INTERNAL MIGRATION AND MULTI-ETHNICITY: SENSE OF BELONGING OF THE NIGERIAN SECOND GENERATION MIGRANTS

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ABSTRACT

In contemporary Nigerian multi-cultural urban centres, there is noticeable consciousness, though of varied degrees and patterns, of ethnic origins during inter-group and inter-personal interactions conducing to the odious 'us' and 'them' distinction and the 'we' against the 'others.'' For a relative period of time, host communities suspiciously perceive migrants as "others." (Hence, migrants either adjust or alienate themselves; and this could lead to either integration or disintegration. Having the deep impression of unacceptability could restrain migrants from adequately getting involved in the development of their destinations. In this wise, evaluating the second generation migrants' sense of belonging in the Nigerian internal migration system becomes imperative as it has implications for the national drive towards socio-economic developments. Nineteen undergraduates who were second generation migrants participated in this study. Findings indicate that the Nigerian second generation migrants are do a sense belonging in their various non-culture area destinations. Those with high sense of belonging are more than those with low sense of belonging. Hence, to a large extent, they feel welcome, safe, comfortable, accepted, and loved in the place where you were born and raised. Hence, both psycho-social and legal measures are necessary to forestall perceptions and acts favourable to ethnicity, tribalism, ethnic bigotry, and ethno-discrimination in the Nigeria state.

Introduction

Migration, particularly internal migration, creates the foremost arrangement through which diverse group of peoples come into contact with themselves (Tijani, 2008). In Nigeria, the 1914 amalgamation which congregate the dissimilar ethno-nationalities into a State (Ojie & Ewhrudjakpor, 2009), catalyzed internal migration. While the colonial instigated internal migration which has been strengthened overtime by Nigeria's socio-political and socio-economic developments (Oyeniyi, 2013; SCALABRINI, 2009), has provided its dividend of development for the country and migrants alike; it has also engendered the mix-up and co-existence of peoples of diverse cultural affiliations. However, this co-existence of Nigerians of assorted cultural backgrounds either in places of migratory origin or destination has increased the rate of both group and individual interactions on a relatively long-term basis in a multiethnic society; and has in turn provoked ethnicity and ethnic conflicts (Ojie & Ewhrudjakpor, 2009) which pose a threat to the unity and corporate existence of the country.

The reality of the multi-ethnic populace in Nigeria has triggered a scenario where issues of cultural diversity and differences characterize the life of the people (Amali & Jekayinfa, 2013; Sijuwade, 2011). Hence, what plays out in Nigeria is the incessant violence that could be endemic in ethnically plural societies, despite policy initiatives meant as coping and preventive measures (Ojie & Ewhrudjakpor, 2009).With undulating severity depending on periodic situations, inter-ethnic conflicts among the various Nigerian peoples have dotted parts of the country's history (Mberu & Pongou, 2010). In Nigeria, social and cultural motives specifically dwarf religious and other sundry motives of what forms the fulcrum on which conflicts and violence inherent in the co-existence of culturally heterogeneous peoples, transpire (Amali & Jekayinfa, 2013).

Therefore, ethnic conflicts that have transpired thus far in Nigeria could be attributed to apprehension of losing cultural integrity and entitlements, uncompromised claims of ownership and/or control of scarce resources, contested

access to opportunities; consciousness of origin and language spoken (Metumara 2010; Ojie & Ewhrudjakpor, 2009;Otite 2000). These conflicts with their attendant incessant incidents of mayhem and violence have activated loss of lives and property; internal displacement of persons; the Civil War; mutual distrust; and national disintegration (Amali and Jekayinfa, 2013; Mberu & Pongou, 2010; Oyeniyi, 2013).

The natives and settlers dichotomy is still seemingly influencing social relationships and interactions among Nigerians. This natives and settlers dichotomy was fundamentally instigated by migration and confirmed by colonial laws (Mamdani, 2004).In contemporary Nigerian multi-cultural urban centres, there is noticeable consciousness, though of varied degrees and patterns, of ethnic origins during inter-group and inter-personal interactions conducing to the odious 'us' and 'them' distinctionand the 'we' against the 'others'' attitude (Gurr in Nnoli, 2008; Julius-Adeoye 2011).

