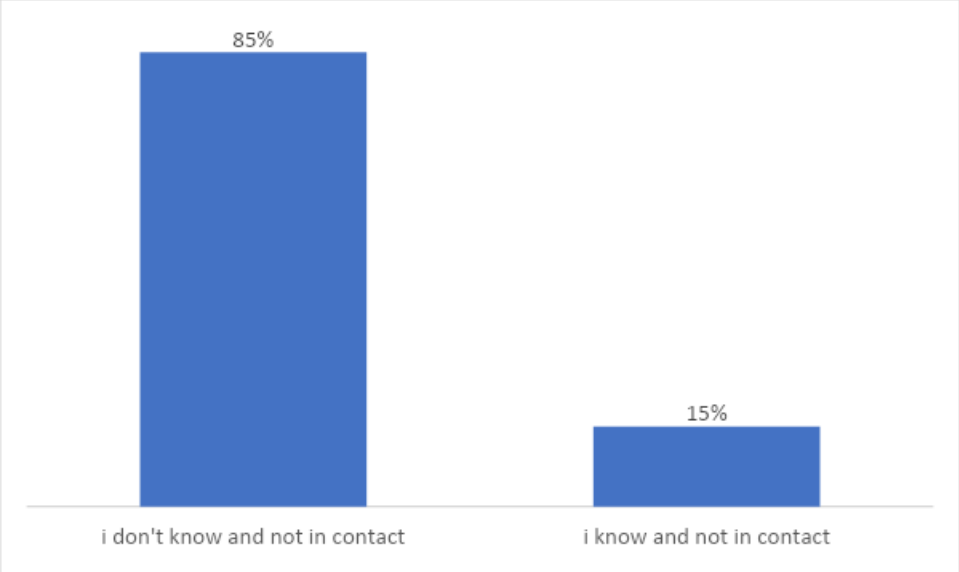


Figure 20: IDP knowledge on national support outside camp

The above shows if the respondents have known of, heard, or are in contact with the national commission for Refugees, Migrants, and IDP (NCRMI). Out of 107 respondents, 85% don't know and were not in contact with NCRMI, and the remaining 15% know but were not in contact with NCRMI. This reveals that most of the respondents don't know and were not in contact with NCMRI.

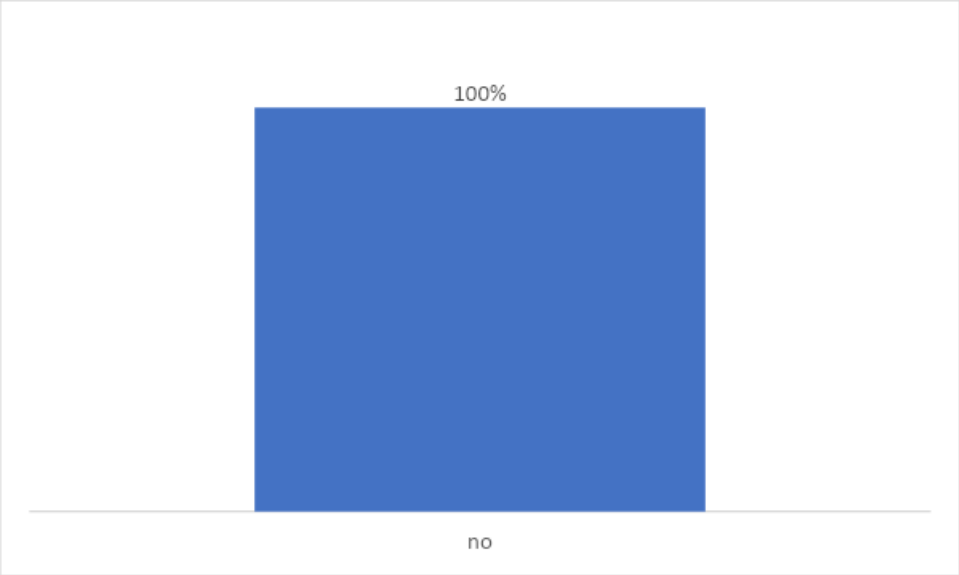


Figure 21: Is your household receiving an allowance from the National Commission for Refugees, Migrants, and IDP (NCRMI)

The figure above shows the responses to the inquiry of if IDPs are receiving support from the NCRMI ministry. 100 per cent of the 107 respondents reported not receiving any compensation from NCRMI. This shows that none of our study demography is supported by this ministry.

To further shed more light on interventions accessible to self-resettling IDPs in urban areas, we interview an NGO representative that had previously supported some of the groups now residing in Lagos and Onitsha but had previously stayed in Nigeria´s capital city of Abuja. Data indicate that local NGOs' assistance for IDPs in Abuja is mostly non-structural and discontinuous, with the primary cause being a lack of finance for these organisations. Additionally, we examine the NGO's perspective on the challenges of supporting IDPs in urban areas as well as the current national policy loopholes. The excerpts below present a summary:

> *"The National Humanitarian Policy is heavily politicised. It is primarily concerned with interventions in the same locations where these disruptions are happening, i.e. in dangerous zones. The administration is well aware that many displaced IDPs dislike camps because of the bad connotations they associate with them. In my experience, for every 10 IDPs residing in camps, eighty leave to seek other options. However, because the Federal Government wishes to keep humanitarian aid funding restricted to the central government for control and, to a large extent, corruption, the National Policy ignores the fact that most IDPs do not prefer the camps of living that the Nigerian Government and its humanitarian aid partners have maintained for the past thirteen years. This is also why you won't find many local NGOs helping IDPs in cities, since donors only finance programmes that adhere to the procedures outlined in national policy. I don't believe the current approach to managing these conditions is working; this is why many and even more IDPs are moving to cities; however, if you look at how it is really beginning to affect Abuja, i.e., even herders are moving and herding cows on main roads, this is creating a second layer of conflict, and some of the groups in your study who referred you to me can tell you that they face a lot of attacks in cities, and this is*

> *worse in more Also, because their lifestyle is different and they do not really fit in the places they are moving to, this is a very serious problem for Nigeria because the north of the country is still a highly terrorised region, making sustainable returns impractical"* (Fatima, Female, 45, Local NGO representative)

The preceding discourse offers a critical analysis of the present national policy framework in Nigeria and elucidates the consequential effects of the current approach on the capacity and efficacy of civil society in providing aid to IDPs relocating to urban regions. In addition, this raises significant apprehensions regarding the extent to which the politics of the national humanitarian framework exert an influence on the international community and humanitarian organisations.

5.4 Understanding Unassisted Settlement and Self-Integration

This section explores the nascent settlement structure and the procedures involved in fostering community and affiliation. The analysis centres on the present phase and retroactively traces the progression from the point of arrival to the current status. Additionally, we examine the settlement pattern, both internal to the internally displaced persons (IDP) and in external spatial configurations. By conducting this study, it is possible to examine whether certain variables, such as ethnicity, IDP status, marital status, and religion, have an impact on affiliations and settlement styles. The emerging themes have been categorised into five primary clusters, namely: new slums, unfinished or abandoned property, existing slums, homeless individuals, and concealed public spaces. In this context, the phrase "new" slum refers to the informal settlements that have recently emerged as a result of the IDPs resettlement, while "unfinished" property denotes the acquisition of incomplete houses or land. The term "existing" community pertains to the pre-existing settlements in the area.

5.4.1 The dynamic of self-resettlement

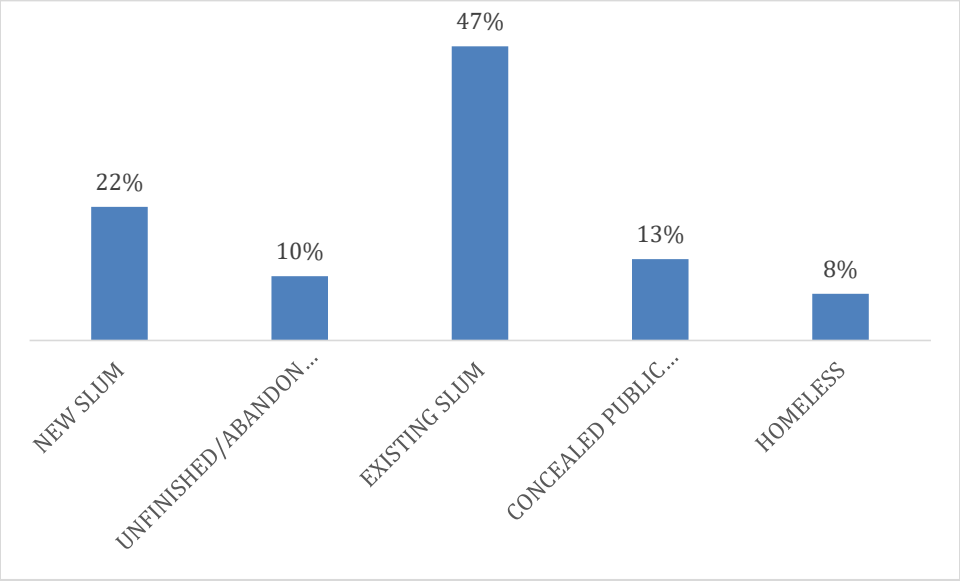


Figure 22: settlement format

The figure above shows the settlement format of internally displaced respondents. Out of 107 respondents, 22% settled in a new slum, 10% settled in unfinished/ abandon property, 47% settled in the existing slum, 13% settled in concealed public space, and 8% were homeless. The result revealed that most of the respondent settlement formats were in the existing slum.

Figure 23: Settlement Ecology of IDPs

Figure 23 presents three of the four settlement constellations. The top left configuration illustrates the constellation of the new slum, while the top right configuration showcases abandoned property. The bottom left configuration displays the homeless category who sleep at a per-daily sleeping shelter, and the bottom right configuration demonstrates the conversion and occupation of public space. This suggests that our study population despite being tenants who pay rent for the areas they inhabit, are not integrated into the pre-existing slum communities.

Upon their arrival, IDPs integrate into the pre-existing urban landscape by utilising the existing geographically defined social structures. They seek shelter in public, interstitial spaces such as

underpasses, which offer the benefits of close proximity to commercial streets and markets. This allows them to engage in various forms of daily income generation, including begging, which is commonly practised by the elderly.

Figure 24: IDP strategic intersect of the urban fabric

At this stage, it can be observed from Figure 3 that the IDPs are pursuing a dual strategy of seeking visibility by positioning themselves in strategic commercial locations to solicit alms through begging, while also seeking invisibility to safeguard themselves against potential attacks by seeking shelter in concealed public spaces. The qualitative data illustrates the settlement of IDPs as a dynamic process that encompasses multiple stages of transformation, adjustment, and reliance on social resources such as social capital and networks.

> *"We slept in the mosque at night for about 6 months, then after connecting with some important people in the Muslim community here in Ibadan who gave us the opportunity to work, we (me, my wives, and my brother) earned something, saved some money, and rented a place here in Oke-Ado."* (Male, 45, Ibadan)

> *"When an IDP initially arrives in Port Harcourt, knowing someone already, whether other IDPs or a church, helps since the most crucial thing is to locate somewhere to reside. We originally slept beneath bridges for five months, paying for the privilege. Then we moved to an abandoned building and paid to live there until we were evicted. We now reside in Eleme, where the locals have repeatedly damaged our homes. Moving to a suitable home, such as the one we live in, takes time, and if one or more members of your family make money over time, this may help".* (Female, 39, Street, Port Harcourt)

The correspondences above demonstrate the differing settlement procedures for IDPs in Ibadan and Port Harcourt and indicate that the processes of transitioning from one stage to another were discovered to be reliant on family income. With the exception of Onitsha, where IDPs directly negotiate a settlement with an existing slum community from arrival, we find that settlement is cultivated as a group, where the IDPs appointed community leaders to negotiate with local community leaders who allocate the IDPs a piece of settlement property. The local communities in Lagos and Port Harcourt are far more reluctant to welcome IDPs owing to perceived security risks and distinct cultural and religious backgrounds. In both places, interviews with local community leaders revealed worries about vulnerability.

