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Socio-Economic Rights of Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria: An Appraisal

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Abstract

In the turbulent landscape of African political conflict, particularly within the sub-Saharan region, waves of unrest and instability have driven unprecedented levels of forced migration and internal displacement. This paper appraises the consequent human rights abuses and socio-economic plights faced by Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and migrants in Nigeria, a nation emblematic of these continental challenges. Employing a qualitative, desktop methodology, the analysis interrogates the socio-legal regimes governing displacement, focusing on their impact on fundamental rights to health, shelter, education, and livelihood. It argues that the systemic failure to secure these socio-economic rights perpetuates cycles of vulnerability and poverty, transforming displacement from a temporary crisis into a permanent state of deprivation. The paper posits that while robust international and regional frameworks—such as the Kampala Convention and the African Charter—exist, their domestication and enforcement in Nigeria remain critically deficient. Ultimately, it calls for the formalization of a protective legal status for IDPs and migrants, the establishment of dedicated national agencies for their affairs, and the reaffirmation of state responsibility as the primary duty-bearer in safeguarding the dignity and economic welfare of all displaced citizens.

Keywords: Migrants, Internally Displaced Persons, Socio-Economic Rights, Human Rights, Forced Displacement, Nigeria, Kampala Convention

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1. Introduction

Imagine a family in northeastern Nigeria, forced to flee their farm under the cover of night, escaping violence only to find themselves stranded on the outskirts of a swollen city. They are citizens, yet they are stripped of citizenship's most basic guarantees: safety, home, and a means to live. This is not a singular story but a fragment of a massive, silent crisis. Over the last decade, forced displacement has escalated into one of the world's most pressing humanitarian challenges,

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with Africa bearing a disproportionate burden.¹ The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reports that global forced displacement has reached historic peaks, with millions in Africa displaced by a confluence of armed conflict, communal violence, and the accelerating impacts of climate change (UNHCR, 2023).²

In Nigeria alone, conflicts involving Boko Haram, farmer-herder clashes, and banditry have uprooted over 3.5 million people internally as of 2023 (IOM, 2023).³ These individuals join the ranks of migrants crossing borders, creating a complex tapestry of human movement where the lines between IDP, refugee, and economic migrant often blur. Yet, the international community's response, often constrained by funding shortages and political will, has been insufficient. As the Kampala Convention of 2009 unequivocally states, the primary duty to protect and assist IDPs lies with their own state.⁴ When this duty is neglected, displacement becomes more than a physical relocation; it morphs into a socio-economic catastrophe marked by malnutrition, gender-based violence, eroded dignity, and the profound violation of the right to a decent life.

This paper, therefore, seeks to navigate the fraught intersection of law, policy, and human experience. It investigates the protection of socio-economic rights for IDPs and migrants in Nigeria against the benchmarks of international humanitarian law, refugee law, and human rights standards. A central paradox forms the core of this inquiry: Nigeria has ratified key international instruments, including the Kampala Convention, yet has failed to fully domesticate and implement them, leaving a yawning gap between legal promise and lived reality. Through an appraisal of the right to health, education, housing, and work, this analysis will illuminate how the denial of these rights entrenches poverty and destabilizes both individuals and the state. In humanizing the legal discourse, the paper contends that securing socio-economic rights is not merely an act of charity but a fundamental obligation of governance and a cornerstone for sustainable peace and development.

2. Theoretical Underpinnings: The Interdependence of Rights and Displacement

To understand the socio-economic deprivation of displaced populations, one must first engage with the theoretical framework of human rights interdependence and indivisibility. The classical dichotomy between civil/political rights and economic/social/cultural rights is a false one, especially in contexts of displacement. As Sen⁵ powerfully argues, development is fundamentally about expanding freedoms, and the absence of socio-economic security directly curtails political agency and personal liberty. A displaced person denied adequate housing (an economic right) is simultaneously exposed to greater risks of violence and ill-health, infringing upon their rights to security and life (civil rights).⁶

¹ Jeff Crisp, *Forced Displacement In Africa: Dimensions, Difficulties, And Policy Directions*, (2010) 29(3) *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 1-27.