Cases abound where Nigerian internal migrants in their destinations are regarded like foreigners in their own country by the Nigerian natives, and are usually left out from political participation (Mberu&Pongou, 2010). At the states and local government areas levels in Nigeria, there has not been a case where a seemingly 'non-indigene' vied for and actually won elective positions whether it is governorship, chairmanship or legislative, in a constituency where s/he is regarded as a migrant. Though there have been exceptional cases of political appointments given to non-indigenes such as in Lagos State, Edo State among others. Inter-ethnic disharmony has in no small measure mired the socioeconomic and political development of ethnically plural societies, and Nigeria is no exception (Nnoli 2008; Otite 2000). Despite unrepressed modernization in most spheres of the Nigerian life, ethnicity still persists (Ukiwo, 2005).

Over time, empirical confirmations have shown that two generations of internal migrants exist in considerable proportions in Nigeria; there is the first generation migrants who are the first to move with or without dependants to destinations, and there is the second generation migrants who were born in the places of destination

to which their first generation migrant parents had migrate to (Oyeniyi, 2013). Arguably, the much talked about inter-ethnic disharmony among co-existing Nigerians in mostly culturally plural urban centres has since it contemporary inception involved first generation internal migrants. This is understandable as they seemingly come with their alien original culture to their migratory destinations which they manifest in their interactions and is suspiciously observed by the natives in the destinations.

Migration conduces to both direct and indirect effects on the migrants, areas of origin, and destination of the migration (Adepoju, 1984). Second generation migrants are more likely to acquire, adopt and imbibe the culture, values, and identifications of their various destinations without much difficulty than adult second generation migrants since they are socialized more in the destination cultural milieu compared to their parents who had inculcated their original cultures prior to migration (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Schwartz, Pantin, Sullivan, Prado, & Szapocznik 2006a; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Accordingly, observational findings, experiences, and anecdotal assertions have revealed cases in which second generation migrants describe themselves to reflect their birth or socialization in their destinations with statements such as: "I'm a Lagos boy/girl", "I'm a Port-Harcourt babe", "I be old Warri", and "I'm Edo by origin, Warri by orientation". Also, there are some cases where second generation migrants in the bid to drive home a point make use of statements such as: "nothing dey happen na Benin den for born me", and "na Warri water dem take bath me". If these assertions and perceptions are wide spread among migrants and in various destinations then they should have positive implications for social and national integration and peaceful co-existence; and by extension it implies that the cultural dispositions of second generation migrants could be key to full social and national integration in Nigeria.

Since second-generation migrants are born in migratory destinations and are exposed to and try to make sense of the cultures of their host communities and tend to imbibe them alongside their heritage culture (Portes &Rumbaut, 2001; Abbasi-Shavazi, Glazebrook, Jamshidiha, Mahmoudian, & Sadegh, 2008; Berry & Sabatier, 2010), it makes sense to evaluate the sense of belonging of Nigerian second

generation migrants in their non-culture area destinations within their country, vis-a-vis managing diversity in a multi-ethnic society against the backdrop of Nigeria being on the brink of disintegration.

Statement of Problem

Migration and its corollaries definitely deliver social change (Moghaddas, Amiri & Rahimi, 2006) in terms of cultural and psychological dispositions, knowledge advancement, development drive, and spatial dynamics. Hence they have become major issues, for forty years now, in both government and academic circles (UNDP, 2009). From the Nigerian context, while international migration has earned more attention due to issues of remittances and brain drain; internal migration has earned far lesser attention despite its seemingly wide implication for indigenous cultural maintenance, physical and psycho-social sustenance of rural areas, and national integration. Accordingly, an overwhelming majority of all forms of literature, and reports tender more recognition to international migration than internal migration (IOM, 2008b; Oyeniyi, 2013); even though the occurrences of internal migration far exceed that of international migration (UNDP, 2009).