The local community leader in Port Harcourt presents a rationale for their hostility towards IDPs:

> *"These people are wreaking havoc in our city; they have started blocking roads for prayers; and the other day, there was a serious fight between IDP Muslims and Eleme indigenous; they are the ones setting up tents in open lands, taking over unfinished buildings, and some have even taken over public schoolyards and living there. This has been the case for the last eight to ten years; they all came during the Boko Haram crisis and while we initially thought this was temporary, it has since become permanent without any return prospect in the site. Another issue Port Harcourt has not just with IDPs but also refugees is the city of Calabar which is very close to us here host has the biggest refugee camp in Nigeria. Port Harcourt being a big city of opportunity then means that the displaced after a while will leave camps and come here. So PH is being inundated, and no one understands what the state and Federal are doing to ensure this does not become an issue for us, and the consequence is affecting us at the local community level".*

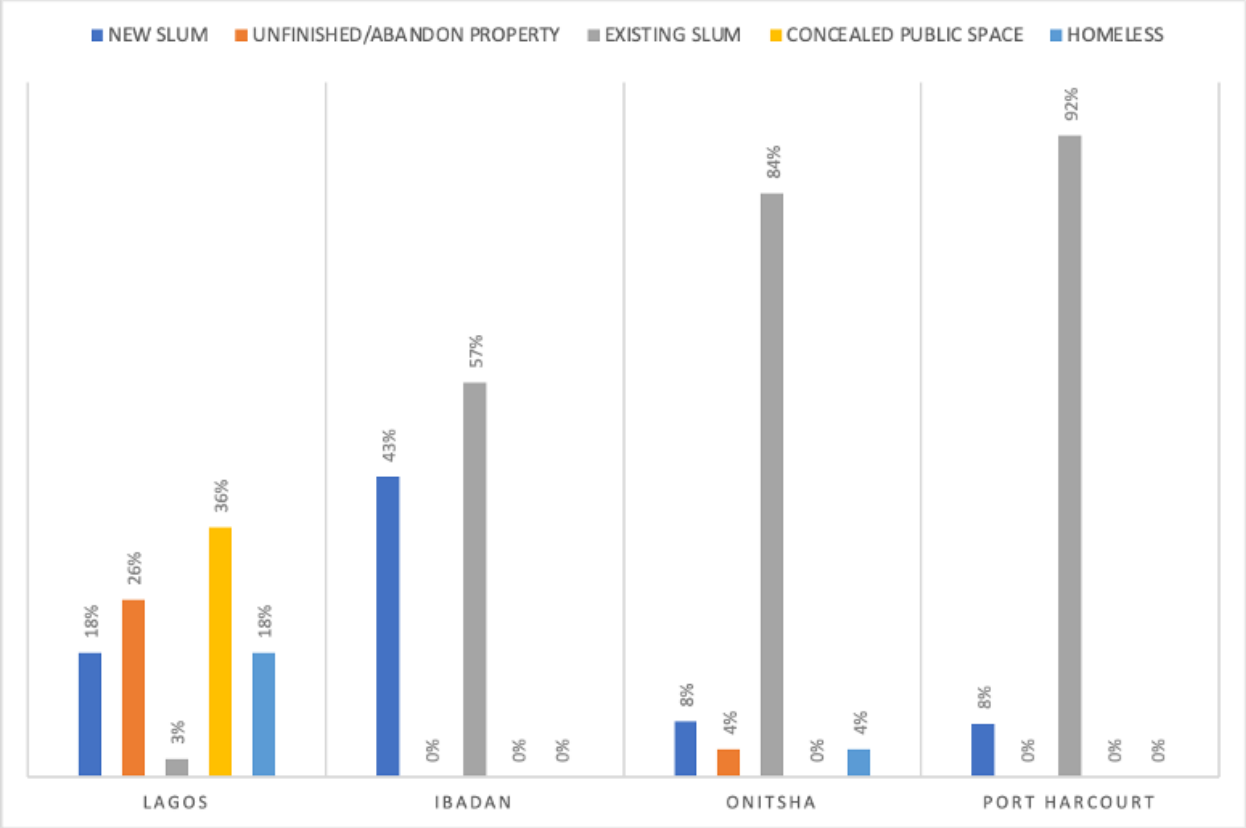


Figure 25: Settlement format across cities

Figure 25. shows the format of the settlement where IDPs are currently living across Lagos, Ibadan, Onitsha, and Port Harcourt. The figure shows that most of the IDPs lived in concealed public spaces and unfinished/abandoned properties. Few of the IDPs indicated they were homeless and some lived in new slums. In Ibadan, the IDPs live in existing slums and new slums. In Onitsha, most of the participants are in an existing slum. Just like Onitsha, the IDPs in Port Harcourt live in an existing slum.

According to interviews conducted, the emergence of new slums in urban areas can be attributed primarily to the swift expansion of the internally displaced persons (IDP) population. In contrast, in Lagos, the extent of infiltration into pre-existing communities is notably lower in comparison to other cities.

> *"As you can see, IDPs coexist happily with us, renting from local landlords the majority of them rent vacant houses in the community. Now as you see the new group you see building their own houses on the piece of land we have allotted to the resettling group because we are running out of place in the main Okpoko community, not because we do not want them. Those who have settled there are only there because they are arriving on a daily basis and existing houses are running out, so the community decided to give them a piece of land to build their houses on, but only temporarily, because Okpoko community is currently facing a land grab by the Anambra state government, so it makes no sense for them to build concrete houses"* (Onitsha's Community Leader)

According to interviews conducted, it has been found that the frequency of forced evictions is highest among the group in Port Harcourt, despite the fact that it already has the highest rate of slum penetration. On the other hand, the group in Lagos reported only two cases of previous eviction as of the year 2019.

> *"Life in PH is difficult for us; the community does not tolerate us living with them, therefore we must get permission to rent a place and construct our own dwellings where only IDPs live. Previously, the government had evicted us from Diobu. This group of people who lived here previously had been evicted more than five times since 2018. Even if we pay to be here, there is no assurance that they would not evict us again"* (Male, 45, Port Harcourt)

Forced evictions of IDPs are more prevalent in both cities than in Lagos. At the time of data collection, there were no reports of forced evictions by the group in Onitsha or Ibadan. These evictions are often connected to perceived security risks by the local population and IDPs' refusal to collaborate with local gangs, police, and other institutional institutions extorting the group financially. The study team encountered such an incidence during data collection in Lagos (see Figure below).

Figure 26: Forced eviction of IDPs in Lagos in 2019.

While these evictions are not peculiar to IDPs, an interview with the IDP community leader links frequent evictions to their status as vulnerable outsiders invading the city and without the same rights as the local communities

> *"Today, my people summoned me to come and talk to the neighbourhood boys who wanted to demolish our homes simply because they come here every day." Various people are requesting money from us despite the fact that we have already paid our rent, tenancy and security levy. One of our women confronts them, and before you know it, without any*

> *notice to evacuate, they set our houses on fire, this is not the first time this is happening since we started living here. Many people did not even have the opportunity to leave their homes. This abuse we encounter could not happen to ordinary locals; it is only because we are IDPs and they regard us as taking over their territory."* (Yaha, Male, 47, Lagos)

> *"IDPs are Nigerians; they can live here in Okpoko as long as they follow our rules of peaceful co-existence and respect us and our values." Because we don't want problems or security threats, the IDP must apply to the governing council, go through the process, and agree to the terms we set through their leader and as a group. Many of them labour in the informal economy and contribute significantly; for example, clean water is one of Onitsha's major issues, but the water cart-pushers that serve the majority of Onitsha and up to impenetrable villages across Anambra state are IDPs, so for us, we can say that their settlement is also useful to us."* (Onitsha's Community Leader)

The present study conducts a thorough analysis of the association between the rising prevalence of coerced displacement incidents among northern Nigeria IDPs and the existing social prejudice against this population, through the use of data analysis techniques. The above-mentioned passages indicate that the host community in Onitsha maintains a positive perception of the IDPs, acknowledging their value to the local community and the city at large. The prevailing social perception in Port Harcourt and Lagos was marked by a predominantly negative perspective.

The spatial ethnography study highlights differences in the physical arrangement of housing for the group in various cities. Specifically, the housing structures in Lagos and Port Harcourt exhibit a more provisional design, utilising materials such as tents and temporary materials (refer to Figure 27 below). Conversely, in Onitsha and Ibadan, IDPs reside in structures that resemble those of the local host community which are also experiencing poverty in urban areas.

There exist certain similarities in the official and secure nature of rentals between Onitsha and Ibadan. Regarding Port Harcourt, where there is a high level of penetration into pre-existing slums, a thorough analysis indicates that this does not necessarily imply acceptance by the local population, as observed in Onitsha and Ibadan. Rather, it is due to the customary land laws in Port Harcourt, which prohibit IDPs from occupying land informally. Additionally, the IDPs in these cities are unable to afford the formal rental fees for the lands they typically occupy. Nevertheless, in Lagos and Port Harcourt, the rental arrangements are often characterised by informality, with a dearth of documentation evidencing payment and assurance of occupancy rights. The findings of the focus group revealed that a significant number of participants experienced recurrent instances of coerced displacement, intimidation, and monetary exploitation perpetrated by local criminal elements, and in some cases, even by law enforcement agents, including the police.

Figure 27: Contrasting Shelter Structure in Ibadan (top) and Lagos (bottom)

Moreover, in urban areas, the settlement pattern predominantly involves encroachment into pre-existing slums, as observed in Onitsha and Ibanda. Additionally, there is a dearth of accessibility, leading to the emergence of slums by internally displaced persons in Lagos and Port Harcourt. Although both areas exhibit a notable level of slum infiltration, a more in-depth analysis reveals that this is primarily attributable to the customary land law practises in Rivers State. In this region, our study population are considered "outsiders" and is therefore prohibited from establishing informal settlements on local lands. Additionally, it was observed that a fresh crisis of slum emergence was identified in Ibadan and Onitsha. However, it was determined that this predicament was not attributable to accessibility challenges, but rather to the scarcity of land in their respective settlement regions. In general, the increasing discrepancies observed among urban areas suggest challenges in the integration of IDPs into pre-existing informal settlements, as well as the isolation experienced by IDPs due to factors such as perceived insecurity and the risk of land expropriation by the local populace.

5.5 IDP Livelihood Transition: Previous and Current Livelihood

The economic status of IDPs is illustrated in Figure 1. The data depicted in the figure indicates that a majority of IDPs who were previously employed in civil service have transitioned to working in the informal transportation sector subsequent to their displacement. The livelihoods of IDPs who previously engaged in farming prior to their displacement have shifted towards

more modest trading and informal transportation activities. However, a minority of IDPs remain unemployed. Notwithstanding displacement, certain IDPs continue to engage in farming as a means of livelihood. Moreover, the data depicted in the figure indicates that a significant proportion of IDPs who were previously without employment have transitioned to occupations in the informal transportation sector, petty trading, and agriculture. Conversely, all IDPs who previously held positions as educators are currently without employment.

Figure 28: Previous and Current Livelihood

The qualitative data indicates a significant association between household livelihood and shelter, indicating that newly arrived individuals are particularly susceptible to vulnerability. However, this vulnerability tends to decrease over time as a result of access to and maintenance of livelihood sources.

