

Boko Haram: protection issues for displaced and distressed women and children in Northern Nigerian cities

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Urban environments

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The Boko Haram insurgency has engulfed many parts of Northern Nigeria since 2010. About two million people have fled into urban areas around crisis zones. However, barely 10 per cent of these internally displaced persons (IDPs) are sheltered in formal humanitarian camps. The vast majority live on their own, facing difficulties in accessing food, education, healthcare and shelter. Harassment and stigmatisation exacerbate their suffering in urban areas. This paper explores the difficult situations facing IDPs in the major urban areas of Kano and Maiduguri, focusing on women and children. It highlights gaps in policy, philosophy and practice. Fragmentation and inter-agency rivalry has crippled local intervention programmes, and protection for displaced people urgently needs to be strengthened through institutional reforms and collaborative problem solving.

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Acronyms

FGD	Focus group discussion
GPS	Global Positioning System
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDPs	Internally displaced persons
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LGA	Local government area
NCFRMI	National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
NRCS	Nigerian Red Cross Society
SCI	Save the Children International
SEMA	State Emergency Management Agency
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UN	United Nations
Unicef	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIMAID	University of Maiduguri

Summary

This working paper narrates the experiences of women and children displaced by the Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria. The Boko Haram crisis engulfs four African countries: the Republic of Cameroon, Chad, the Republic of Niger and Nigeria. Frequent acts of terror take place within the Lake Chad basin – an area where people are already facing significant climate-related challenges. The insurgency has spread across Northern Nigeria since 2010, and about two million Nigerians have fled their homes and ended up in urban areas around the main crisis zones.

In this working paper, the main focus of investigation is two major urban areas in northwest and northeast Nigeria respectively. Kano, the capital of Kano State is the largest city in the whole of Northern Nigeria, while Maiduguri is the capital city of Borno State and also the largest urban area in the northeast of Nigeria. Maiduguri is the springboard of Boko Haram – the crisis started from the city following the killing of the leader of the Boko Haram sect in 2009 after skirmishes between the group and Nigeria's security forces. The sect members fled the town and in 2010 launched large-scale attacks on villages and towns surrounding Maiduguri and seized control of large swathes of Nigeria's territory. The presence of Boko Haram in many towns and villages triggered a mass exodus of people who fled to save their lives and escape violence and persecutions allegedly committed by the sect.

Maiduguri was the first to receive large numbers of fleeing families and individuals who assumed the status of internally displaced persons (IDPs) as defined by international and regional conventions. Unfortunately, the crisis continued to escalate, particularly between 2011 and 2014. Thus, more and more people continued to flee into Maiduguri and Kano among other areas.

This working paper examines protection issues and status for displaced women and children who flee to urban areas. Nigeria is a signatory to the United Nations (2004) *Guiding principles on internal displacement* as well as its African Union (AU) version known as the Kampala Convention. Both conventions strongly emphasise the protection rights of IDPs which covers basic needs – food, shelter, sanitation, access to healthcare, dignity etc. Women and children are vulnerable and disadvantaged during crises of this nature because in many cases

the main income earners in their families are killed or incapacitated. Women and children often become victims of rape, harassment, trafficking, exploitation and other forms of abuse.

Our research team used focus group discussions (FGDs) to elicit first-hand information from women and children who narrated their ordeals and experiences. We observed the types of shelter where women and children live in Kano and Maiduguri respectively. We also spoke with key stakeholders to help understand their perceptions and perspectives on protection issues in respect of displaced women and children.

Just like their counterparts in many parts of the world, women and children in both cities spoke of the lack of food, poor shelter, lack of access to education and healthcare. Other related protection issues include harassment, stigmatisation and discrimination. Most of these people have stayed in this condition for more than three years.

In both Kano and Maiduguri none of the IDPs identified with any Nigerian humanitarian organisation. It seems that there is a wide gap between the philosophy and objectives of Nigerian humanitarian organisations and the actual needs of IDPs. Benefactors and protectors of women and children ought to understand and plan their interventions based on the actual needs of displaced persons. It is unfortunate that Nigeria's humanitarian agencies have relegated themselves to the background and allowed foreign humanitarian organisations to respond to the critical needs of Nigerian IDPs. It is also troubling for such agencies to assume a timeline¹ for the end of the Boko Haram crisis and to use that as a template to guide their operations. It is apparent that many stakeholders and individuals lack trust and confidence in Nigerian humanitarian organisations. The public suspicion of corruption became obvious on social media in June 2017 when tonnes of date-palm fruits provided by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for the IDPs were diverted to shops in major Nigerian cities.

For the research team, our main conclusion in this working paper stresses that it is wrong for governments to have set a timeline for the end of the Boko Haram crisis or to use such a hypothesis to end or slow assistance to IDPs. We also emphasise that protection for displaced people urgently needs to be strengthened through institutional reforms and collaborative problem solving.

¹ See Punch Online (2015) and Udo (2016).

1

Introduction

1.1 Internally displaced persons and crises

The United Nations (2004) guiding principles on internal displacement define internally displaced persons (IDPs) as:

People or groups of people who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border.

In a world where more than half of its population lives in urban areas, understanding the nexus between violent conflicts and protection of IDPs in urban areas is crucial to the effectiveness of responses expected from urban policymakers, planners and humanitarian agencies. There is a strong justification for addressing massive and forced displacement of populations in recent years. It reported that in 2015 alone, conflicts displaced 24 people every minute and the consequences of that include challenges in access to basic needs such as water, sanitation, and shelter (Obani 2017).

A relevant displacement theory in the context of the current study is Cernea's (2000) impoverishment risk and reconstruction model. This theory is of the view that eight risks are inherent in population displacement: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased mortality and morbidity, loss of access to common property, and social disintegration. Robinson (2003) extended this theory by suggesting an addition of two risks: loss of access to community services and violation of human rights. The two theories cited above highlight some of the key protection issues affecting displaced persons. The issues could also be at the core of what needs to be done to protect the IDPs in Northern Nigeria and elsewhere.

Unfortunately, narratives on cross-border refugee crises have assumed more global and regional dimensions. Hence, over the years, it has overshadowed protection narratives for IDPs. This came across clearly in a TED Talk held in December 2015 in Geneva where the then UN High Commissioner for Refugees António Guterres (now the UN Secretary General) observed that peoples and governments in Europe are deeply divided over refugees arriving in their countries. Nevertheless, the high commissioner made one thing clear:

It doesn't make sense anymore to make a distinction between humanitarian aid and development aid or development processes. Because you are talking about children in school, you are talking about health, you are talking about infrastructure that is overcrowded.

The international community and development circles have a clear understanding of the situation of countries receiving refugees and the narratives it creates across political and institutional landscapes. In contrast, narratives on the protection of IDPs mostly residing in cities and towns of the global South are relatively less discussed and poorly represented and presented in the mainstream media and talks by international development chiefs.

International organisations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) have all recognised the need to improve the welfare of displaced people (Leal-Arcas 2012). On the other hand, not many studies have paid attention to the situation of displaced women and children whose vulnerability could be worsened in crisis situations. Considering the escalation in the number of IDPs as cited above, it is imperative to look into policy, rights and humanitarian issues surrounding displaced people in their destinations – particularly urban areas of conflict-infested developing countries.

1.2 The scale of population displacement

The Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria is one of the deadliest conflicts that has resulted in population displacement in Africa. It is estimated that since the escalation of the Boko Haram insurgency in 2010 about two million Nigerians have fled their homes and ended up in urban areas around the main crisis zones and only about 10 per cent of this number are sheltered in official humanitarian spaces in Nigeria's 13 states (IDMC 2016). Indeed, this violent conflict has demonstrated the mobility of IDPs who can travel 500–1,000km to seek shelter in the cities and towns of their own country.

Violence and insecurity heighten the fragility of urban areas in many developing countries and the consequences of that include the decreasing capacity and willingness of governments to deliver their basic social responsibilities (Muggah 2014). As of 2014, Boko Haram had total control of Nigerian territory covering an area of 21,545 square kilometres (Ibrahim *et al.* 2014). The implication of this is twofold: one, most of the captured areas are remote rural areas and hence people in such captured territories try to run from Boko Haram for relatively more-secure urban areas. The second is that there are the difficulties and dangers that women, children and the aged face in their attempt to reach cities by foot. The number of people in both instances could be very high even though there are no statistics to support such estimations. Indeed, it is estimated that about 70 million people will be forced to move into cities of the world's most fragile and conflict-prone countries (de Boer 2015).

1.3 Study objectives and research questions

This study aimed to identify holistic strategies for the protection of IDPs, recognising and supporting the considerable goodwill of international humanitarian agencies, host communities and fellow Nigerians. The research questions driving this study included:

- What are the characteristics of women and children fleeing Boko Haram?
- What rights/priorities are needed to ensure genuine protection of women and children being displaced to urban areas?
- Which factors, agencies, policies and practices undermine the protection of IDPs?
- In which ways do individuals and groups – within communities and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) – support the protection of displaced women and children in urban areas?

- What strategies and policies are needed to mainstream protection of IDPs and women and children in particular?

The poor condition of Boko Haram's IDPs is unfavourable compared to every other urban area in Nigeria. For instance, one may assume that IDPs in Abuja are privileged by virtue of being in Nigeria's capital city and closest to national government and its agencies. However, based on testimonies of IDPs, Adewale (2016) observed that in Abuja IDPs face threats of eviction, deception by the political class (around electoral periods) and lack of access to shelter, food, water and sanitation. Part of the reason for this could be based on the understanding in some circles that IDPs do not possess the same rights as refugees in some developing countries (Zutshi *et al.* 2011; Ladan 2013). Such views contradict Article 9.1 of the Kampala Convention of 2009 which stressed the need for all countries to protect the rights of IDPs against all forms of exploitation, abuse, harassment and starvation (African Union 2009).

1.4 Protection of urban IDPs

The need for the protection of IDPs in Northern Nigeria is critical given the fact that that only about 10 per cent of the Boko Haram victims are accommodated by formal camps maintained by national and international humanitarian organisations that are based mostly in urban areas (Ibrahim *et al.* 2014). Therefore, this conflict presents an interesting situation of informal camping and short- and long-distance internal displacement into major urban areas as well as protection issues that directly affect IDPs.

More often than not, displaced persons are left with the only option of escaping to join fellow poor urban citizens, adding pressure to overstretched infrastructure and under-supplied services. Such persons hardly enjoy any assistance or recognition from local authorities and international humanitarian groups. Based on the example of children abducted by Boko Haram in northeast Nigeria, Smith (2015) observed that both national and international responses to such people in critical need came rather too late. The author added that there was no proactive effort to rein in the terrorists, while local support from urban-based active citizen groups slowly fizzled out. Indeed, the example of these kidnapped girls could possibly encourage people to flee their habitat in fear of being kidnapped by Boko Haram. This highlights the dire situation of displaced persons and in particular their vulnerability to hardships, suffering and exposure to risks and encouraging the decision to flee.

Longitudinal empirical studies have shown that terrorist groups always tend to avoid forceful state responses by targeting civilians and harming them disproportionately (Carter 2016). As such, civilians in developing countries where security infrastructure and services are weak are much more exposed to such attacks. During the peak of a crisis, when infiltration and attacks on soft targets are common, civilians in urban areas of developing countries

are more exposed to such attacks due to their complex social, political and spatial diversity. Hence, it is not surprising that attention is shifting towards humanitarian urbanism – a concept that explores the direct links between vulnerable people, urban space, and various forms of interventions during crises and disasters (Boano and Crowford 2014). Some scholars have argued that profiling displaced people in urban areas can become a complex problem with regard to protection issues, meeting basic needs, and understanding the extent of vulnerability (Jutersonke *et al.* 2009; Davies and Jacobsen 2010).

Assistance offered by international humanitarian organisations followed at minor scale by national disaster and relief agencies dominates the practice of assisting IDPs. However, the role of individuals, NGOs, family and friends in urban areas cannot be ignored in the light of increasing displacement. Unfortunately, it appears that in most developing countries urban planners and policymakers have ignored the importance of humanitarian spaces – such as camps and particularly self-created shelters that emerge in cities (Potvin 2013). It is important for municipalities to create safe spaces for all types of displaced persons who may be forced to seek any form of shelter following any incident. This is within the provisions of international conventions that seek protection for IDPs.

The concept of safe space as a tool for strengthening protection of the vulnerable is increasingly being used and recognised in donor, science and civil society circles (Wessells and Kostelny 2013; Jewitt and Ryley 2014; Ho 2015). Nevertheless, there is a growing concern that humanitarian spaces are increasingly becoming unsafe for vulnerable sectors of the population. Indeed, there are shortcomings in strategies and decisions that make the assumed safe spaces unsafe for some groups. For instance, in a review of a wide spectrum of literature, Stark and Landis (2016) observed that there is a prevalence of physical and sexual violence against children living in humanitarian settings and that has adverse health and mental effects on them. It is argued that in most cases, the settings of humanitarian camps fail to meet the protection needs of women, children and adolescent girls in particular (Wessells and Kostelny 2013; The Girls in Emergency Initiative 2015).

Protection in the context of IDPs encompasses a wide range of issues. The experiences of Alix-Garcia *et al.* (2012) revealed that special frameworks are needed for understanding the interconnecting humanitarian and protection-related issues in the context of food flows, labour, housing, local economy and impacts of humanitarian sites. Thus, it is not surprising that Jacob *et al.* (2016) emphasise the need to understand the condition of the IDPs through their personal narratives, which are often underreported in some scientific and policy reports. Although most developing countries have

varied experiences of internal displacement arising from conflicts or disasters, in most cases, the institutions for the protection of IDPs are poorly developed. In the case of Nigeria, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC 2013) noted that Nigeria developed the draft of an IDP national policy in 2013. This specifies the rights of IDPs to seek for and receive protection including in the case of special needs. Unfortunately, the adoption of this national policy is being unnecessarily delayed. This is in spite of the fact that as of February 2015, IOM estimated that there were nearly 1.2 million IDPs living in the northeast states of Nigeria and other organisations have estimations of more IDPs in other parts of Nigeria (Ladan 2015). Nevertheless, due to the lack of a good data-management system in Nigeria, it is difficult to establish how many IDPs are living in urban areas.

There is hardly an acceptable reason for delaying policy and humanitarian responses to the Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria. In retrospect, the urban areas of Nigeria have for a long time experienced the arrival of IDPs owing to recurrent ethno-religious conflicts and tensions in the region (Albert 2013). For instance, violent events such as the Maitatsine riots in the 1980s do not seem to have taught these urban areas any lessons by the time that the more violent Boko Haram insurgency erupted in the region.

Media, NGOs and humanitarian organisations generally tend to focus attention on IDP camps and aid-giving to the victims. To a typical observer or resident of cities affected by the Boko Haram crisis, it is easy to see IDPs – mostly women and children – begging for food and clothes on the streets. As mentioned earlier, the greater number of IDPs are not found in formal camps. The situation on the ground for IDPs located in urban areas of Northern Nigeria suggests that protection issues need to be understood more holistically, critically and deeply. There is hardly any existing institutional structure that monitors how many IDPs arrive into a particular urban area in Nigeria. It is understandable that many cities in developing countries, including Nigeria, lack sufficient infrastructure to service their populations. Thus, tensions may arise between IDPs and local host communities. It is possible that the large-scale arrival of IDPs in poor cities could undermine planning programmes, projects and budget. Tibajuka (2011:4) observed that ‘the arrival of displaced people in a city or town may not only generate problems for the city but also jeopardise its ability to plan for its future.’