Ordinarily and for a relative period of time, host communities suspiciously perceive migrants as "others" (Sada, 1984b; Hugo, 2005). Hence, migrants either adjust or alienate themselves; and this could lead to either integration or disintegration (Moghaddas et al, 2006; SCALABRINI, 2009; Tijani, 2002). Having the deep impression of unacceptability could restrain migrants from adequately getting involved in the development of their destinations (Sada, 1984b). In this wise, evaluating the second generation migrants' sense of belonging in the Nigerian internal migration system becomes imperative as it has implications for the national drive towards socio-economic developments. The contention raised in the study's statement of problem produce the following research question: Do second generation migrants have sense of belonging of in their destinations? Accordingly, the objective of the study is to: evaluate the sense of belonging of second generation migrants in their destinations.

Second Generation Migrants

Fundamentally, the concepts of 'generation' originates in Demography and Anthropology; it describes the vertical dimension in kinship-structures, i.e. the relational difference between parents and children (and grandparents/grandchildren etc.) as a universally relevant social categorisation in all cultures and societies (Schneider, 2016). The idea of the concept of 'second generation' in the context of Migration Studies is to address the offspring of parents who migrated to the place where their children were then born and/or raised (Schneider, 2016). In its most rigid definition, it only includes persons who were actually born in the country of immigration. This definition was, for example, applied in what is still the largest survey on second generation offspring of different immigrant groups in Europe, the TIES Study (Schneider, 2016).Furthermore, Schneider (2016) noted that the term – second generation migrants – originates in the United States and their academic debate on assimilation outcomes in different immigrant groups. For a 'classical' and experienced immigration country such as the USA, the main focus as regards the integration of immigrants lies (a) on the long-term effects rather than on short-term provisions, and (b) on the children of immigrants as the ones whom the receiving country expects to become fully part of the society and to whom it offers full membership.Second-generation migrants are either born overseas or are migrants at a very early age (0-7 years) (Collinetti, 2001). For Abassi-Shavazi et al (2009) second generation migrants are migrants born in the receiving country but raised by foreign-born parents. Berry and Sabatier (2010) submitted that second generation migrants are born in the country of settlement (i.e., second generation). When studying first generation migrants and second generation migrants in developing countries, Moghaddas et al (2006) noted that participants should be drawn from the 15-30 years old group for second generation migrants, and the 45-60 years old age group for first generation migrants.

Second generation migrants do not have pre-migration experiences, their first generation parents do, but they have post-migration experiences. Some of the difficulties and issues associated with migration—such as "pre-migration trauma, being undocumented, and not knowing the receiving country's language—likely do

not apply to second generation migrants" (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). it was the argument of Dustmann, (2003, p. 816) that "concerns about detrimental, or beneficial effects of remaining in the host country on the child's (second generation migrants) future welfare may differ according to whether the child is a boy or a girl. While concerns about preserving traditions may be important for female descendants, concerns about future economic career and prosperity may be dominant for male descendants. If this is the case, then sons should affect return plans differently from daughters."

Furthermore, for first generation migrants, prior education or work experience means that they are able to compare source and destination areas and therefore assess the impact of internal migration in terms of contribution to their lives. The situation for second-generation migrants is different and more complex. Being born in the destination areas and therefore lacking any prior experience or education, they may as well be considered as native to these destination areas (Oyeniyi, 2013).

Berry (2006a) enumerated four categories of migrants: voluntary migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and sojourners. Voluntary migrants are those individuals who leave their homelands by choice in search of employment, economic opportunities, marriage, or to join family members who have migrated previously. Refugees are those who are involuntarily displaced by war, persecution, or natural disasters and are resettled in a new country or location, usually by virtue of agreements between international aid agencies and the governments of those countries or locations that have agreed to accept the refugees. Asylum seekers are those who, by their own choice, seek sanctuary in a new country or location because of fear of persecution or violence. Sojourners relocate to a new country or location on a time-limited basis and for a specific purpose, with full intentions to return to their countries of origin after that period of time is over. Examples of sojourners include international students, seasonal workers, and corporate executives who are sent overseas or to locations for professional reasons (Schwartz et al, 2010). Immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, who are assumed to be permanently settled in their new home-land—although these three groups may be quite different

from one another. As a result, the terms migrants or international migrantsis used to refer to these three groups collectively, but where applicable (Schwartz et al, 2010).

