Fatima Kyari Mohammed

The Causes and Consequences of Internal Displacement in Nigeria and Related Governance Challenges

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Inhalt

Working Paper ................................................................. 1
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms ............................. 3
List of Tables and Figures ........................................... 4
Executive Summary ......................................................... 5
Introduction .......................................................................... 7
Scope of Work ................................................................. 7
Methodology ........................................................................ 7
Challenges and Limitations ............................................ 7
Organisation of the Report .............................................. 7

Setting the Scene ............................................................. 8
Brief Overview of Historical Trends and Current Scale
of Internal Displacement in Nigeria ............................... 9
Main Causes and Patterns of Internal Displacement in
Nigeria ........................................................................ 13
Legal and Policy Framework Pertaining to Internal
Displacement in Nigeria ................................................. 15
Regional Frameworks ....................................................... 16
National-/State-level Frameworks ..................................... 17

Situation Analysis .............................................................. 20
Brief Overview of Public Attitudes on Internal
Displacement in Nigeria .................................................. 20
Socio-economic Characteristics and Core Needs of IDPs
and Host Communities .................................................. 24
Displacement in Northeast Nigeria ................................... 26
Federal Capital Territory ................................................. 29
Future Perspectives of Current IDPs ............................... 30
Reconstruction, Return, and Resettlement ....................... 30
Mapping of State and Non-state Actors Involved in
Addressing the Plight of IDPs .......................................... 32
Key Governance Challenges Connected to Internal
Displacement ................................................................. 32

Looking ahead ................................................................. 33
Recommendations for More Inclusive Development
Programming ................................................................. 33
Humanitarian Assistance ................................................... 33
Security, Stabilization, and Peace Building ..................... 34
Recovery, Rehabilitation, and Resettlement .................... 34
Human Rights and Protection .......................................... 34
Health, Wellbeing, and Psycho-social Support ................ 35
Education and Social and Economic Development—Life Skills
and Vocational Training ............................................... 35
Finance .......................................................................... 36
Collaboration with Government ..................................... 36

Annexes ........................................................................... 37
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADSEMA</td>
<td>Adamawa State Emergency Management Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>CJTF</td>
<td>Civilian Joint Task Force</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>DTM</td>
<td>Displacement Tracking Matrix</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>FCT</td>
<td>Federal Capital Territory</td>
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<td>FEMA</td>
<td>FCT Emergency Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
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<td>HRW</td>
<td>Human Rights Watch</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
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<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International Court of Justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDMC</td>
<td>Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
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<tr>
<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organisation for Migration</td>
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<tr>
<td>LGAs</td>
<td>Local Government Areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMC</td>
<td>Maiduguri Metropolitan Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRRR</td>
<td>Ministry of Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Resettlement</td>
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<tr>
<td>NBS</td>
<td>National Bureau of Statistics</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCFR</td>
<td>National Commission for Refugees</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCFRMI</td>
<td>National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDMF</td>
<td>National Disaster Management Framework</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEMA</td>
<td>National Emergency Management Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>NESTS</td>
<td>The Northeast States Transformation Strategy</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NHRC</td>
<td>National Human Rights Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCRC</td>
<td>Norwegian Refugee Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCHA</td>
<td>United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCNI</td>
<td>Presidential Committee on Northeast Initiatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>RPBA</td>
<td>Recovery and Peace Building Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMA</td>
<td>State Emergency Management Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNOCHA</td>
<td>United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>United States Dollar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WASH</td>
<td>Water Sanitation and Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WFP</td>
<td>World Food Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOSEMA</td>
<td>Yobe State Emergency Management Agency</td>
</tr>
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</table>
List of Tables and Figures

Table 1. Poverty Ranking of 6 Geo-Political Zones
Table 2. Drivers and Triggers of Displacement
Table 3. Frameworks and Institutional Arrangements

Figure 1. Percentage of IDPs in Nigeria by State
Figure 2. Youths' Movement at National Level by Reason for Movement
Figure 3. Factors Responsible for Displacement
Figure 4. Change in IDP figures in Northeast Nigeria
Executive Summary

Forced migration and internal displacement in and into Nigeria in the last 50 years of independence has been triggered by violent conflict. Other causes of displacement include natural disasters and environmental degradation, inter-communal/inter-ethnic clashes, disputes over land, boundary conflicts between indigenous people and settlers, communal and ethnoreligious clashes, as well as electoral violence. The highest recorded number in the last decade, however, was due to the insurgency in the northeast part of the country, where a spate of violent attacks since 2009 has left well over two million people displaced within and across the borders to neighbouring countries, especially over the past three years.