Based on the literature reviewed and considering the study aim and research questions, this working paper recounts the findings of the research team, which challenge the current practices of humanitarian responses to the Boko Haram crisis, particular as it affects women and children. In particular, this working paper focuses on addressing the situation of IDPs in two major urban areas of Northern Nigeria: Kano and Maiduguri.

1.5 Research methodology

The methodology for the study followed social science positivist and constructivist views. The former view seeks for an objective reality through quantitative methods and the latter is about constructing and arriving at an authentic reality through observations, insights and experiences of researchers (Lincoln and Guba 2000). Thus, the current study combined both quantitative and qualitative aspects of data collection and analysis. In supporting these traditional research methodologies, the study embraced the principle of knowledge co-creation and co-production. This method was used at the inception and in the development of this study with people with first-hand experience of working with IDPs in Kano and Maiduguri metropolitan areas. This interaction helped in formulating research questions and keywords used in setting questions for the IDPs and relevant stakeholders.

The study is also guided by theories of associated population displacement risks as used by Cernea (2000) and Robinson (2003). It also followed Wessells and Kostelny (2013) who underscored the need for applying a grounded and community-based approach in addressing protection issues related to humanitarian crises. This approach prioritises the role of natural helpers and informal approaches. Universities and their community members are shown to have a promising role in fostering support for peace making, rehabilitation and protection of IDPs through carefully designed questions for IDP participants (Ensign 2016).

From the literature reviewed above, it is clear that the budding field of IDPs research bestrides many social science research methods. Most studies use mixed methods in making enquiries for understanding this type of research. According to Jacob *et al.* (2016) personal stories and experiences of IDPs are often lost in statistics. Hence, the flow of useful information needed by humanitarian stakeholders is undermined. The study design our research team adopted is summarised in Table 1.

The bulk of existing literature is also useful in understanding several aspects of protection of IDPs and the process of study design. Adewale (2016) used a literature review and direct interviews with IDPs and stakeholders. Some studies on IDPs combined FGDs, key informant interviews and literature review (Ibrahim *et al.* 2014). The number of respondents participating in IDP-related studies varies with country, scope of research, methods and tools of analysis.

1.6 Research design

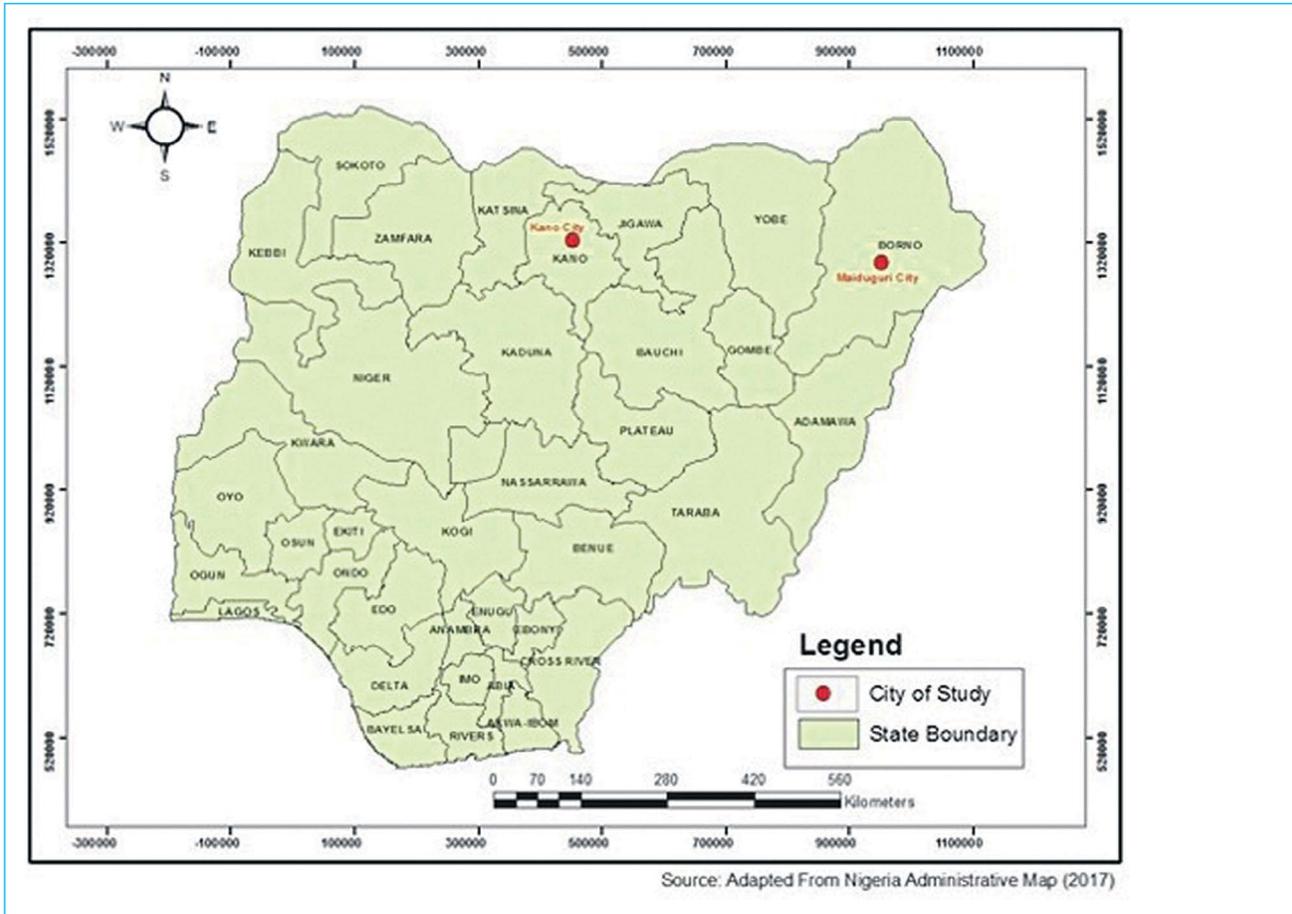
In this study, our research team used mixed methods in order to achieve an integrated and holistic understanding of the situation of IDPs (see Table 1).

In each city, 350 IDPs were engaged in FGDs. Altogether, 70 rounds of FGD were conducted (35 in Kano and Maiduguri respectively) and each panel included 10 participants. The FGDs were organised in

Table 1. An overview of study design, methods and data analysis

RESEARCH QUESTIONS KEYWORDS	DATA TYPE	METHODS & TOOLS OF ANALYSIS
1. Rights of IDPs in urban areas	Focus group discussion	SPSS/Microsoft Excel QSR-NVivo
2. Institutions, policies, practices and protection of urban IDPs	Focus group discussion Interviews with stakeholders Field observation Literature review	SPSS/Microsoft Excel QSR-NVivo Interpretation and analysis of text and contexts
3. Urban IDPs and local community	Focus group discussion GPS mapping Literature review Interviews with stakeholders	SPSS/Microsoft Excel QSR-NVivo Interpretation and analysis of text and contexts Interpretation of observations
4. Dignity and protection of IDPs	Focus group discussion	SPSS/Microsoft Excel QSR-NVivo Interpretation and analysis of keywords, text and contexts

Figure 1. Map of Nigeria showing the cities of the study



Source: GIS Lab Geography Department, Bayero University Kano

batches: 10 FGDs were conducted in Maiduguri in June 2016 and 25 more were held in July 2016 to complete the Maiduguri sector. In Kano, 10 rounds of FGDs were held in June–July 2016 and the remaining 25 rounds were completed in April 2017.

About 150 participants in each location were children, aged 7–15 (male and female) and about 65 were adult men who had fled with their female relatives. The rest were women, including young women aged 17–20 years. In each of the two cities, females constituted more than 60 per cent of the respondents. A few days before the FGD, the respondents were identified and informed about the project. Our research team informed them that the university was leading the research to understand protection issues for the IDPs. Other identified IDPs informed their colleagues and helped in the organisation of FGD participants and groupings. We paid all participants a small stipend (£15) for participating in the study in order to compensate for lost earnings in both cities (Figure 1).

The FGDs were conducted in Hausa and Kanuri languages in semi-formal settings. All discussions were held at IDPs' place of residence in urban areas of Kano and Maiduguri. A total of 14 fieldworkers were involved

in the study – seven for each of the study areas (see figures 2 and 3). Four women fieldworkers were assigned to ask women questions in the FGD sessions. The assistants were carefully selected, principally based on their knowledge of the terrain and experiences in social research. In addition, basic trainings were conducted for the fieldworkers to acquaint them with the instrument prepared for the study. The training was done in the Urban and Regional Planning Department of Bayero University Kano.

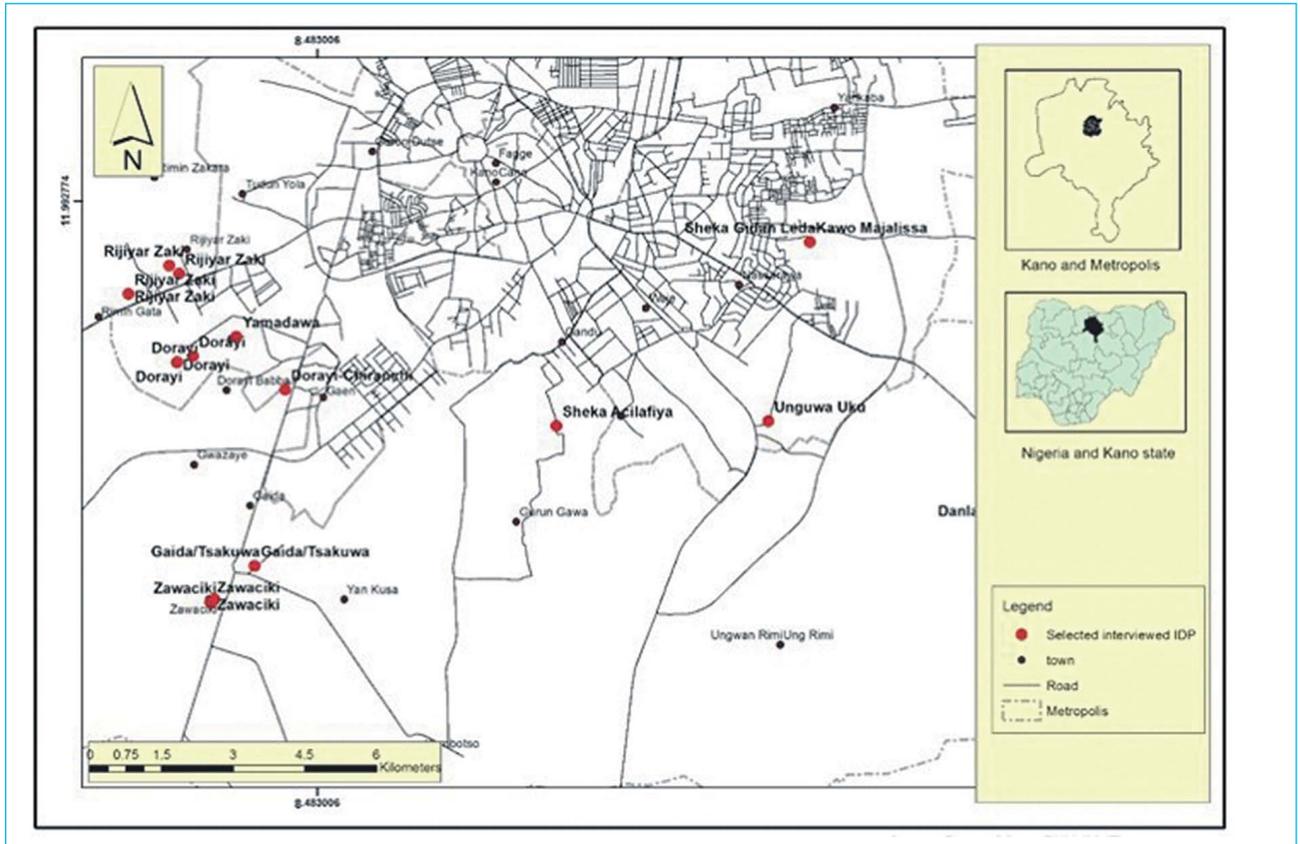
The selection of IDPs to participate in the FGDs followed criteria co-developed by the research lead and fieldworkers, which included area of residence which must be informal. Community members around the area confirmed the IDP



© Sodangi

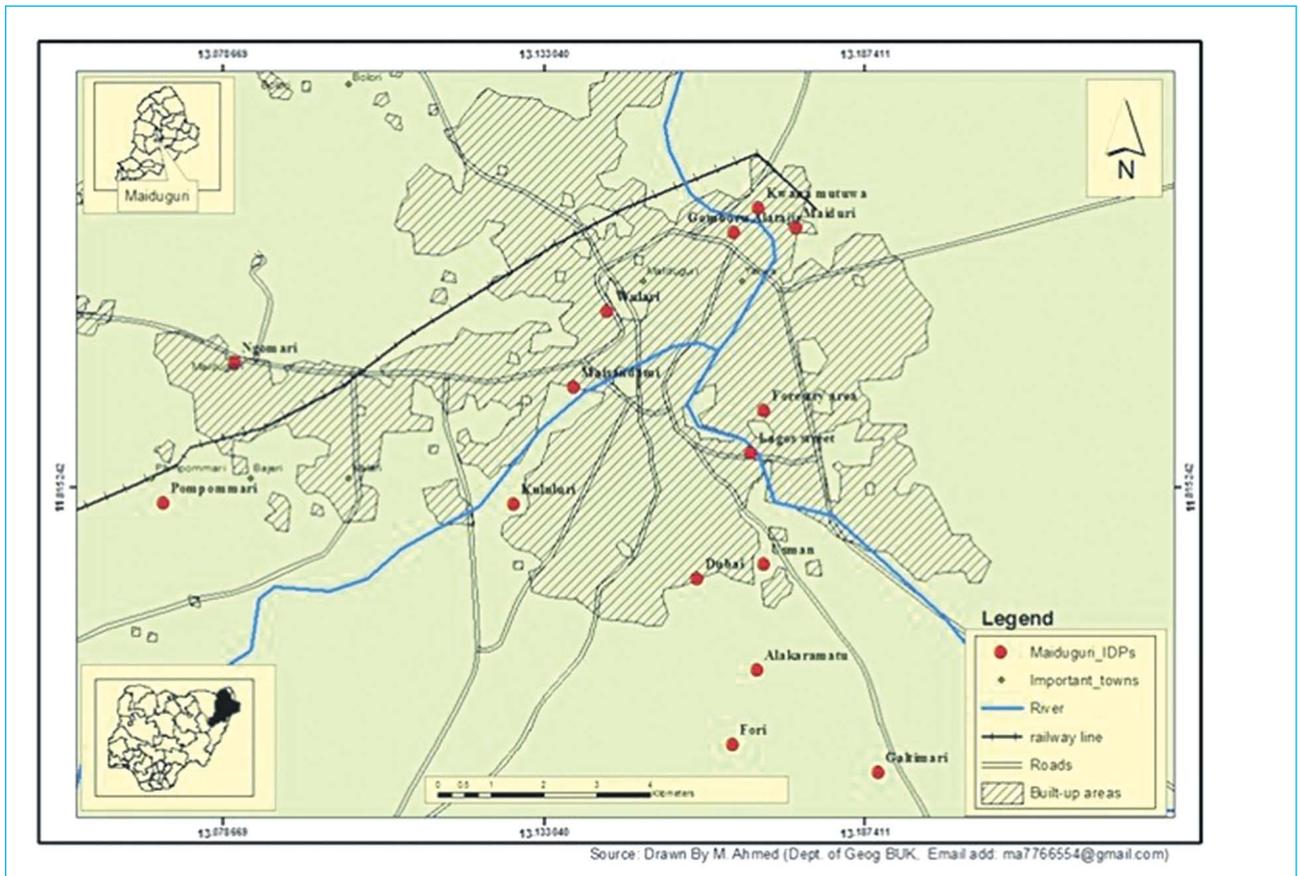
An ongoing FGD session with displaced women in Kano

