Impacts of displacement

Displaced by violence, Jos, Nigeria

iDMC internal displacement monitoring centre

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A crowd of newly displaced women and children waiting in the open for assistance in Monguno camp reception centre. Tom Peyre-Costa/NRC, March 2020.

Executive summary

IDMC conducted a study in 2021 to measure the impacts of internal displacement on the livelihoods, housing, health, education and security of people displaced by violence and on the non-displaced local community in Jos, a city in Nigeria's Plateau State (see map 1). The study aims to inform more comprehensive and inclusive assistance to affected populations. This report presents its key findings.

"Displacement has affected our wellbeing. We don't eat well, and we get embarrassed because our low income means we pay our rent late...We want to farm but have no land. It's just difficult for us here, and we wish we could get back to our home and live a normal life." ***– Displaced respondent***

Map 1: Location of the case study in Jos, Plateau State

Impacts on livelihoods

One of the most severe impacts of displacement on internally displaced people (IDPs) surveyed in Jos is disruption to their livelihoods. Nearly a third became unemployed or did not earn an income from work after arriving in the city and just under half said they earn money a different way.

Almost all surveyed IDPs were originally living in Plateau State before being displaced to Jos. Most relied on farming as their main source of income and food prior to their displacement. Lack of access to agricultural land in Jos, however, has caused many IDPs to do manual labour, sell goods in markets or work as cleaners instead.

On average, displaced households earn less than half of what non-displaced households earn in Jos. These changes have affected IDPs' ability to meet their basic needs. Seventy-one per cent of IDPs said their household's financial resources were enough to fulfil their needs and wants before their displacement, but just five per cent say that is the case now.

The IDPs' arrival in the area has not had a significant impact on the income levels or access to work of non-displaced respondents. Only 42 per cent of respondents said their household's financial resources were enough to fulfil their needs now, however, down from 73 per cent before. Some reported that there has been a rise in the cost of rent and goods since the IDPs arrived and that they have paid additional money in expenses to provide IDPs with food, clothing and shelter.

Impacts on housing

Displacement has led to significant changes in the living conditions of surveyed IDPs and a deterioration in their level of housing satisfaction.

Most IDPs owned their home in their communities of origin, but now have to rent accommodation of a lower quality in Jos. About three-quarters of IDPs said they are less satisfied with their housing conditions now compared with before, while five per cent said they were more satisfied. Those who are less satisfied noted that they struggle to pay rent and that the places they currently live in are smaller than their previous homes, and often lack toilets, clean water and electricity.

The arrival of IDPs in the area does not seem to have had a striking effect on non-displaced respondents' housing satisfaction, with the majority equally as satisfied as before.

Impacts on security

The findings suggest that for the most part, displacement has led to an improvement in the security of surveyed IDPs and has not had a significant impact on the sense of safety of non-displaced respondents.

Many of the IDPs reported being displaced from their farmlands because of clashes with herders. The majority of displaced respondents (59 per cent) reported feeling safer now compared with before. They attributed it to the presence of security personnel in Jos and the fact that they no longer live in fear of attacks. Conversely, 13 per cent of IDPs feel less safe now, with some fearing that attackers from their home areas would find them in their new communities.

The majority of non-displaced respondents feel equally as safe as they did before the arrival of the IDPs. Seventeen per cent, however, feel less safe. Some attributed this feeling to a rise in crime and theft. Others feared that the presence of IDPs in their community would increase their risk of external attacks.

Impacts on education

Despite initial disruptions to their schooling, 87 per cent of displaced respondents reported that their children are enrolled in school now. That is only slightly less than the rate before their displacement. Disaggregating the results by sex, however, reveals that while boys' enrolment has increased since their displacement, girls' enrolment has decreased.

The majority of displaced respondents cited cost as the main reason why their children do not go to school now. Primary education is officially free and compulsory in Nigeria, but most displaced and non-displaced respondents said they still pay school fees, as well as materials, uniforms, meals and transportation for their children.

A third of surveyed IDPs said they were more satisfied with their children's education now than before. Thirty-seven per cent of them, however, said they were less satisfied because of the lower quality of available schools and their cost.

The arrival of IDPs in the area has not significantly affected the education of non-displaced children, and their school enrolment rates and satisfaction levels have, for the most part, remained the same.

Impacts on health

The findings suggest that, in most cases, displacement has not significantly affected the physical health of surveyed IDPs or reduced their access to healthcare. Sixty-three per cent of them reported that their physical health was the same now as before their displacement, and 70 per cent reported that their household's access to healthcare remained the same.

Despite this, displacement was linked to a deterioration in the physical and mental health of some IDPs. Respondents said that their lack of access to food, clean water and medication had exposed them to greater health risks. Health professionals noted that poor hygiene and sanitation had increased their risk of infectious diseases. Thirty-seven per cent of IDPs said they feel nervous, worried, angry or sad more often now than before their displacement.

Most non-displaced respondents said their physical health had not changed since the arrival of IDPs in the area (92 per cent) and that their access to healthcare had remained the same (89 per cent). Some, however, noted that health facilities had become overcrowded and that the cost of healthcare had risen since the arrival of IDPs in the area.

Other impacts of displacement

Everyone in the area has been affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, but this period has been particularly challenging for IDPs. Several key informants noted that IDPs' overcrowded living conditions and limited access to handwashing facilities have made it more difficult for them to limit the risk of catching Covid-19 and spreading it to others. School closures also severely affected the education of displaced children by further disrupting and delaying their learning.

Marginalised groups, such as IDPs with disabilities, have been largely left out of Covid-19 responses. Key informants suggest that IDPs with disabilities were already facing barriers in accessing shelters, schools and inclusive assistance during displacement and that the Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated their needs.

The findings highlight several ways in which displacement has affected both displaced and non-displaced communities in the host area and the financial consequences this has had. Some of the impacts were positive, but others led to a deterioration in people's lives. This reality reinforces

the importance of addressing the root causes of displacement. It also points to a need for more comprehensive, tailored and inclusive support to enable IDPs to achieve durable solutions to their displacement. Addressing the negative impacts of displacement requires adopting a holistic approach that has the needs of displaced and non-displaced communities at its core, and considers displacement as both a short-term emergency and longer-term development issue.

Introduction

Nigeria is home to one of the world's most complex displacement crises, which has significantly affected the lives of both internally displaced people (IDPs) and non-displaced communities. Conflict and violence led to 169,000 new displacements in 2020 and more than 2.7 million people were living in displacement at the end of the year, an increase from 2019.[1]

Boko Haram and other non-state armed groups triggered significant displacement in the north-east of the country in 2020. Ethno-religious tensions, crime, cattle rustling, land disputes, tensions over scarce resources, and violent clashes between farmers and herders also escalated in the central, north-central and north-west regions of Nigeria during 2020, prompting thousands to flee their homes. The impacts of climate change are also thought to be exacerbating tensions and conflicts over resources.[2]

Humanitarian attention and research tend to focus on displacement in the north-east of Nigeria. Information on the socioeconomic impacts of displacement in other parts of the country, including the north-central region, remains scarce, however. The absence of such data in these areas makes it difficult to effectively tailor support for IDPs and non-displaced communities and assess IDPs' progress towards durable solutions.

Seeking to bridge this knowledge gap, IDMC conducted a study in 2021 to measure the impacts of internal displacement on the livelihoods, housing, health, education and security of people displaced by violence, and on the non-displaced local community, in Jos, a city in Plateau State.

Plateau State is in the north-central region of Nigeria and was home to more than 77,000 IDPs as of February 2021, 87 per cent of whom had been displaced by communal clashes.[3] Attacks on several villages in the state, linked with ongoing criminal and communal violence, led to the displacement of more than 15,000 people in August 2021.[4]

Many of those fleeing violence in the state settle in the state capital of Jos, which hosted about 12,000 IDPs as of February 2021.[5]

The results were obtained using IDMC's original survey tool and were disaggregated by sex, age, disability status and the main language spoken at home.[6] The survey's quantitative findings were complemented with key informant interviews. Additional questions were included to investigate the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on displaced and non-displaced communities.

This report presents the findings of the assessment and analyses the different ways displacement affects people's lives and resources. With new humanitarian operations commencing near Jos in 2021, the insights gathered are intended to help humanitarian actors better understand the needs of IDPs and non-displaced communities and inform future humanitarian and development programmes in Jos and beyond.

The overlapping impacts of conflict, violence and disasters continue to worsen Nigeria's displacement crisis. As this happens, expanding the collection of data on the impacts of displacement is essential to understanding the needs of affected populations, tailoring responses accordingly, and fostering more inclusive assistance. It can also assist in monitoring the impact of prior investments, assessing how needs have changed over time, and prioritising resources more effectively.

Box 1: Sample description

Plateau is an ethnically and religiously diverse state in the north-central region of Nigeria. Much of the displacement taking place in Plateau is linked to clashes between farmers and herders.[7] These violent disputes over land escalated in 2018 and have criminal, ethnic and religious dimensions.[8]

The city of Jos was chosen for this case study as it has high levels of internal displacement linked with violence. It is also an example of a situation in which IDPs live among the non-displaced local community and share many of the same facilities and services.

The study focuses on IDPs who arrived in Jos between June 2019 and May 2020 after leaving their homes because of violence. Almost all surveyed IDPs were originally living in Plateau before being displaced. Sixty per cent reported having to move once since originally leaving their home, 29 per cent twice, and 11 per cent three times or more.

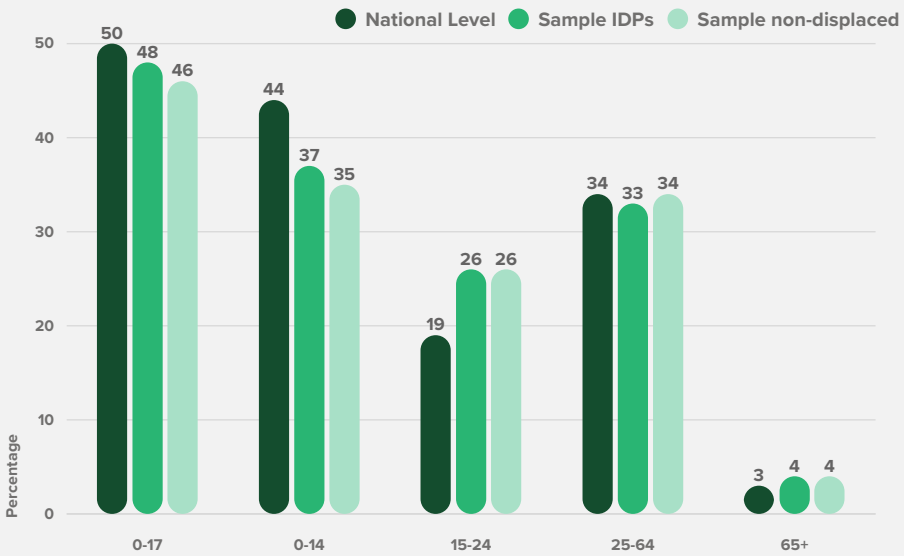
A total of 150 IDPs and 150 members of the local non-displaced community were interviewed. Twenty-seven per cent of non-displaced respondents are hosting IDPs in their home. About half the respondents in both groups were women, and the average age of displaced and non-displaced respondents was 36 and 38, respectively.[9]

The demographic distribution of the surveyed displaced households is similar to that of the non-displaced households (see figure 1). Overall, the sample from both groups was slightly older than the national population, with 37 per cent of displaced households and 36 per cent of non-displaced households under the age of 15, compared with 44 per cent of the national population.