Second Generation Sense of Belonging in Destination

Commenting on the nationalistic spirit required for executing the Nigerian project, (Ekanola 2006, pp. 291-292) writes:

"[…] the integration of the ethnic nationalities in Nigeria requires a transformation of attitudes and values. This would entail a process of social mobilisation to teach and persuade members of different nationalities to see one another as people with whom they must rise and fall together, and bring them to a belief that their destinies are inextricably knit together in such a way that they either win together or lose together."

Nigeria provides an example of the contentious relationship between law and society. While a law may attempt to prohibit discrimination, members of society often act contrary to the dictates of the law. A person is a citizen of Nigeria either by birth, by registration or by naturalization.

Although the Nigerian constitution discourages discrimination based on tribe, language, sex, religion or political leaning, practices have developed that prejudice and polarize the citizenry based on their putative "indigene" and "settler" status (Emelonye in Anaba, 2011). Almost half of the internal migrants interviewed in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed to have suffered attacks from their non-migrant hosts while a few claimed to have suffered police brutality and extortion (Oyeniyi, 2013). A few preferred not to comment, while about one third of the internal migrants in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja claimed to have suffered attacks from their hosts while a relatively small number opined that they have been victims of police brutality (Oyeniyi, 2013). More than half of all internal migrants in the twelve states

claimed not to have been attacked either by their hosts or by the police while a handful of individuals decided not to comment (Oyeniyi, 2013).

Even the children of ethnic minority migrants may not be accepted as full members of the receiving society, which suggests that acculturative stressors and discrimination may remain salient beyond the first generation (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco & Todorova, 2008). Moreover, asylum seekers and refugees are likely to have experienced considerable trauma in their homelands, which may influence their ability to adapt after they have arrived in the receiving country (Akhtar, 1999). Orientation toward destination is the other important factor that can facilitate the adjustment process. The bi-dimensional model of acculturation has described it in details, namely, there is positive relationship between orientations toward host culture and cultural adjustment (Moghaddas et al, 2006). Length of stay in host society is the other important factor. It is clear that a longer stay in the host community increases interaction with the host people. As a result, migrants learn more, feel well-being, obtain more basic survival skills, get more used to local climate, make more friends, accept local lifestyle and food, etc (Moghaddas et al, 2006).

Theoretical Framework

Effort to situate the sense of belonging of second generation migrants in Nigeria in appropriate and explanatory paradigmatic spheres engendered the adoption of two theories. These are the Berry Fourfold Model, and the culture capital theory.

Cultural Capital Theory

Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital refers to the collection of symbolic elements such as skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings, credentials, etc. that one acquires through being part of a particular social class (Bourdieu, 1986). Sharing similar forms of cultural capital with others—the same

taste in movies, for example, or a degree from an Ivy League School—creates a sense of collective identity and group position ("people like us"). But Bourdieu also points out that cultural capital is a major source of social inequality. Certain forms of cultural capital are valued over others, and can help or hinder one's social mobility just as much as income or wealth (Bourdieu, 1986).

According to Bourdieu, cultural capital comes in three forms—embodied, objectified, and institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1986). One's accent or language is an example of embodied cultural capital, while a luxury car or record collection are examples of cultural capital in its objectified state. In its institutionalized form, cultural capital refers to credentials and qualifications such as degrees or titles that symbolize cultural competence and authority.

Though not a Marxist sociologist, Marx's influence is perhaps most evident in Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital. Like Marx, Bourdieu argued that capital formed the foundation of social life and dictated one's position within the social order; the more capital one has, the more powerful a position one occupies in social life. However, Bourdieu extended Marx's idea of capital beyond the economic and into the more symbolic realm of culture.