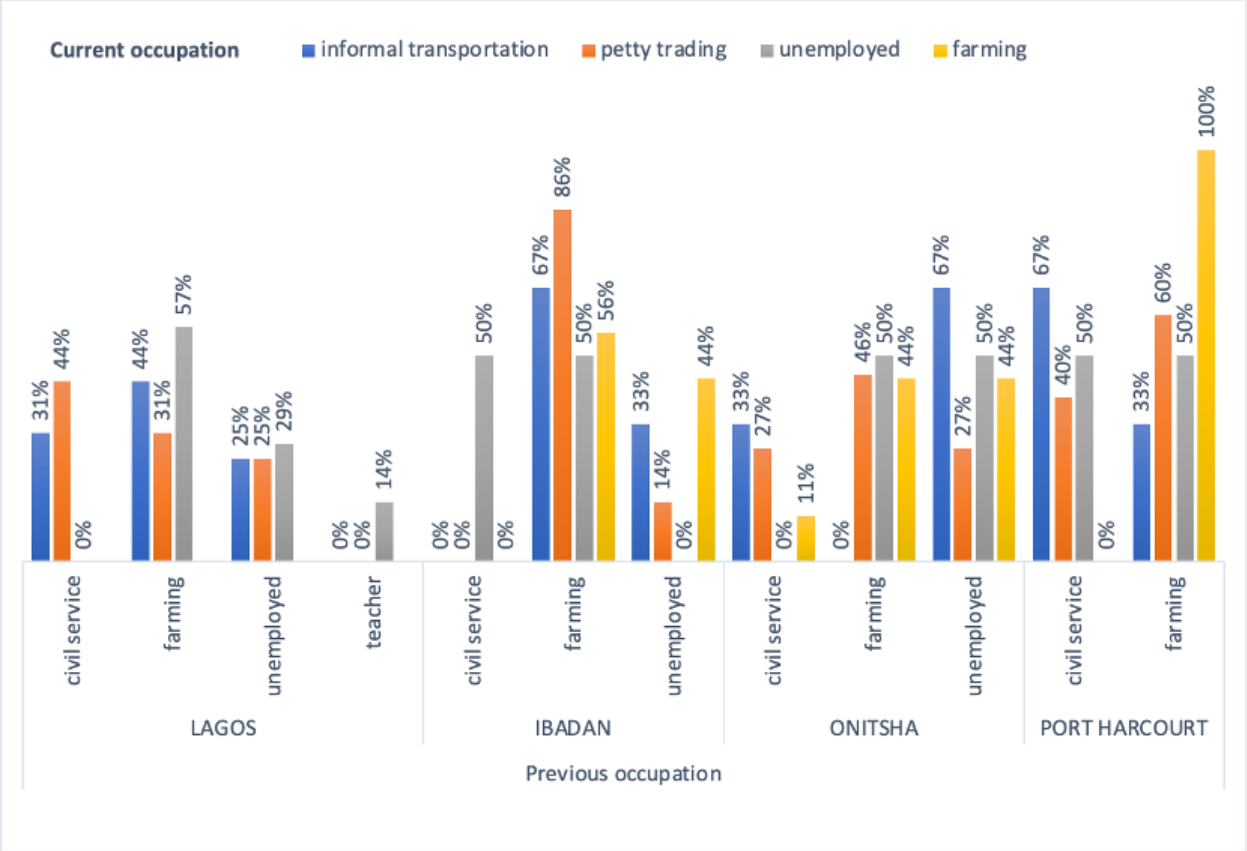


Figure 29: Current Occupation

The aforementioned data illustrates the present employment status of IDPs across different urban areas of their residence. The data indicates that a significant proportion of IDPs residing in Lagos presently derive their livelihoods from the informal transportation sector and small-scale commercial activities. Nevertheless, a subset of the IDPs are presently without employment. The IDPs in Ibadan are primarily involved in informal transportation, with farming and petty trading following as secondary occupations. According to the data presented in the figure, the majority of IDPs in Onitsha are involved in small-scale commercial activities, with petty trading being the most common occupation, followed by farming. In Port Harcourt, a larger proportion of IDPs were observed to be involved in small-scale commercial activities, with farming being the second most common occupation.

The current livelihood status of our study population across the different urban areas is illustrated in Figure 30. This indicates that a significant proportion of the group in Lagos is presently engaged in informal transportation and small-scale commercial activities. Nonetheless, a fraction of the internally displaced persons are presently without employment. The IDPs residing in Ibadan are predominantly engaged in small-scale commercial activities and unregulated transportation services.

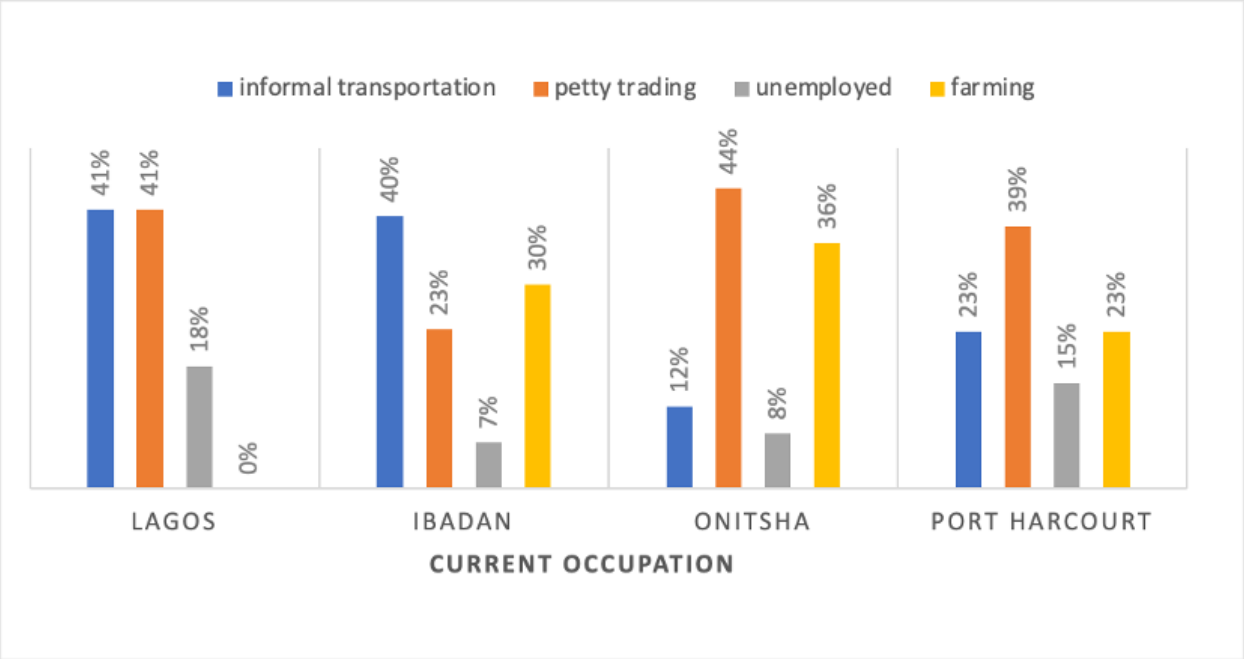


Figure 30: Livelihood/ Employment rate per city

Based on the graphical representation, it can be inferred that agriculture and small-scale commerce are the primary means of livelihood for IDPs residing in Onitsha. Petty trading followed by farming are the primary livelihood activities of the IDPs residing in Port Harcourt. An extensive examination reveals that the IDPs are engaged in urban informal economic activities, primarily consisting of small-scale tailoring and petty trading for women, and informal transportation and water cart pushing for men within the inner city.

The study examines the challenges related to the livelihood framework of the IDPs across the cities through the analysis of qualitative data. The participants have identified a dearth of significant informal economic competencies. As a result, a considerable number of current entrepreneurs have initiated their careers as apprentices under the tutelage of local business owners to acquire essential skills and accumulate financial resources. The individual being referred to below outlines the framework of financial exploitation and subjugation experienced by IDPs.

> *"The police and local thugs cause us a lot of trouble. I used to own a store, which I opened after years of accumulating money even though we already pay taxes to the local government daily. Many locals prefer to purchase on credit rather than cash, which limits my capacity to earn a profit. But one day in 2019, thugs showed up and demanded all of the money I had earned that day. They went because I refused to beg for assistance. They returned in the evening to teach me a lesson by torching my establishment. I had lost everything. We are subjected to this by the police and thugs, and many of our IDP street vendors are detained and imprisoned for selling on the street"* (Mohammed, Male, 41, Lagos)

The absence of initial capital, despite being a formidable obstacle, provides a prospect for a pioneering financing framework within the IDP community. In Onitsha, a group of women and in Lagos, a group of men formed cooperative savings groups to accumulate funds over a period of several months to acquire a pre-owned sewing machine and a tricycle. These groups operate on a communal investment model where the machines are utilised on a rotational basis, and each user makes a predetermined weekly contribution towards reinvestment. At the community level, individuals who generate income bear responsibility for supporting those who do not in IDP communities, as evidenced by the following excerpts. Households with greater financial stability often serve as hosts for newly arrived vulnerable individuals, with particular emphasis placed on women and young children in urban areas.

> *"Because we don't have any help, we share everything we have." For example, 15 guys possess this Okada (tricycle); we saved for nearly a year to get it. The women also do it, women savings groups in various communities would contribute money, buy a single sowing machine or start a street food business and daily or weekly share the profit among their investors. Us, in our savings groups, we rotate Okada daily between at least 3 people (for example, one guy rides for three hours, then the next man takes over and over), and every week, we all pay money to purchase food for individuals who don't make any money amongst us. Some of our folks who run businesses or sell food to others who go hungry at least once a day are all IDPs. I can't dine with my family since I know my neighbour's children haven't eaten today."* (Yaha, Male, 47, Lagos)

Cross-triangulated examination of data demonstrates a positive improvement in women's income; as women were not household income earners prior to displacement, data shows in their new locations a considerable increase in the number of women's earnings. The newly developing IDP livelihood patterns show inventive techniques in which the mostly rural population overcomes challenges to foster innovative small-scale enterprises across diverse cities. Furthermore, data demonstrates that the local community plays a critical role in hindering or harnessing IDPs' livelihood across the cities. For instance, while the water cart vendors are serving a critical community need - accessible clean water, it is a win-win scenario for both the IDPs and their local host community, and in Onitsha city at large. As opposed to Lagos or Port Harcourt where such creative entrepreneurship is met with oppression and financial extortion both from the police and the local community alike. Even in these instances where integration seems much more volatile the IDPs still adopt creative ways to participate in income-generating activities. For instance, the men's and women's savings group co-ownership business model. Overall, across the cities, the IDPs are discovered to be crucial actors in the urban informal economy throughout all of the cities.

5.6 The role of social capital and networks

Here we investigate the utilisation of social capital by IDPs during their self-settlement and unassisted integration into the community endeavours in various urban areas. Our analysis adopts a triadic approach to the utilisation of social capital and networks, encompassing the individual, household, and community levels. Furthermore, the community is taken into account both internally, within the IDP setting, and externally, in relation to the local host communities.

By examining how the IDPs cultivate as well as utilise social capital and networks as a means of enhancing resilience to facilitate their self-settlement and unassisted integration across the cities.