Eighty-three per cent of displaced respondents and 79 per cent of non-displaced respondents speak Berom as their main language at home. This is one of the most widely spoken languages in Plateau State.[10] Eight per cent of surveyed IDPs and nine per cent of non-displaced people speak Hausa as their main language. Ninety-five per cent of non-displaced respondents received some level of education, but the figure was slightly lower for displaced respondents, at 89 per cent.

Two per cent of displaced respondents and three per cent of non-displaced respondents were identified as having disabilities using the Washington Group Short Set of Questions.[11] Some respondents also indicated that another member of their household was living with disabilities. Overall, 13 per cent of the surveyed displaced households and seven per cent of non-displaced households included at least one member with disabilities (see spotlight on page 14). Results from the survey and key informant interviews are used to compare the livelihoods, housing, security, education and health of IDPs and non-displaced people, before and after displacement. The results presented in this report must be understood as representative only of the people surveyed, and not of the entire displaced or non-displaced population in Nigeria.

Figure 1: Percentage of members of the surveyed displaced and non-displaced households and of the national population by age group (survey data and UN World Population Prospects data 2020)



Impacts on livelihoods

Disruptions to their livelihoods have been one of the most severe impacts of displacement on surveyed IDPs. Many respondents say it is among the areas where they most urgently need support. They add that their lack of financial resources limits their ability to buy food for their families and cover their housing, healthcare and education needs.

When asked how their personal situation changed after being displaced, 21 per cent of respondents said they continued to earn money the same way as before, while 47 per cent earned money a different way. Thirty-one per cent of respondents reported that they became unemployed or did not earn an income from work after being displaced. Of those who became unemployed, 30 per cent remained so for seven to 12 months, while 28 per cent are still unemployed.

At the household level, 87 per cent of displaced households said that at least one household member earns money from work now, down from 98 per cent of households before their displacement. In contrast, the proportion of non-displaced respondents earning money from work has largely remained the same. Ninety-three per cent of non-displaced households reported that at least one household member earned money from work before the arrival of IDPs in Jos. This has decreased slightly to 90 per cent now.

"Life has not been easy for us. We have no real job to meet household needs and the little we have helps us eat and search again for another meal. We can't farm because this is not our homeland." ***– Displaced respondent***

Most of the IDPs living in Jos relied on farming as their main source of income and food prior to their displacement. Non-displaced locals also engage in farming, but key informants noted that IDPs' lack of access to land, fertilizer and other tools prevents them from continuing to farm in their new communities.

According to a leader of the displaced community, this has even prompted some displaced youth to go back to their villages to farm, bring back their harvest, and share it with the community.

"The main obstacle is the lack of knowledge and skills. Most of them (IDPs) are farmers and some of them do menial jobs. In a city like this – the capital – we don't have vast lands to accommodate them all. Most farmland is already owned." ***– Representative of a local NGO working in healthcare***

Within the displaced sample, a higher proportion of women than men reported that they became unemployed, at 38 per cent and 24 per cent, respectively. Displaced men often take up construction-related work in Jos. Key informants, suggest there are less opportunities for women in manual labour. As a result, some sell goods at local markets or work as cleaners.

Employment opportunities are more diverse for members of the non-displaced community, with some working as farmers, carpenters, teachers, lawyers and nurses.

"You will see people working in construction but you will notice that most of the jobs are done by men. There is less opportunity for women because it is labour intensive – it has to do with strength." ***– Youth representative***

The average monthly household income from the work of surveyed IDPs dropped from $112 before displacement to $47 now. Surveyed IDPs earned on average more than non-displaced respondents before being displaced, but in their new communities they earn less than half the average monthly income of non-displaced households (see figure 2). Discrimination, and a lack of skills and networks, are key barriers for IDPs seeking work.

Figure 2: Average monthly household income from work for displaced and non-displaced respondents before displacement and now, in USD

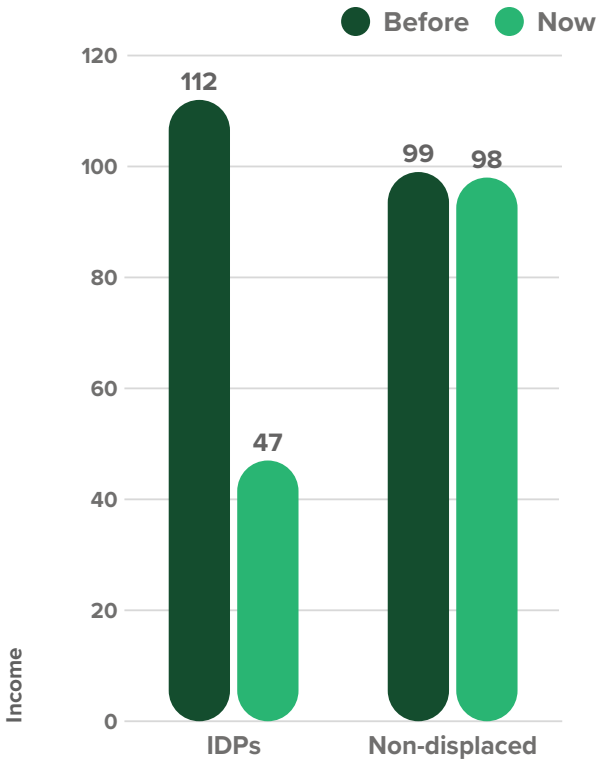
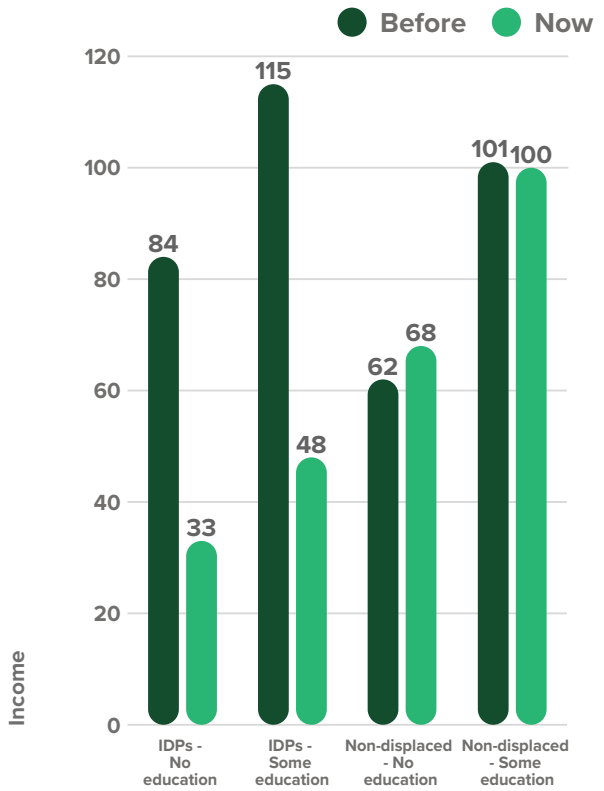


Figure 3: Average monthly household income from work for displaced and non-displaced respondents before displacement and now, by respondents' education level, in USD



The average monthly household income reported by both displaced and non-displaced respondents was significantly lower for respondents with no education than for those with some education (see figure 3). This was the case before displacement, and it is the case now.

Apart from work, other sources of income for displaced and non-displaced households include remittances from family and friends. Twenty-three per cent of displaced respondents said their household received financial support from family or friends before their displacement. Sixteen per cent do so now. Seventeen per cent of non-displaced households receive remittances now, a slight increase from before.

The average amount of money households receive in remittances per month decreased from $22 to $7 for displaced households and from $25 to $14 for non-displaced households.

Seven per cent of displaced households received financial support from the government and other institutions. That was down from about nine per cent before their displacement. Despite this reduction, the average amount of financial support they receive per month increased from $4 before their displacement to $30 now.

Only one per cent of non-displaced households receive financial support from the government and other institutions now. That compares with just under three per cent before.

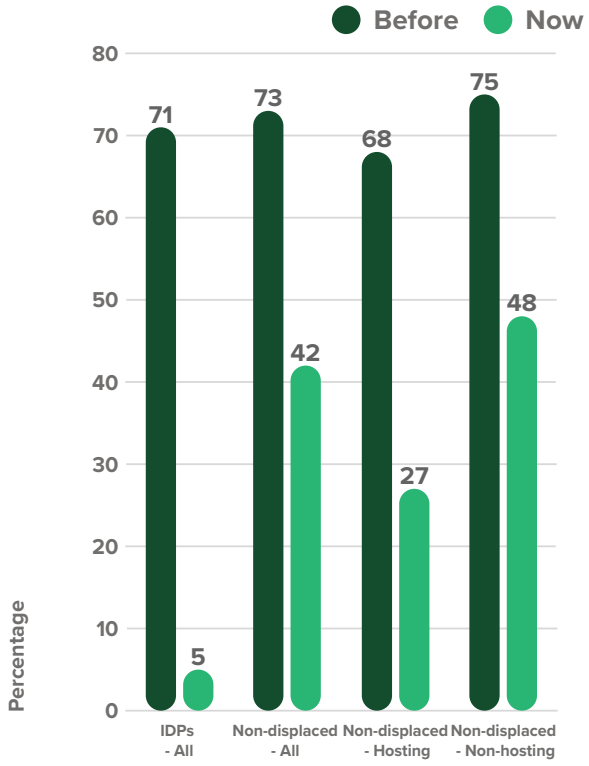
Changes in IDPs' livelihoods and the cost of living seem to have had a significant impact on their ability to meet their basic needs. Seventy-one per cent of IDPs said their household's financial resources were enough to fulfil their needs and wants before their displacement, but just 5 per cent say that is the case now. Surveyed IDPs said that unlike the situation in their communities of origin, they have to pay for rent in Jos and cannot farm their own food.