² UNHCR, *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2023*, available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/2024-06/global-trends-report-2023.pdf>.

³ National Bureau of Statistics, *Report of Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria 2023*, available at: https://egrisstats.org/wp-content/uploads/Nigeria-IDP-Survey-Report-3rd-December_Final.pdf; International Organization for Migration (IOM), *DISPLACEMENT OVERVIEW IN NORTH-EAST NIGERIA 2023*, available at: https://dtm.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbd11461/files/reports/DTM%20Nigeria%20NE%20Report%20Round%2043%20%28February%202023%29%20updated_July7%202023.pdf

⁴ Art. V(1), African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention), adopted by the Special Summit of the Union Kampala, Uganda 23rd October 2009, Entered into Force 6th December 2012.

⁵ A. Sen, *Development as Freedom*, (Oxford University Press, 1999), 9-10.

⁶ *Ibid*, 240-241.

This interdependence is recognized in the holistic vision of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and is operationalized in the “human security” paradigm, which shifts focus from state security to the security of individuals—their safety, welfare, and dignity.⁷ Forced displacement represents the ultimate collapse of human security. The Vulnerability Theory advanced by scholars like Martha Fineman⁸ further illuminates this, positing that all individuals are inherently vulnerable and dependent on societal institutions for resilience. Displacement exacerbates this inherent vulnerability, and the state’s failure to provide a “responsive state” infrastructure transforms a natural human condition into a debilitating state of precarity.⁹ Therefore, analyzing the socio-economic rights of IDPs and migrants is not a niche legal exercise but a critical examination of how states construct—or dismantle—systems of resilience for their most vulnerable populations.

3. The Socio-Economic Rights of Migrants and IDPs under International Law

The international legal architecture for the protection of displaced persons is a complex tapestry woven from refugee law, human rights law, and humanitarian law.¹⁰ While the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol provide the cornerstone for refugee-specific protection, their application to IDPs is limited, creating what Cohen (2007) calls a “protection gap”.¹¹ This gap is partially filled by international human rights law, which applies to all persons within a state’s territory and jurisdiction, irrespective of nationality or status.

3.1 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and Core Covenants

The UDHR’s universalist language, employing the term “everyone,” establishes a non-discriminatory foundation for all subsequent rights instruments.¹² Its provisions for life, liberty, security (Art. 3), freedom from degrading treatment (Art. 5), and the right to education (Art. 26) are directly applicable to displaced populations.¹³ These principles were codified into binding law through the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).¹⁴ The ICESCR is particularly pivotal, as it enshrines the rights to work, social security, an adequate standard of living (including food, clothing, and housing), health, and education.¹⁵ The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) has affirmed in General Comment No. 20 that the prohibition of

⁷ UNDP, *Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security*, available at: <https://hdr.undp.org/system/files/documents/hdr1994encompletenostats.pdf> (accessed 28/12/2025).

⁸ M. A. Fineman, ‘The Vulnerable Subject: Anchoring Equality in the Human Condition’, (2008) 20(1) *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism*, 1-23.

⁹ Benjamin P. Davis and Eric Aldieri, ‘Precarity and Resistance: A Critique of Martha Fineman’s Vulnerability Theory’, (2021) 36(2) *Hypatia* 321 – 337.

¹⁰ UNHCR, *Handbook for the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons*, 15-34, available at: <https://www.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/legacy-pdf/47949f342.pdf>.

¹¹ R. Cohen, ‘The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement: A New Instrument for International Organizations and NGOs’, (2007) 27 *Forced Migration Review*, 10-12. See also Robert K. Goldman, ‘Internal Displacement: The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement-Normative Status, and the Need for Effective Domestic Implementation’, (2007) 7 *ISIL Year Book of International Humanitarian and Refugee Law*.