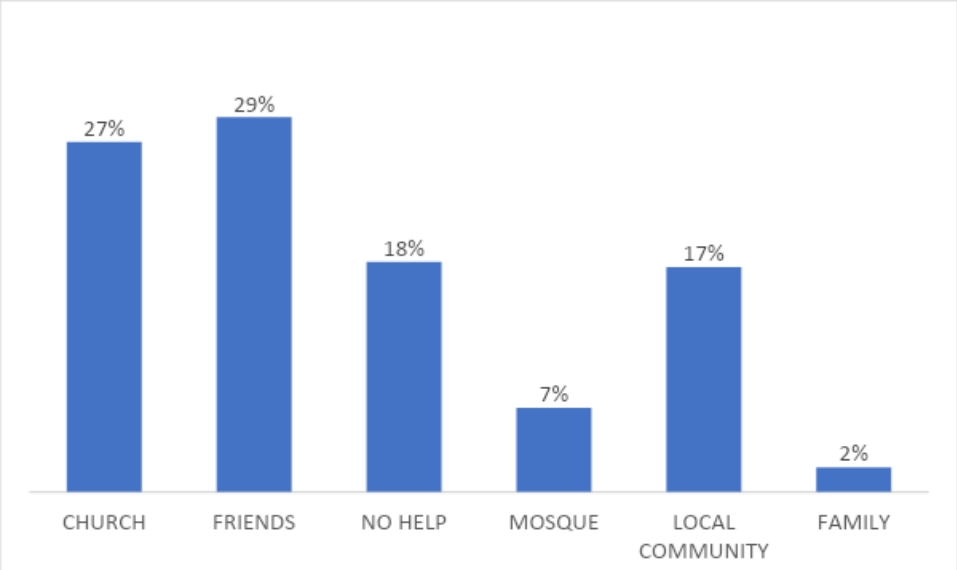


Figure 31: when you first got to your current location, whom did you go to help

Figure 31 shows where the respondent first goes for help. Out of 107 respondents, 27% went to church, 29% went to their friends, 18% had no help, 7% went to the mosque, 17% went to the local community and the remaining 2% went to their families. The result revealed that most of the respondents went to their friends and the church.

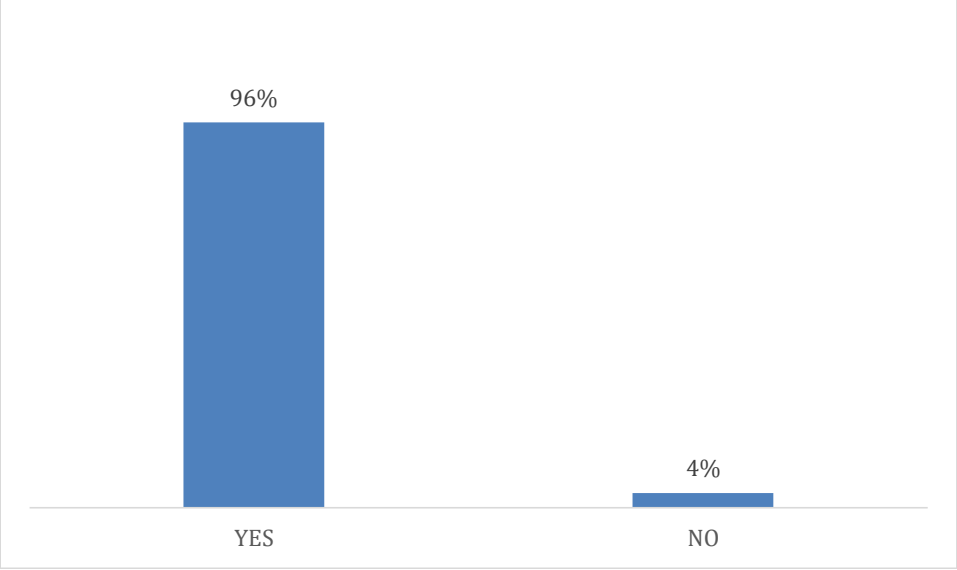


Figure 32: Are you in contact with other IDPs in the current location

Figure 32 shows if the respondent were in contact with other IDPs in their current location. Out of 107 respondents, 96% were in contact with other IDPs in their current location, and the

remaining 4% were not in contact with other current locations. The result revealed that most of the internally displaced people were in contact with other IDPs in their current location.

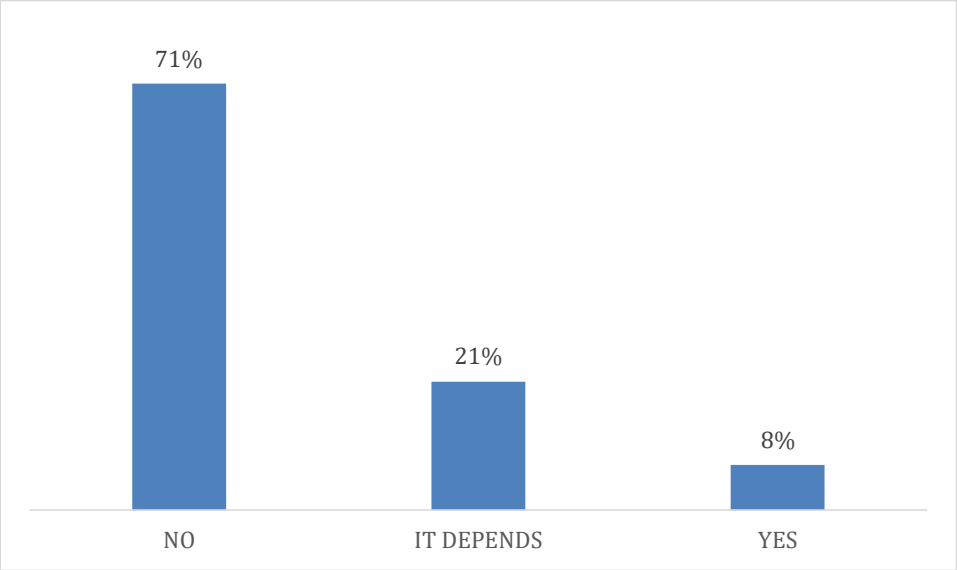


Figure 33: can you stay with other IDPs from other ethnic groups or religion

Figure 33 shows if the internally displaced people can't stay with other IDPs from other ethnic groups or religions. Out of 107 respondents, 71% said no, 21% said it depends and the remaining 8% said yes. This reveals that most of the internally displaced people can't stay with other ethnic groups or religions.

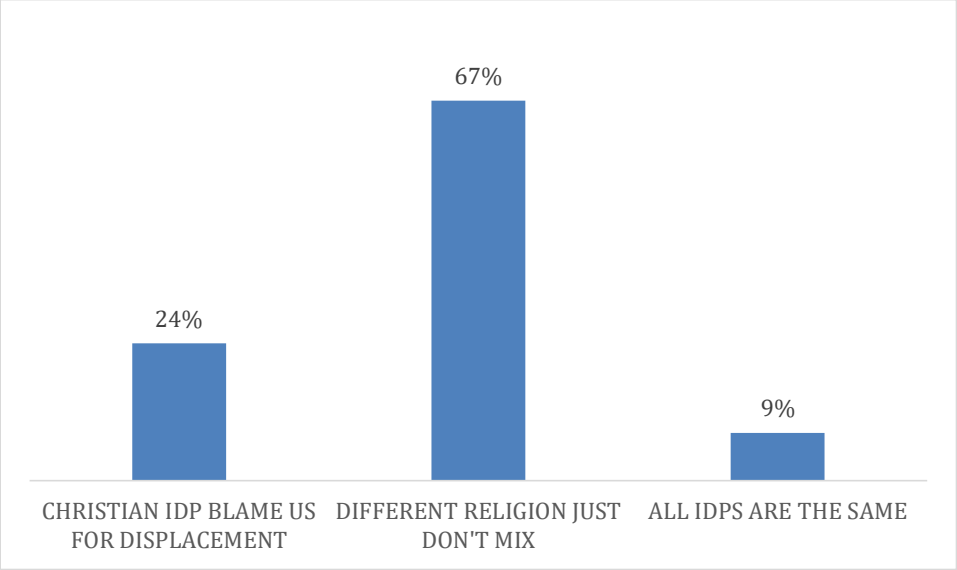


Figure 34: why or why not will you not stay with them

Figure 34 shows why or why not will the internally displaced people not stay with them. Out of 107 respondents, 24% said that the Christian IDP blame them for the displacement, 67% said that the religion just doesn't mix, and the remaining 9% believed that all IDPs are the same. This

reveals that most of the internally displaced people don't mix because of their religious differences.

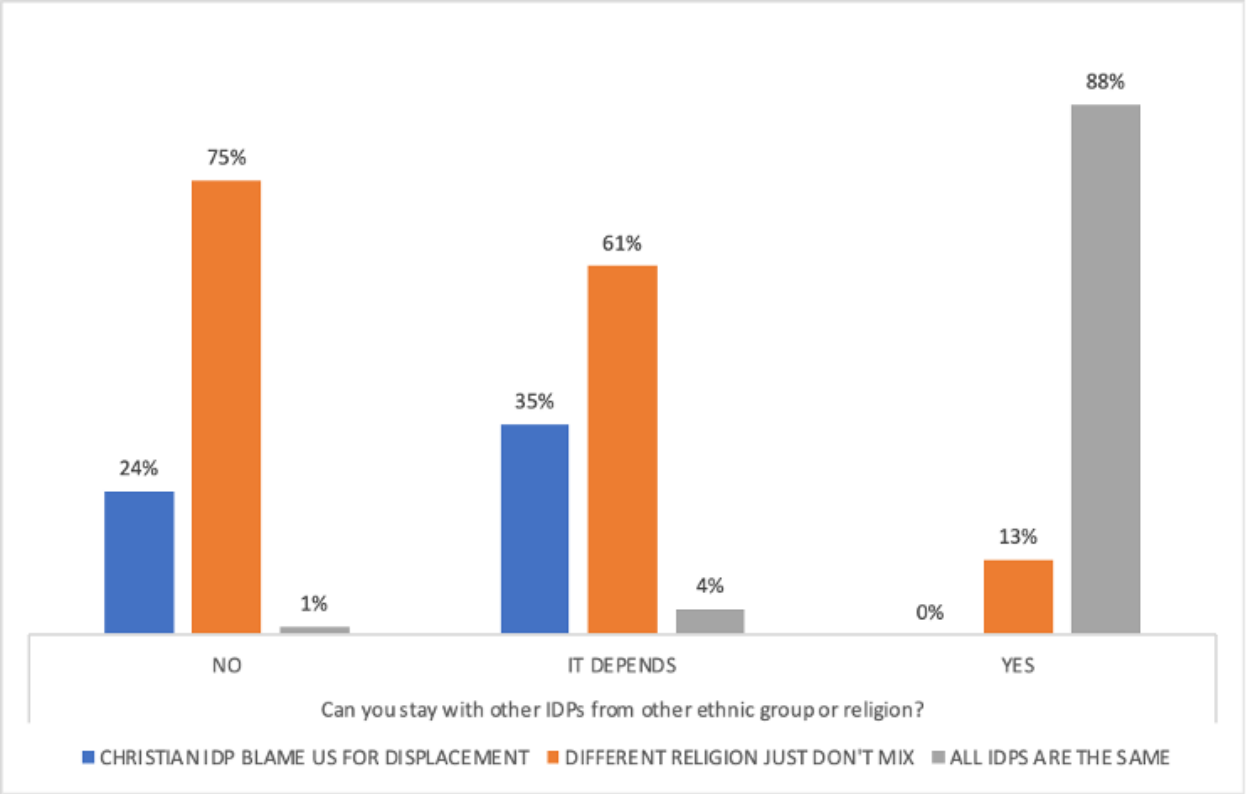


Figure 35: Internal Affiliation and Group Cohesion

Figure 35 illustrates the level of cohesion observed among distinct groups residing in IDP settlements. The diagram illustrates that a majority of IDPs who expressed their inability to coexist with IDPs belonging to diverse ethnic or religious groups did so due to their perception that different religions cannot coalesce seamlessly. IDPs who expressed their reliance on other factors for cohabiting with IDPs from diverse ethnic groups or religions cited their understanding that different religions do not readily intermingle. The IDPs who expressed their willingness to cohabit with other IDPs from diverse ethnic or religious backgrounds, based on their perception of a shared identity among all IDPs.