Nine per cent of displaced respondents said they receive financial support because they had to leave their previous home. Many of them rely on donations from churches and support from NGOs to get by.

The findings also point to a deterioration in the living standards of non-displaced respondents. Forty-two per cent of non-displaced respondents said their household's financial resources were enough to fulfil their needs now, down from 73 per cent before. Some respondents reported that there has been a rise in the cost of rent and goods since the arrival of IDPs in the area.

The decline was particularly steep for non-displaced respondents currently hosting IDPs in their homes: 68 per cent said their financial resources were enough to fulfil their needs before the arrival of IDPs in the area, compared with a little more than a quarter now (see figure 4).

Figure 4: Percentage of displaced and non-displaced respondents estimating that they have enough financial resources to meet all their basic needs and wants before displacement and now



Twenty-nine per cent of non-displaced respondents noted that they pay additional expenses to provide IDPs with food, clothing and shelter. The fact that only two non-displaced respondents said they receive financial support to assist with the arrival of IDPs also suggests that, in most cases, non-displaced locals are left to absorb the costs of hosting and assisting IDPs.

"Their presence is an additional burden on us because we need to raise funds and food so that they don't starve. This has affected our living standard." ***– Non-displaced respondent***

The quantitative and qualitative findings suggest that displacement has negatively affected IDPs' level of income and their ability to meet their basic needs. Several factors could also be at play, including a rise in inflation and an economic downturn. The results, however, point to a need to provide IDPs with targeted support. Very few of them receive financial support to assist with their displacement. Although there have been some training and skills programmes for IDPs in Jos, they remain limited overall.

Investing in livelihood programmes for IDPs would not only reduce their reliance on in-kind donations. It would also enhance their ability to contribute to the local economy. This could, in turn, have wider benefits, including improvements in IDPs' psychosocial wellbeing. Increasing access to employment for IDPs could also benefit the non-displaced community by reducing the financial costs associated with hosting and assisting them.

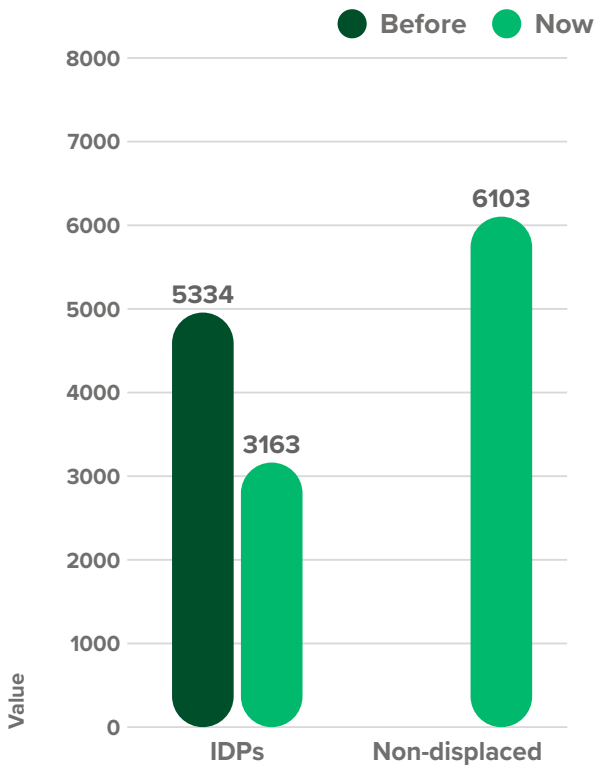
Impacts on housing

Displacement has led to significant changes in the living conditions of surveyed IDPs and a deterioration in their level of housing satisfaction. Many displaced respondents reported that they struggle to pay rent in Jos and have limited access to clean water and electricity.

Surveyed IDPs did not find shelter immediately upon arriving in Jos. Some stayed in temporary shelters erected in schools and public spaces, while others stayed with members of the local non-displaced community.

Ninety-three per cent of surveyed IDPs owned their home prior to their displacement, but less than nine per cent own the place where they reside now. By comparison, 86 per cent of non-displaced respondents owns their home in Jos.

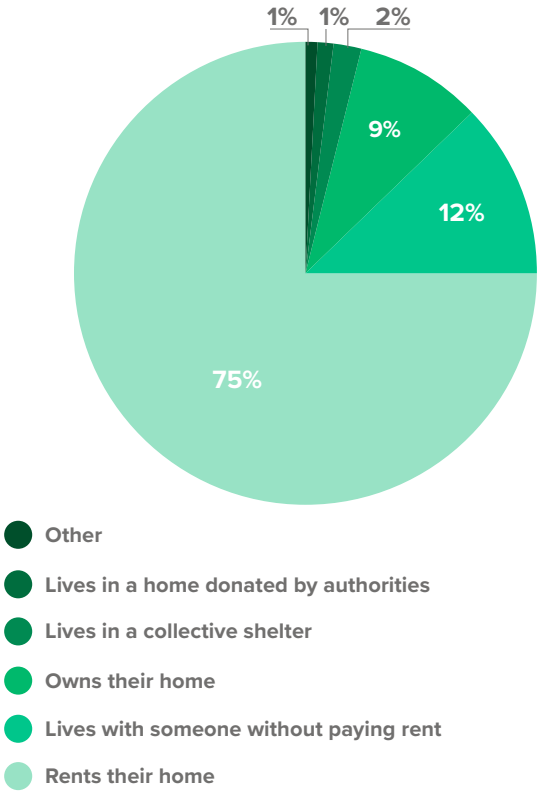
Figure 5: Average value of home owned by IDPs before and after displacement, and by non-displaced respondents in Jos, in USD



The average value of the homes owned by IDPs is $3,163, down from $5,334 in their communities of origin. The average value of the homes owned by non-displaced respondents in Jos is nearly double, at $6,103 (see figure 5).

The majority of surveyed IDPs rent their homes in Jos. The rest mostly stay with someone free of rent, or live in collective shelters or homes donated by local authorities (see figure 6).

Figure 6: Percentage of displaced households who currently own their homes, rent their homes, live with someone else or live in collective shelters or homes donated by local authorities



Those renting in Jos estimate that they pay on average nearly $7.8 per month in rent, up from $4.8 in their communities of origin. By comparison, ten per cent of non-displaced respondents rent their homes now, with the average monthly rent at $8.4.

Nearly 29 per cent of non-displaced respondents say they have had to pay additional housing expenses since IDPs arrived in Jos. This was true for 59 per cent of respondents hosting IDPs in their homes now and 17 per cent of respondents not hosting IDPs. On average, the additional expense was estimated at $26 per month for those hosting IDPs and $14 per month for those not hosting them and includes the cost of providing IDPs with food and clothing.

"It's very clear that the non-displaced are already stretched as it [is] because of the economic circumstances on the Plateau. So when these IDPs come in, the facilities that are available to them are barely enough. So are the little houses where they end up. They have to create space somehow and with that comes other issues: survival, health and security." ***– City representative***

Respondents surveyed in Jos were living in permanent structures, sometimes built of concrete, iron sheets or brick. The quality of housing for IDPs, however, tends to be lower and their access to clean water is limited. Some surveyed IDPs and non-displaced people share the same sanitary areas and use communal water pumps.

The changes in IDPs' living situations have considerably eroded their level of housing satisfaction. About three-quarters of IDPs report being less satisfied with their housing conditions than before. About a fifth report feeling equally satisfied, while five per cent said they were more satisfied (see figure 7).

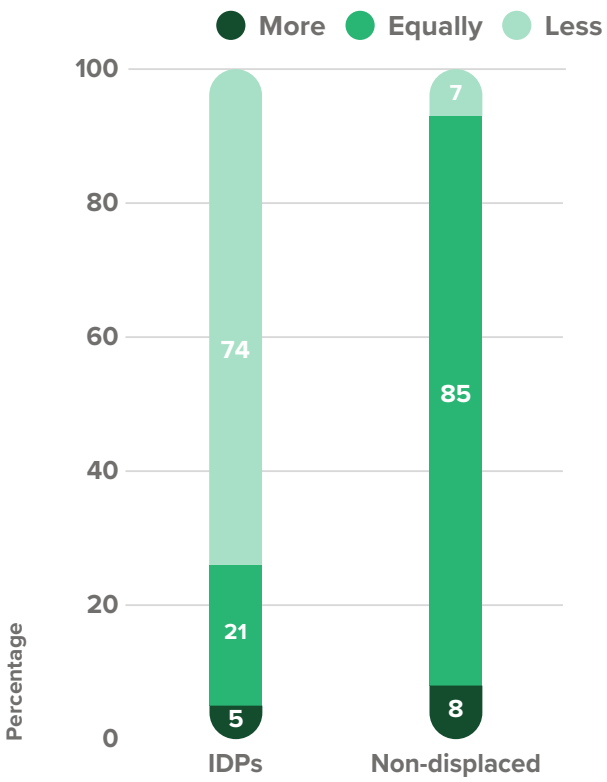
"The house's conditions are not the same as those of our previous home where we had sufficient water. The water in this house has dried up. There is no electricity and no toilet. It is not generally a good house, but we have no choice." ***– Displaced respondent***

Those who reported being less satisfied noted that the places they live in are smaller than their previous homes. They are more crowded and often lack toilets, clean water and electricity. Many cited the high cost of living. They also noted that they no longer own their homes and have to share with others.

The small proportion of IDPs that reported being more satisfied with their housing conditions seemed to attribute it to improvements in the overall security situation rather than the actual conditions of the house in which they live.

The arrival of IDPs in the area does not seem to have had a striking effect on non-displaced respondents' housing satisfaction. The majority of them, or 85 per cent, feel equally satisfied with their housing conditions now compared with before. About eight per cent of respondents reported being less satisfied. This was virtually the same for respondents currently hosting IDPs in their homes and those not hosting.

Figure 7: Percentage of displaced and non-displaced respondents feeling more, less or equally as satisfied with their housing conditions now compared with before displacement



Non-displaced respondents who reported being less satisfied mentioned the rise in the cost of rent and goods, overcrowding and competition over land and water. Some respondents who reported being more satisfied with their housing conditions said they enjoyed the company of IDPs and that everyone lived together in peace.

The findings suggest that lack of relevant housing documentation is another problem confronting surveyed IDPs in Jos. About a fifth of displaced tenants said they have documentation proving that they rent their current homes. That compares with nearly half of non-displaced tenants.

Forty per cent of non-displaced homeowners said they have documentation proving their ownership, but none of the displaced ones do. This lack of documentation can exacerbate IDPs' housing insecurity and expose them to greater risk of eviction.