As of October 2016, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in collaboration with National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) in its 12th round of Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) programme estimated the total number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) at 2,155,618 across 13 states in Nigeria. As of December 2016, the DTM Round 13 Report estimated 1,770,444 IDPs in the northeast alone.

Despite Nigeria being a signatory to the Kampala Convention and other international instruments, this has not been adequately reflected in national policy and strategies because most of these policies and strategies have either not been adopted into national legislation and/or suffer from poor implementation. In the absence of a policy framework on internal displacement in Nigeria, the response to the plight of IDPs has remained largely fragmented and uncoordinated; and the response to the root causes of internal displacement has been very poor and ineffective.

The protection of IDPs in the country ultimately requires seeking durable solutions to address the challenges they face. The existing institutional arrangement keepers, although struggling to manage the situation particularly in the short-term, are hindered by current policy deficits and the lack of a specific framework to adequately address the situation or cover medium to longer requirements for IDPs.

Recommendations for More Inclusive Development Programming

In order to more effectively address the plight of IDPs and seek durable solutions to internal displacement and forced migration, interventions should be addressed in such a way that they are not prolonged and in situations where return is not possible due to extreme insecurity or environmental destruction.

A number of factors would therefore need to be addressed, including targeting the underlying drivers of displacement. Assistance should be centred on social inclusion, education, youth employment, empowerment, natural resource management, investment in infrastructure, and environmental protection. This requires engagement from the Nigerian authorities, civil society, governments of neighbouring countries, and the international community. More

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1 This Working Paper was written within the framework of the project entitled “Forced displacement and development cooperation – Challenges and opportunities for German and European politics”, funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.


3 The official displacement figures do not take into consideration those above a certain social class who live with relatives or have relocated with their own means. To date, there is no official registration center for displaced persons outside of those in official camps and some informal settlements in host communities.


5 The IOM began implementing its DTM programme in July 2014.

6 The northeast is comprised of six states: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe.

specifically, issues that must be addressed include:

- Humanitarian Assistance
- Security, Stabilization, and Peace Building
- Recovery, Rehabilitation, and Resettlement
- Human Rights and Protection
- Health, Wellbeing, and Psycho-social Support
- Education and Social and Economic Development—Life Skills and Vocational Training
- Financing
- Collaboration with Government

In order to ensure that development cooperation can address some of the governance deficits, programming should focus on supporting processes on not only the national but also on the local state levels to ensure sustainability.

Finally, all policy and interventions must incorporate and link humanitarian with development efforts while strengthening governance programs at all levels.

Some Key Facts

- Total displacement in Nigeria is estimated at approximately 2,000,000.
- Displacement is principally caused by conflict in the northeast (1,770,444).
- Natural disasters, environmental factors, and communal clashes between 2014-2016 account for approximately 300,000 displaced persons.
- The peak of displacement, between 2014-2016, was recorded in February 2016 with 2,155,618 across 13 states.

Source NEMA/IOM DTM 2016
Introduction

The increase of instances of forced displacement is a global trend. A research project based at SWP investigates both the challenges and the opportunities that countries of origin, transit, and destination face in the context of forced displacement, and develops policy recommendations for an effective and sustainable linkage between humanitarian aid and longer-term technical and financial development cooperation. While German and European policy interventions are focused on cross-border displacement, internally displaced persons (IDPs) constitute the largest number of those displaced worldwide. Internal displacement (whether due to conflict, natural disasters, or large-scale development projects) is often linked to governance deficits, yet little research focuses on the question of what contribution development cooperation can make to address these governance deficits. In the context of the overarching research project, SWP plans to address this question through commissioning a number of country case studies that will serve both as standalone reports and feed into an empirically informed overview of the governance challenges and possible policy interventions related to internal displacement (SWP-Study 2017).