Figure 2. Map of urban Kano showing where FGD sessions were conducted



Source: Bakero University Kano GISlab

Figure 3. Map of urban Maiduguri showing areas used for the study



Source: Drawn By M. Ahmed (Dept. of Geog BUK. Email add: ma7766554@gmail.com)

Source: Bakero University Kano GISlab

Table 2. An outline of research questions

SN	QUALITATIVE RESEARCH QUESTIONS	NODES
1	Please list some of the most unpleasant things you encounter daily in your IDP camp	Camp unpleasant experience
2	Which NGOs have been the most help?	Most helpful NGO
3	Which NGOs have been the least help?	Least helpful NGO
4	Tell us about some of the kindnesses you have experienced since leaving your home	Kindness experienced
5	What are your worst fears about living in an IDP camp?	Worst fears in camp
6	What stops you from returning home?	Hindrance to going home
7	State your experience with IDPs and other members of society	Experience with others
8	How do women and adolescent girls make their complaints and to whom?	Women's complaints channel
9	Can you give any example of the problems encountered by women and children that they rarely talk about in public?	Women's problems (not publicised)

status of the participants. Thirdly, the fieldworkers sought links with trusted individuals whom the IDPs knew and trusted. Thus, the participants, though randomly selected, were conveniently sampled. Such are the issues that our research team had to contend with while selecting the participants because we had limited options, time and tensions related to insecurity.

Following the principles of ethics in research, our research team sought permission from the adult IDPs to partake in the study. In the case of IDP minors, permission of their parents or guardians was sought before involving them. This was clearly stated in the forms used for recording basic information about the participants in the FGD. Field notes, pictures and voice recordings were made during the data-collection processes. A total of 23 questions (see Appendix 1) were developed for the FGDs, and the first 15 questions were mostly questions that require categorical answers such as 'yes' or 'no'. In each round of FGD one fieldworker was assigned to ask the first 15 questions and record them on the form. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS Version 20) software was used to analyse the responses.

For questions 15–23, the facilitator read out the question for individual respondents in a group to answer. Respondents added their views, whether agreeing or not with any other respondent. This became easier as the process was explained to them before the session commenced. The research questions and keywords in questions 15–23 provided the coding scheme for the data collected from the respondents, thus leading to a deductive approach of analysis. The capturing of concentrated information was attained through the use

of the query tool of QSR-Nvivo 11. The qualitative data analysis software was used to organise the data in a transparent way (Hutchison *et al.* 2010; Fan *et al.* 2015; Ram *et al.* 2016). A word count was utilised in the analytical process because it allowed for the quick identification of patterns, which also contributed to analytical integrity of the transcribed responses of the IDPs (Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2011). Furthermore, noun and noun phrases coding were employed so as to capture concentrated information about the phenomenon of study (Göransson *et al.* 2007; Hutchison 2010). Table 2 gives an outline of the research questions and the nodes that were generated for the coding process with QSR-Nvivo 11.

1.7 Stakeholder participation

Similarly, our research team interviewed 35 other stakeholders in each city, mainly members of host communities, civil society groups or public organisations including international humanitarian agencies. These interviews were held between June 2016 and May 2017 in the two cities and allowed us to investigate conditions for IDPs as seen from external viewpoints.

This third method aimed at filling the gap left by previous studies, particularly with regard to IDPs and host communities. For instance, Ibrahim *et al.* (2014) envisaged the tendency of conflicts or frictions between IDPs and local host community members in northeast Nigeria (Ibrahim *et al.* 2014). This issue had not been adequately investigated in previous studies. It is therefore

important to understand the nature of relations between IDPs and their host community and other stakeholders. Kano represents a city vulnerable to Boko Haram attacks and is also an IDP-attracting urban area. On the other hand, Maiduguri represents an urban area in a high-risk conflict zone. The role of stakeholders in understanding the condition of IDPs is upheld by some researchers (Jacob *et al.* 2016; Ensign 2016). The analysis of the interviews which followed was achieved by noting and paying attention to keywords and their relation to the study research questions. Indeed, Roncaglia (2004) argued that methods for analysis of oral interviews are complex as they are influenced by the disciplinary background of the analyst, objectivity and understanding of differences.

To find the type of protection and support that organisations and individuals give to IDPs in the two urban areas, interviews were conducted with experienced organisations – local and international – that were willing to discuss the issues (see appendices 2 and 3). In Maiduguri City, interviews were conducted with three individuals hosting IDPs, with NGO Save the Children International (SCI) and officials of the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) at Sanda Kyarimi Camp. An attempt to interview the Red Cross failed. In Kano, a total of 12 respondents were interviewed, including the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Nigerian Red Cross Society (NRCS) Kano, State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA) and Kano State Hisbah Board. Also, three civil society organisations under the Kano Civil Society Forum were interviewed: Isa Wali Empowerment Initiative, Ilman Nafian Education and Development Foundation and Societal-based Initiatives for Rights, Peace and Development. Five individuals hosting IDPs were also interviewed.

The interview checklist covered the areas of shelter provision, sanitation, problems of diseases, employment, challenges of living with family and the host community, social difficulty and some policy issues. Prior to the interview, the checklist was drafted and the interviewees were informed of the purpose of the study. Interviewee consent was required before the interview.

1.8 Observing shelter for IDPs

The fourth and last method for data collection and analysis has also not been fully addressed by previous studies. The shelter conditions of the IDPs living in informal settlements and/or at the mercy of their host community such as family, friends and relations, or in open spaces, is another aspect that this study addressed. It is possible that the IDP camps operated by federal, state or local governments and international humanitarian organisations keep a certain level of sanitation standards.

On the other hand, it is imperative to investigate the condition of shelter of IDPs in informal settings. Potter (1999) said that social scientists should assess the condition of housing through field-based observations and also by looking at ownership, materiality, water and sanitation conditions. In addition to this, Cresswell (2012) noted that qualitative studies are enmeshed in people and spaces where their activities are found. Thus, our research team observed the housing and shelter conditions of IDPs and documented them through photography following Abdulazeez (2016). We also used Global Positioning System (GPS) to map areas where interviews and informal camps of the IDPs were located in Maiduguri and Kano. We applied these different methods to achieve the results presented in this working paper.

2

Violence and population displacement in urban Northern Nigeria

2.1 The origin of Boko Haram and how it has displaced populations

The urban areas of Northern Nigeria have suffered from attacks and shut downs by extremist groups over the last few decades. Both Kano and Maiduguri urban areas – the main focus of our study – were brought to a standstill by the violent Maitatsine group in 1980 and again in 1982 (Hickey 1984). According to Hiskett (1987), after causing hundreds of deaths in Kano in 1980, the Maitatsine violence spilled over to other towns in Northern Nigerian cities such as Maiduguri, Kaduna (1982), Yola, Sokoto and Gusau (1984). Isichei (1987) puts the estimated number of people killed by the Maitatsine group in urban areas as follows: Kano (4,177), Maiduguri (3,350), Yola (500–1,000) and some deaths were recorded in Kaduna, Jos and Gombe around the same period. Scholars observed that fear and rumours were pervasive in many urban areas, where people lived in constant fear as to whether the Maitatsine group would strike again (Kastfelt 1989). It is obvious that most of the previous studies have not explored the issue of internal displacement which must have occurred during crises of such proportion and dimension. In other words, it is hard for cities not to experience displacement when people harbouring extremist and violent ideas are allowed to stay in neighbourhoods. It is widely believed that Boko Haram is a scion or reincarnation of the Maitatsine insurgency of the early 1980s (Adesoji 2011).

Prior to unleashing major violence in 2009, Boko Haram set up centres for meetings, teaching and empowering youths: the strategy the groups used for recruiting and radicalising youths (Ibrahim *et al.* 2014). Incidentally, most of the towns attacked by the Maitatsine in the 1980s are also the ones grappling with the current Boko Haram crisis. Even after the Maitatsine incidents and before the recent Boko Haram crisis, several towns in Northern Nigeria had experienced intermittent violent conflicts between ethnic, religious and political groups that led to deaths and population displacement. For instance, Rakodi (2012) observed that such recurrent conflicts not only resulted in violent death but also in the displacement of people and the number of the displaced has risen to as high as 50,000 people sheltered in camps. It is established that of the IDPs who settled in an official camp following the 2011 post-election violence in Kaduna city, many are clinically depressed and traumatised (Sheikh *et al.* 2015). While scientists have gathered information on the impacts of population displacement, the response from policymakers remains poor and underscores the lack of priority assigned to the protection of IDPs in Nigeria.

Protection of civilians and IDPs in Nigeria is necessary. Reports have established that Boko Haram was responsible for the highest number of deaths resulting from terrorists attacks in 2013 (Institute for Economics & Peace 2014). By 2014, it is estimated that the number of people killed by Boko Haram stood at 14,456 in Borno State alone (Ibrahim *et al.* 2014). Given this notoriety, one would assume that many people would have been displaced to relatively more-secure urban

areas. However, Boko Haram fighters have infiltrated some IDP camps and in a few cases were able to detonate bombs that killed many young people and women (Abdulazeez 2016). What becomes clear here is the nature of vulnerability of urban areas and displaced people and in particular the poor. It is pertinent to add that although Boko Haram has caused population displacement within Nigeria, the notoriety of its violence is being used by some individuals as a pretext for seeking asylum and refugee status in Europe and that an urgent intervention is required of European countries to foster protection of IDPs as means of taming Africa-Europe migration due to Boko Haram (Lawrence 2015).

Although Maiduguri is the epicentre of Boko Haram's violence, Kano came under the worst attack in its recorded history when, on 20 January 2012, Boko Haram launched major attacks that targeted the city's major security formations – Zonal Police Headquarters, the Nigeria Immigration Passport Office, Kano Head Office of the Department of State Security (the Nigerian secret police) and Kano State Police Command Headquarters (Elden 2014). Here, it is important to point out that the ability of Boko Haram to infiltrate towns and cities harbouring IDPs may jeopardise the chances of IDPs. This is because both authorities and residents must also pay attention to the security threats that displaced the IDPs in the first place. In the wake of increasing attacks on civilians by terrorist groups such as Boko Haram, the Nigerian government's narrative of protection in urban areas centres around counter-terrorism measures (Onuoha and George 2016).

2.2 Defining protection for IDPs

It is unfortunate that there is an 'absence of a common understanding of what protection, or protective humanitarian programming means' (Niland 2015:16). Nevertheless, humanitarian protection involves the state meeting its responsibilities and instrumentalising humanitarian efforts and how these are prioritised or de-prioritised in the context of the needs of refugees and IDPs. The concept of protective humanitarianism is shown to be declining in importance since the end of the Cold War and also as a result of diminishing neutral and independent roles of organisations (ibid). Such inhibitions do not clearly apply to the nature of humanitarian protection in Nigeria. In this study, our research team defined 'protection' as the ability of the state or authorities within the state to meet and exercise its obligations on meeting the rights, welfare and well-being of IDPs as well as its ability to help in maintaining IDPs' liberty, dignity, safety and adequate standard of living, including rights to education, ownership of property, and rights to voluntarily return to their place of origin. The rights are enshrined in the United Nations guiding principles on internal displacement, as summarised in Table 3.

Protection of citizens against displacement is one of the principles specified in the UN guiding principles on internal displacement. Unfortunately, protection issues may not be readily considered as a top priority particularly in a country where the institutions of democracy, rule of law, human rights and freedom are not strong. Indeed, the fight against terrorism in Nigeria has exposed the country's failing record for human rights and dignity. Some critical scholars are of the opinion that both the military and its civilian cohorts in counter terrorism need to strengthen rules of engagement and human rights principles in fighting terror (Sampson 2015). On the other hand, some are of the view that the Nigerian government has failed in its responsibility to protect its citizens including IDPs by allowing Boko Haram to move freely: killing, maiming and kidnapping people (Popovski and Maiangwa 2016).

2.3 Protection issues concerning women and children

The priority protection issues identified by the UN include protection against physical attack and sexual assault, as well supporting access to shelter, food and healthcare services. Deborah Ellis's *Mud City* (2003) is a novel that graphically illustrates the difficulties, challenges, dreams and frustrations of a displaced person and a refugee. In *Mud City*, Shauzia is a displaced woman whose life has been shattered. Shauzia is forced to live in a makeshift shelter enduring poor sanitation, poverty, sickness, fear, hunger and horror. Although lucky to have received help from humanitarian groups, Shauzia still harbours a dream of leaving for France. This novel captures her aspirations:

That was where she needed to be, in a field of purple flowers, where no one could bother her. She would sit there until the confusion left her head and the stinks of the camp left her nostrils [...] But escape is not so easy. Once she leaves the camp, she has no money, no food...

There are many ways through which we can get better insights into what these protection issues are and how they affect the lives of the vulnerable especially the poor, women and children who are displaced within and without state boundaries. Many IDPs can only survive in informal settings and the poorest parts of poor urban areas. In particular, the pain of separation from relatives is a critical issue that affects children displaced by crises.