¹² Art. 2, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly, 217 A (III), 10 December 1948.

¹³ Y. Prytyka et al. ‘Protection of Rights of Internally Displaced Persons Amid Military Aggression in Ukraine’, (2023) 20 *The Age of Human Rights Journal*, e7711.

¹⁴ See International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (adopted 16 Dec. 1966, entered into force 23 Mar. 1976) 999 UNTS 171; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights UNGA Res. A/RES/2200A (XXI), (1993 U.N.T.S. 3, adopted 16 December 1966).

¹⁵ See Arts. 6-13, ICESCR, *ibid*.

discrimination applies to “all persons under the state’s territory or jurisdiction,” encompassing non-nationals, including refugees and asylum-seekers.¹⁶

3.1.1 The Right to Health

For displaced populations, the right to the highest attainable standard of health enshrined in Article 12 of ICESCR is often the most immediately imperiled.¹⁷ Displacement ruptures healthcare access, exposes individuals to new disease environments, and amplifies public health risks in overcrowded camps. The CESCR emphasizes that the right to health extends beyond healthcare to the underlying determinants of health, such as safe water, sanitation, and healthy environmental conditions.¹⁸ For IDPs in Nigeria, like those in camps in Borno State, the reality is often one of cholera outbreaks, malnutrition, and negligible maternal healthcare.¹⁹ The trauma of violence and flight also creates acute mental health needs, a facet of healthcare systematically overlooked in emergency responses. As Farmer²⁰ contends, health disparities are often a “biological reflection of social fault lines,” making the health of displaced persons a stark indicator of societal neglect.

3.1.2 The Right to Education

Education is both a human right and a critical tool for protection and future stability.²¹ For displaced children, school provides routine, safety, and hope. Article 13 of ICESCR mandates free and compulsory primary education for all. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) reinforces this, insisting on education without discrimination.²² Yet, in Nigeria, IDP children face formidable barriers: destroyed schools, lack of documentation, language differences, and the economic necessity of child labour.²³ The loss of education perpetuates a cycle of poverty and vulnerability, creating what Save the Children (2021) terms a “lost generation”.²⁴ Investing in inclusive education for the displaced is not merely a rights fulfillment; it is an investment in social cohesion and post-conflict recovery.

¹⁶ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment No. 20, Non-Discrimination in Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (art. 2, para. 2) U.N. Doc. E/C.12/GC/20 (2009).

¹⁷ O. Olumese, ‘Duty without liability: The impact of article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on the right to health care in Nigeria’, (2021) 21(2) *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 1112 – 1134.

¹⁸ See Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment No. 14, 2000, The Right to the Highest Attainable Standard of Health. See also B.M. Meier, ‘The Highest Attainable Standard: The World Health Organization, Global Health Governance, and the Contentious Politics of Human Rights’, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 2009) 199, available at: <https://bmeier.web.unc.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/700/2018/12/Meier-Dissertation-Final.pdf>

¹⁹ Doctors Without Borders, *Urgent Humanitarian Response Needed to Avoid Deadly Consequences in Borno*, June 2022, available at: <https://www.msf.org/urgent-humanitarian-response-needed-avoid-deadly-consequences-borno-nigeria>

²⁰ P. Farmer, *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor* (University of California Press, 2005) 267.

²¹ Sida, *Education for All: a Human Right and Basic Need, Policy for Sida’s Development Cooperation in the Education Sector*, April, 2001, available at: <https://cdn.sida.se/publications/files/sida2116en-education-for-all-a-human-right-and-basic-need.pdf>

²² Art. 28, Convention on the Rights of the Child 1987.

²³ Sarah O. Ezera & Michael E. Oghenede, ‘Access to Education for Internally Displaced Children in IDP Camps in Nigeria’, (2021) 27(1) *Benin Journal of Educational Studies*, 215.