At the same time, only a third of surveyed IDPs who had homes before their displacement have documentation proving their ownership. Lack of documentation may pose challenges for those wishing to return to their communities of origin and reclaim their property. This reality suggests that in addition to supporting IDPs so they can access more adequate housing during their displacement, efforts should be made to help them secure the necessary documentation and recover what they lost.

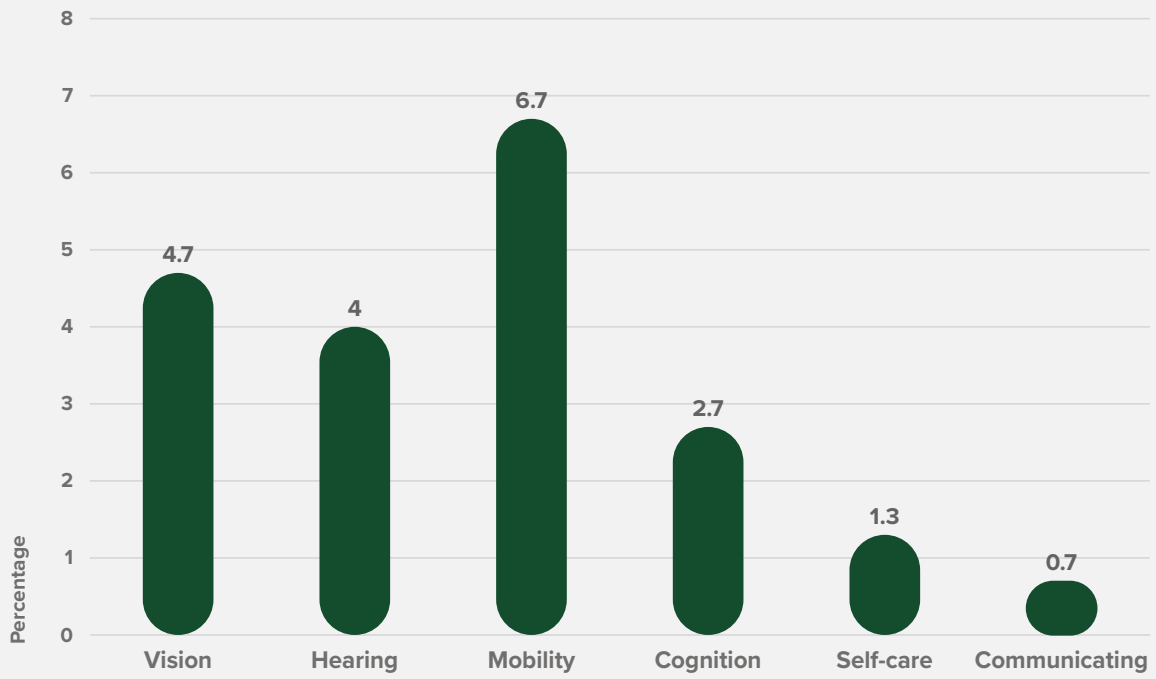
Box 2: IDPs with disabilities

People with disabilities and their carers often face additional challenges during their displacement that can limit their ability to access assistance and achieve durable solutions. About 15 per cent of the globe's population is estimated to have a disability. Eighty per cent of those live in low- and middle-income countries.[12]

It is not known exactly how many people are living with disabilities in Nigeria. Estimates vary depending on the definition and assessment tools used. Data from nationally representative household surveys have yielded prevalence rates of between two and eight per cent, but these are widely considered to be underestimates.[13] In the absence of more precise data, the global estimate of 15 per cent is often used for planning purposes.

Out of 150 surveyed IDPs, three respondents (two per cent) were identified as having disabilities, using the Washington Group Short Set of Questions. Some displaced respondents identified another member of their household as living with disabilities. Overall, 13 per cent of the surveyed displaced households have at least one member living with disabilities, compared with seven per cent of non-displaced households. Difficulties with mobility were the most common disabilities, affecting 6.7 per cent of displaced households (see figure 8).

Figure 8: Percentage of displaced households with at least one member experiencing "a lot of difficulties" or "cannot do it at all" in the respective domains of functioning



The challenges and impacts of displacement

According to key informants, the rocky terrain of Plateau, combined with a lack of early warning systems and physical barriers, make it difficult for people with disabilities to flee their homes when they are attacked and reach safety.

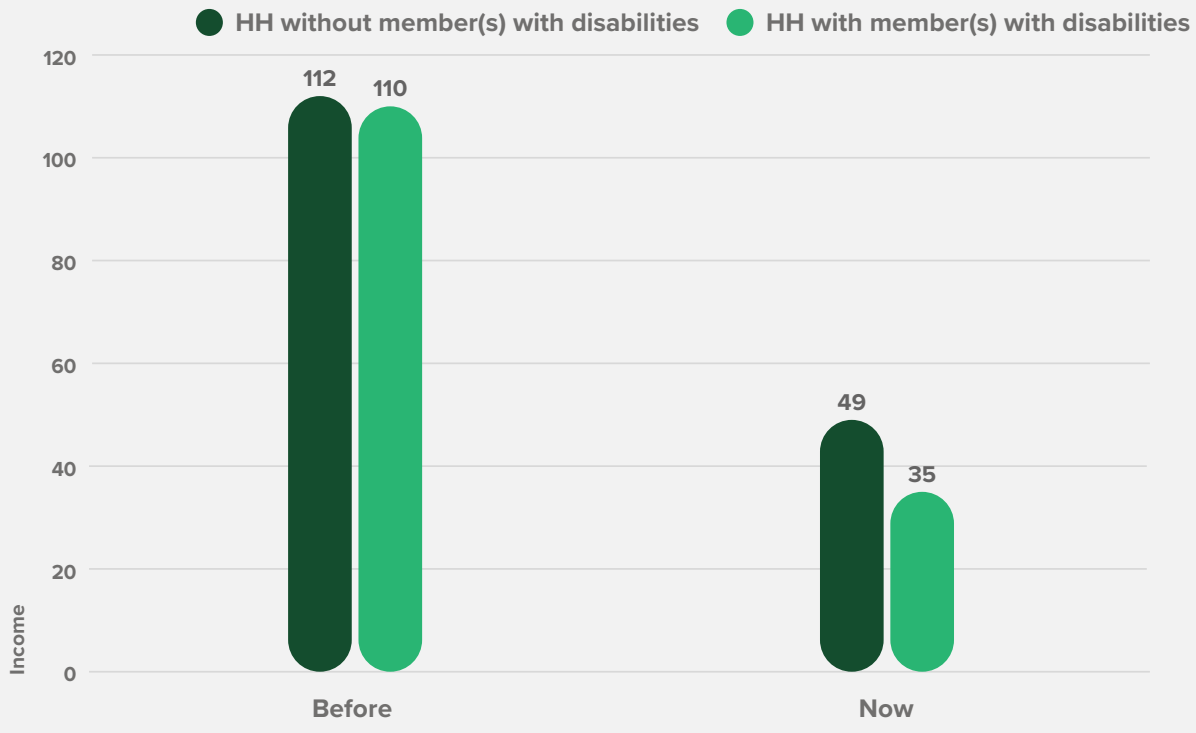
"Communities are most frequently attacked without warning and usually in the early hours. Most often when this happens, people think of their own safety first. So there have been a number of situations where people with disabilities were left behind (...) It gets to the point where people with disabilities tell their family members (during such an attack) to just leave." ***– Humanitarian programme specialist at an international NGO that supports people with disabilities in Nigeria***

Two out of three of the surveyed IDPs with disabilities reported that they faced challenges moving to a new area and finding a place to stay. They also said they encountered difficulties accessing healthcare, work, food, clean water and toilet facilities in Jos. When asked about the main reasons for these difficulties, respondents cited the distance from services, discrimination, and fear of violence or harassment. This is consistent with reports that people with disabilities in Nigeria often face stigma and discrimination that compounds their social, economic and political exclusion.[14]

The quantitative survey also highlighted some of the ways in which IDPs with disabilities and their families are particularly affected by the negative impacts of displacement. Surveyed households with at least one member with disabilities earned less on average per month from work in their communities of origin than households without disabilities. Since moving to Jos, however, they experienced a steep reduction. Their average monthly income dropped from $110 before their displacement to $35 now (see figure 9). The amount of financial support from family and friends also decreased from $25 before their displacement to $14 now.

"I visited a displaced community where there was a young school-aged girl who is deaf and depends on her family. Because her family was displaced and could no longer raise money, she wasn't able to go back to school." ***– Humanitarian programme specialist at an international NGO that supports people with disabilities in Nigeria***

Figure 9: Average monthly household income from work before and after their displacement for displaced households with at least one member with disabilities and for households without disabilities, in USD



Despite having specific health needs, only 20 per cent of households with a member with disabilities said they have access to free healthcare in Jos compared with 37 per cent for households without members with disabilities. The reported reduction in household income since their displacement could therefore pose a significant barrier to healthcare for IDPs with disabilities and their families.

Loss of personal documentation was common across the displaced sample. It seemed to particularly affect households with a member with disabilities, however. Ninety-five per cent of such households reported that they had lost personal documentation since being displaced. That compared with 68 per cent for households without members with disabilities.

Barriers to inclusive assistance and signs of progress

"Interventions mostly don't try to ensure the inclusion of people with disabilities. So they face huge barriers in accessing not only shelter and housing but other services as well." ***– Humanitarian programme specialist at an international NGO supporting disability inclusion in Nigeria***

The findings suggest that inclusive assistance for IDPs with disabilities in Jos is limited. Key informants noted that temporary shelters established in schools and other public spaces for IDPs are rarely accessible. They also noted that there is a lack of specialised healthcare for people with disabilities and that there are no special provisions to allow displaced children with disabilities to continue learning.

Such reports suggest more still needs to be done. Efforts are underway, however, to foster greater consultation of IDPs with disabilities at an institutional level. One example is the work of the Plateau State Disability Rights Commission, a government body that aims to strengthen policies to promote and protect the rights of people with disabilities. Key informants reported that a desk officer of the commission is stationed within camps for IDPs to advise the government on their situation and report on their specific needs.

"All humanitarian services should have someone with a disability with them if they are going into IDP camps so that they can speak better about their needs, because there is nothing about us without us." ***– Representative of Plateau State Disability Rights Commission***

As people with disabilities are best placed to identify their needs, ensuring that they can continue to articulate their concerns to decision makers and play an active role in shaping institutional and humanitarian responses to internal displacement is essential.

Impacts on security

The findings suggest that, for the most part, displacement has led to an improvement in the security of surveyed IDPs and has not had a significant impact on the sense of safety of non-displaced respondents.