The Boko Haram insurgency has implications for public healthcare in formal and informal IDP camps in Borno State. For example, Omole *et al.* (2015) reported that new cases of HIV/AIDs were reported in camps and other major illnesses there include respiratory tract

Table 3. Summary of selected UN guiding principles on internal displacement most relevant to Boko Haram crisis

Principle 1.1	Full equality, to enjoy same rights and freedoms
Principle 3.1	National authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to provide protection and humanitarian assistance to IDPs within their jurisdiction
Principle 3.2	IDPs have the right to request and to receive protection and humanitarian assistance from these authorities
Principle 4.1	The Principles shall be applied without discrimination of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion or belief, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, legal or social status, age, disability, property, birth, or on any other similar criteria
Principle 4.2	Certain internally displaced persons, such as children, especially unaccompanied minors, expectant mothers, mothers with young children, female heads of household, persons with disabilities and elderly persons, shall be entitled to protection and assistance required by their condition and to treatment which takes into account their special needs
Principle 6.1	Every human being shall have the right to be protected against being arbitrarily displaced from his or her home or place of habitual residence
Principle 11.1	Every human being has the right to dignity and physical, mental and moral integrity
Principle 11.2	IDPs shall be protected in particular against: (a) rape, mutilation, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, and other outrages upon personal dignity, such as acts of gender-specific violence, forced prostitution and any form of indecent assault
Principle 12.1	Every human being has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention
Principle 14.1	Every internally displaced person has the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his or her residence
Principle 14.2	IDPs have the right to move freely in and out of camps or other settlements
Principle 18.1	IDPs have the right to an adequate standard of living
Principle 18.2	At the minimum, authorities shall provide IDPs with and ensure safe access to: (a) Essential food and potable water; (b) basic shelter and housing; (c) appropriate clothing; and (d) essential medical services and sanitation
Principle 19.1	All wounded and sick internally displaced persons as well as those with disabilities shall receive to the fullest extent practicable and with the least possible delay, the medical care and attention they require
Principle 22.1	Internally displaced persons, whether or not they are living in camps, shall not be discriminated against as a result of their displacement in the enjoyment of the following rights: (a) the rights to freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, opinion and expression; (b) the right to seek freely opportunities for employment and to participate in economic activities
Principle 23.2	The authorities concerned shall ensure that such persons, in particular displaced children, receive education which shall be free and compulsory at the primary level. Education should respect their cultural identity, language and religion
Principle 24.1	Humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons shall not be diverted, in particular for political or military reasons
Principle 28.1	Authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to establish conditions, as well as provide the means, which allow IDPs to return voluntarily, in safety and with dignity, to their homes or places of habitual residence, or to resettle voluntarily in another part of the country

infections, physical injuries, psychological trauma, and undetected polio cases. The researchers have also noted that minimal access to healthcare, food, clothing, shelter, clean water and sanitation make the lives of IDPs more complex. These are serious issues that may not only further downgrade the healthcare system of Maiduguri and its environs but may also reverse the progress made in combatting child-killer diseases such as polio.

There is ample evidence to support the urgent need to protect displaced women and children who have fled into urban areas of Northern Nigeria. Insecurity, malnutrition, ill health, loss of dignity and fundamental human rights, and the lack of coordinated and IDP-centred protection have continued to define the condition of IDPs in Northern Nigeria. As such, it becomes imperative to research information and data to explain the actual situation of IDPs in urban areas of Northern Nigeria.

3

Dynamics of population displacement during the peak of Boko Haram crisis

It is first important to understand the backgrounds of IDPs and some of the basic characteristics that define who they are (Table 4). Such information is critical to profiling IDPs and their needs in urban areas. Unfortunately, in spite of the influx of IDPs in the two urban areas of this study, there has been little data collected on IDPs and therefore no basic data to support interventions to support fleeing persons.

In summary, 65 per cent of the displaced people surveyed were children and female adults, while 78 per cent of all the study participants were displaced for three years

and with an average displacement period of 2.5 years in Kano and Maiduguri. It is interesting to note that these IDPs have fled from over 10 local government areas out of a total of 28 in Borno State. These displaced people originated from towns surrounding Maiduguri in Borno State. One important issue here is the length of time that IDPs have remained where they have fled to, particularly in Kano. Although Boko Haram conflicts have subsided, they have not necessary ended and it is source of concern that there are still no concrete measures being taken to profile IDPs or address issues that affect them.

Table 4. Basic characteristics of the respondents

		CITY		TOTAL (N=700)
		KANO (N=350)	MAIDUGURI (N=350)	
GENDER				
Female	No.	234	222	456
	%	67	63.4	65.2
Male	No.	116	128	244
	%	33	36.6	34.8
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF ORIGIN				
Bama	No.	22	119	141
	%	6.3	34	20.2
Dikwa	No.	13	21	34
	%	3.7	6	4.9

Table 4 continued...

		CITY		TOTAL (N=700)
		KANO (N=350)	MAIDUGURI (N=350)	
Damasak	No.	0	11	11
	%	0	3.1	1.6
Goza	No.	43	30	73
	%	12.3	8.6	10.4
Jere	No.	14	6	20
	%	4	1.7	2.9
Konduga	No.	16	71	87
	%	4.6	20.3	12.4
Kukawa	No.	88	19	107
	%	25.2	5.4	15.3
Mafa	No.	14	6	20
	%	4	1.7	2.9
Manguno	No.	1	18	19
	%	0.3	5.1	2.7
Marte	No.	10	3	13
	%	2.9	0.9	1.9
Ngala	No.	96	5	101
	%	27.5	1.4	14.4
Others	No.	33.0	41.0	74.0
	%	9.2	12.0	10.6
DEPARTURE				
Not specified	No.	0	7	7
	%	0	2	1
< 1 year	No.	2	31	33
	%	0.6	9	4.8
1 year	No.	2	28	30
	%	0.6	8.1	4.3
2 years	No.	43	230	273
	%	12.3	66.7	39.3
3 years	No.	275	39	313
	%	78.5	11.3	45.1
4 years	No.	27	10	37
	%	7.7	2.9	5.3
>4 years	No.	1	0	1
	%	0.3	0	0.1
ARRIVAL				
< 1 year	No.	14	58	73
	%	4	16.9	1.5
1 year	No.	61	250	311
	%	17.5	71.6	44.6
2 years	No.	175	24	199
	%	50.1	6.9	28.5
3 years	No.	99	10	109
	%	28.1	2.9	15.5
4 years	No.	1	3	4
	%	0.3	0.9	0.6
>4 years	No.	0	3	3
	%	0	0.9	0.4

4

Mapping protection issues for vulnerable women and children

Protection issues for women and children fleeing Boko Haram – shelter, human rights and dignity, safety and security and access to education, among others – are almost the same as those outlined under local and

regional instruments such as the UN guiding principles on internal displacement and the Kampala Convention (see also Table 5). This section explores these issues in more detail.

Table 5. An overview of protection issues for the IDPs in Kano and Maiduguri

		CITY		
		KANO (N=350)	MAIDUGURI (N=350)	TOTAL (N=700)
TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION				
Community	No.	12	131	143
	%	3.4	37.4	20.5
Government camp	No.	1	0	1
	%	0.3	0	0.1
Rented	No.	305	153	458
	%	87.1	43.7	65.4
Other	No.	2	8	10
	%	0.6	2.3	1.4
Relative	No.	30	58	88
	%	8.6	16.6	12.6
KNOWLEDGE OF RIGHTS				
No	No.	212	41	252
	%	60.5	11.7	36.1
Yes	No.	138	309	448
	%	39.5	88.3	63.9
GETTING RIGHTS				
No	No.	348	304	651
	%	99.4	86.9	93.1
Yes	No.	2	46	48
	%	0.6	13.1	6.9

Table 5 continued...

		CITY		TOTAL (N=700)
		KANO (N=350)	MAIDUGURI (N=350)	
FEELING SAFE				
Yes, very safe	No.	254	109	363
	%	72.8	31.1	51.9
Yes, but could be better	No.	73	81	154
	%	20.6	23.1	21.9
Not safe	No.	23	160	183
	%	6.6	45.7	26.2
SECURITY				
No	No.	71	267	338
	%	20.3	76.3	48.4
Yes	No.	278	83	361
	%	79.7	23.7	51.6
ACCESS TO EDUCATION				
No	No.	137	272	409
	%	39.3	77.7	58.5
Yes	No.	212	78	290
	%	60.7	22.3	41.5
ACCESS TO HEALTHCARE				
Yes, very good	No.	1	19	20
	%	0.3	5.4	2.9
Adequate care	No.	33	73	106
	%	9.5	20.9	15.2
No	No.	315	258	573
	%	90.2	73.7	81.9
CARING FOR PEOPLE WITH SPECIAL NEEDS				
No	No.	347	302	649
	%	99.4	86.3	92.8
Yes	No.	2	48	50
	%	0.6	13.7	7.2

4.1 Shelter for IDPs

As observed from Table 5, most IDPs live in rented accommodation (65.4 per cent). However, this differs between the two urban areas. In Kano, the number of IDPs living in rented accommodation is more than double those in Maiduguri. This can be attributed to the distance from their home state and the presence of relatives around Maiduguri. Maiduguri is the first major city in which IDPs settle and most have relatives to host them. As such, 16 per cent and 37 per cent of IDPs in Maiduguri are living in accommodations provided by their relatives and community respectively. On the other hand, in Kano, only 11 per cent live in community and relatives' houses. The fact that the IDPs are living in

rented house increases their vulnerability from tenure insecurity. Here, our research team considered the fact that they have lost their means of livelihood, income and job and are living in a new urban environment with little or no provision for the newly arrived. Indeed, based on observations of IDPs' shelter, the areas and types of houses used as shelter do not fall within the types of shelter that international instruments on IDPs suggest are appropriate. Indeed, the types of shelter used by IDPs in both cities are below the shelter standards envisaged in IDP global or regional protection guidelines. UN Guiding Principle 18.2 emphasised the need by governments to provide basic shelter and housing and this is regardless of IDPs' original housing conditions.

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Galtimari in Maiduguri, one of the areas where IDPs have settled after fleeing violence

© Sodangi



A typical informal IDP settlement in Hotoro, Kano

4.2 IDP rights

Most IDPs (63.9 per cent) claimed to have known their rights as IDPs. However, knowing your rights is different to attaining or accessing those rights. This presents another dimension of the IDPs' dilemma in Nigerian cities. Safety is another issue of concern to the IDPs. In Kano, only a few (5 per cent) of IDPs reported that they live in fear. In contrast, 45 per cent of the IDPs in Maiduguri felt more insecure. This feeling of safety may be related to distance from the heart of the insurgency: the further away, the better. Unlike Kano, Maiduguri is the origin of the insurgency and prone to attack – hence most IDPs there felt they were not totally secure. Also, in relation to the protection of women and children, IDPs living in Kano stated that they felt more protected (79.7 per cent) compared to Maiduguri (23.7 per cent).

4.3 Providing for IDPs with special needs

Special needs among the IDPs is a concern for the physically challenged, pregnant woman, young adults and

Table 6. Provision for people with special needs

			CITY		TOTAL
			KANO (N=350)	MAIDUGURI (N=350)	
Any provision for people with special needs?	No	No.	347	302	649
		%	99.4	86.3	92.8
	Yes	No.	3	48	51
		%	0.6	13.7	7.2
Total	No.	350	350	700	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Table 7. Awareness of condition of families and property

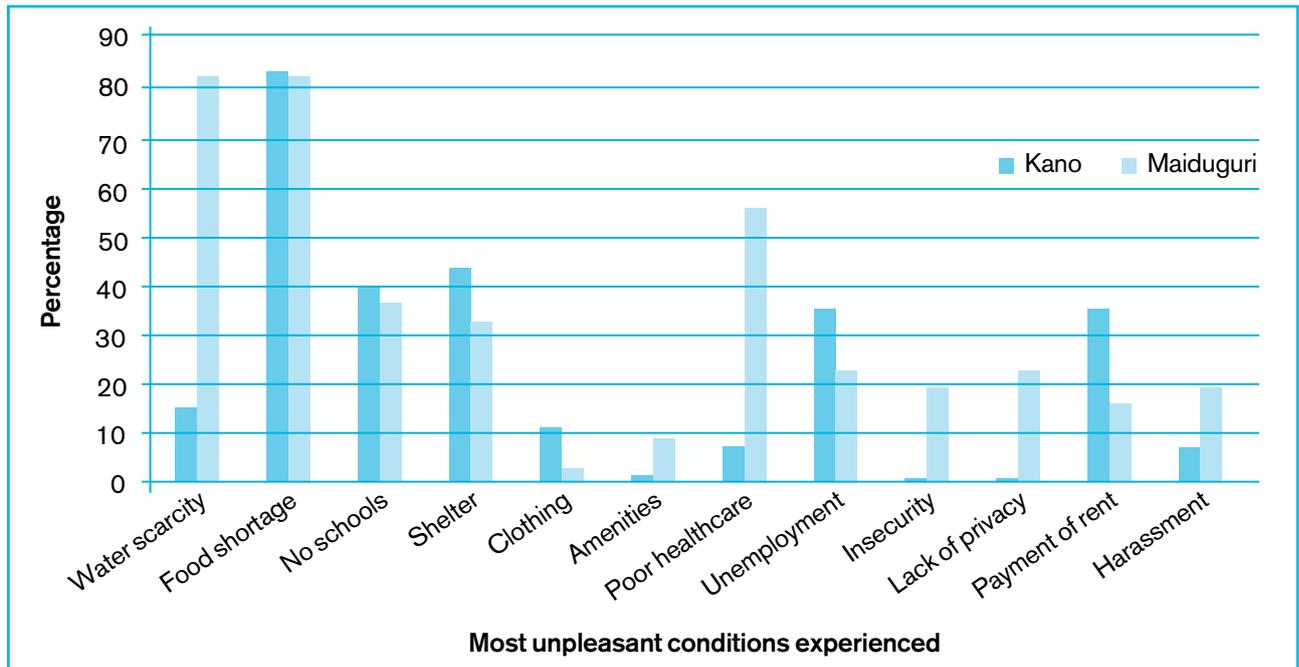
			CITY		TOTAL
			KANO (N=350)	MAIDUGURI (N=350)	
Do you know of the condition of your family and property?	No	No.	72	278	350
		%	20.6	79.4	50.1
	Yes	No.	278	72	350
		%	79.4	20.6	49.9
Total	No.	350	350	700	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

children. Our finding revealed that IDPs are not entitled to any special assistance in Nigerian cities. Indeed, 99 per cent of the IDPs in Kano are of the opinion that they are not getting any form of special assistance (see Table 6). For example, in Maiduguri City few believed that the special needs of IDPs can be met by the government, its agencies or even humanitarian organisations.

4.4 Condition of family and property

Having been separated from their families and place of origin, IDPs live with uncertainty. From our findings, half of IDPs do not know the condition of their families and property (Table 7). This view was recorded more in Maiduguri where only one out four respondents is aware of the condition of his or her family and property. This points to the trauma that IDPs experience, having lost their livelihoods and not knowing the whereabouts of their property or family. Their hopes to return home are severely undermined by this kind of uncertainty.

Figure 4. Key issues affecting women and children in Kano and Maiduguri



4.5 Challenges faced by women and children

Our respondents explained some of the difficulties they encountered after being displaced into urban areas. The protection issues shown in Figure 4 are ones that states and humanitarian agencies need to address because they emerge from the needs expressed by the victims.

The challenges that IDPs face in the two cities include meeting basic needs such as food, water scarcity, shelter and education. However, there are some variations in the nature of the challenges for the IDPs in the two cities. For instance, water shortage is a major problem. More than 80 per cent of IDPs in both cities see it as the largest challenge. In Maiduguri, IDPs face higher security challenges compared to Kano. They also face greater water scarcity and poorer healthcare. Although these challenges are common in poor cities, IDPs are mostly hit hardest. The IDPs in Kano are mostly living in rented houses and as such have more difficulty in paying rent compared to those in Maiduguri. They also face harassment and a lack of privacy, especially in Maiduguri where 30 per cent identified these issues among the major challenges.