As described in the settlement format (segregation settlement along religious lines), we use qualitative data extrapolation to investigate the following:

> *"We live apart from local communities and even other IDPs in Port Harcourt because, as Christians who are also victims of Islamic terrorism, we must distance ourselves from Muslim IDPs in order to safeguard our image in PH. They (Muslims) have already caused us enough anguish; we are fleeing because of them (Boko Haram). They have slain many of our people, and no one has been prosecuted. They are constantly avoiding land all around the middle belt, including Kaduna. Are we going to pretend that since we are Christians, this isn't happening? They believe they are superior to us in the north. We*

> *don't want to be linked with them now that we've had to flee our homes and have lost everything"* - (Female, 36, Port Harcourt)

> *"In general, there is no religious divide among us here in Onitsha, in communities where IDPs live, because most communities hosting IDPs do not allow Muslims to freely express themselves, for example, by doing street prayer, as you would see in other cities where Islam is common. Anambra State, where we are, is a Catholic state, and since people often equate IDPs with Islamic terrorism, communities that welcome us do not provide Muslims with the exact same freedom as Christian IDPs. So, even though I am a Muslim and have a good life here, I would say that is the only difference between me and a Christian IDP. To answer your question, Christians and Muslim IDPs coexist together; after all, Okpoko is mostly a Catholic town and we live here so why would any IDPs discriminate against Christians?"* (Abdul, 41, Onitsha)

In Lagos and Port Harcourt, on the other hand, there are considerable bad sentiments between Christians and Muslim IDPs, as seen by their settlement patterns, in which the groups reside in enclaves. Joseph, a 51-year-old community leader in Port Harcourt, explains the main reasons below:

> *"There are ill feelings between Christians and Muslims; first, the Christians have unresolved anger due to the Boko Haram crisis being primarily religiously motivated; you cannot blame us." Boko Haram raided my community and killed Christians, while Muslims were forced to recite the Quran to show their religion, and many were forced to flee. You can't help but experience these emotions as an IDP displaced by a Muslim terrorist group from your home and being made to wander the world for years looking for another home. Second, since our lifestyles as Christians and Muslims are so different, it is simpler for Christians and Muslims to coexist. Finally, as a Christian, another advantage of this for us here in Port Harcourt is that the locals see IDPs as terrorists, and the Muslims even worse, so not living with Muslims gives us a softer landing with the locals."*

In Ibadan, there was religious group affliction; however, it was found that this did not result in any form of segregation or antipathy among the Muslims and Christians, either internally among the IDPs or externally with the local community. This was the case both internally among the IDPs and externally with the local community.

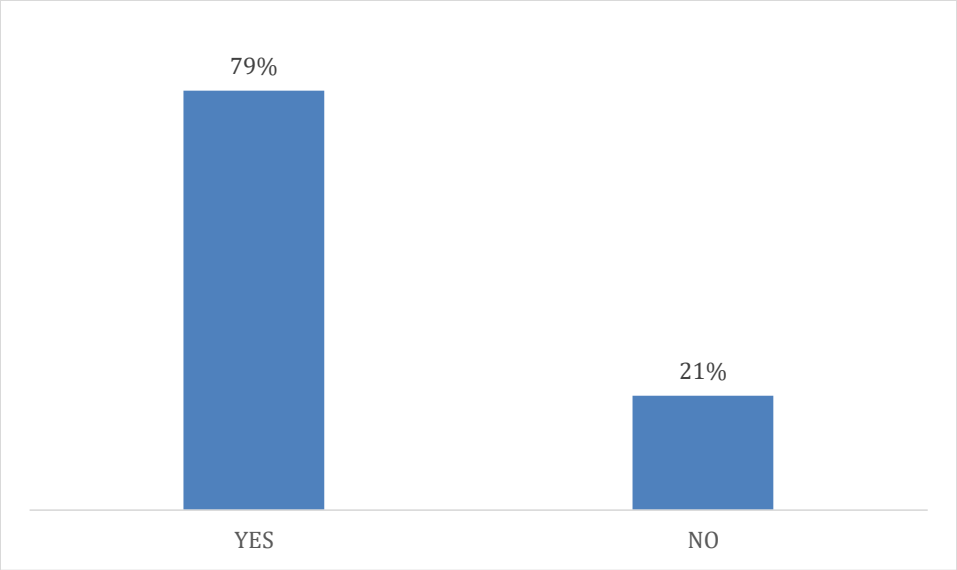


Figure 36: are you of any IDP association in your current location

The figure show if any of the internally displaced people were in any IDP association in their current place. Out of 107 respondents, 79% were the in IDP association and 21% were not in any IDP association. The result shows that most of the internally displaced people were the in IDP association.

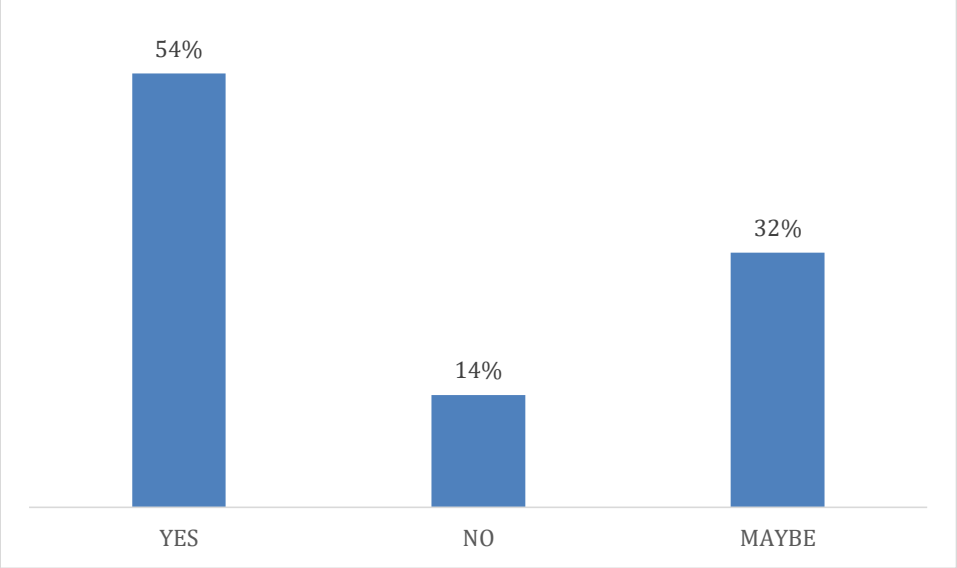


Figure 37: is being part of an IDP association helpful in any way to you and your household

The above shows if being part of the IDP association was helpful in any way to the internally displaced people and their households. Out of 10 respondents, 54% said it was helpful, 14% said it was not helpful, and the remaining 32 % were not sure if it was helpful or not. This reveals that most of the internally displaced people benefited from their IDP association.

We go further into understanding the dynamics of IDP's internal and external social capitals and networks via the use of interviews and focus group discussions. This helps us enhance these social capitals and networks. The debate reveals that the population as a whole is an organised one, with community leaders selected for general, women's, and youth organisations. These varied leaders are the ones that negotiate settlements and nurture connections with the local communities. However, in settings with more permeable boundaries, such as Lagos and Port Harcourt, respondents raised doubts about the strength of such social capital and networks. The following correspondents complete the picture as follows:

> *"I cannot say that my job as a leader makes much of a difference in how Lagosians regard us; of course, I do my best for my people by networking and joining important unions in Lagos to seek solidarity with Lagosians, but no matter how hard we try to integrate into Lagos, when anything horrible occurs in Lekki, or anywhere IDPs are often the first scapegoat and in these instances being a mobiliser of informal transporters union representing IDPs cannot offer me any form of protection. Even as a leader who has contacts with local community leaders in Lagos, I have been evicted; my home has been burnt down twice by thugs who are also part of my union; even my association with the Baales in Lekki I know did not rescue me. When its election time, the union uses me to mobilise IDP votes in Lagos, but when I need support from the locals I immediately become an IDP who is an outsider or invader in Lagos."* (Yaha, Male, 47, IDP Community Leader, Lagos)

The aforementioned excerpts provide context for the social capital and network dynamics of the IDPs by showcasing the durability of the relationship between IDPs and their collaborators within the local community. The aforementioned emerging theme depicts an imbalanced yet indispensable interdependence, wherein the IDPs are devoid of any authority but necessitate such a connection for their sustenance.

Also, as discussed in the settlement and livelihood transition aspects, the IDP's social currency and network are strategized for settlement and economic integration. Furthermore, such networks, which are primarily religious and social in nature, are leveraged across cities. Cultivating such ties among IDPs is a vital facilitator of settlement and integration required for survival at all phases, from arrival to final settlement. In addition, if the IDP has no established or weak money or network in the city, we find that they contact religious groups for assistance. A twenty-three-year-old boy from Ibadan who relocated to the city without knowing anybody discusses the relevance of religious organisations for newcomers:

> *"The most challenging element for most of us is moving to a new city as an IDP without knowing anybody. However, in the worst-case scenario, you can approach a church or mosque for help, which will primarily allow you to sleep on their premises while you figure out how to make money and become self-sufficient. They usually do this far more for women and children than for males. When I initially came and knew no one, I had to take a job as an unpaid security guard and cleaner at the mosque in order to find a place to sleep. In the meanwhile, I began looking for employment as an apprentice in the market while not paying rent. I did this for nine months until renting a room in Oke Ado, Ibadan, where I presently reside."* (Abudusaldiki, Male, 23, Ibadan)

Externally, the IDPs facilitate their social currency and networks in order to get entry to settlement regions and support livelihoods, with Onitsha being the most vitally beneficial instance. The oral story of the IDP leader in Onitsha's Okpoko village demonstrates how their constant engagement in the local community and city-wide networks positively assists their integration and transcends religious affiliation, which we identify as a significant social capital facilitator for the group. For example, a young newcomer to Ontisha explains how, despite being Muslim, his engagement in the Onitsha market union group aided his eventual apprenticeship. Through consistent participation in such social groups and networks, Adamu, 43, was able to build relationships with locals through shared experiences as a market trader, which aided him in transitioning from a previous local farmer with no entrepreneurship skills and no formal education to owning a shop in Anambra State's largest market, the Ochanja market in Onitsha, within a seven-year period.

5.7 Belonging and acceptance

This section explores the perceptions of our study participants regarding their sense of belonging and acceptance within the urban environment. The assessment evaluates the individual's understanding of the concept of home and the level of acceptance they possess. The perception of IDPs is a significant factor that can impact various aspects of settlement and integration, including both tangible and intangible dimensions. Additionally, it can also play a role in determining whether IDPs choose to remain in or depart from their current location.

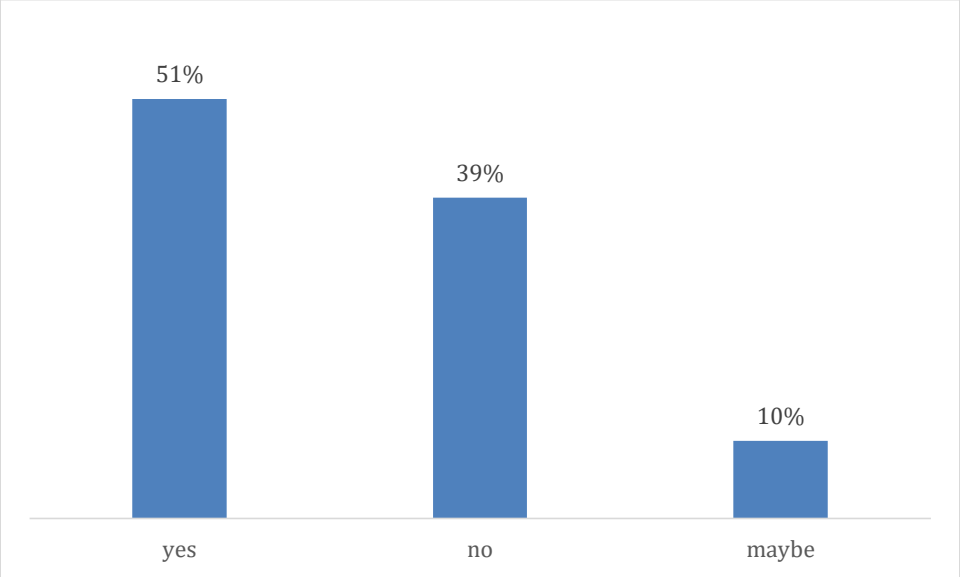


Figure 38: Does your current location feel like home for you

The figure above shows if the current location of the internally displaced people feels like home. Out of 107 respondents, 51% said yes, 39% said no, and 10% seems unsure. This indicates that most internally displaced people’s current location feels like home.