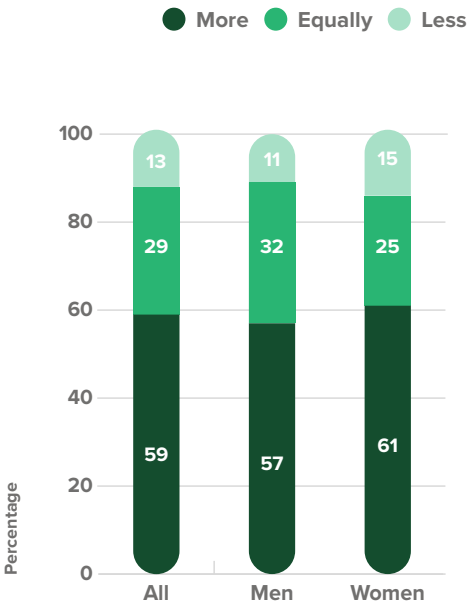
The majority of displaced respondents reported feeling safer now than before. Twenty-nine per cent said they feel equally as safe, while 13 per cent said they feel less safe (see figure 10).

"Unlike in our village, we are free to move around. It is better here because there is security." ***– Displaced respondent***

Within the displaced sample, a slightly higher proportion of women reported feeling safer than men. The proportion of women feeling less safe, however, was also higher.

At the same time, 19 per cent of respondents who have been forced to move twice since leaving their original homes reported feeling less safe, compared with 11 per cent of respondents who have moved once.

Figure 10: Percentage of displaced respondents feeling more, less or equally as safe now compared with before displacement, by sex



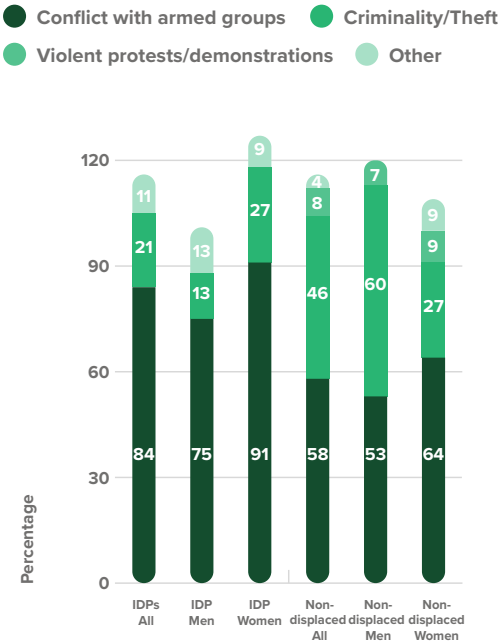
Many of the IDPs surveyed in Jos reported being displaced from their farmlands because of clashes with herders. Those who reported an improvement in their sense of safety attributed it to the presence of security personnel in Jos and the fact that they no longer live in fear of attacks.

Conversely, most of the respondents who reported feeling less safe said they fear that attackers from their communities of origin will find them in their new communities and attack them again. Such fears are consistent with reports of criminal and communal violence in August 2021 near the location of this study. That violence displaced more than 15,000 people.[15]

"We continue to be scared. I feel these herdsmen will still come to kill us." ***– Displaced respondent***

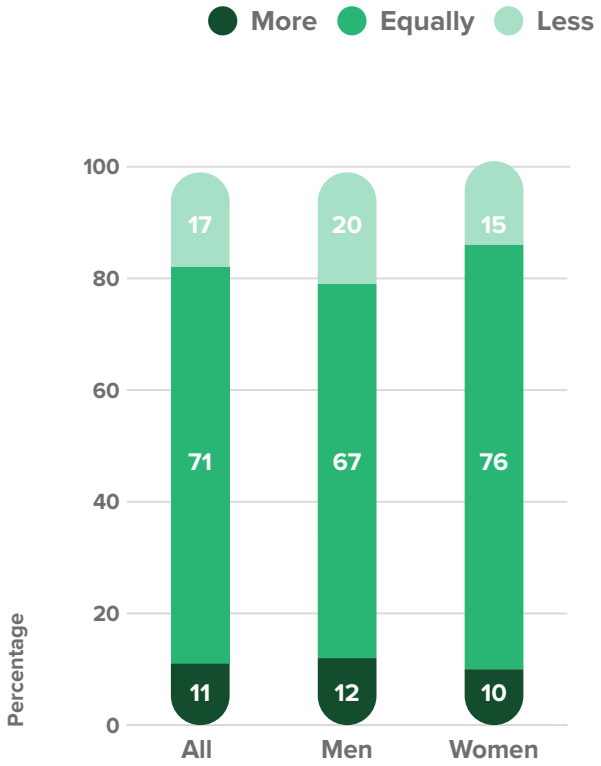
Ninety-one per cent of displaced women and 75 per cent of men cited conflict as their main security concern. Criminality and theft were also cited as security concerns by 27 per cent of women and 13 per cent of men (see figure 11).

Figure 11: Percentage of displaced and non-displaced respondents identifying their main security concerns, by sex (multiple answers possible)



Non-displaced respondents' sense of security has largely remained the same since the arrival of IDPs in the area. Unlike the displaced sample, a higher proportion of non-displaced men reported feeling less safe now, at nearly 20 per cent, compared with 15 per cent of women (see figure 12).

Figure 12: Percentage of non-displaced respondents feeling more, less or equally safe now compared with before the arrival of IDPs, by sex



Non-displaced respondents who feel safer noted that security forces had increased since the arrival of IDPs in the community.

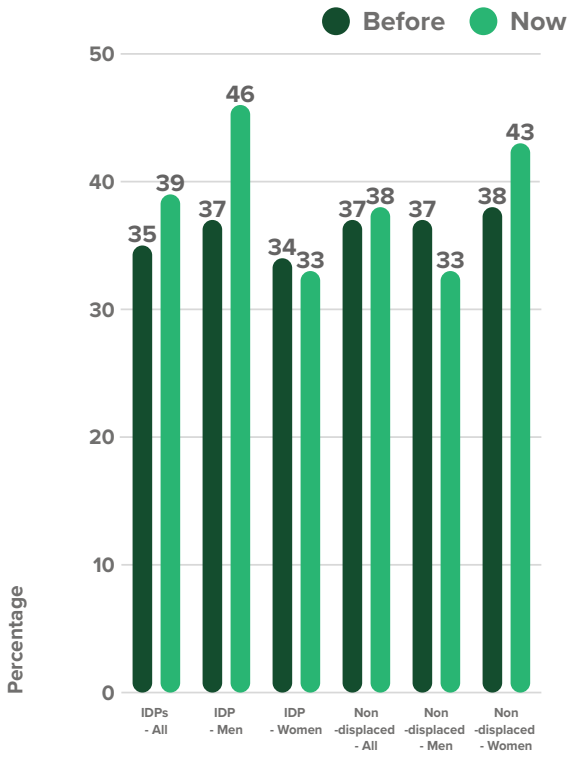
More than half of the non-displaced respondents who reported feeling less safe identified conflict with armed groups as their main security concern. This included 64 per cent of women and 53 per cent of men. Many expressed fears that the presence of IDPs in their community would increase the risk of attacks. Forty-six per cent of respondents cited crime and theft as one of their main security concerns, with some saying this had risen since the arrival of IDPs in the area.

"I feel less safe because there are rumours that the attackers will strike IDPs again." – ***Non-displaced respondent***

Changes in perceived security also appear to have had financial repercussions. Thirty-nine per cent of IDPs report spending money on safety, which is slightly more than before. The amount they spend, however, has fallen from an average of $6 per month before their displacement to $3.5 now. These expenses include paying for security guards in their community, installing lighting and purchasing weapons for their personal use.

A higher proportion of displaced men than women report spending money on their safety, but the opposite is true for non-displaced respondents (see figure 13). Respondents hosting IDPs in their homes spend on average $2.40 per month on safety now, compared with $1.4 for those not hosting IDPs.

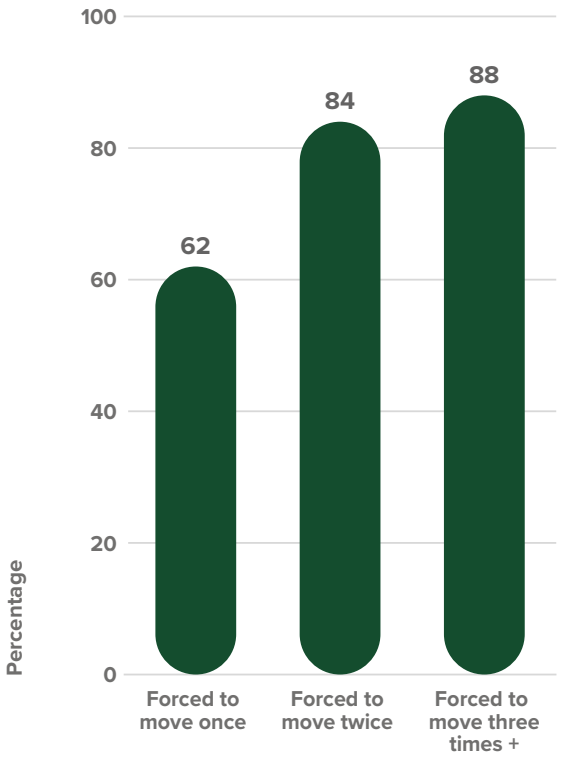
Figure 13: Percentage of displaced and non-displaced respondents spending money to ensure their safety now compared with before displacement, by sex



Loss of personal documentation has created various difficulties for IDPs in their daily lives. More than 70 per cent of IDPs report that they have lost personal documentation since being displaced. Most have lost personal identification, but some have also lost lease agreements or deeds and work contracts.

Respondents that have been forced to move twice, three times or more since leaving their original homes are more likely to report losing documentation than those that have been forced to move only once (see figure14).

Figure 14: Percentage of displaced respondents who have lost personal documentation since being displaced, by number of times they have been forced to move since leaving their original homes



The loss of personal documentation has created several challenges for IDPs living in Jos. Many IDPs said that it has stopped them from getting jobs and prevented their children from resuming their schooling in their new communities. Some also noted that it has blocked them from voting, accessing financial assistance and opening bank accounts. Less than half of those who lost documents have undertaken procedures to recover them, and most of those have incurred fees in the process.

"I lost my voters card and school certificate and that makes it difficult to get a job or an education." ***– Displaced respondent***

Supporting IDPs in the quick recovery of their personal documentation could increase their job and educational opportunities and foster their integration into their new communities. Recovering documentation would also improve IDPs' access to opportunities and services if they were to return to their home communities or resettle elsewhere.