In view of the issues raised and analysed by SPSS as shown in Figure 4, our research team further analysed the IDPs' expressed feelings using QSR-Nvivo analysis, which also weighted the keywords relating to the respondents' unpleasant experiences (Table 8). The weighted percentage for each keyword is presented in Table 8 and shown as a word cloud in Figure 5.

Table 8. Unpleasant experiences word count

	WORD	COUNT	WEIGHTED (%)
1	Food	30	11.54
2	Water	25	9.62
3	Shelter	14	5.38
4	Medication	11	4.23
5	Health	9	3.46
6	Care	8	3.08
7	Income	8	3.08
8	Neglect	7	2.69
9	Government	6	2.31
10	Job/idle	7	2.69
11	Mosquitoes	5	1.92
12	Privacy	5	1.92
13	Schools	5	1.92
14	Society	4	1.54
15	Children	3	1.15
16	Hospital	3	1.15
17	Rent	3	1.15
19	Security	2	0.77

Figure 5. Word cloud for the weighted word percentage of the most important challenges IDPs face



The most important issues raised in the discussion centred on food, water and medical care. All other words mentioned such as neglect, care, income, privacy and rent were linked to the three aforementioned items.

4.6 Role of NGOs in the protection of IDPs

As a whole, the level of assistance that NGOs offer to IDPs is insufficient. This is in consideration of the large number of displaced people. During the interviews, 80 per cent and 83 per cent of IDPs in Kano and Maiduguri respectively revealed that they had never received any assistance from any NGOs. The few that had received support did not mention any Nigerian-based NGOs. In Kano, however, a few said they had once received assistance from the Kano State Hisbah Board. Hisbah Board operates the Hisbah Corps that were established by Kano State in 2004 to support the implementation of Sharia law in the state. The most active NGOs, according to the respondents, are Action Against Hunger, NRCS, United Nations Children’s Fund (Unicef), Save the Children and the Rescue Mission International Ministry, Nigeria. Only NRCS was mentioned in Kano as an active NGO (Figure 6). Most NGOs focus on Maiduguri where there is highest concentration of IDPs. In Kano, IDPs mostly live in informal setting and most assistance is directed to NGOs living in formal camps.

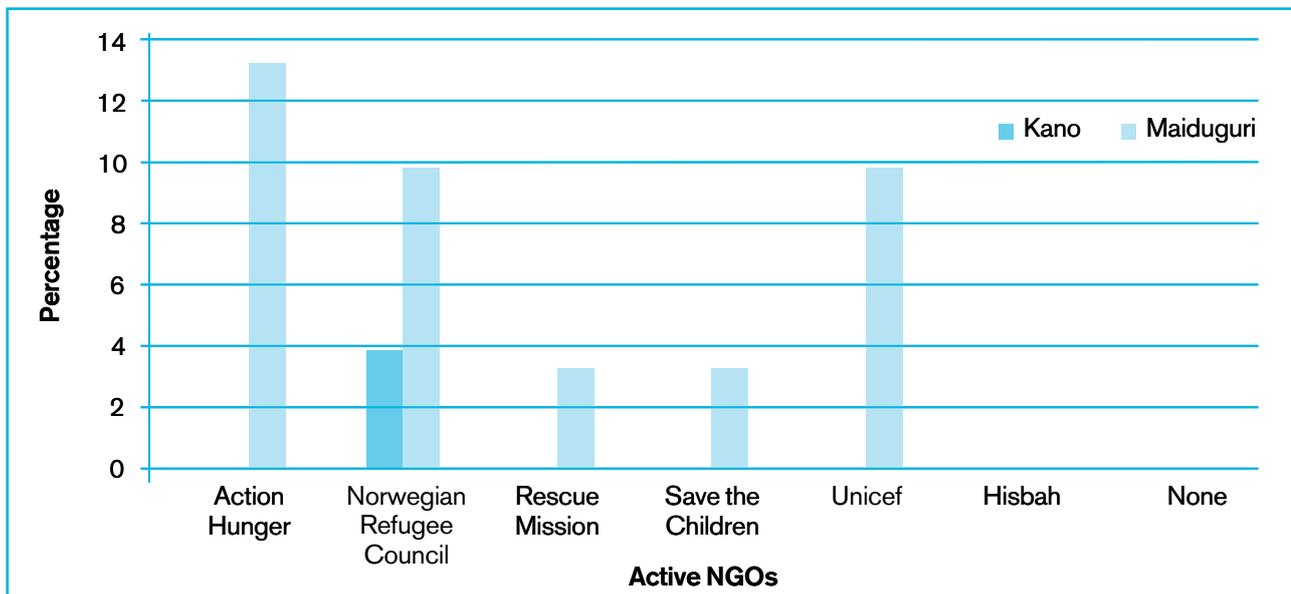
It is surprising that IDPs in both Kano and Maiduguri do not identify with Nigeria’s national humanitarian institutions, many of which are staffed and established by law with a clear statutory mandate to provide care (see Box 1). It appears that most NGOs and humanitarian organisations operate in Maiduguri, which is closest to the Boko Haram crisis, and hardly operate in other urban areas where IDPs are forced to move into. The absence of international organisations and

BOX 1. POPULATION DISPLACEMENT MANAGEMENT INSTITUTION IN NIGERIA

Nigeria’s large population in Africa and its turbulent history including the civil war fought in Nigeria between 1967–1970 makes it necessary to have a long-term plan and response system for managing population displacement. Nigeria established the National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons (NCFRMI) via Decree No 52 of 1989 under the military regime and this decree has been amended into Cap. N21, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004 (NCFRMI Act). In spite of the law and a commission to undertake the provisions of the law on protection of refugees, migrants and IDPs, the commission has low visibility in areas affected by Boko Haram. Indeed, reading the law of the commission one will find that refugees are about the only category of victims that the law keeps referring to and mostly it is their protection issues that feature in the law and hence the activities of the commission. For more information, see: <http://bit.ly/2l9nBZH>

It is obvious that NCFRMI is ideally the institution designed to tackle protection issues for IDPs. However, NEMA established via Act 12 as amended by Act 50 of 1999 is playing a more visible role in areas affected by the Boko Haram crisis. However, as a matter of concern the objectives of establishing NEMA specified its role as coordinator of the plans and programmes for efficient and effective response to disasters. It is true that disasters such as flooding cause displacement but its focus has been diverted to handling people affected by Boko Haram. In other words, there is a lack of coordination between agencies and this undermines protection of the victims of the Boko Haram crisis. Thus, there is definitely a need for institutional reform for Nigeria’s humanitarian organisations.

Figure 6. Most active NGOs identified by respondents in Kano and Maiduguri (n=700)

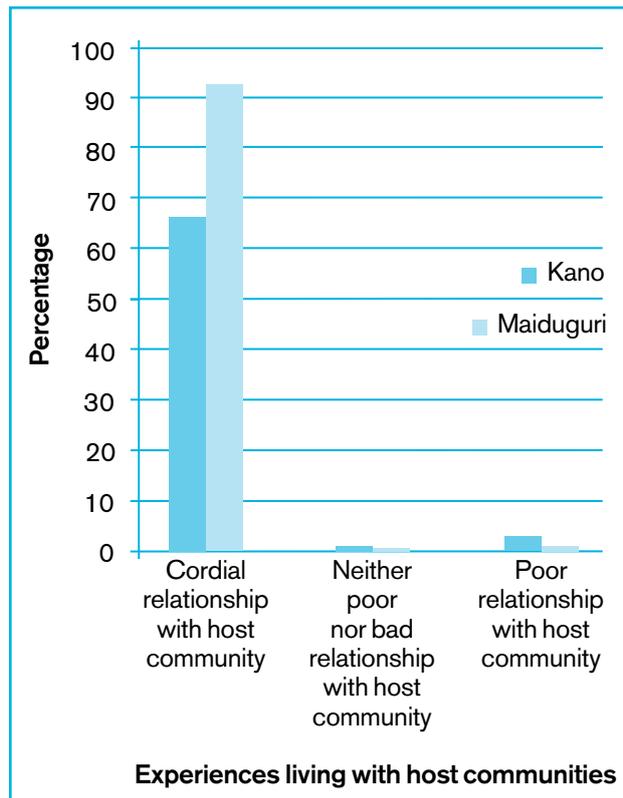


national humanitarian agencies is not in the best interest of or providing protection to IDPs. Another important issue here is the legitimacy, trust and acceptability of international humanitarian organisations, as perceived by the IDPs themselves. For instance, one respondent in Maiduguri (not staying in a formal camp) alleged that some international humanitarian organisations are allies of Christian missionaries and they may have some ulterior motives of converting them to Christianity.

4.7 IDPs and host communities

During the FGD sessions, IDPs were asked about their lives and relationships with their host community. Questions were asked on relationships with community, assistance given by the community, types of assistance and whether the IDPs experience harassment from their hosts. Most IDPs reported good relationships with their host communities (96 per cent in Maiduguri and 68 per cent in Kano – see also Figure 7). The better relationships in Maiduguri may be connected to the fact that the IDPs come mostly from the area so they feel at home, speak the language of the host community, and have the same culture. In Kano, the IDPs are living entirely in a new terrain, away from their place of origin and it is understandable that some host communities have developed stereotypes that stigmatise these IDPs (see Box 3).

Figure 7. Experiences of living with host communities (n=700)



4.8 Community support for women and children in urban areas

Mostly because Boko Haram victims live within and around fellow citizens in residential areas in and around the cities of Kano and Maiduguri, the IDPs spoke of the kindness that they received from their host communities. Donations are mostly in the form of accommodation and food although it is important to note that, in some cases, IDPs beg for assistance.

In general, the nature of assistance varies between the two cities. For instance, host communities in Maiduguri have offered temporary accommodation, medicine, food and healthcare. On the other hand, host communities in Kano give more cash and clothes to the victims of Boko Haram (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Assistance given to IDPs by host communities in Kano and Maiduguri (n=700)

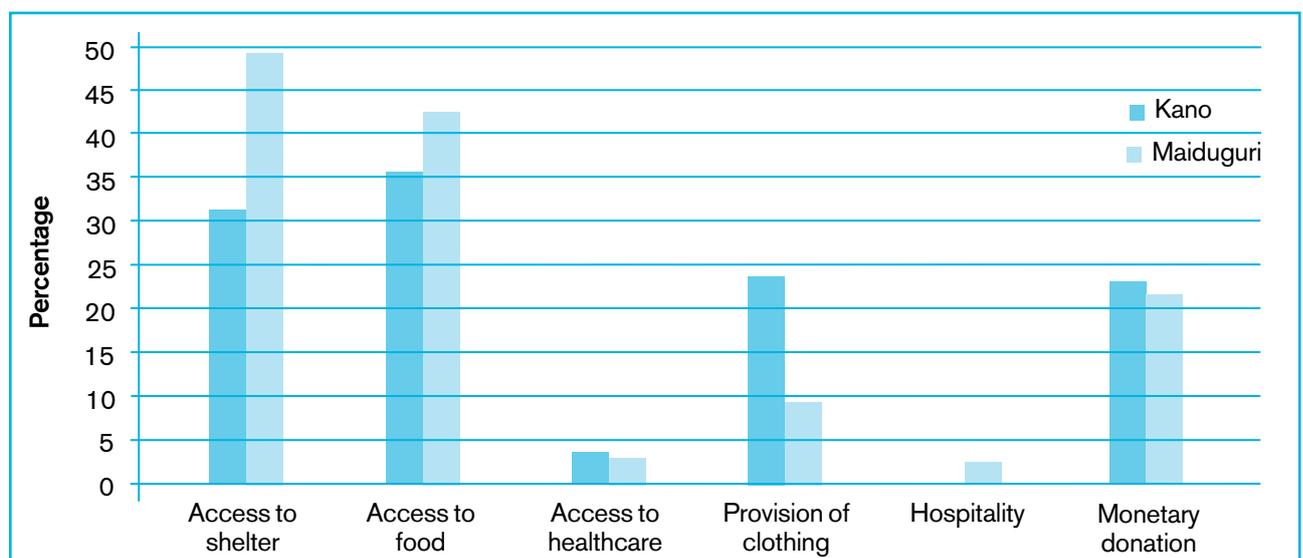


Figure 9. Worst fears of IDPs in their host community (n=700)

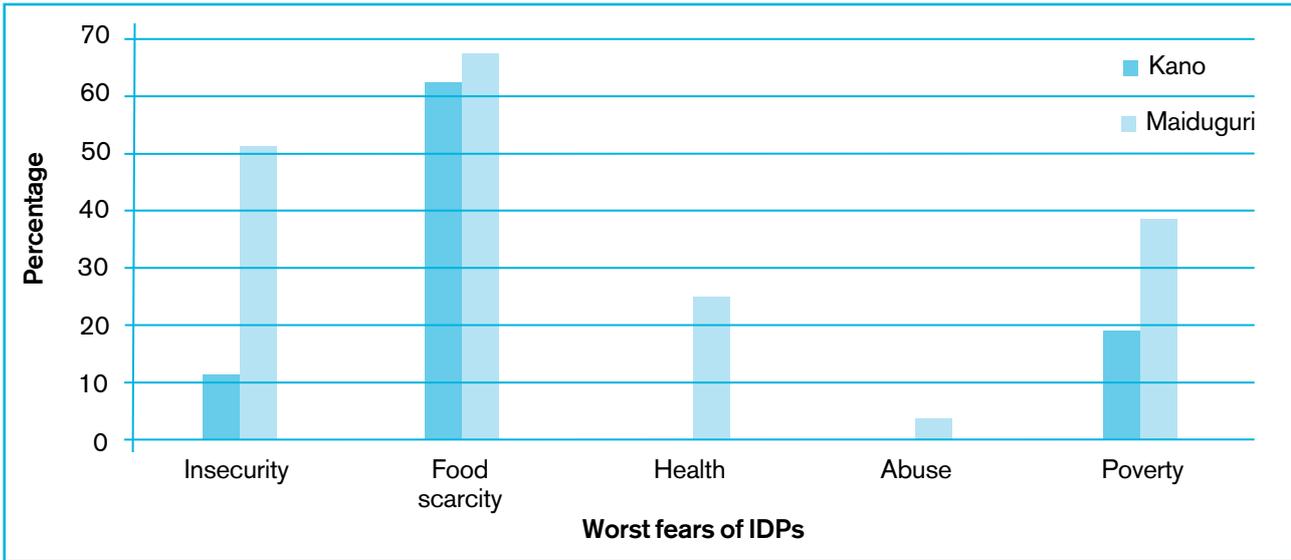
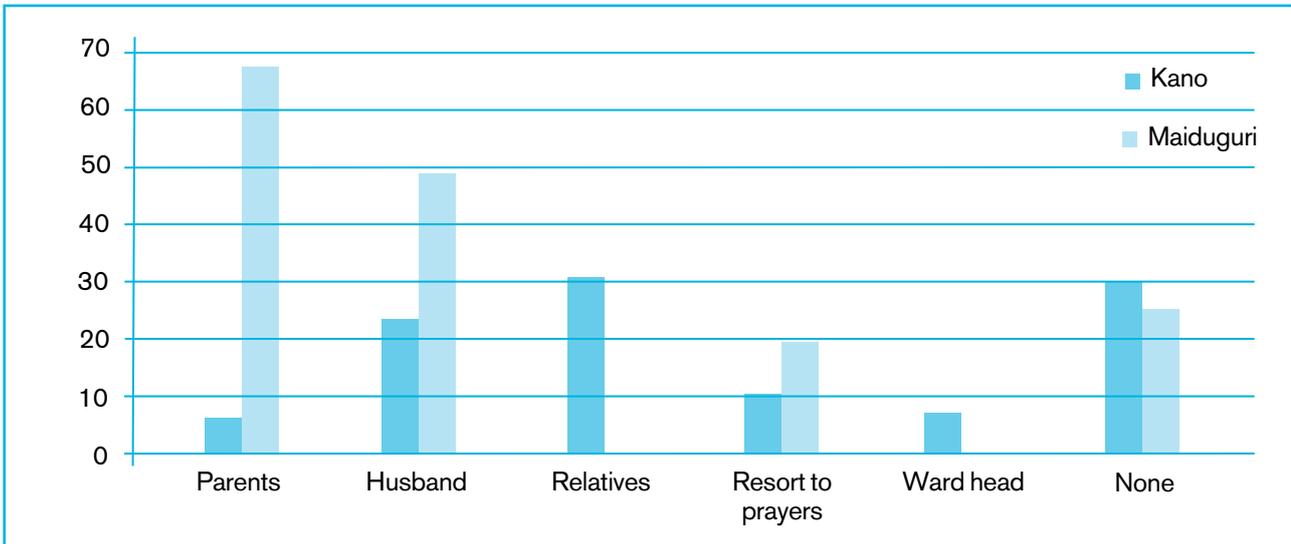


Figure 10. How women and children IDPs report cases of harassment (n=700)



4.9 Fear and harassment

The study asked the participants to identify what they fear most for the future, whether they had experienced harassment, and, if yes, to whom they reported the harassment (see Figure 9).