Figure 39 shows by whom the internally displaced people feel accepted. Out of 107 respondents, 51% feel no acceptance, and 49% feel accepted by their local community. This implies that most of the internally displaced people don't feel accepted.

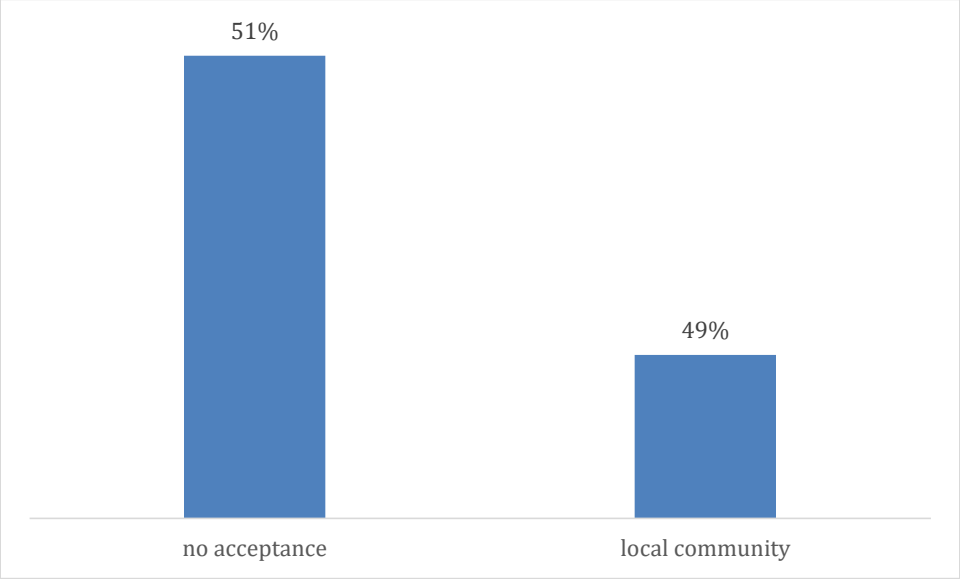
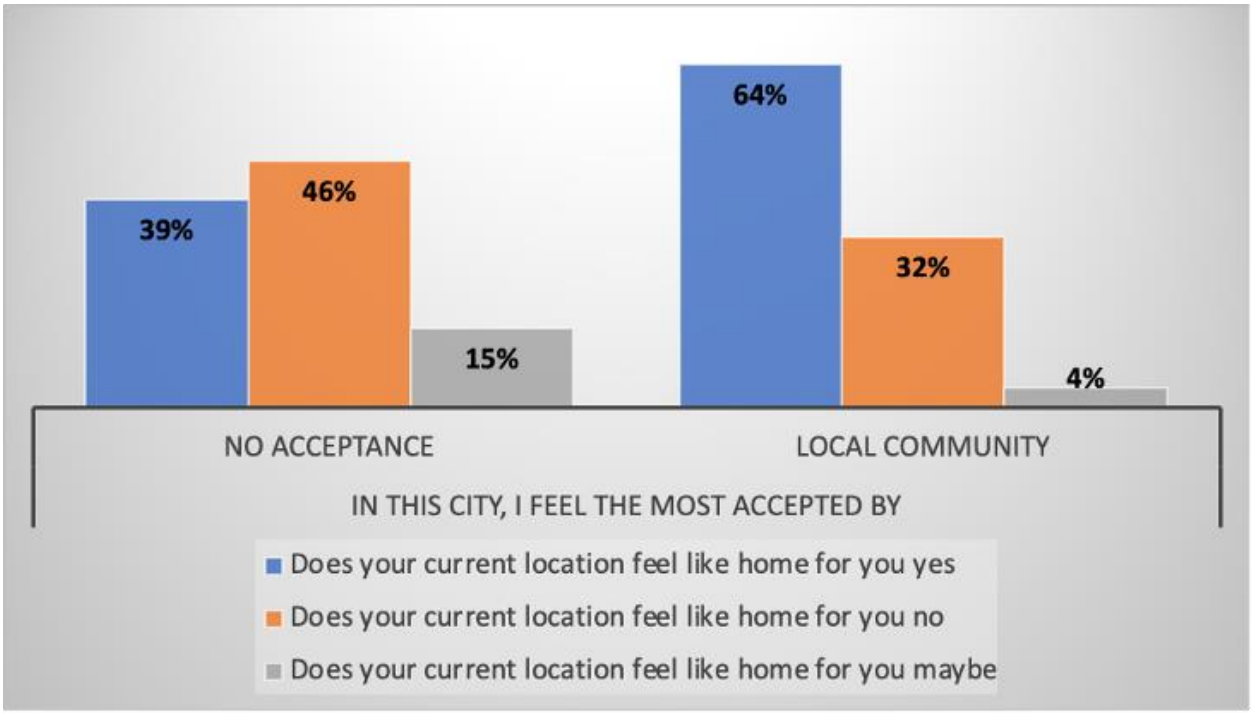


Figure 39: In this city, I feel most accepted by

The figure below measures acceptance generally across the cities: where acceptance by local communities were higher and common in Onitsha and Ibadan. Interviews reveals those who feel acceptance with the claws or maybe indicating the hostility of local community as the main reason, but generally feel acceptance in the city in general.



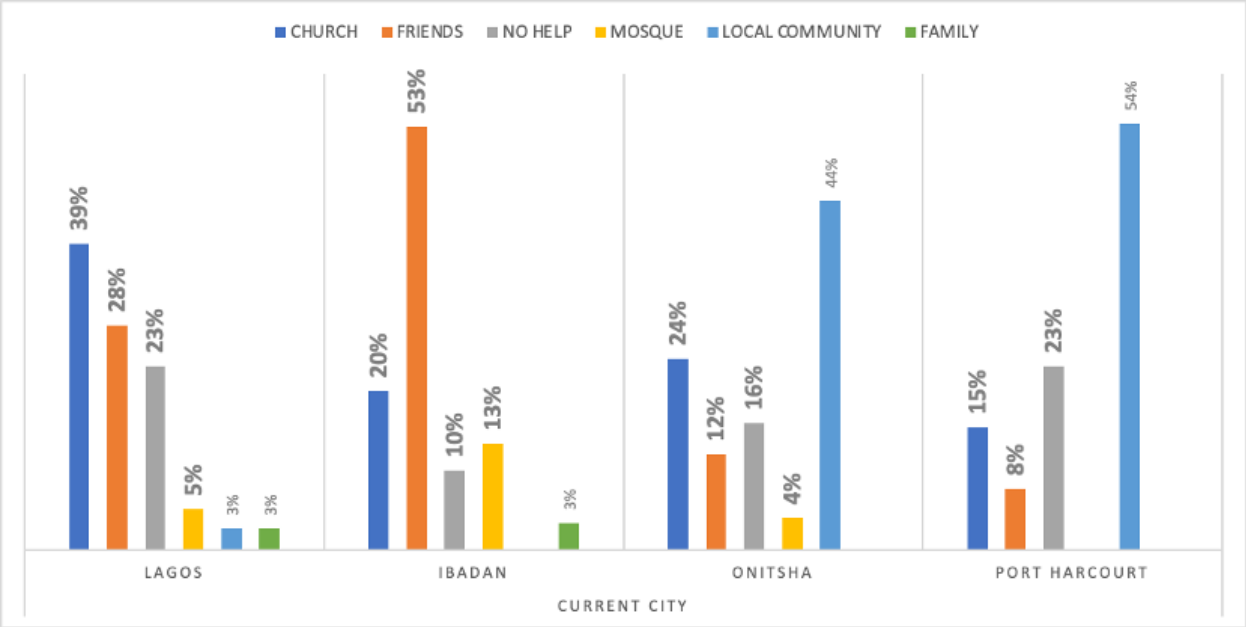


Figure 40: IDP Settlement and integration key stakeholders

The above illustrations present the comparative dynamics of belonging and acceptance across cities. The figure shows that a larger percentage of the IDPs who indicated they do not feel acceptable stated that their current cities do not feel like home. Compared to the qualitative data where acceptance is generally higher in Onitsha and Ibadan, the above figure unanimously shows higher acceptances by religious institutions and varying degrees at the local community level.

5.8 Future plans; return, remain, or onward movement

Assessing the self-perception of belonging and acceptance of the study population´s future plans. The objective is to assess the influence of this variable on the choice to remain, relocate to the North, or migrate to another location. This section delineates the intentions of the participants with regard to their future movement plans, specifically pertaining to their desire to either return to their place of origin, stay in their current location, or pursue onward relocation.

Figure 41 shows the plans of the internally displaced respondent. Out of 107 respondents, 11% want to return to the IDP camp, 67% want to stay at their current location, 5% want to move to another place, and 17% want to return to their place of origin before displacement. Inspite of the challenges facing the group the majority intend to want to stay at their current location. Supplementary qualitative data presents two key relative findings; linking the primary incentive to remain to economic opportunities.

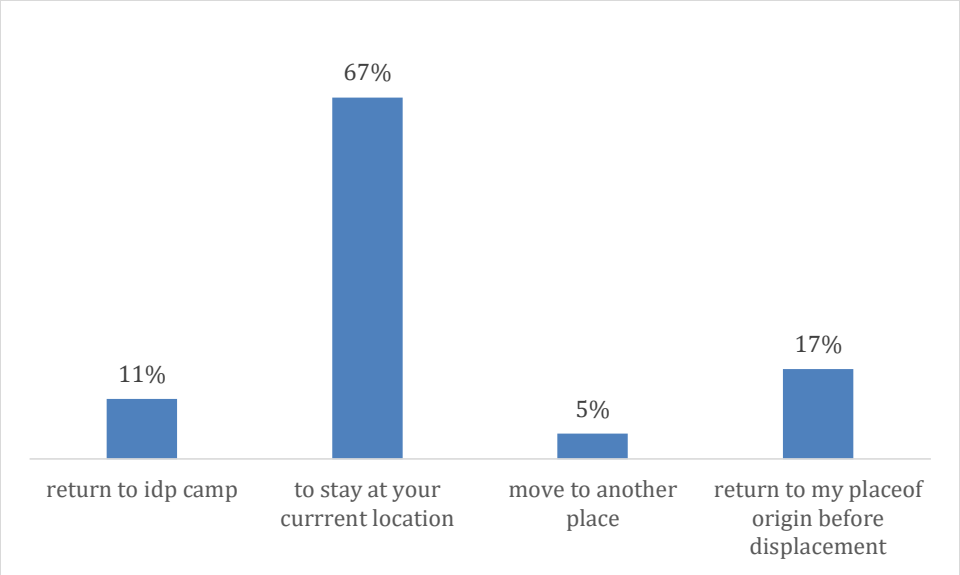


Figure 41: future plans

> *"The decision to move here was due to the opportunities of making a lot of money daily in the tricycle business, Lagos is the biggest market for it. We first moved to Lagos to do the same thing, but the Lagos government has harassed us a lot and now with the ban imposed in 2020, many of us informal transports started moving to Ibadan and another nearby town to continue working there while keeping our families in Lagos and shuttling between both cities"* (Mohammed, Male, 48, Ibadan)

In general, the data indicates a preference for secondary migration to neighbouring cities, which is primarily motivated by the livelihood disturbances that predominantly impact the male population in Lagos. During their visit to various cities, the group exhibited a favourable inclination towards staying predominantly in Onitsha and Ibadan. However, the group situated in Port Harcourt evinced a marked preference for relocating to the North once the situation there stabilises or seeking alternative locations due to their ongoing confrontation with local antagonism.