²⁴ Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development, *A Lost Generation’ Young People and Conflict in Africa*, (Ramco Printing Works, Nairobi, Kenya, 2007); Naomi Hossain & J. Allister McGregor, ‘A ‘Lost Generation’? Impacts of Complex Compound Crises on Children and Young People’, (2011) 29(9) *Development Policy Review* 565.

3.1.3 The Right to Adequate Housing and Livelihood

The right to adequate housing enshrined in Article 11 of ICESCR, is central to human dignity. The CESCR, in General Comment No. 4, clarifies that adequacy includes security of tenure, availability of services, affordability, and cultural appropriateness.²⁵ For IDPs, this is rarely met. They often reside in informal settlements or overcrowded camps with insecure tenure, poor sanitation, and constant fear of eviction.²⁶ This housing insecurity is intrinsically linked to the loss of livelihood. Displaced farmers and traders lose their assets and economic networks. The right to work (ICESCR, Art. 6) is thus critical. However, legal and practical barriers often prevent IDPs and migrants from accessing formal labour markets, pushing them into informal, exploitative work.²⁷ The ILO's Guiding Principles on access to decent work for refugees and other forcibly displaced persons (2016) highlight the need for inclusive labour policies that recognise skills and provide pathways to legal employment.²⁸

3.2 The African Regional Framework

Africa has pioneered regional instruments addressing displacement. The 1969 OAU Refugee Convention²⁹ expanded the refugee definition to include those fleeing external aggression, occupation, and events seriously disturbing public order.³⁰ More groundbreaking is the 2009 African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention), the world's first binding treaty on IDPs.³¹ The Convention imposes clear obligations on states to prevent displacement, protect and assist IDPs during displacement, and support durable solutions for return, local integration, or resettlement.³² It explicitly mandates states to respect the socio-economic rights of IDPs, including to education, shelter, and health.³³ Crucially, it holds states responsible for the acts of non-state actors³⁴ and provides for

²⁵ Andrei Quintiá Pastrana and Michel Vols, 'Tracing the Right to Access to Housing: Insights from Human Rights Theory and Practice', (2024) 18(2) *European Journal of Homelessness*, 11.

²⁶ FM Babajide, MS Olaogun & L Oluwadele, 'The State Of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPS) In Nigeria And Implications To National Security: Northwest And North Central In Focus', (2024) 29(11) *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1.

²⁷ Roger Zetter, 'Refugees' Right to Work and Access to Labor Markets – An Assessment, Part II: Country Cases, World Bank KNOMAD STUDY, Sept. 2016, available at: <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/099526108282412662/pdf/IDU1d313ac9a1626814ea01aad41070f3cd82895.pdf>

²⁸ ILO, *Employment and decent work in refugee and other forced displacement contexts*, Geneva, 2020, available at: https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_protect/@protrav/@migrant/documents/publication/wcms_763174.pdf

²⁹ OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, Adopted September 10, 1969 and entered into force on 20th June 1974.

³⁰ Ibid, art. 1(2).

³¹ The Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) of the African Union, 'Making the Kampala Convention work for IDPs: Guide for civil society on supporting the ratification and implementation of the Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa', July 2010, p.13, available at: <https://api.internal-displacement.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/2010-making-the-kampala-convention-work-thematic-en.pdf>

³² OAU Convention (n 29), arts. 3, 4, 9 & 11.

³³ Ibid, art. 9(2)(b).

³⁴ Ibid, art. 5(6).

compensation.³⁵ The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights³⁶ complements this, guaranteeing rights to health,³⁷ education,³⁸ and work.³⁹

However, the gulf between ratification and reality is stark in Nigeria. Despite signing the Kampala Convention in 2009 and ratifying it in 2012, Nigeria is yet to domesticate the convention although a bill for the domestication has been passed by the Nigerian Senate since July 2025.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the National Commission for Refugees, Migrants, and Internally Displaced Persons (NCFRMI) is chronically under-resourced and lacks the authority to coordinate a whole-of-government response.⁴¹ Consequently, the promise of the Kampala Convention—state responsibility, non-discrimination, and durable solutions—remains largely unfulfilled for millions of Nigerian IDPs.