The worst fears for the future that IDPs identified are insecurity, food scarcity and poverty. About 65 per cent and 70 per cent of the IDPs in Kano and Maiduguri expressed food scarcity as their worst fear. The fear of insecurity and poverty are higher in Maiduguri. In Kano, the second largest commercial centre in the country, there are more employment opportunities compared to Maiduguri that is most ravaged by insecurity.

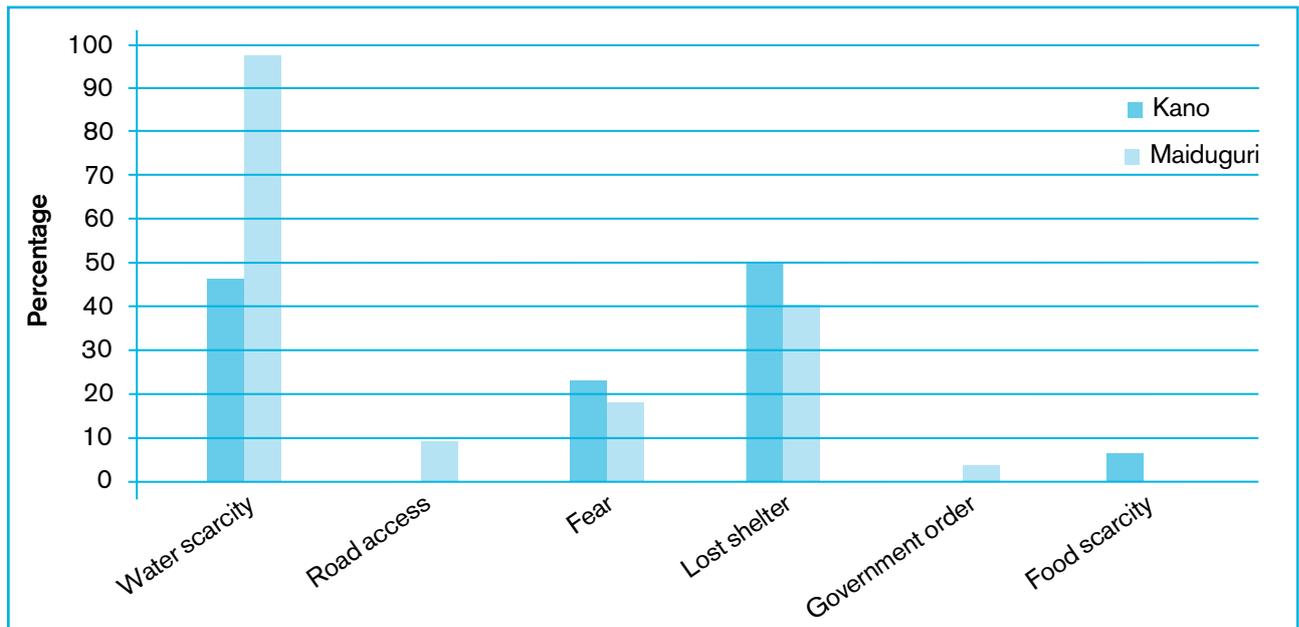
Harassment experienced by young girls and boys was reported to their parents. Women generally reported it to their husbands and relatives. Reports to the authorities is very rare. As found by our study, only 6 per cent had ever

reported or complained to a ward head. Generally, there is a lack of trust in the government among the IDPs, and as such, most suffer in silence in cities like Kano and Maiduguri (see Figure 10).

4.10 On returning to places of origin

The Nigerian military has often claimed to have dislodged Boko Haram insurgents from previously established caliphates. Once this happens, it is expected that IDPs return to their places of origin. But insecurity is the major reason why IDPs do not return to their original homes. As shown in Table 4, it is disturbing that some IDPs have stayed for up to four years. Therefore, it was important for us to ask the IDPs about their plans to return to their place of origin. All IDP participants in Maiduguri and about 48 per cent in Kano said that insecurity was the major reason that deterred them from returning home.

Figure 11. Challenges facing women IDPs in returning to their place of origin (n=700)



Thus, it is important to understand that there is difference between the success of a military operation and other issues that support public security and reconstruction processes, which may follow slowly. In other words, it is critical for authorities and stakeholders to understand this challenge as outlined by the respondents in Figure 11. The fear of returning home is justifiable and possibly there are risks that IPDs do not want to take. For some women and children, the main income earner may have been killed. In addition, returning home may make no sense to them as their homes have been destroyed. These challenges highlight the underlying complex issues that suggest the need for overhauling and mainstreaming protection issues for IDPs.

4.11 Negative experiences of women

In order to create a 'big picture' of the situation facing women and children IDPs, our research team realised that the analytical limitation of the SPSS may not provide a picture of the narratives that evolved from the FGD sessions, and particularly in respect of questions 22 and 23 in Appendix 1. The analysis output in Table 9 as well Figure 12 graphically shows the issues.

The appearance of hunger in the analysis output is not surprising since it can be linked to issues related to food (see Box 2). What characterises the uniqueness of this output are issues such as harassment, menstrual-related problems, and rape. Although rape appears as the fourth issue in order of frequency of mention, it constitutes a major problem. Some of the respondents skipped the question, perhaps because most women fear the stigmatisation of rape (Hockett and Saucier 2015). As such, many women are unlikely to disclose experiences of rape.

Table 9. Women’s problems: word count

WORD	COUNT	WEIGHTED (%)
Hunger	9	9.47
Harassment	6	6.32
Menstrual	5	5.26
Rape	5	5.26
Pregnancy	5	5.26
Money	4	4.21
People	4	4.21
Maternity	3	3.16
Siblings	3	3.16
Eating	2	2.11
Husbands	2	2.11
Status	2	2.11
Suitors	2	2.11

Figure 12. Word cloud of protection issues identified by women and adolescent girls



BOX 2. IS THERE HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION AMONG IDPs?

While visiting some formal camps in Maiduguri our research team witnessed evidence of food waste and yet some of the women and children looked malnourished. Similarly, many informally settled women and children are being assisted by many individuals and organisations and yet they too look malnourished. What we understood

from our interactions with the IDPs is that often, people offer them food that they really do not know or need. For instance, an old woman complained bitterly that she was given noodles, something she thinks is urban and childish. Hence, a needs assessment is crucial in promoting the protection of displaced persons.

5

‘Tough and rough’: IDP shelter in Kano and Maiduguri

It is thought that only about 10 per cent of IDPs are housed in formal camps run by state and foreign humanitarian organisations (Ibrahim *et al.* 2014). Shelter is one of the most critical protection issues and is directly related to other issues such as access to water and healthcare (see also Table 5, Figure 4 and 9). As such, in order to gain further insights, it was important to observe and ask people about the conditions of their shelter. This section reports the findings of our field survey of housing conditions.

5.1 Informal IDP shelters in Maiduguri

IDP shelter experiences differ significantly between the two cities in our study. Unlike in urban Kano, the shelter situation in Maiduguri is more critical and complex. Shelter for IDPs as it relates to the protection of women and children requires consideration of their differing experiences of living in rented accommodation, with relations, in makeshift camps, or by adopting abandoned and dilapidated structures.

Among the IDPs that flee to Maiduguri from neighbouring rural areas there are public servants and business people. In particular, some of the displaced public servants continue to receive their salaries and as such can afford to pay rent. However, most can only afford to rent houses that are often too small to accommodate the number of relations that fled with them to Maiduguri. Indeed, our research team observed that polygamous families send their younger children to live with neighbours. In the Ngomari and Jiddari areas near Maiduguri Airport, while the houses are relatively good, major problems are poor roads, flooding and vulnerability to malaria.



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The Jiddari area of Maiduguri is one of the areas where IDPs live, pay rent and cope with poor drainage during the rainy season

Another form of urban humanitarianism seen in Maiduguri is the type of support given to displaced families by friends and relations based in Maiduguri. Our research team saw examples of homes that were occupied by five to seven family members. Following the escalation of the crisis, many people opened their doors to IDPs, particularly women and children. These small households have now swollen to accommodate up to 25 people: overstressing facilities for hosting families and adding more pressure on their income, privacy and convenience.



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In the Usmanti area of Maiduguri town, poor drainage and malaria worry the IDPs living there

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In Usmanti in Maiduguri, the number of IDPs who live in this house has overstretched its capacity

Our research team observed that in many areas around Maiduguri, IDPs live mostly in incomplete buildings, including incomplete clinics and other public buildings. Based on our observations, IDPs rely on the goodwill of members of host communities who often guide or direct them to places where they can have their makeshift homes. In Alakaramti, on the outskirts of Maiduguri, some women claimed that they live in incomplete buildings because they were evicted from their rented home for failing to pay on time. They pointed out that the area is not even accessible to most people and they only return in the evenings. As one participant said, 'Just like the way birds fly out in the morning and return in the evening'.

In situations like these, there is no access to basic infrastructure or social services. Our research team observed that some IDPs create shelter out of anything available and, in most cases, there is an apparent lack of toilets. We also detected evidence of open defecation, which indicates vulnerability to outbreaks of contagious diseases such as cholera. This kind of high-risk threat could overwhelm Maiduguri City and its surroundings.

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In Usmanti, Maiduguri an abandoned house is used as shelter by IDPs

It is obvious that such buildings offer less privacy and protection against sun, rain, wind and storms in this Sahelian city. Importantly, municipal authorities neither intervene to ensure that some form of assistance is given or that anything is done to prevent these poor living conditions from eventually causing more challenges in Maiduguri.

As informal IDPs, these people often have very little contact with international humanitarian agencies. However, in Galtimari – one of the locations around Maiduguri – our research team found that the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) has helped some IDPs by erecting tents for them. However, as the NRC does not manage such camps, many have become overstretched. One of the women residents in one of the camps in Galtimari II said she and her friends left the NRC camp in Galtimari to reduce congestion because the 'crowd and house rent in Maiduguri is very high'. They moved to a nearby place where they paid other IDPs to erect a shelter for them. In this way, women will create shelter for themselves at any suitable and available place in Maiduguri.

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This picture shows the forestry area in Maiduguri where an IDP family has erected a makeshift camp for shelter

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An example of makeshift rooms made of corrugated sheeting used by some women in the Galtimari area of Maiduguri beside an informal camp tent developed by NRC. The women we spoke to said that these makeshift rooms leak whenever it rains.

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In Maisandari, Maiduguri IDPs live in incomplete and insecure buildings

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An example of an overstretched shelter developed for IDPs by one of the humanitarian agencies in Galtimari, Maiduguri

5.2 Characteristics of IDP shelter in Kano

Following the escalation of the Boko Haram crisis in 2012–2013, many IDPs travelled for over 500km to seek refuge in Kano. Just like in Maiduguri, family and relations provided safe havens for the IDPs by offering them space in their homes. Many others went into rented accommodation. Others went into short-lived state-supported humanitarian camps. In each of these typologies of shelter, there are issues that relate to IDP protection rights and for women and children in particular.

During the first round of the study fieldwork in 2016, our research team found that IDPs hosted by their families as well as those renting small houses were concentrated mostly in peri-urban areas. Surprisingly, we found that IDPs have settled in almost all areas surrounding Kano City. During the 2017 fieldwork, we found that the main choice of location for IDPs is in peri-urban areas which have least access to basic infrastructure and services such as electricity, water, schools, hospitals and clinics. The IDPs' choice of such crowded and/or service-deprived areas is because 'many people here pity our condition' according to one young woman we spoke to. Nonetheless, a few IDPs are found in high-density areas occupied by middle-income people who have opened their doors to fleeing people.

Our observations on housing in many parts of urban Kano suggest that there are serious challenges that degrade the human dignity of the IDPs. In Kurnar Asabe, we came across a two-bedroom rented house with a toilet but no kitchen and occupied by 12 IDPs. At Rakat, Hotoro we found a mud house lacking a fence or toilet and occupied

BOX 3. STIGMATISATION AND VIOLATION OF RIGHTS OF IDPs

Many women and children try hard to integrate into Kano's urban society, but with varying degrees of success. Our research team came across three girls who moved to Kano after witnessing members of Boko Haram murder their father. These young women no longer went to school and worried that people in their host community were sceptical of their situation. Some people even labelled them as members of Boko Haram. Such stigmatisation is not untypical and violates women's and children's rights. In Kano, our research team also came across cases where landlords had refused to rent homes to an NGO that intended to settle women and orphans, while one landlord ridiculed the IDPs saying what they offer him for rent is not sufficient for him to pay for the evacuation of their toilet waste.

by five IDPs. In the same area, some IDPs reported that seven of them occupy a rented room that started leaking at the onset of the rains. They complained to the landlady who asked them to 'either leave or stay'. Such incidences indicate that some individuals violate the rights of IDPs and take advantage of their difficult situation (see also Box 3). We also found four women in a rented house at Yan Kabo area living there with 12 children. After their only toilet broke, they requested that the house owner fix it. She told them to fix it themselves or leave the house.