2.8.3   Berry's   Fourfold Model

Since the early 1980s, cultural psychologists have recognized that acquiring the beliefs, values, and practices of the receiving country does not automatically imply that an immigrant will discard (or stop endorsing) the beliefs, values, and practices of her or his country of origin (Schwartz et al, 2010). Along this line of thought, Berry (1980) developed a model of acculturation in which receiving-culture acquisition and heritage-culture retention are cast as independent dimensions. Within Berry's model, these two dimensions intersect to create four acculturation categories—assimilation (adopts the receiving culture and discards the heritage culture), separation (rejects the receiving culture and retains the heritage culture), integration (adopts the receiving culture and retains the heritage culture), and

marginalization (rejects both the heritage and receiving cultures). Berry's integration category is also referred to as biculturalism (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

The validity of marginalization as an approach to acculturation has been questioned (Del Pilar & Udasco, 2004). The likelihood that a person will develop a cultural sense of self without drawing on either the heritage or receiving cultural contexts is likely low. The marginalization approach may be viable only for the small segment of migrants who reject (or feel rejected by) both their heritage and receiving cultures (Berry, 2006b) Indeed, studies using empirically based clustering methods have found small or nonexistent marginalization groups (Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008; Unger et al., 2002) and scales that attempt to measure marginalization typically have poor reliability and validity compared with scales for the other categories (Unger et al., 2002; Schwartz et al, 2010). Many psychological approaches to acculturation (e.g., Berry, 1980; Phinney, 2003) have examined migrants in isolation and used terms such as acculturation strategies, implying that individual differences in acculturation outcomes are the result of specific choices made by migrants. Although migrants likely are at choice regarding some aspects of their acculturation, other aspects are constrained by demographic or contextual factors.

The cultural capital theory affords this study the explanatory ambit that captures the motive behind the nature and type of culture that either first generation migrants parents bequeath to their children, or which second generation migrants children deliberately choose to adopt in the bid to possess a cultural capital that will give an power to attain their desired social status or social identity. For what it's worth, first generation migrant parents and second generation migrant children would neglect their ethno-culture if it does not provide the valuable capital with which they can acquire their desired social status or identity, and vice versa. The outcomes of the way and manner that first generation migrant parents culturally socialized their second generation migrant children, based on the motives that are tied to the possession of a valuable cultural capital are their explained by the Berry fourfold model. Accordingly, second generation migrants could display cultural ethos that could be described as: a destination culture dominated (assimilated), combination of

both ethno-culture and destination culture (integrated), ethno-culture dominated (separated), or as neither destination culture nor ethno-culture (marginalised); all these have implications for the Nigerian second generation migrants in their destinations within Nigeria.

Methodology

The purpose of research design is to reduce the ambiguity of research evidence. A proper research design helps in minimizing the chance of drawing incorrect causal inferences from data. The one-shot case study design otherwise known as the ex post facto design was the adopted research design for this study. Justification for this adopted research design is hinged on the fact that a group of populates is investigated on some dependent variables following their exposure to a set of independent variables. Moreover, the one-shot case study design is the "most common research design in culture change studies, where it is obviously impossible to manipulate the dependent variable" (Bernard, 2006). Through the adopted research design, only qualitative data was collected for analysis in the bid to achieve the objectives of this study. The population of the study was made up of male and female undergraduates of the University of Benin, Benin City, Edo State Nigeria who were 20 years and above, and who were born and brought in destinations or location outside their culture areas constituted the population of this study. Since only qualitative data would be collected and analyzed for this study, and for research convenience not less than 19 participants were involved in this study. They were participated in the study through the accidental, purposive, and snowballing sampling techniques. The use of a combination of the aforementioned sampling techniques was informed by the involvement of only persons who have the suitable socio-demographic characteristics of the study population.