6. Emerging vulnerabilities and unintended consequences of IDP settlement and integration

Structural barriers impede the self-settlement and unassisted integration of this group in urban areas. The present section categorises emerging challenges into five primary classifications, namely, forced evictions, issues pertaining to women, children, and youth, inadequate access to fundamental services, discrimination, and extortion.

IDPs residing in urban areas are required to make payments to occupy settlement spaces. However, they remain vulnerable to frequent evictions in Lagos and Port Harcourt. A significant proportion of the participants in the study reported experiencing multiple evictions in the past, with ongoing threats of eviction. The evictions are frequently associated with the perceived

security risk posed by the displaced community and their reluctance to cooperate with local gangs, law enforcement, and other institutional entities that engage in financial extortion of the group. During the process of data collection in Lagos, the research team observed a particular incident.

Although evictions are not exclusive to IDPs, an interview with a community leader representing the IDP population suggests that their susceptible status as outsiders entering the city without the same rights as the local communities may be a contributing factor to the frequency of evictions they experience. An additional disconcerting aspect pertains to the escalating prejudice and subjugation experienced by the IDPs, with particularly pronounced occurrences identified in Lagos and Port Harcourt. In numerous cases, the IDPs are unjustly held accountable for various societal maladies, such as theft, without substantiated proof by the indigenous populace, in addition to posing security risks to the overall community.

> *"These guys are wreaking havoc in our city; they are everywhere; they have begun blocking highways for prayers; and the other day, there was a big clash between IDP Muslims and Eleme indigenous people. They are the ones who pitch tents in open spaces, take over unfinished buildings, and some even take over government schoolyards and live there. This has been the case for the last 8-10 years; they all came during the Boko Haram crisis. Many of them are also coming from Calabar since there are IDP camps on that side, so PH is really becoming inundated, and nobody really understands what the state is doing, and the result is hitting us at the community level"* (Victor, Male, 52, Community Leader, Port Harcourt)

> *"I am the top security officer for the neighbourhood. Yes, the IDPs pay a security levy and live here amongst us, but still, people are worried about the high number of them coming from the north every day, and what that means for us is that the majority of IDPs moving here are men to ride Okada, but they are also invading people's lands and causing a lot of tensions already in some areas like Orile, Apapa, Ajegunle, and Oshodi, and this is what we don't want here in Lekki. This is my first worry as a security officer; we do not want explosives to go off in Lagos".* (Male, 44, Community Development Association Security Officer, Lagos)

The aforementioned passage exemplifies the escalating prejudice against IDPs in the Lagos scenario, wherein indigenous community leaders seek injunctions to prevent IDPs from renting accommodations. Expressing an increasing sense of insecurity and concern regarding encroachment upon territorial boundaries. The group in Lagos are highly vulnerable to financial extortion, particularly women who are disproportionately affected by this criminal activity. Male criminals and police officers are known to exert their power over women, often seizing their daily income on multiple occasions. According to reports, the severity of this issue is more pronounced among women, who frequently experience subjugation by male perpetrators. The individuals surveyed below serve as an illustration of the difficulties faced in the cities of Lagos and Ibadan.

> "*Also, doing business as an IDP is very difficult, we pay taxes to the local government, but many other people collect money from us every day; yes, we make money; a lot of*

> *money, but financial extorting and paying bribes to different people every day keeps us at a loss daily"* (Female, 39, Ibadan)
>
> *"The police and areaboys (local thugs) disturb us a lot, I used to have a shop after many years of saving money to open this shop, many locals want to buy only on credit without pay, this ruins my ability to make a profit, but one day in 2019, the areaboys came and wanted to take all the money I made for the day, I refused and I scream for help, they left. In the evening they came back to teach me a lesson by burning down my shop. I lost everything, all the money I have worked for in five years as a small business owner, destroyed in one day".* (Female, 41, Lagos)

According to female participants who were surveyed regarding the group n Lagos and Ibadan, it was revealed that IDPs in both cities are vulnerable to financial exploitation. The aforementioned passage portrays the primary culprits of the oppression experienced by internally displaced persons as being the local communities and governmental entities. The analysis reveals two contrasting themes, wherein Lagos and Port Harcourt exhibit commonalities in terms of coerced relocation and challenging assimilation, whereas Ibadan and Onitsha depict a somewhat optimistic perspective. In general, the aforementioned findings indicate that local communities represent the primary stakeholder groups for IDPs. Nevertheless, they also underscore the uneven distribution of power and the tenuous nature of the relationship between IDPs and the local communities that receive them.

The discourse of focus groups conducted in various cities highlights the challenges specific to gender that women, girls, and young individuals face when displaced during their childhood. This indicates that the aforementioned sub-groups of internally displaced persons are experiencing a greater degree of disadvantage. Initially, it is noteworthy that women who are IDPs and reside in urban areas have experienced favourable socio-economic transformations. This is evidenced by a significant proportion of women who were previously unemployed and are now actively participating in economic endeavours. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that women in this context are at a heightened risk of subjugation by host communities. The data obtained from the focus group indicates that single-parent households and unmarried women face even more pronounced challenges. A window shared her gender-based vulnerability:

> *"In 2014, Boko Haram killed my husband and two of ours. Life was very difficult for me before I moved to Port Harcourt. I was living in camps without any male protection. Nothing will happen if the soldiers in the IDP camps do whatever they want to you as a woman living in IDP camps without male protection you are subject to all kinds of evil that I cannot bring myself to say. Some of them will have an impact on you forever. In camp, I saw soldiers rape young girls whose mothers could not protect them in exchange for food. Outside camps, the same applies maybe not as bad as camp because in camps IDPs are trapped and have no authority over their own lives. But, To whom do you single women or widows without male protection report these abuses? Now that we reside in the city, these neighbourhood local thugs may do anything they want to us; they take money from us on a regular basis, even though we are paying taxes to the local government, local thugs also tax us and police collect bribes on a daily basis. It happens to all IDPs but to women without male protection, it is worse"* (Female, 51)

Furthermore, it has been observed that adolescent females are frequently subjected to deliberate acts of sexual aggression, manipulation, and mistreatment. As demonstrated previously, there is a notable incidence of coerced marriages involving young girls within the Muslim IDP population residing in Lagos and Ibadan.

> *"Many of our young girls, ages 9 and up, are married to old men. This has been occurring since we were in the northern camps, but I believed it would cease now that we are out of that area. This is quite frequent in many Muslim homes. As a woman leader, I often get tales of young girls being handed to men with money as brides so that they can give their families money every month, and if a family owes money, they utilise younger girls to fulfil their loan"* (Female, 51)

Given that the majority of our case study population was first relocated between 2011 and 2014, the young participants caught in the qualitative interview between the ages of 21 and 25 imply that this group was children at the time of the first relocation.

> *"Another issue we face is that our children are not in school; many of the youths who were displaced as children never had the opportunity to return to school, the main issue being a lack of access to documentation showing previous enrollment." Many of them, even as youngsters, have never attended or gone to school since their parents cannot afford it. Despite the fact that elementary education is free in Nigeria, we lack the necessary paperwork to register with the local government or get the state national ID card or residency permission that permits us to register our children. While many of us earn money and pay taxes to our local government, we lack documentation that would allow us to get a tax ID that we could also use for school registration. Many of us pay to live here, but we don't have addresses or proof of payment."* (Female, Lagos)

The cross-city focus group investigates the difficulties that are specific to the context of youth and children who have been displaced. The aforementioned excerpts illustrate a noteworthy influence of displacement on the process of school re-enrolment and attendance among children. The preceding participant has provided a more lucid depiction. The hurdles faced by self-resettling IDPs moving to urban areas are primarily attributed to the absence of policy support, although several other factors may also contribute to the situation. Although the correlation between human trafficking and the vulnerable movement of the displaced are typically linked to refugees, our research indicates in Nigeria, IDPs are also vulnerable to transnational human trafficking due to the associated challenges they face in resettling and integrating into new communities without institutional policy support. The following excerpts extracted from the focus group discussions illustrate these issues across the aforementioned nexus.

> "*You must realise that many of us have been living in this transitory status since 2011, travelling from one area to another, attempting to resettle but failing, and then relocating again. Many of us have lived in up to five different states before arriving where we are now, and nothing has changed. This dissatisfaction is motivating many of our young to flee the nation. They are saving money from every job they do in order to pay an agent who has promised them work in Dubai, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Egypt. They may*

> *then go to Europe. several of our young girls and boys who work for a living are now accumulating money to pay brokers who promise them opportunities overseas, and we know of several who have departed since 2017. The issue currently is that many of their relatives have not heard from them since then and are unsure if they are living or dead. Nigeria is difficult, but we have additional difficulties since we have been relocated for years and are locked in a never-ending cycle with little chance of breaking free. Is this your life?"* (Female, 51)

Human traffickers are entering the already vulnerable population and leveraging the rising dissatisfaction of IDPs in urban areas as migration and trafficking meet. Similarly, IDP community leaders describe an increase in the desire to join ongoing mass terrorist recruitment by Boko Haram in the North as a consequence of IDPs' escalating dissatisfaction and frustration associated with unsupported settlement and integration as seen in the passage below:

> *"Many of our city-dwelling young guys are dissatisfied. Aside from a lack of help from anybody, the state government makes it challenging for them to earn a living through the various oppressive methods both by the government and local communities to frustrate IDPs out of the city. Many of us before coming to Lagos have tried many other places and faced similar issues with little success and dissatisfaction everywhere, and lately, since 2020, many of us are returning to the north to join Boko Haram for safety and survival"* (Yaha, Male, Lagos)

Based on the analysis of focus group data and interviews, it can be inferred that adolescents and young adults are particularly vulnerable to human trafficking. The perpetrators of this crime are reportedly female and originate from Benin City and Lagos. The cohort that expressed their desire to rejoin Boko Haram and relocate to northern Nigeria comprised male individuals in their youth. The underlying justification for the inducements to enlist in the terrorist organisation was predominantly attributable to the arduous encounters encountered by the youth during the procedures of relocation and assimilation. The assertion is made that individuals who join Boko Haram do so not only as a means of self-preservation in their respective places of origin, but also due to the incentives provided by the Nigerian government, which include the payment of ransoms, pardons, and amnesty. It is important to note that these matters were exclusively reported in Lagos and Port Harcourt.

7. Key lessons and opportunities

The results of this research show that both IDPs and refugees in Nigeria eventually move to major cities due to protracted displacement, the extended nature of "temporary by design but permanent nature of encampment," the inadmissibility of durable solutions as returns, and the associated difficulties of "self-resettlement." in previous locations. Our results have significant worldwide ramifications since forced displacement and eventual migration of the displaced to rapidly urbanising places are becoming more problematic. Yet, as seen in Nigeria, where the UNCHR is unable to assist IDPs residing outside of certain regional contexts, international cooperation in decentralising humanitarian measures remains stagnant.