The places where IDPs reside in Kano may not be worse compared to Maiduguri. However, overcrowding, dignity and rights issue are important. Many IDPs in Kano try to adapt to the situation by always trying to work hard to secure their rent. Some IDPs keep animals as investments that can be sold to pay for rent or engage in selling fuelwood to locals to earn a living. IDPs share space in everything they do or own. However, although this is common practice for many poor people in the area, uncertainties of eviction make the IDP case more difficult in terms of moving their belongings.



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In Kano, some women IDPs keep animals as an investment and as security against eventualities that may complicate their survival



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Some women IDPs selling fuelwood from within their small rented house to support their families in Kano

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IDP belongings kept in what is supposed to be a cooking space at Gaida, Kano



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A typical case of an overcrowded IDP shelter as witnessed during one of the IDP sessions at Sheka in Kano

6

Stakeholder views on protection issues for displaced women and children

The preceding chapters have shown the many roles stakeholders – individuals, groups and organisations – may have in supporting IDPs. Stakeholders here refers to individuals and groups with an interest in or mandate for, assisting IDPs. It is important for such stakeholders to be understood and listened to because their actions can either exacerbate the suffering of IDPs or improve their situation. Similarly, their experiences can be harnessed by policymakers and humanitarian organisations to improve their understanding of the challenges and needs of displaced women and children.

In total, our research team interviewed 70 people representing different stakeholders involved in the IDP response, with 35 respondents for each city, corresponding to 10 per cent of the 350 participants from each urban area. Some respondents were sceptical about answering questions while others duplicated responses already given by others. The semi-structured interviews revealed different responses in the two urban areas.

6.1 Issues in Maiduguri

In Maiduguri, the 35 interviewed stakeholders came from various sectors of society and organisations including NGOs, local residents, academia and government. Almost everyone in the Maiduguri metropolis area is affected by the presence of IDPs. For instance, a professor of geography at the University of Maiduguri

and a former university vice chancellor provided insights into how the presence of IDPs affects the university community:

Members of staff in the university community are having more economic pressure than they used to have before, because no matter how miserly one is, he must contribute to IDPs case. Even when people sometimes close their doors and only to people that they know. They still meet the asking IDPs on the walkways, traffic junctions, office premises.

He added that in his own house, he employs a security guard who is an IDP. The man fled from Gwoza town, and has two wives and many children. The former vice chancellor was also of the view that the 'Maiduguri population has swollen to accommodate two million IDPs who are mostly absorbed by the local inhabitants.' Thus, even though there are formal IDP camps in Maiduguri, members of the public are taking responsibility for the IDPs.

While many fellow citizens are helping IDPs, in the course of the interviews, we understood that the presence of IDP camps has impacted on the local community by exerting pressure on community infrastructure and facilities. For instance, some schools are being used as IDP camps to the detriment of teaching and learning for pupils. According to the person heading Sanda Kyarimi Camp which is managed by NEMA,

IDP ladies pose a threat to trees in some formal camps which they fell for firewood for cooking in this region that is ecologically delicate.

The role of NGOs in camp was highlighted through an interview with an official of water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH). The official said that they work towards improving sanitation and hygiene in the camps. This NGO provides chlorine for water treatment and drills boreholes for constant water supply in addition to 43 pit latrine toilets in Sanda Kyarimi Camp.

This intervention has contributed towards preventing the problem of open defecation in and around the camp.

However, not much attention is paid by the municipal authorities who are supposed to target the challenges of open defecation by the IDPs including women and children.

In contrast to the IDP informal settlements, international organisations such as Save the Child International (SCI) contribute to education of children in the IDP camps. According to an official of SCI their organisation 'supports and promotes children's education in the camp. Children attend informal (Islamic) and formal education sessions in the camps'. SCI also collaborates with other stakeholders such as Unicef, NEMA and Doctors Without Borders (DWB) to address children's health-related challenges. Here, it is important to note that while there is structured provision for children's education in the camps, there is no such provision to support education of the children of displaced people who roam the streets in urban areas asking for alms.

Compared to the relatively more-secure formal camps, a respondent who is also a leader of IDPs in Sanda Kyarimi Camp disclosed that 'because camps are well secured and all members are vigilant there were no issues of child trafficking'. However, he noted there were cases of murder outside the camp and added that,

Disputes are inevitable among IDPs and most arise from parents trying to protect their children from bullying by senior ones which often leads to the involvement of other parents.

As such, it is obvious that displaced children and women living on their own are vulnerable to minor and major abuses such as bullying and possibly other forms of abuse some of which were confirmed in the FGD sessions.

One critical issue is how the Boko Haram crisis has separated children from their parents. This happens mostly during raids on villages and towns in Borno State. While our research team could not trace any proactive measure from the side of the Nigerian government's humanitarian agencies, Red Cross officials told us that they had a programme under which they try to reunite parents with their children. According to the coordinator of the programme, they use pictures of the children to trace their parents or relatives.

For some 'good Samaritans' who host IDPs, the situation can be difficult. We interviewed a middle-aged trader in his residence in Allagamti in Maiduguri. He has accommodated about 50 IDPs in his house since the beginning of the Boko Haram crisis and all were unknown to him previously. He said he set aside two of his three toilets for the IDPs. The IDPs use his premises for laundry which has caused problems: 'The IDPs get water from the nearby hand pump. Sometimes there is open defecation around the compound'.

Another respondent, a civil servant whose community hosts some IDPs, spoke of problems relating to child exploitation where children are employed to 'wash dishes in the neighbourhood and get little payments'. He also said,

You see children around your house while you are struggling to take yours to school. Hawking by the children of IDPs is disturbing. One feels guilty on a situation that he could not solve. Many children, men and women, always asking for assistance. Economic pressure continues mounting on individuals without other means of sustenance.

The community leader of Gomboru Allajiri, one of the areas with the highest density of IDPs in Maiduguri, spoke of problems which have implications for IDPs' right to livelihoods and also access to economic opportunities which could, in turn, support their families and enable their children to go to school.

You can see people along the streets sitting under shades. The people came from different places, some from Gumborun Ngala, Dikwa, Bama, Buni Yadi and many other areas. The people have no work to do. They rely on gifts from passers-by. Their children do not go to school. Such parents go to kasuwar shanu [cattle market] for business without capital. In the market, they hawk or work as porters. A number of them are beggars.

6.2 Issues in Kano

IDPs are seen as victims of crises that have been forced to leave their area of residence and seek refuge elsewhere within their country. However, for administrative reasons SEMA, a Kano agency responsible for disaster and emergency management, has its own definition of IDP. According to a SEMA senior official our research team interviewed in Kano in 2017, an IDP is a stranded person, who has no one to take care of him and is outside his home town as a result of conflict or other calamities. In addition, the person has to be officially registered with the agency. The definition distinguishes IDPs from destitute people (people begging and not registered with the agency). The definition also excludes what some studies have described as 'settled' or 'informal' IDPs. These are people living with host communities – not in camps – and may be partially integrated. However, these IDPs still lack benefits enjoyed by the host communities. While SEMA is responsible for IDPs, the state Hisbah Board is responsible for the care of

the destitute and people in all types of need. SEMA is the government's main humanitarian player, while the Hisbah Board's mandate is to support the implementation of Sharia law in the state.

IDPs started coming to Kano at the peak of Boko Haram crisis in 2012–2013. Indeed, the people and authorities of Kano suffered from major Boko Haram attacks that almost brought the city to its knees on January 2012. The killing of hundreds of people in urban Kano sent a message to people about terror-related suffering. Kano state government responded by providing a temporary camp for IDPs at Dawakin Kudu, a town located about 20 kilometres away from Kano. A SEMA official informed us that their agency was responsible for assisting IDPs arriving from Borno but added that SEMA maintained the camp for two months only. However, a Red Cross official informed us that, even within the two-month period, '80 per cent of the IDPs left the camp because of poor care and organisation. More so, such camps lack some basic requirement like security'. Here, there are two important issues worth looking at.

- Firstly, secluded and barricaded camps that are relatively far away from urban areas are not acceptable to IDPs. They prefer to leave these camps for a better life elsewhere. The location of camps matters and poor camping may also lead to displaced people moving out to become informal urban IDPs.
- Secondly, it is inappropriate for government-owned humanitarian agencies to create a deadline for ceasing to operate humanitarian camps, especially during protracted crises with no end in sight.

Government support for IDPs is impaired by the fragmentation of the responsibility for helping IDPs. Instead of complementarity between organisations, the care for IDPs in Kano has translated into unhealthy competition between public organisations. Initially, the Hisbah Board helped IDPs by sourcing assistance from members of the public and disbursing it to individual women, children and families. But Hisbah has no professional mandate for humanitarian assistance. SEMA officials, representing the government's humanitarian arm, felt Hisbah was encroaching on their work, and undermined their actions to help IDPs. Such rivalry undermines the services needed by IDPs and possibly heightens their suffering and lack of confidence, as our research team observed in the FGD sessions whereby none of the respondents endorsed any Nigerian humanitarian organisation. Indeed, many Nigerians suspect that some people and organisations entrusted with the responsibility of caring for the IDPs grow fat on the resources meant for IDPs (see Box 4).

Hisbah officials informed us that food stuffs and clothes are among the major things that they received as support from individuals and organisations on behalf of IDPs in camps and some hosted by individuals. However, Hisbah also noted that 'the support was high during the last 2–3 years when they first came to Kano'. What is

BOX 4. #DABINOGATE: THE THEFT OF TONNES OF SAUDI DATE-PALM FRUITS INTENDED FOR IDPs

During the 2017 Ramadan fasting, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia sent 200 tonnes of date-palm fruit intended for IDPs and the destitute. This fruit is locally called *dabino* and is widely used during Ramadan for breaking one's fast. The handing-over ceremony of the fruit was shown on national television and private channels. Yet soon, social media was awash with hashtag #dabinogate. Many people traced the diverted fruit in distant towns and cities and this embarrassed the Nigerian government who apologised to Saudi Arabia (Punch Online 2017). The pressure from social media forced the government to speak on the issue while some stolen consignments were retrieved and taken to IDPs. There is still no evidence that the culprits are being prosecuted for the theft.

obvious is that more organisations and individuals have more confidence in Hisbah than they have in SEMA. Nonetheless, a lack of professionalism could be the reason why IDPs did not endorse Hisbah as well.

Just as with the case of IDPs in Maiduguri, individuals play a crucial role in hosting displaced persons in Kano. In both cities, individuals demonstrate rare courage by absorbing IDPs into their homes. A community leader interviewed in the Hotoro area of urban Kano noted that there are houses whereby 'over thirty persons may be occupying a house of not more than five rooms and one toilet'. Some people would not provide assistance but would help with paying the rent while some organisations offered financial support. This scenario is found as the practice of most organisations, as a 52-year female host observed:

We cannot accommodate them all, but we share them in our relatives' home [...] We all manage.

However, what is clear is that such financial support is not sustainable and when it ceases, eviction ensues and that complicates the situation for IDPs.

Although the bulk of support provided is in the form of clothes and food items, financial assistance has also been provided. In Kano, at the time of our research, the NRCS and ICRC confirmed that financial assistance had been given to some IDPs. According to the NRCS official,

Over 360 families were given financial support. The support came through the ICRC and the money was given directly through [that] person's [bank] account.

The ICRC maintain that donations paid directly to a bank are intended to avoid security risks. The money is given in

three batches: N100,000, N66,000 and N40,000. Also, N17,000 is provided for transport to the IDPs. SEMA have also offered some financial assistance, although the figures have not been disclosed. Such financial support is important to poor women in particular, who use it to support their children and meet other needs.

At the Hisbah Board in Kano our research team learnt that many NGOs have trained IDPs and given them money to start a business. ICRC have also helped about 293 IDPs with monetary support instead of food as they discovered that IDPs were selling food items they were given, which shows that IDPs need money not just food. An individual from one of the civil society groups confirmed to us that they have provided two IDPs with jobs at a business centre in Kano. The response from the individual hosts was that many IDP youth were engaged in small businesses in Kofar Wambai, Kwari and other markets, while some engage in car washing and other manual work on a daily basis. Some search for work as a

group and not just as individuals. One of the local hosts added that there are over twenty IDPs now working in his company. By implication, the protection of IDPs should include creating opportunities to engage in livelihood options in urban areas. This suggestion is important for urban public agencies and those in the private sector to support displaced persons, who might otherwise turn to crime for an income.

One of the greatest challenges IDPs face with the host communities is the stigmatisation of being an IDP and fear of being seen as a Boko Haram member. Although this is dissipating now, stigmatisation among children is still unavoidable. Beside the challenges of having to live with relatives or host communities, other challenges such as earning an income, providing for their children's education and the fear of returning to their places of origin are still prevalent. A number of NGOs have admitted that there are no social structures in place to address these issues.

7

Conclusion

Boko Haram has created an unprecedented internal population displacement in urban areas of Africa. This study has explored how the crisis is affecting women and children who have fled crisis hotspots and sought refuge in urban areas of Northern Nigerian cities – Kano and Maiduguri. The experiences of the victims of Boko Haram our research team spoke to for this study chime with some of the existing theories of population displacement impacts (eg Cernea 2000; Robinson 2003). The victims of Boko Haram are affected by complex challenges and risks that such theories point to: joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased mortality and morbidity, loss of access to common property, and social disintegration.

The situation of IDPs in both cities studied fails to meet the IDP protection standards set by the UN in their guideline principles on internal displacement. IDPs often face malnutrition, and over 80 per cent of focus group participants in both cities said food shortages were among the most serious problems they faced. Similarly, IDPs in both cities said lack of access to shelter and education were major concerns for them. However, overall IDPs seemed to be facing worse situations in Maiduguri than in Kano. Far more IDPs in Maiduguri said they experienced water scarcity, insecurity, lack of privacy, poor healthcare, harassment and poor access to amenities than in Kano. It is disturbing that IDPs lack trust in the local humanitarian organisations whose activities are fragmented and poorly coordinated in both cities.

The government in Nigeria – local, state and federal – claims to be serving and assisting IDPs through its agents and organisations. Similarly, many international humanitarian organisations have made their presence felt in the crisis areas. Yet the suffering of IDPs in urban areas has continued almost unabated. Women and children are a particularly vulnerable group, who are already burdened by challenges of poverty, inequality, illiteracy and a host of developmental crises. It seems that there are many reasons why IDPs have continued to suffer and such are the gaps identified in this study.

Firstly, the location of formal IDP camps in areas remote from urban area is not acceptable to IDPs. They end up leaving such camps to access a better life elsewhere. In other words, where camps are placed matters: poor locations and poor conditions may lead to IDPs leaving the camps to become informal urban IDPs, setting up their own shelter or finding rooms to rent. Secondly, in line with UN Principle 28.1, states are expected to make sure that IDPs return to their habitual areas voluntarily, in safety and with dignity. The protection of IDPs should include creating opportunities to engage in livelihood options in urban areas. It is not helpful when government-owned humanitarian agencies create deadlines for ceasing to operate humanitarian assistance when there is no current end in sight to the crisis and perpetuating internal displacement.