Data collection was executed through the instrumentality of in-depth interview. The unstructured interviewing strand of in-depth interview was specifically be used. The suitability of the unstructured interviewing was hinged on the need to know about the lived experience of the interviewees. The qualitative data collected

through in-depth interviews was recorded digitally, and transcribed. The transcribed data was then analyzed using three data analysis techniques: hermeneutic analysis, content analysis, and discourse analysis. Data analysis techniques were employed to search for meanings and their interconnections in the expression of culture, to retrieve meaningful information from documents by determining the occurrence of certain words or concepts within the transcribed texts; and to analyze the ways in which naturally occurring language is used in contexts.

Results

The background characteristics of interviewees refer to the socio-demographic characteristics of the persons who participated in this study, and from whom qualitative data was collected. Given the nature of this study, the socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewees given attention to, were their gender, age groups, and ethnic groups, and the associated information is captured in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of interviewees

Variables	Frequency (N =19)	Percentage
Gender		
Male	10	52.60
Female	9	47.40
Age groups		
20 – 24 years	10	52.63
25 – 29 years	6	31.58
30 – 35 years	3	15.79
Ethnic groups		
Igbo	5	26.52
Yoruba	2	10.53
Esan	2	10.53
Isoko	1	5.26
Okpameri	1	5.26
Ukwuani	2	10.53
Benin	2	10.53
Urhobo	1	5.26
Efik	1	5.26
Itsekiri	1	5.26
Igbanke	1	5.26

Source: Researcher's interview, 2019

Table 1 shows that a majority of the interviewees were of the male gender compared to the female. Hence, more males participated in the study than females. For age groups, interviewees for this study were mostly from the 20-24 years age group. This set of interviewees was followed by the 25-29 years age group. The 30-35 years age group had the least proportion of interviewees. Table 4.1 also indicates that the interviewees were drawn from eleven ethnic groups of the Nigeria state. Interviewees from the Igbo ethnic group were preponderant (26.52%). While interviewees from the Yoruba, Esan, Ukwuani, and Benin ethnic groups were 10.53 percent each, interviewees from the Isoko, Okpameri, Urhobo, Efik, Itsekiri, and Igbanke ethnic groups were 5.26 percent each.

To evaluate the sense of belonging of second generation migrants in their destinations, the participants in this study were made to give their thoughts and stance on if they feel welcome, safe, comfortable, accepted, and loved in the place where they were born and raised.   From the analysis of the responses to the associated questions to evaluate the sense of belonging of second generation migrants in their destinations (places, outside their culture areas, where they were born and raised), a majority of the interviewees submitted that they had a good sense of belonging. While none of the interviewees out rightly declared that they did not have a sense of belonging in the places where they born and raised, a few of them claimed that the level of their sense of belonging in their non-culture area base was low.

The responses of those interviewees who claimed to have high level of sense of belonging in the places where they were born and brought up because they felt welcome, safe, comfortable, accepted, and loved, are presented herewith:

> Laughs! The answer to all these is a big YES. Where I was born and raised is my home and my safe haven, I have come to become part of it and it has become part of me too. Be born over there in the north has made me love everything about it. I have come to accept its culture, rules and ways of life like they are mine. Everything I know and learnt came from there. Do I feel welcome,

yes. Each time I happen to leave my environment and go out, I most times miss my birth place (the Kano) because it has done a lot good to me. In fact I feel more safe and secured over there than any other place, because I have come to master its ways. It's like a child to family, that's how it's for me. Been born in Kano has given me a sense of belonging and just like a family I feel more welcome whenever I am there (22 years Old Male Igbo, born and brought in Kano, 19/11/2019).

I would say that I do have quite a good amount of the sense of belonging staying in Yola. Growing up there, I was made the head boy of my secondary school, and I was the class representative of my class despite the fact that my fellow students were predominantly northerners, with the principal being a northern Muslim (24 years Old Male Ukwuani, born and brought up in Yola, 20/10/2019).

I feel safe and welcome in Warri where I grew up. In terms of discrimination, I can't really say because I have few friends there (24 years Old Male Ukwuani, born and brought in Warri, 03/11/2019).