Impacts on education

Most children from surveyed displaced households are enrolled in school in Jos. Displacement, however, has affected their learning, and cost is still a significant barrier to quality education for them. The impacts on non-displaced children seem to be limited. School enrolment rates and satisfaction levels for them have, for the most part, remained the same.

The majority of displaced respondents (82 per cent) reported interruptions in their children's schooling as a result of their displacement. Boys appear to have been more affected: 89 per cent of boys who attended school in their communities of origin experienced an interruption in their schooling after they were displaced, compared with 75 per cent of girls. More than half of these children were out of school for one to six months and nearly a fifth were out of school for one to two years.

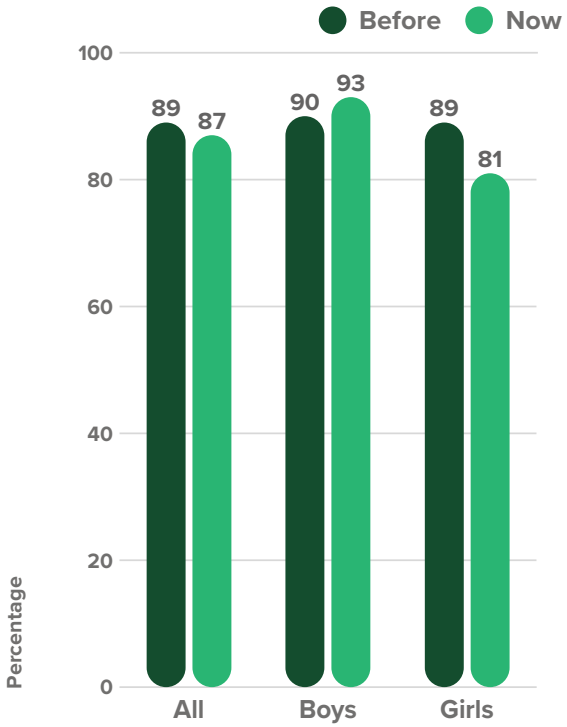
According to key informants, IDPs arriving in Jos are often so focused on their families' survival – including finding food to eat and a place to sleep – that they do not prioritise their children's education. As a result, many children are out of school for extended periods upon arriving. School closures linked to the Covid-19 pandemic have added further disruptions to displaced children's learning (see spotlight on page 25).

"Non-displaced people are in their comfort zone. They live in homes. The majority of parents are working. But it's very difficult for those that are just coming in to settle down and begin to think of getting their children to school. You find some of them begging – even the children – just to make a living, just to survive." ***– Representative of a local NGO working on education***

Some organisations offer classes to displaced children in Jos. For the most part, however, they attend the same schools as those from the non-displaced community. Despite initial disruptions in their children's schooling, 87 per cent of displaced respondents reported that their children are enrolled in school now, a rate only slightly lower than before their displacement.

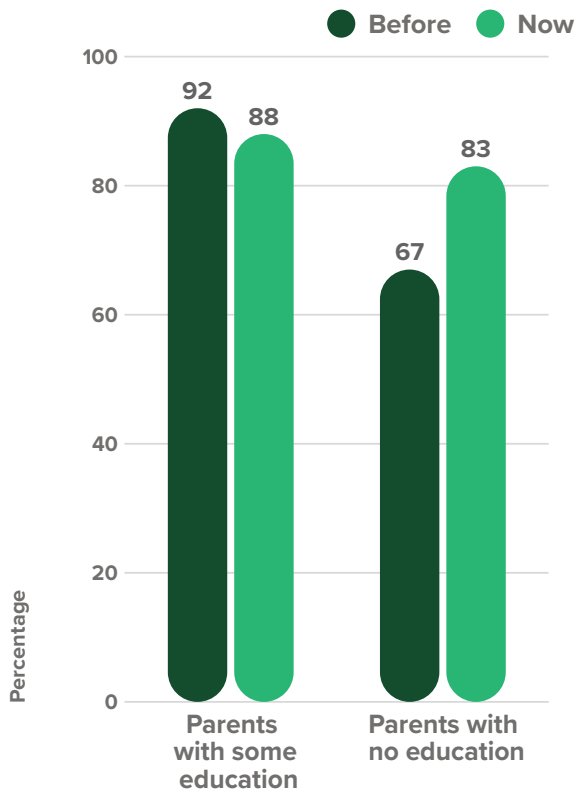
Disaggregating the results by sex, however, reveals that while boys' enrolment has increased since their displacement, girls' enrolment has decreased (see figure 15). The reasons for this disparity are unclear and should be investigated further. Concerns about girls' safety, cultural norms and the need for girls to help with household chores could all be contributing factors. Reports also suggest that displaced families in Nigeria are often more willing to marry their daughters early because of economic hardship. This in turn can lead to lower rates of school enrolment.[16]

Figure 15: Percentage of displaced children enrolled in school before and after displacement, by sex



Displaced respondents with some education were more likely to enrol their children in school than respondents with no education. This was the case both before and after displacement (see figure 16).

Figure 16: Percentage of displaced children enrolled in school before and after displacement, by parents' level of education



Almost all school-aged children from the non-displaced sample attend school now, but this was also the case before the arrival of IDPs in the area. In both cases, boys' rate of enrolment was slightly higher than girls', at 98 per cent and 96 per cent, respectively.

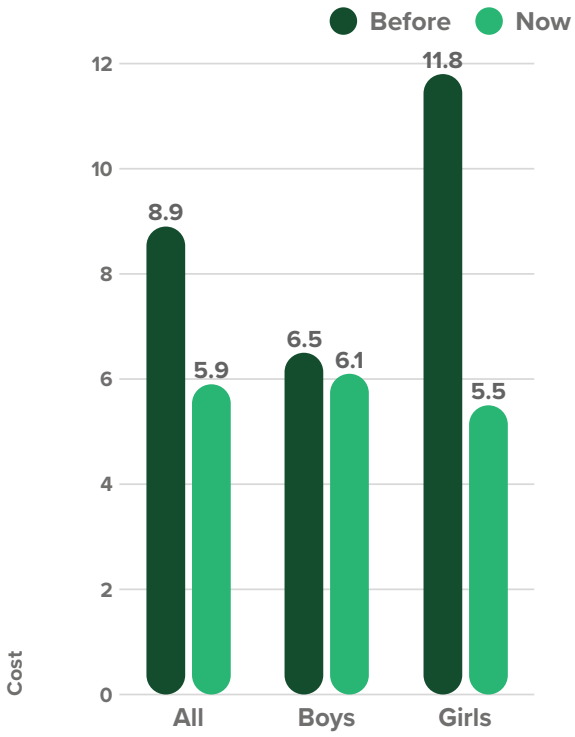
The majority of displaced respondents cited cost as the main reason why their children do not go to school. Primary education is officially free in some states in Nigeria. Most displaced and non-displaced respondents, however, still reported having to pay school fees.[17]

Key informants explain that some public schools collect money from students, including for exams and the parent teacher association. Some people refer to these payments as tuition fees. Many respondents also reported having to pay for their children's school materials, uniforms, meals and transportation.

"We want our children to go [to school], but we can't send them because there is no way to get the money to pay their fees. As you can see, the people who live here have more access [to schooling] than IDP students." ***– Representative of displaced women***

Surveyed IDPs estimate that they spend on average $5.9 per month on their children's education, down from $8.9 in their communities of origin. The average amount spent on boys' education remained the same after their displacement, but the amount spent on girls' education fell by more than half (see figure 17). The reason for this reduction should be investigated further.

Figure 17: Monthly cost of education per child for displaced respondents now compared with before their displacement, in USD



Non-displaced respondents reported spending $10 per month on their children's education, a slight increase from before. The average amount spent on boys' education was higher than the average spent on girls' education both before and after the arrival of IDPs in the area (see figure 18).

In spite of these barriers, nearly a third of displaced respondents are more satisfied with their children's education than they were before their displacement. Those who are more satisfied said that the quality of schools and teachers in Jos was higher than in their communities of origin. Some also mentioned that their children feel safer now than before and that this has had a positive effect on their learning.

Thirty-seven per cent of respondents, however, are less satisfied, including 35 per cent of parents of boys and 38 per cent of parents of girls. Those who were less satisfied attributed it to the lower standard of schools available in Jos and the cost of education there.

Figure 18: Monthly cost of education per child for non-displaced respondents now compared with before the arrival of IDPs, in USD

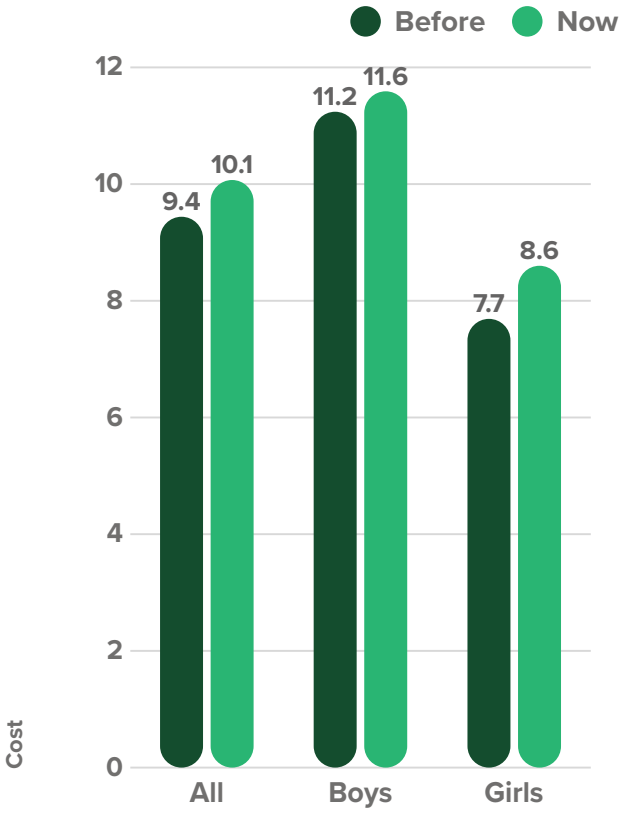
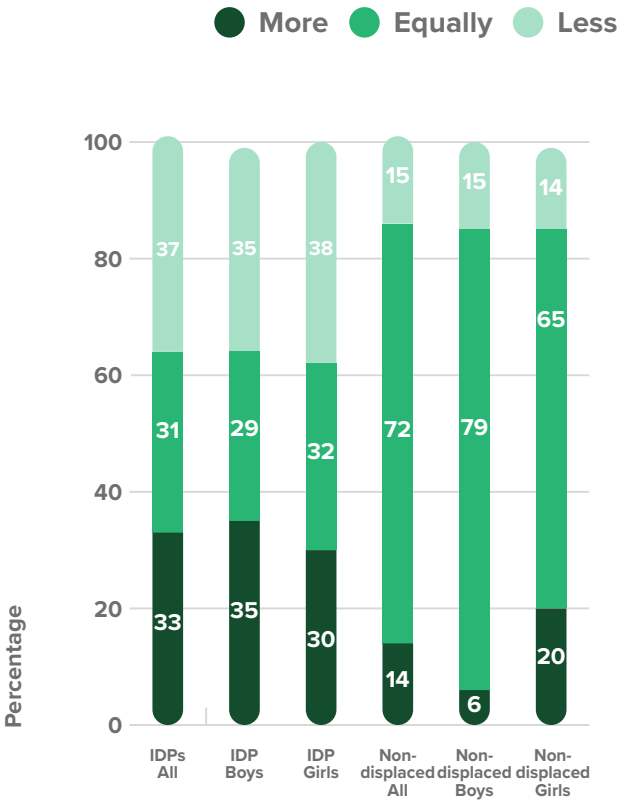


Figure 19: Percentage of displaced and non-displaced respondents feeling more, less or equally as satisfied with their children's education now as compared with before displacement



Most non-displaced respondents (72 per cent) reported no change in their level of satisfaction with their children's education, but about 14 per cent were more satisfied. This was especially true for parents of girls, 20 per cent of whom are more satisfied, compared with six per cent of parents of boys (see figure 19). Respondents noted that the standard of education is better now because of improvements in school facilities.