7.1 Gaps in managing IDPs in Northern Nigeria

- **There is no focus on urban areas** by humanitarian organisations although most displaced persons flee to urban areas in anticipation of a more secure life and living conditions. This study's findings reveal that living in informal settings in urban areas is not necessarily safe for women and children fleeing Boko Haram.
- **The Nigerian government does not appear to see population displacement as a serious national security challenge.** The government is more interested in fighting terror through military hardware than addressing displacement crises. Over two million Nigerians have been displaced and yet there is no comprehensive data on who these people are or what their needs are. There is a need for clearer, comprehensive documentation of IDP numbers in urban settings.
- **There is a lack of transparency, accountability and efficiency in the way government organisations in Nigeria administer resources meant for IDPs.** The presence of international humanitarian organisations

has the effect of absolving local organisations of responsibility for discharging their core tasks and responsibilities.

- **Protection of rights and dignity of displaced women and children is not prioritised.** Cases of individuals who violate the rights and dignity of displaced women and children are rarely taken up in civil courts by human rights organisations, and women and children are unlikely to report any cases of abuse beyond their immediate family.
- **The protection rights of IDPs under international and regional charters have not been invoked or applied during the Boko Haram crisis.** The rights identified and stipulated in such conventions provide a compass to guide countries as to what is expected of them in handling IDPs.

7.2 Lessons learnt

The gaps and challenges identified above persist in the case of the Boko Haram crisis. However, we can still learn lessons in this context and improve our understanding of protection for IDPs in developing countries:

- It is inadvisable to set a timeline for a crisis to be over, or, on the basis of that, to scale down assistance to IDPs. Instead, states should be obliged to observe Principle 28.1 of the UN guided principles on the voluntary return of IDPs.
- The best way to assist IDPs is for every potential organisation providing assistance to ask them about their needs and aspirations so as to offer targeted support.
- Many women aspire to pursue livelihoods to support themselves and their children and thus protect their dignity. Cash-based assistance can be a means towards achieving this.
- Protection for displaced people urgently needs to be strengthened through institutional reforms and collaborative problem solving.

7.3 Policy recommendations

From our research, we recommend changes that can improve protection and rights for displaced women and children and ensure that urban areas in Nigeria become more inclusive. However, these recommendations will also apply more widely in similar situations elsewhere.

- **Nigeria's national humanitarian agencies need to reform both their philosophy and practice relating to urban displacement crises.** Such reforms should include training for staff on how best to understand and assist women and child IDPs, as stipulated within international and regional laws and conventions. Reforms should also fight corruption as this will earn the confidence of displaced people and their helpers.
- **Needs-based assessments are crucial.** Individuals and institutional benefactors need to assess displaced people's needs before offering them supplies. For example, many of the IDPs in Kano did not like receiving cooked foods, preferring to receive food they could cook themselves. Providers of assistance need to develop strategies that make aid delivery participatory. Put simply, humanitarian assistance needs to ask IDPs what they actually need and not just provide what others think they need.
- **Direct monetary assistance is an effective way to help displaced people.** It lets people meet their basic needs as defined by themselves, whether this is to buy equipment for livelihood opportunities (such as a sewing machine) or medicine.
- **Documenting people's needs and demographic profiling are essential.** Authorities in host cities, civil society groups and international humanitarian organisations need to record IDPs' places of origin and new places of residence, as well as their needs. Such information will help agencies design effective ways to support vulnerable people. Creating a database that documents reports of abuse could also go a long way in helping victims, and possibly in tracking perpetrators.
- **National and international humanitarian practitioners need to work hand in hand to tackle stigmatisation of displaced people in urban areas.** One of the best ways to achieve this is through civil society groups' programmes that work to change perceptions among host communities and municipal authorities. Creating safe and inclusive spaces for IDPs in urban areas requires a proactive approach.
- **International organisations and local civil society groups should continue to lobby for legislation protecting displaced people to be fully implemented.** They should exert pressure on the Nigerian executive and parliament to speed up action on domesticating IDPs' rights. Nigeria, with its 36 states and many cities and towns spread across 774 local government areas, needs to take urgent action on the urban displacement crisis that is affecting so many vulnerable women and children.

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Appendix 1. Focus group discussion questions

Notes for fieldworkers

Introduce yourselves and the purpose of this interview: to gather information that will help organisations and governments around the world to do a better job of caring for displaced people. Assure people of their anonymity.

No names or photos will be shared in the final report or published. Ask half the people to sit to the left and half to the right in a circle (this is so the recording fieldworker can keep track of everyone's answers). The other fieldworker conducts a natural conversation after Qs 1–5 have been answered.

SN	QUESTIONS ON THE DATA FORM	ANSWER CODES
1.	Gender F/M	F = female M = male
2.	Pre-crisis local government area (LGA)	LGA abbreviated
3.	Departure months	Number of months
4.	Arrival months	Number of months
5.	Type of accommodation	GC = Government camp PC = Private camp R = Relative C = Community L = Landlord O = other please note LGA abbreviated
6.	Do you know your rights?	YES/ NO
7.	Are you getting your rights?	
8.	Do you feel safe here?	1. Yes, very safe 2. Yes, but could be better 3. Not safe
9.	Are women and children protected here?	Y/ N
10.	Is there a functional education system?	Y/N
11.	Do you get good healthcare?	1. Yes, very good 2. Adequate care 3. No
12.	Is there any provision for people with special needs?	Y/N
13.	Do you know the condition of your family and property?	Y/ N
14.	Is psychological counselling available?	Y/N

SN QUESTIONS ON THE DATA FORM

- 15 Please list some of the most unpleasant things you encounter daily in your IDP camp
- 16 Which NGOs have been the most help?
- 17 Which NGOs have been the least help?
- 18 Tell us about some of the kindnesses you have experienced since leaving your home
- 19 What are your worst fears about living in the IDP camp?
- 20 What stops you from returning home?
- 21 State your experience with IDPs and other members of society
- 22 How do women and adolescent girls make complaints and to whom?
- 23 Can you give any example of problems encountered by women and children that they rarely talk about in public?

ANSWER CODES

- W = water
P = privacy
A = abuse (verbal/physical)
F = food
H = hygiene (toilet/washing)
O = other (please note)

Appendix 2. Key informant interview participants in Kano

SN	NAME	GENDER	ORGANISATION/ DESIGNATION	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE
1	MK Adam	Male	Societal-based Initiatives for Rights, Peace and Development	Royal Plaza, Zoo Road, Kano	16/04/2017
2	Yusuf Nuhu	Male	Isa Wali Empowerment Initiative	Farm Centre, Kano	17/04/2017
3	Hajiya Hauwa El-Yakub	Female	Ilman Nafian Education and Development Foundation	Sha'aibu Kazaure Street, Hitoro GRA, Kano	21/04/2017
4	Hajiya Fatima Ahmad	Female	IDP host. The IDPs were relations of her husband	Gyaranya Quarter, Kano City	17/04/2017
5	Alh. Abba Mustapha	Male	IDP host. Abba is a businessman from Borno State and has been living in Kano for many years with his family. He hosts some IDPs and supports some to secure accommodation	Yan'alewa, Zango Quarter Kano City	18/04/2017
6	Alh. Auwalu Musa	Male	IDP host. Is a civil servant residing in Dorayi Kano. He had hosted some IDPs and is now helping some to educate their children	Dutsen Yamma Dorayi Quarter, Kano	17/04/2017
7	Muhammad Alhaji Isa	Male	IDP host. Muhammad is from Gamboru Ngala in Borno State. He came to Kano for business and education purposes two years before the crisis. He is now hosting more than twenty IDPs in Danladi Nasidi	Danladi Nasidi Housing Estate, Kano	17/04/2017
8	Umar Usman Shahuri	Male	IDP host. Umar is a Quranic teacher from Maiduguri City. He came to Kano before the Boko Haram crisis and is now hosting/managing more than 10 IDP families in Dorayi and Zawaciki in Kano	Dutsen Yamma Dorayi Quarter, Kano	17/04/2017
9	Mal. Mukhtar Usman Maidu	Male	Assistant Commander General, Hizba Board	Hizba office, Sharada Quarter Kano	17/04/2017

SN	NAME	GENDER	ORGANISATION/ DESIGNATION	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE
10	Ibrahim Aliyu Gombe	Male	ICRC, Kano Office	ICRC Office, Miyangu Road, Kano	18/04/2017
11	Alh. MD Abdullahi	Male	Executive Secretary, NRCS, Kano State Branch	NRCS Office 1, Nassarawa Hospital Road, Kano State	25/04/2017
12	Haj. Aisha Lawan	Female	Director, SEMA	14B Sokoto Road, Kano State	30/04/2017
13–15	Anonymous	Males	Hisbah Corp members	Sharada Road	02/05/2017
16	Alh. Bello Shehu	Male	Entrepreneur	34 Bompai Kano	02/05/2017
17	Dr Saidu Dukawa	Male	Academic	Department of Political Science	05/05/2017
18	Ahmed Mukhtar	Male	Resident	Rijiyar Lemu	05/05/2017
19	Sani Hassan	Male	Businessman	Rijiyar Zaki	05/05/2017
20	Anonymous	Female	Resident	Hotoro	05/05/2017
21	Anonymous	Female	Resident	Hotoro	05/05/2017
22	Yahaya Bello	Male	Trader/IDP host	Kurna	05/05/2017
23	Sani Bala	Male	Entrepreneur/IDP host	Hotoro	05/05/2017
24	Garba Ali	Male	Community leader	Hadejia Road	05/05/2017
25	Ali Hassan	Male	Resident	Hadejia Road	05/05/2017
26	Yakubu Miko	Male	Trader/IDP host	Hadejia Road	
27	Liti Bala	Male	Resident	Gaida	08/05/2017
28	Lawan Ali	Male	Resident	Gaida	08/05/2017
29	Baba Umar	Male	Resident	Gaida	08/05/2017
30	Laminu Ilu	Male	Resident	Gaida	08/05/2017
31	Sani Liman	Male	Imam	S/Gandu	08/05/2017
32	Inuwa Bala	Male	Resident	S/Gandu	08/05/2017
33	Iya Sale	Female	Food seller	Yankaba	08/05/2017
34	Rabi Sale	Female	Food seller	Yankaba	08/05/2017
35	Uwa Babale	Female	Food seller	Yankaba	08/05/2017

Appendix 3. Key informant interview participants in Maiduguri

SN	NAME	GENDER	ORGANISATION/ DESIGNATION	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE
1	Prof Mala Daura	Male	University of Maiduguri	UNIMAID	16/06/2016
2	Dr Mohd Bello	Male	University of Maiduguri	UNIMAID	16/06/2016
3	Mr B Shehu	Male	NEMA	NEMA office	16/06/2016
4	Anonymous	Female	Save the Child International	SCI office	16/06/2016
5	Anonymous	Female	Red Cross	Boloro	16/06/2016
6	Anonymous	Female	SEMA	Hausari	16/06/2016
7	Anonymous	Female	SEMA	Hausari	16/06/2016
8	Falmata Modu	Female	Housewife	Bulunkutii	17/06/2016
9	Harira Usman	Female	Housewife	Galtimari	17/06/2016
10	Yagana Shehu	Female	Housewife	Galtimari	17/06/2016
11	Mr Tijjani Goni	Male	Trader, community leader	Allagamti	17/06/2016
12	Adamu Goni	Male	Trader, community leader	Fori	17/06/2016
13	Shetimma Garbai	Male	Trader, community leader	Fori	17/06/2016
14	Iliya Hassan	Male	Resident	Pampomari	17/06/2016
15	Salamatu Nuhu	Female	Resident	Ngomari	17/06/2016
16	Gambo Bala	Female		Dubai	17/06/2016
17	Anonymous	Male	Local security	Dubai	17/06/2016
18	Anonymous	Male	Local security	Dubai	17/06/2016
19	Anonymous	Female	Resident	Lagos street	16/06/2016
20	Bukar Ali	Male	Student	Lagos street	16/06/2016
21	Ummara Shehu	Male	Student	Lagos street	16/06/2016
22	Hauwa Sani	Female	Teacher	Kwanar mutuwa	16/06/2016
23	Anonymous	Female	NGO staff	Kwanar mutuwa	17/06/2016
24	Anonymous	Male	NGO staff	Kwanar mutuwa	17/06/2016
25	Anonymous	Male	NGO staff	Walari	17/06/2016
26	Anonymous	Male	NGO staff	Walari	17/06/2016
27	Baabba Kyarimi	Male	Community leader	Walari	17/06/2016
28	Kashim Shatima	Male	Resident	Shagari Quaters	17/06/2016
29	Gana Mustapha	Male	Civil servant	Shehuri	18/06/2016
30	Joshua Manga	Male	Civil servant	Ngomari	18/06/2016
31	Khalil Lawal	Male	Civil servant	Ngomari	18/06/2016
32	Anonymous	Male	Civil servant	Galtimari	18/06/2016
33	Anonymous	Male	Civil servant	Hausari	18/06/2016

Appendix 4. Project staff and other supporting staff

SN	NAME	RESPONSIBILITY	AFFILIATION
1	Dr Aliyu Salisu Barau	Principal investigator	Bayero University Kano
2	Suraj Sa'eda, SAN	Co-investigator/project finance officer	Fountainhead Solicitors
3	Dr Muhammad Isa Bala	Data analyst	Federal University of Technology, Minna
4	Murtala Uba Muhammad	Data analyst/fieldworker	Bayero University Kano
5	Abubakar Wada	Data analyst	Independent
6	Mohammed Ahmed	Cartographer/GIS expert	Bayero University Kano
7	Dr Adnan Abdulhamid	Fieldworker	Bayero University Kano
8	Mal Shettima	Fieldworker	Fiona Lovatt Foundation
9	Mallam Chiroma	Fieldworker	Fiona Lovatt Foundation
10	Baba Gana Zannah	Fieldworker	Post-graduate student Bayero University Kano
11	Zubaida Umar Baba	Fieldworker	Bayero University Kano
12	Hassana Salisu Sulaiman	Fieldworker	ENACTUS Bayero University Kano
13	Umar Faki	Fieldworker	ENACTUS Bayero University Kano
14	Sadisu Salisu	Fieldworker	Fiona Lovatt Foundation
15	Ikirima Mukhtar	Fieldworker	Fiona Lovatt Foundation
16	Manniyya Rajah	Fieldworker	ENACTUS Bayero University Kano
17	Abubakar Sodangi	Fieldworker	Bayero University Kano
18	Sulaiman Gambo	Fieldworker	Bayero University Kano
19	Muhammed Auwal	Fieldworker	Independent

The Boko Haram insurgency has engulfed many parts of Northern Nigeria since 2010. About two million people have fled into urban areas around crisis zones. However, barely 10 per cent of these internally displaced persons (IDPs) are sheltered in formal humanitarian camps. The vast majority live on their own, facing difficulties in accessing food, education, healthcare and shelter. Harassment and stigmatisation exacerbate their suffering in urban areas. This paper explores the difficult situations facing IDPs in the major urban areas of Kano and Maiduguri, focusing on women and children. It highlights gaps in policy, philosophy and practice. Fragmentation and inter-agency rivalry has crippled local intervention programmes, and protection for displaced people urgently needs to be strengthened through institutional reforms and collaborative problem solving.

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