I feel accepted here in Benin City. The level of acceptability here in Benin is 7 on a scale of 1-10. I feel accepted and I am familiar with the environment. There are although some level of discrimination. I can't participate in some activity like party because I am not a Benin person. They will attend to their fellow Benin persons before considering an outsider. In church, school even among individuals (20 years Old Female Igbo, born and brought up in Benin City, 13/11/2019).

I will say I am very welcome and feel comfortable, in the part of Lagos where I stay, Olodi Apapa. So its more like there is no particular ethnic group there. Many different ethnic groups are concentrated in that area. So the mode of communication is mainly Nigerian Pidgin English. We have places where there are Igbo, Ibibio people, and Hausa people; its mixed. Even the slang in that area combines different ethnic local language to make slangs. I feel at home when I am in Lagos. Lagos is a more general kind of state. I feel at home in Lagos a lot. There isn't any form of discrimination. Although where my father moved to Badagri (I did not go with him), there is some form of discrimination. Unlike in Apapa where we feel at home. We stayed there for 20 years (24 Years Old Male Igbanke born and brought up in Lagos, 13/11/2019).

I don't feel like a stranger in Benin City, because my mum's parents have been in Benin City since the early 1900s. Even my dad has been here since 1956. My mum was born here, my maternal grand mom is still alive here in Benin. To me I have not felt any discrimination. Because I did my primary school here. My brothers and sisters are well employed here in NIFOR. So I don't think, or I am sure there is no feeling of discrimination. I feel accepted and loved here. Edo people are nice. Hence, I associate myself with them. Although you will still get to see1 in 100 of the Benin people that is bad. Its individual differences. So to me I am very much okay with Benin people (26 Years Old Male Efik, born and brought up in Benin City, 01/11/2019).

Yes I can say to a very large extent and with all heart, I feel like I belong to where I was giving birth to (Lagos). To an extent I am a Lagosian, I have my birth certificate showing I was born in Lagos. I was born and bred there. Whether anybody likes it not, I am a Lagosian to the core. I schooled there, both for my primary and

secondary education. I have experienced life in most parts of Lagos, I am versatile there. I get this sense of security and belonging and peace. I have never been discriminated in any sort. At a point you can still get the sense of not having the cultural sense of a native Lagosian. I think I have an unconscious sense of not belonging there. Like for instance the 'Eyo festival" of the native Lagos people, I don't see myself involving in it, and I don't feel like I am part of that culture. Even if I stay in Lagos. I won't say I have been discriminated against. I am the one who might have discriminated the native Lagosians, because I have chosen not to be involved in their ethno-culture (25 Years Old Itsekiri Male, born and brought up in Lagos, 27/10/2019).

I kind of have a good sense of belonging in Ibadan. But there are times when I have been treated as an outsider, especially when the natives switch from English language to Yoruba language during their conversation, so as for me not to understand what they were saying, and for me to feel I was not part of them, not knowing I understand the language. Apart from that , I think you will make yourself feel welcome, and give yourself a sense of belonging wherever you are, even when people don't want you there, just make yourself comfortable , and after some time they would have no choice but to accept you (27 Years Old Esan Female, born and brought up in Ibadan, 31/10/2019).

The few interviewees who could not categorically confirm that they had a good sense of belonging in the places where they were born and raised which was outside their ethno-cultural areas, had these to say:

I wouldn't exactly say yes, but to an extent I feel accepted. But there are times when in a gathering or something, and the people make me feel like crap and discriminate against me because I don't belong to their ethnic group (this happens a lot) like for instance,

in my school get-together, the indigenes amongst my classmates have a clique and make me feel different and like an outcast since I am not from their ethnic group, even within my neighbourhood they call us names and sometimes say things like "all these Benin and Igbo people like to show themselves". Sometimes I feel like I belong to them since I practically grew up there but they do make me feel uncomfortable and unwelcome (20 Years Old Female Benin, Born and brought up in Ogun State, 23/10/2019).