Those reporting to be less satisfied noted that the arrival of IDPs in the area had led to overcrowding in schools and a shortage of teachers.

The findings are mixed, but they highlight the need for programmes designed to help displaced children resume their schooling as quickly as possible and address the financial barriers they face in accessing quality education. The differences in the results for girls and boys in the displaced and non-displaced samples also suggest there is a need to better understand and address the specific challenges girls face in attending school and ensure they are not left behind.

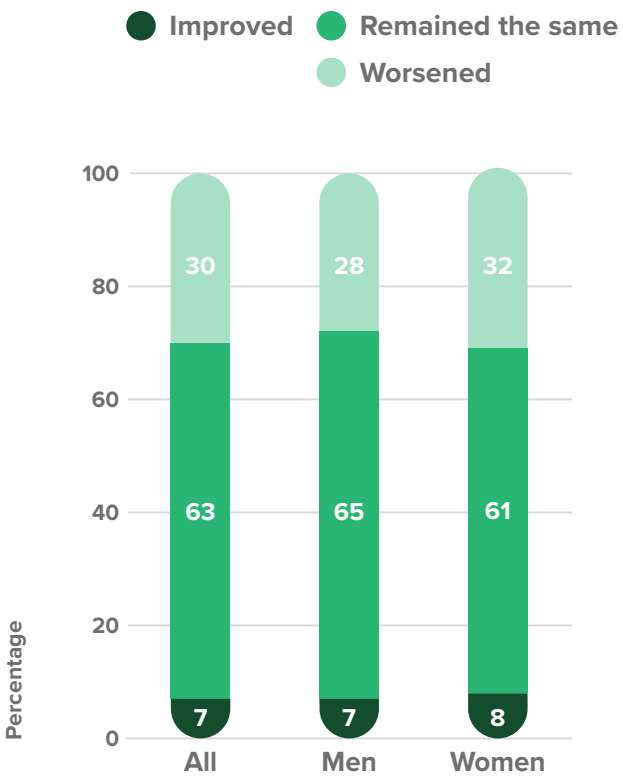
One key informant mentioned that schools are sometimes closed to students while they are housing IDPs. Further research could therefore examine how the use of schools as temporary shelters for IDPs affects the school attendance of children in the area.

Impacts on health

*"We are not living and eating like we used to because we don't have the resources, and it is affecting our health." – **Displaced respondent***

Sixty-three per cent of surveyed IDPs reported that their physical health was the same as before their displacement. Thirty per cent, however, reported that it had worsened, while only seven per cent said it had improved (see figure 20).

Figure 20: Percentage of displaced respondents reporting that their physical health has improved, worsened or remained the same since their displacement, by sex

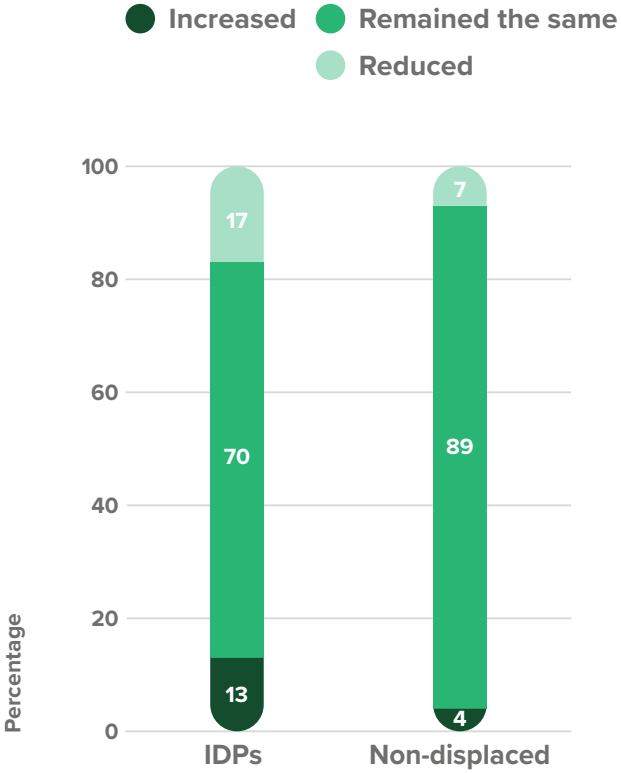


Respondents said that their lack of access to clean water, food and medication exposed them to greater health risks than before their displacement. A health professional working in Jos also said that lack of food was a major health challenge for IDPs, and that poor hygiene and sanitation had increased their risk of infectious diseases, including bacterial, fungal and parasitic infections.

Most non-displaced respondents (92 per cent) reported that their physical health had not changed since the arrival of IDPs in the area, while five per cent said that it had worsened. Those who said it had worsened cited various reasons, including a lack of money and food, and increased stress because of violence.

The majority of IDPs (70 per cent) reported that their household's access to healthcare had remained the same since their displacement, but 17 per cent said that it had decreased (see figure 21). Most respondents cited lack of financial resources as the main barrier to quality healthcare. Many also mentioned the distance to the nearest health facility and lack of transportation as key challenges.

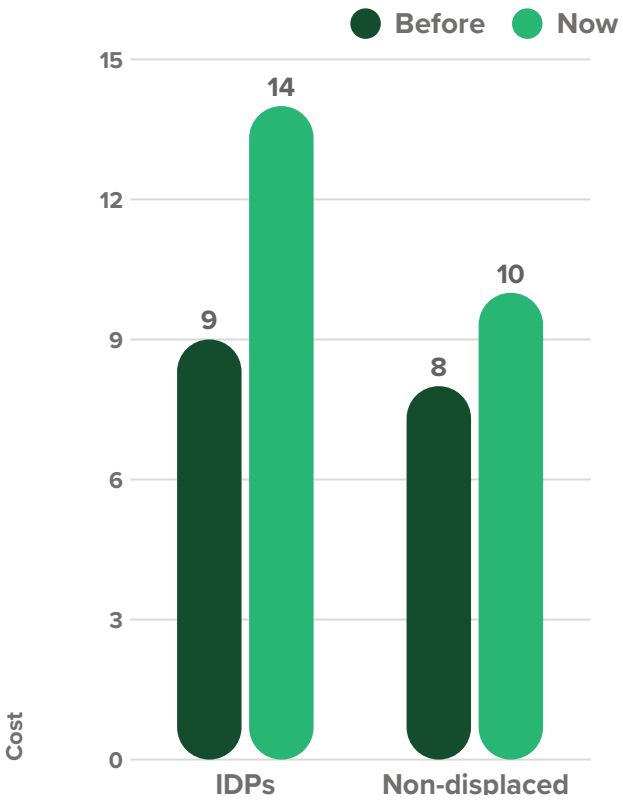
Figure 21: Percentage of displaced and non-displaced respondents reporting that their access to healthcare has increased, reduced or remained the same since displacement



According to key informants, local and international NGOs sometimes provide free medical outreach in the camps and areas where IDPs are known to live. In general, however, IDPs tend to use the same health facilities as members of the local community and usually have to pay for their healthcare.

Just over a third of displaced households reported that they have access to free healthcare now, slightly lower than before their displacement. IDPs that pay for healthcare in Jos estimated that a basic visit to a healthcare professional costs on average $14. This is significantly higher than the cost in their communities of origin, which was estimated at nearly $9 (see figure 22).

Figure 22: Average cost of a visit to a health professional reported by displaced and non-displaced respondents now compared with before displacement



As a result of this and of the deterioration in their physical health, 43 per cent of surveyed IDPs said they spend more on their health since their displacement. By comparison, 31 per cent of non-displaced respondents reported that they spend more on their health now than before.

The majority of non-displaced respondents (89 per cent) reported that their access to healthcare had remained the same since the arrival of IDPs in the area, while seven per cent said it had decreased. Many pointed to overcrowding at health facilities and a rise in the cost of healthcare. This is consistent with the fact that the average cost of a basic visit to a healthcare professional was estimated to be about $10, up from $8 before the arrival of IDPs in the area.

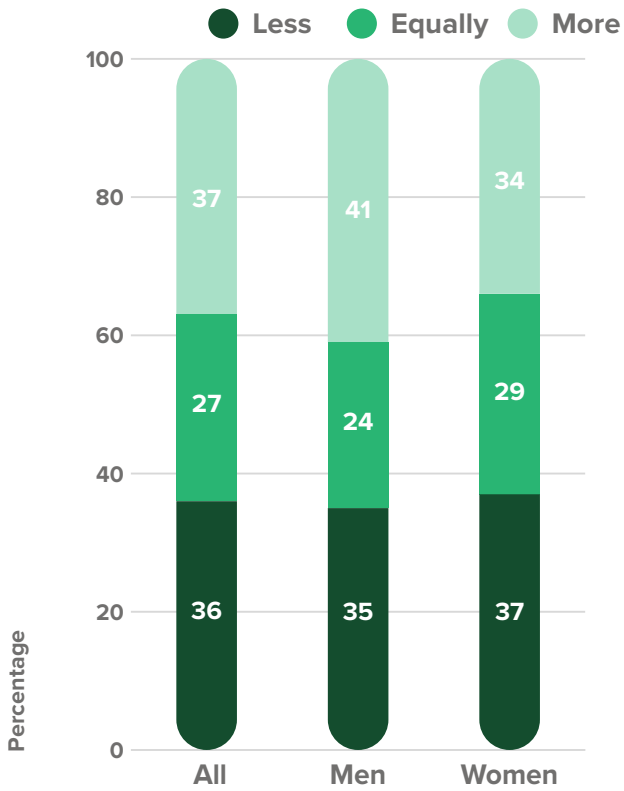
"The IDP population is large and there are not enough facilities at the hospital to cope with the influx of people. This means that there is now a shortage of drugs and healthcare professionals." ***– Non-displaced respondent***

Most locals pay for healthcare, but some said that they get it for free. The proportion of non-displaced households with access to free healthcare fell slightly from 40 per cent before the arrival of IDPs in the area to 37 per cent now.