4. The Nigerian Context: A Case Study in Systemic Failure

Nigeria's displacement crisis is a multi-headed hydra, driven by the Boko Haram insurgency in the Northeast, persistent farmer-herder conflicts in the Middle Belt, and rampant banditry in the Northwest.⁴² The government's response has been predominantly militarized, with humanitarian and socio-economic recovery treated as an afterthought.⁴³

4.1 Camps and Informal Settlements

Official IDP camps, such as those in Borno, Benue and Plateau States are frequently characterized by severe overcrowding, inadequate WASH facilities, and food insecurity.⁴⁴ A 2022 report by Human Rights Watch documented sexual exploitation and abuse of women and girls in these camps, often perpetrated by camp officials and security forces.⁴⁵ Beyond the camps, a larger number of IDPs live in host communities, placing immense strain on local resources and often residing in slum conditions without formal recognition or assistance.⁴⁶ This invisible displacement further obscures their needs and rights.

³⁵ Ibid, art. 12.

³⁶ African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted June 27, 1981, O.A.U. Doc. CAB/LEG/67 /3/Rev. 5.

³⁷ Ibid, art. 16.

³⁸ Ibid, art. 17.

³⁹ Ibid, art. 15.

⁴⁰ T. Magaji, 'The Implications of Non-Domestication of Kampala Convention to the Protection of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria', (2023) 7(3) *Wukari International Studies Journal*, 427–447; Theresa U. Akpoghome, 'Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria and the Kampala Convention', (2015) 18 *Recht in Afrika – Law in Africa – Droit en Afrique*, 58.

⁴¹ Ijeoma Anozie, 'Does the Kampala Convention Suffice? Imperatives for an Adequate Legal Protection of Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria: Lessons from Other Jurisdictions', (2025) 16(2) *Beijing Law Review*, 791, 794.

⁴² T.E. Igoli, L. Saturday & W.E. Boma, 'Banditry, Herder-Farmers Conflicts and Implications on National Security in Nigeria', (2023) 13(1) *University of Nigeria Journal of Political Economy*, 227.

⁴³ E.G. Ogunleye, Y.D. Shinga & E. Eghosa, 'Internal Security Crises and Human Rights Abuse in Nigeria in the Fourth Republic', (2024) 8(10) *Wukari International Studies Journal*, 190.

⁴⁴ F.F. Daodu, T. Shabu, T.I. Kile & J. Enefu, 'Humanitarian Crises in Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) Camps in Benue State, Nigeria: A Comprehensive Analysis', (2024) 8(5) *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science* 2282.

⁴⁵ U.S. Dept. State, *Nigeria 2022 Human Rights Report*, June 2022, available at: https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/415610_NIGERIA-2022-HUMAN-RIGHTS-REPORT.pdf; UNHCR, *Status of Women's Rights in Refugee and Internal Displacement Settings in Africa: The Context of AGA and APSA*, December 2020, p.69, available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/2022-03/Joint-IDP-study--status-women-africa-EN.pdf>.

⁴⁶ R.E. Roberts & T. Lawanson, *Understanding IDPs in Nigerian Cities, Researching Internal Displacement – Working Paper No. 36*, May 2023, available at: https://researchinginternaldisplacement.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Enobong_Nigeria-City-ID_220523.pdf

4.2 Access to Justice and Accountability

A fundamental barrier to realizing socio-economic rights is the lack of access to justice. IDPs often lack the legal awareness, financial means, or safety to seek redress for rights violations.⁴⁷ The Kampala Convention's provisions for compensation are virtually untested in Nigerian courts. The African human rights system, including the African Commission and Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, offers potential avenues, but individual access is limited, and state compliance with decisions is inconsistent.⁴⁸ The absence of accountability fosters impunity and normalizes the violation of IDP rights.