To some extent I feel welcome in my non culture area, and to an extent I don't feel welcome. Citing an example, when I was in my SS3, in Owo, I was actually the best, but when it was time to appoint a school prefect, and I was the best fit for the position, they refused to appoint me. The school authority said how can somebody from the East (Igbo ethnic group) come and rule over us here, so we can't give him that post as prefect. So politically I was not well favoured. But in the economic aspect I am well favoured, because any business I do over there always get much gain than lost. In addition, I would say I have a sense of belonging, because in a place where you stay and you are not told to leave, actually you should know that the people there accept you. If not they wouldn't have allowed you to stay with them and enjoy the gifts they land in their land (24 Years Old Igbo Male, born and brought up in Owo, Ondo State, 12/10/2019).

I can't be too sure. I could feel way better if I were born in my hometown. As for comfortability, safety, I could say Yes and the only reason for this could be because everyone around me was born and raised there as myself. Although, with the nature of the environment where we have miscreants around who engage in one form of war or the other and kinda restrict our movements. Economically, I've been safe. Politically and socially is 70% because we're more or less subdued by ethnic forces especially

having to get a new apartment (23 Years Old Female Isoko, Born and brought up in Lagos, 24/9/2019).

To an extent I would say Yes to another No, I feel I am safe as long as I don't pass my boundary. I would say they are a little bit partial and also they don't like to speak their language around you because they feel you will understand what they are saying. And in terms of giving they prefer themselves, which I feel others will also do (24 Years Old Female Yoruba, Born and brought up in Benin City, 23/10/2019).

Discussion of Findings

This study set out to evaluate the sense of belonging of second generation migrants in their destinations. Evaluating second generation migrants' sense of belonging in the Nigerian internal migration system is imperative as it has implications for the national drive towards socio-economic developments. The participants in this study were made to give their thoughts and stance on if they feel welcome, safe, comfortable, accepted, and loved in the place where they were born and raised. From the analysis of the responses to the associated questions to evaluate the sense of belonging of second generation migrants in their destinations (places, outside their culture areas, where they were born and raised), a majority of the interviewees submitted that they had a good sense of belonging. While none of the interviewees out rightly declared that they did not have a sense of belonging in the places where they born and raised, a few of them claimed that the level of their sense of belonging in their non-culture area base was low.

A reason put forward by those second generation migrants who claimed to have high level of sense of belonging in the places where they were born and brought up because they felt welcome, safe, comfortable, accepted, and loved, was the fact that the host communities had become part of them, and they in turn had become part of their host communities. Other reasons were their familiarity with the

environment and their versatility in the places, ability to use the language, the concentration of people form multi ethnic groups, and a large concentration of members of the extended family. The few interviewees who could not categorically confirm that they had a good sense of belonging in the places where they were born and raised which was outside their ethno-cultural area based this feeling on the treatment they had got from indigenes of their host communities which made them feel discriminated, their notion that they would be better off if they were born in their hometowns, and the observed tendency of indigenes of the host communities to direct all items and opportunities of value to themselves, and excluding non-indigenes even when they were qualified to be beneficiaries.

Conclusion

A considerable number of Nigerian second generation migrants have a good sense of belonging in their non-culture areas base. While none of the interviewees out rightly declared that they did not have a sense of belonging in the places where they born and raised, a few of them claimed that the level of their sense of belonging in their non-culture area base was low. Generally, second generation migrants take pride in the places where they were born and raised as they perceive that they are more in tune with the culture and people of their host communities. Hence, to a large extent, they feel welcome, safe, comfortable, accepted, and loved in the place where you were born and raised. Despite, not being involved in the decision making of whether to migrate to the places where they born and raised, a good number of second generation migrants are wont to remain in the places where they were born and raised because of the love for the place, valuable social ties built overtime, and existence of opportunities. There are beauty and invaluable benefits in having a multicultural and multi-ethnic state or society. These benefits can only manifest within the scope of national integration. Hence, both psycho-social and legal measures are necessary to forestall perceptions and acts favourable to ethnicity, tribalism, ethnic bigotry, and ethno-discrimination in the Nigeria state.

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