More IDPs than non-displaced respondents also reported a deterioration in their psychological wellbeing. Thirty-seven per cent said they feel nervous, worried, angry or sad more often now than before their displacement (see figure 23).

"The experience has been very disturbing, rough and dehumanising. Our people have been displaced and a lot of villages have been vacated. People have lost loved ones and livelihoods." ***– City representative***

Figure 23: Percentage of displaced respondents feeling nervous, worried, angry or sad more, less or equally as often now compared with before their displacement, by sex



In the non-displaced sample, 14 per cent said they feel nervous, worried, angry or sad more often since IDPs arrived in the area, but 39 per cent said they feel so less often. The difference in the results for men and women was not significant. Although key informants noted that NGOs provide some psychosocial support to IDPs, the findings point to a need for greater attention.

Box 3: Impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic

Across Nigeria, the fallout from the pandemic has deepened humanitarian needs and posed additional challenges for humanitarian actors responding to displacement crises. In response to the outbreak of the virus, authorities in Jos established testing centres and introduced awareness raising campaigns and sanitary measures. Despite these efforts, several key informants noted that scepticism about the virus is high, including among IDPs living in the area. As a result, many are unwilling to comply with sanitary measures and are reluctant to be tested even when they show symptoms.

"Technically, everybody has access to the testing centres, but will they go? I don't think they will. Because if they did [and the test came back positive] it would mean that they and the rest of the IDPs living in the camp would have to isolate, and that is not realistic." ***– Local health professional***

"You find IDPs that do not believe in the existence of COVID-19 even though we know and have heard that there is a pandemic. Because of that mentality, a lot of them do not really practise social distancing, hand washing and the wearing of face masks." ***– Representative of a local NGO working in healthcare***

Everyone in the area has been affected by the pandemic, but evidence from interviews with key informants suggests that this period has been particularly challenging for IDPs. Several informants noted that IDPs' overcrowded living conditions and limited access to handwashing facilities have made it more difficult for them to limit the risk of catching Covid-19 and spreading it to others. They also said that the closure of businesses and fewer labour opportunities had led to a reduction in IDPs' income and put a further strain on their already limited economic resources. This has prompted some to use what little income they have to buy food for their families rather than facemasks and other hygiene products.

The pandemic has also severely affected the education of displaced children by further disrupting and delaying their learning. Schools across the country were ordered to close in March 2020. Some reopened six months later, but others remained closed into 2021. According to key informants, some displaced children had only just started attending school again in their new communities when schools were forced to close and they were sent home.

Government and humanitarian resources have been channelled into Covid-19 responses. Some key informants noted that this has diverted attention away from other health issues facing the community.

"Other diseases are also killing people, but the government and the NGOs focused most of their attention on COVID-19, while malaria, cholera and even lassa fever are ravaging the community." **– *Youth representative***

At the same time, informants noted that particularly marginalised groups, such as IDPs with disabilities, have been left out of Covid-19 responses, exacerbating their needs.

"The Covid-19 pandemic has compounded the problems people with disabilities already faced in Plateau State. The government attention once directed at them has been sliced in half and diverted to Covid-19." ***– Representative of the Plateau State Disability Rights Commission***

Conclusion

This assessment highlights the variety of ways displacement affects people's lives and resources. Some of these impacts are positive, such as improvements in IDPs' perception of security. Others, however, are negative, including a reduction in IDPs' average monthly income from work and a deterioration in their level of housing satisfaction.

The arrival of IDPs in the area has not significantly affected the livelihoods of non-displaced respondents. Most of them are equally as satisfied with their housing, healthcare, education and security as they were before. In most cases, however, non-displaced locals are left to absorb the costs of hosting and assisting IDPs, and this can pose a financial burden.

Some measures have been taken to address the impacts of internal displacement in Jos. The findings suggest, however, that more comprehensive and inclusive support is required. Greater attention is especially called for when it comes to IDPs' livelihoods because their lack of financial resources limits their ability to buy food for their families and cover their housing, healthcare and education needs.

Investing in livelihood opportunities and training programmes, for instance, would enhance IDPs' ability to contribute to the local economy. It could also reduce the financial costs incurred by those hosting and assisting them. Targeted support is needed, but it should include vulnerable non-displaced people.

That would help promote social inclusion and cohesion and avoid tensions arising between groups. Financial barriers to housing, healthcare and education should be addressed, and infrastructure and services made fully accessible and inclusive so that marginalised groups, such as people with disabilities, are not left behind.

Forty per cent of surveyed IDPs have moved more than once since originally leaving their homes. This highlights the importance of supporting IDPs in achieving durable solutions and reducing their risk of further displacement. Achieving durable solutions requires that all stakeholders, including national and local authorities and humanitarian and development actors, work together to identify the right activities and strategies for assisting IDPs.[18]

The results of this report point to several areas where further research is needed to fully grasp the impacts of displacement and how they can be addressed. More needs to be known, for instance, about why displaced boys' enrolment in school increased after their displacement while girls' decreased. Such knowledge could lead to more targeted programmes that addressed barriers to girls' education. Disparities between households speaking Berom, Hausa, Irigwe and Rukuba as a main language were also found, but should be investigated further.

The fallout from the pandemic is likely to exacerbate inequalities in the coming years and put a strain on the resources of government, humanitarian and development actors. This should not, however, divert attention from the urgent need to prevent and address internal displacement in Nigeria. Maximising funds and working collaboratively to ensure investments are targeted, strategic and effective will be more important than ever.

Several interventions intended to mitigate the negative impacts of displacement and help IDPs achieve durable solutions are already planned in Plateau State. The Norwegian Refugee Council expanded its assistance to the state in 2021 and is involved in a multi-year project. This project seeks to promote peace building and conflict resolution in the area, diversify livelihood opportunities, and foster the economic empowerment of conflict-affected

communities.[19] The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is carrying out a range of humanitarian, transition and recovery activities in the state. It has also developed a stability index in the Lake Chad region, which could be expanded into Plateau State to inform the design of assistance for durable solutions and support better integration and stability.[20]

By providing local-level information on the specific needs of communities affected by internal displacement – including both displaced and non-displaced groups – this assessment is intended to inform upcoming programmes and highlight where investments could have the greatest impact. Expanding the collection of this type of data over time could help in evaluating the impact of prior interventions and reveal examples of good practices.

Endnotes

1 IDMC, Global Report on Internal Displacement 2021, May 2021.

2 International Crisis Group, The Climate Factor in Nigeria's Farmer-Herder Violence, N.D., accessed: 24 August 2021.

3 IOM-DTM, Nigeria — North Central And North West Location Assessment Round 6, Public dataset (May 2021), 14 June 2021

4 IOM-DTM, Flash Report: Population Displacement North Central Nigeria – Bassa LGA (Plateau State), 10 August 2021.

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6 IDMC, Measuring the costs of internal displacement: Eswatini, Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia, January 2020.

7 IOM DTM, North-Central and North-West Zones Displacement Report 6: May 2021, 11 June 2021.

8 International Crisis Group, Stopping Nigeria's Spiraling Farmer-Herder Violence, 26 July 2018; Higazi, A., "Farmer-pastoralist conflicts on the Jos Plateau, central Nigeria: security responses of local vigilantes and the Nigerian state", Conflict, Security and Development, 16(4), July 2016: 365-385, available at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14678802.2016.1200314

9 A total of 15 sample points were randomly selected within Jos and surrounding areas for the household interviews. Both displaced and non-displaced interviews were conducted simultaneously since there was no information on the exact locality of IDPs. Once at a sampling point, interviewers identified a landmark close to the households to be selected and used a date score to arrive at the first household to be interviewed. Two to four households were skipped after every successful interview to ensure each sampling point was well covered. Within each household, the person with the most knowledge about household income and expenditure was interviewed.

10 Marcus, P.B., "Mother Tongue Interference on the Spoken English of Berom Speaking Students in Plateau State Polytechnic", IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science, 23(9), September 2018: 43-47, available at: http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol.%2023%20Issue9/Version-4/E2309044347.pdf

11 The Washington Group Questions were used as the self-reporting tool to identify people with disabilities, who are defined as people who are "unable to", or face "a lot of difficulties": seeing; hearing; walking or climbing steps; remembering or concentrating; washing or dressing; and communicating. Respondents were asked whether they personally encounter difficulties in each domain and then whether any members of their household encounter difficulties. Nine IDPs with disabilities answered a series of follow up questions on specific challenges they face.

12 WHO, World Report on Disability, 2011; UNDP, Disability-inclusive development, 2018.

13 World Bank, Disability Inclusion in Nigeria: A Rapid Assessment, 22 July 2020.

14 *Ibid*.

15 IOM-DTM, Flash Report: Population Displacement North Central Nigeria – Bassa LGA (Plateau State), 10 August 2021.

16 Girls not brides, Less talk, more action to address child marriage in emergencies, N.D. accessed: 26 August 2021.

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18 See Brookings Institution, University of Bern Project on Internal Displacement, Inter-Agency Standing Committee Framework on Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons, April 2010.

19 See NRC, NRC's operations in Nigeria, January 2021; Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Strengthening capacities for peace building and conflict resolution in Nigeria's middle belt, December 2020.

20 See IOM-DTM, West and Central Africa — Stability Index — Cameroon and Nigeria (September 2019), 28 July 2020.

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Layout: Gregory van der Donk

Cover photo: Residents of Ganaropp village, near Jos, are seen evacuating in a truck filled with their possessions after herdsman attacked the village. Violent clashes between farmers and herders over land use are escalating in Nigeria's Plateau State and have acquired criminal, ethnic, and religious dimensions. Stefan Heunis/AFP via Getting Images, June 2018.

IDPs witness the damage a few hours after a fire broke out at a site for displaced persons in Nigeria, setting fire to more than 50 shelters. Hajer Naili/NRC

Every day, people flee conflict and disasters and become displaced inside their own countries. IDMC provides data and analysis and supports partners to identify and implement solutions to internal displacement.

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