4.3 The Plight of Cross-Border Migrants

Nigeria is also a significant hub for migrants from neighbouring West African countries, who often face xenophobia, police harassment, and barriers to accessing healthcare and education.⁴⁹ While Nigeria has a progressive National Policy on Labour Migration, its implementation is patchy, leaving many migrant workers in the informal sector vulnerable to exploitation without legal recourse.⁵⁰

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

The socio-economic rights of migrants and IDPs are not aspirational luxuries; they are fundamental, legally-enforceable entitlements essential for survival, dignity, and the rebuilding of shattered lives. Nigeria's current approach, which treats displacement as a temporary humanitarian problem to be managed rather than a human rights crisis to be solved, is morally indefensible and strategically myopic. The protracted nature of displacement in the country proves that without socio-economic integration and justice, crises become permanent.

To bridge the gap between law and life, this paper proposes a multi-pronged approach:

1. Full Domestication and Implementation of the Kampala Convention: Nigeria must move beyond symbolic ratification. This requires enacting strong national legislation that codifies IDP rights, allocates sufficient funding, and establishes clear institutional mandates. The NCFRMI should be transformed into a well-funded, independent commission with the power to coordinate all relevant ministries and hold them accountable.
2. Adopting a "Durable Solutions" Framework from the Outset: Humanitarian assistance must be designed to transition into long-term development. This includes issuing IDPs with standardized identification documents to facilitate access to services, implementing inclusive urban planning to integrate IDPs into host communities, and creating livelihood programs that provide skills training and access to credit.
3. Prioritizing Localized and Community-Based Responses: National policies must be implemented in partnership with local governments, civil society organizations, and

⁴⁷ R. Iorbo, S.P. Sahni, T. Bhatnagar, & D.T. Andzeng, 'Social Inclusion and Justice for the Internally Displaced by the Herdsmen-Farmers Conflict in Benue State, Nigeria', (2024) 12(2) *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 96-109.

⁴⁸ F. Viljoen, F. *International Human Rights Law in Africa* (3rd ed. Oxford University Press 2021), 332.

⁴⁹ S.C. Onwuharaonye, et al. 'Effect of Xenophobia on Migration and the Quest for Regional Integration in Africa', (2025) 10(2) *Socialscientia*, 219.

⁵⁰ Victor Amadi, An Analysis of Migration Governance Frameworks in Nigeria, Migration Governance Reform in Africa Program, 4th MIGRA Report, April 2024, available at: <https://nsi.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/An-Analysis-of-Migration-Governance-Frameworks-in-Nigeria-2024-04-24.pdf>

displaced communities themselves. Community-led monitoring of services and rights violations can enhance accountability and ensure responses are culturally appropriate.

4. **Strengthening Judicial and Quasi-Judicial Remedies:** Legal aid clinics should be established to assist IDPs in claiming their rights. Nigerian courts must be encouraged to draw directly on the provisions of the Kampala Convention and ICESCR in their rulings. Furthermore, Nigeria should fully recognize the jurisdiction of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights to hear cases from individuals and NGOs.
5. **Fostering Regional Cooperation:** Displacement is a transnational challenge. Nigeria should actively collaborate with neighbors through the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to harmonize policies on migrant protection, labor mobility, and cross-border responses to displacement drivers like climate change.

Ultimately, the measure of a society is found in how it treats its most vulnerable members. Ensuring the socio-economic rights of migrants and IDPs is a profound test of Nigeria's commitment to justice, equality, and the rule of law. It is a necessary step not only toward healing the wounds of displacement but toward building a more inclusive, resilient, and truly prosperous nation for all who call it home.