The recent discoveries have important ramifications for the objectives of cities and other components of the UN Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development. A further barrier to city governments outside of these areas responding to this group of vulnerable city newcomers is Nigeria's restricted humanitarian policy towards regional operations inside the northeast, where the displacement is taking place. The local populations regard themselves as temporary hosts and the prolongation of their stay is leading to extreme antagonism and other sorts of repressive techniques towards the IDPs. As a result, they are cast as reluctant hosts without the resources, support, or knowledge to host.

In these situations, the sporadic self-settlement of this group is, at best, invisible in the big urban data scales, but effective at the local level, as seen in Onitsha and Ibadan, and, in the worst cases, invisible and targeted as seen in Lagos and Port Harcourt, leading to increased vulnerabilities. Of course, it is far from ideal for the displaced, cities, or local communities when people who are fleeing their homes in search of safety and opportunities available to start over in one of their towns are invisible.

The national policy of Nigeria regards IDPs as a geographically stationary and immobile cohort, confined solely to camps situated within the northern region of the country. The aforementioned circumstance hinders the allocation of humanitarian financial resources to states, local entities, and non-governmental organisations, thereby impeding their capacity to effectively direct interventions towards this particular demographic. It is noteworthy that the enumeration exercise is solely conducted within the confines of camps, thereby rendering IDPs in Nigerian cities ineligible for recognition as authentic urban residents. Consequently, city authorities lack the legal mandate to provide assistance, and they are also excluded from the comprehensive urban data as a valid cohort of urban inhabitants.

Concurrently, the escalating significance of cities in terms of socio-economic and political aspects is a widespread trend worldwide. The gross domestic product of larger cities and agglomerations currently exceeds that of smaller cities by a significant margin, indicating their greater economic influence. Additionally, the relocation of individuals from these areas presents a substantial opportunity for initiating a fresh start. In contrast to city governments in the Global North, those in Nigeria lack organised structures to effectively manage the influx of displaced populations and the associated challenges. This absence of structures has resulted in the emergence of novel forms of urban precarity for both the cities and the internally displaced persons.

The exclusion of the displaced in cities often results in their resorting to a self-reliant approach to address their pressing fundamental needs, which may not be optimal. This can lead to the emergence of additional groups of homeless individuals and the expansion of informal settlements, thereby impeding the progress of city governments towards achieving certain Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), such as the goal of creating cities without slums. In response to their basic shelters, IDPs establish new informal settlements, while the municipal government reacts by implementing forced evictions, as documented in Lagos and Port Harcourt. The aforementioned methodologies impede the stability of the IDPs and exacerbate their susceptibility an already fragile demographic to additional extremist influences. In optimal circumstances, IDPs have been observed to constitute a productive demographic within urban

areas, engaging in the informal economy and contributing to the tax base. This phenomenon has been documented in the city of Onitsha, where water cart vendors have been observed to fulfil a crucial role in meeting basic needs.

The present research endeavours to reconceptualize urban areas as not only locations of transit, where individuals have made an average of two to three previous stops before arriving at their current destination but also as larger metropolitan areas with robust economies that play a crucial role in providing a sustainable resolution to prolonged displacement in Nigeria. The aforementioned cities, namely Calabar, Maiduguri, Kaduna, and Benin, are recognised as transitional centres. However, the escalation of security concerns in Kaduna and Abuja is a significant impetus for continued migration. Subsequently, the economic significance of metropolises with substantial financial systems such as Lagos assumes a pivotal function in incentivizing persistent migration to these urban areas, notwithstanding prior halts. The ban on informal transport in Lagos has resulted in a significant migration of individuals to nearby cities such as Ibadan and Abeokuta. This migration suggests that the affected population is not seeking dependency, but rather seeking opportunities to become worthwhile members of urban economies; providing for themselves. As opposed to the passive and handout-seeking perception of displaced groups as liabilities in cities. The data additionally shows that these movements are predominantly enabled by opportunities for sustenance.

In contrast to cities located in the Global North, cities situated in the South are frequently characterised by high levels of inequality, fragmentation, disconnection, and elevated costs (Kelsall, Tim, et al., 2021). The study regards the four cities as instances of "urbanisation without development," which exposes IDPs relocating to these cities to vulnerability. The extent and nature of the challenges faced by IDPs in Lagos and Port Harcourt are similar, while they differ significantly from those encountered by IDPs in Onitsha and Ibadan. The self-settlement of IDPs in the latter two cities appears to be less precarious. The present discourse aims to explicate the underlying reasons for the observed disparities in the settlement patterns of the displaced. Specifically, this study seeks to shed light on the impact of structural support on the self-settlement capacity of IDPs, as well as the influence of the ongoing insecurity crisis in the northern region on the perceived threats to IDPs. Additionally, this investigation will examine the factors that account for the divergent experiences of IDPs in Onitsha and Ibadan.

In nations where access to social public goods is restricted, such as Nigeria where the municipal government is not included in the humanitarian policy framework, it is crucial to comprehend the response of this demographic to pressing necessities and their constructive impact on the socio-economic structure of urban areas. The analysis of livelihood strategies adopted by these groups in urban areas indicates that despite the common perception of displaced populations as a burden on urban systems, IDPs in the four cities under study have developed effective livelihood transitioning strategies. These strategies offer valuable insights and opportunities for further development and improvement. The documented favourable consequences of women's livelihood in urban areas underscore the significance of urban livelihood as a means of incorporating displaced women. Engaging in such an endeavour may offer prospects for dismantling the adverse portrayal of IDPs among their proximate host societies, thereby potentially mitigating the animosity directed towards them.

In this particular context, the ongoing global discourse regarding the mobility of displaced populations towards urban areas ought to be focused on cities, taking into account the actuality of permanence, rather than the current temporary perspective that perceives the prolongation and influx of displaced individuals into cities. The discourse surrounding the role of cities in the lives of refugees residing in the North tends to overlook the cities in the South, where the majority of internally displaced persons and transnational refugee movements are documented, as evidenced in this particular case study.

The results of our study indicate a necessity to advocate for increased recognition of the responsibilities of global southern cities in providing sustainable solutions for displaced populations. Furthermore, our findings highlight the potential negative consequences of neglecting and excluding these populations, as well as the use of hostile tactics towards them, which may contribute to the emergence of societal issues such as radicalization and vulnerability to human trafficking and illegal transnational migration. These implications should be carefully considered within the context of international politics.

In general, there exists a necessity to comprehensively comprehend the capacity of urban areas to facilitate settlement, taking into account various factors such as their extensive heterogeneity within the wider framework of socio-political circumstances. An inquiry worth exploring is the rationale behind local communities' resistance towards the settlement of IDPs, and the strategies that can be employed to establish partnerships that facilitate the organised and efficient self-relocation of mobile IDPs. What are the potential opportunities and constraints associated with this collaboration? What are the potential takeaways from the current phenomenon of self-settlement?

8. Conclusions

The urban context reveals the presence of effective local community practises for self-settling displaced groups in the four cities. These practices emphasise the significance of internal leadership among IDPs and external collaboration at the local community level to achieve socio-economic integration. The aforementioned case studies serve as examples of the possible aid that can be provided by the state, local government, and regional community entities. The higher incidence of challenges encountered in Lagos and Port Harcourt underscores the critical significance of providing assistance to this demographic. This can be achieved by gathering relevant data to inform and tailor humanitarian budgeting and intervention strategies, allocating resources towards urban centres, and offering comprehensive support to communities that have a significant number of displaced individuals.

The distinctive challenges faced by the group residing in Lagos and Port Harcourt serve as an exemplification of the intricate interplay between the persisting insecurity crisis in Nigeria, which acts as a cause of strain between the IDPs and their local hosts, and as a cause of internal segregation among the IDPs along religious lines. The case of Ontisha serves as a prime illustration, however, it is imperative to acknowledge that the limitations imposed on the IDPs by the indigenous host communities, specifically the curtailment of religious practises by the Muslim population, can be attributed to the persistent state of national insecurity.

The cities under consideration highlight the importance of accurately documenting the quantity of IDPs relocating to urban areas and devising targeted interventions to support them, as well as the receiving states and their indigenous host communities. In the event that this particular group of urban internally displaced persons is accurately documented in official population counts, the cities and municipalities in which they are located may potentially receive increased resources from both national governments and international humanitarian aid organisations. The implementation of said interventions may reflect the accurate quantification of individuals requiring assistance, establish metrics for determining the achievement of integration, and illuminate the beneficial impact of this urban population on the city's infrastructure. Consequently, the global community with a vested interest in the diverse obstacles encountered by these factions would possess the requisite information to formulate urban initiatives in metropolitan areas and regional societies where they lack a presence.

The absence of reliable data in Nigeria hinders the realisation of the potential benefits of including urban residents in censuses, government development plans, city planning, and international humanitarian aid programmes. It is imperative to address this data gap to effectively support this population. According to Weihmayer, Le Voir, and Cardona-Fox (2022), the targeting of IDPs cannot be achieved satisfactorily without comprehensive and deliberate data.

Additionally, it is imperative to consider Cardona-Fox's (2020) analysis regarding the political implications of internally displaced persons (IDP) data and its subsequent distribution, as it is closely tied to the policy stance and objectives of the nation in question. In Nigeria, the current policy regarding IDPs involves their placement in camps, particularly in the northern region. Given this policy, it is improbable that an accurate enumeration of IDPs could be achieved without a corresponding adjustment in the national policy. This underscores the necessity for sustained efforts in advocating for and engaging with policies pertaining to the adaptation of the global framework.

Regarding Nigeria, a potential solution could involve the implementation of the 2009 Kampala Convention, which was adopted by Nigeria in 2012. This could facilitate the involvement of state governments in promoting and ensuring the integration of mobile IDPs into the urban development framework.

Upon examining these four urban centres collectively, a salient observation is the significance of scrutinising not only the host communities' local level but also the cities' positioning within districts, regions, and the broader national context. The impact of internal politics on the response of local communities cannot be understated in both Lagos and Port Harcourt. However, it is noteworthy that the severity of preexisting urban precarities is positively correlated with the degree of difficulty experienced by this group in integrating themselves into society. This raises inquiries such as whether the primary impediment to the integration of IDPs could be attributed to the fact that Lagos and Port Harcourt, are the two largest economies among the four cities with the most permeable land tenure systems.

Onitsha and Ibadan exemplify effective local knowledge coproduction between IDPs and the surrounding communities, demonstrating how aid can be acquired through precise communication and cohesive objectives. Easton-Calabria and Wood (2022) discovered a

comparable and effective approach in Arua West Nile, Uganda, where the Community Development Forum (CDF) of the municipality convenes representatives from various sectors and groups, including the displaced population, to collectively address challenges that arise between the displaced and their local hosts could be a perfect example to be adopted by cities and local communities hosting IDPs.

Simultaneously, the diverse instances observed in urban areas demonstrate that the notion of 'the local community' is inherently intricate and multifaceted, as various stakeholders possess distinct and occasionally conflicting interests and objectives. According to Easton-Calabria and Wood (2022), the existence of such dichotomies hinders the inclination of humanitarian organisations to finance interventions that are not situated within structural contexts like camps. For nations such as Nigeria, this constitutes a crucial domain for continuous deliberation with indigenous communities, urban areas, local governing bodies, and benefactors alike.

The collective examination of various instances of self-settlement and unassisted integration efforts by IDPs in Lagos, Ibadan, Onitsha, and Port Harcourt provides valuable insights and suggestions for cities undergoing rapid urbanisation and accommodating displaced communities. The findings are relevant to multiple stakeholders, including central, state, and municipal governments, as well as international humanitarian agencies and governments. Primarily, conducting research, collaborating, and implementing interventions that acknowledge the demographic characteristics of urban residents can enhance the prosperity of both newcomers and the existing population, as well as the local governing bodies that aim to facilitate their growth.

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