One of the country case studies is Nigeria. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) estimates that there are almost 2,152,000 internally displaced people (IDPs) in Nigeria due to conflict in the northeast and about 4,600 due to natural disasters and communal clashes as of 31 December 2015, with the vast majority of IDPs originating from the northeast region of the country. At the same time, Nigeria consistently counts among the top ten countries of origin of individuals seeking asylum in Germany. The Nigerian government’s recent progress in defeating Boko Haram’s stronghold in the north opens up a new scope for addressing the plight of IDPs. This report seeks to investigate the scope for suitable policy interventions for IDPs by German or European Development actors through a locally-informed perspective.

Scope of Work

Methodology

This study was carried out based on both desk-based research looking at existing literature and other studies carried out on the topic as well as field research in Borno, Adamawa, Yobe, and Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory. The report is principally qualitative and includes detailed case-studies based on semi-structured interviews carried out in the four states with relevant stakeholders and decision makers, including both state and non-state actors involved in the administration and political management of displaced populations and refugees at the local/state and national levels. Some Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and members of host communities were also interviewed. Individual and focus group discussions were also carried out in some of the locations.

Challenges and Limitations

Geographical limitations—Although displacement occurs in different parts of the country, due to time and budgetary constraints, fieldwork was limited to three of the northeast states; namely: Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe, where the highest number of displacement occurs. Interviews were also carried out in Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory, with National authorities and some IDPs in informal settlements, the bulk of which are also from the northeast region. Assessment of IDP settlements in the northeast were only limited to the state capitals of the three states due to high levels of insecurity.

There were also data coverage and information limitations due to the scarcity of a similar type of literature on displacement, particularly prior to the northeast conflict. Reliable data and figures on historical trends and displacement particularly for other parts of the country were also limited.

Organisation of the Report

The report is presented in three sections, an executive summary, the main report and state-level findings, and key recommendations for policy. The annexes include documents for further analysis.
Setting the Scene

Nigeria, located in West Africa, is one of the world’s largest oil producers and Africa’s most populated country, with an estimated population of 182 million, and more than half its people under 30 years of age. The country has a demographic growth rate of 2.6%, which means the population doubles approximately every 27 years. Despite its natural resource wealth, it remains one of the world’s poorest countries with more than 70% (140 million Nigerians) living on less than USD 1.25 per day and ranking 152 of 187 in the Human Development Index (HDI).

The country is a federal republic with a presidential system and decentralized at the federal, state, and local government levels. The three arms of government include: the executive, headed by the president; the legislature (upper and lower house), and the judiciary (including a supreme court and lower courts). The constitution provides for a separation of powers among the three branches of government. The country is divided into 36 states within six geo-political zones. Each state is governed by an executive council, which is headed by a state governor. The country is further distributed into a total of 774 Local Government Areas (LGAs) headed by local government chairmen.

Nigeria faces huge development deficits with weak governance, fragile institutions, and mismanagement, leading to unequal distribution of wealth and political and economic marginalisation of large parts of the population. Literacy rates are as low as 49.7% especially amongst females aged 15 years and older. Unemployment rates are high at 13.9% and unemployment and underemployment among the youth are as high as 45.65% especially in the northern part of the country with poverty levels at over 60%.

Available statistics figures released by the National Bureau of Statistics in 2012 show the prevalence of poverty (in percentages) in the country in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geo-Political Zone</th>
<th>Poverty Percentage</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South-East</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-South</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-West</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Central</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-East</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NBS 2012

Religion plays a central role in the Nigerian society in general and has been a force in the political development of the Nigerian state from pre- to post-independence. The majority of the population in the northern part of the country is Muslim with a Christian minority, while Christianity is predominant in the south with a Muslim minority predominantly in the south-west. The country is made up of approximately over 200 different ethnic groups with the major groups being the Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba.

In addition, with widespread poverty, huge development deficits, and poor governance, the country, since independence in 1960, has encountered a number of political and socio-economic challenges leading to instability and insecurity in certain areas, with some disenfranchised groups taking up arms in the name of fighting for their causes. This has led to the formation of militant groups such as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta.

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8 National Planning Commission 2016.
9 http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.GROW
10 Tracking Africa’s Progress in Figures, African Development Bank.
12 North-west, North-central, Northeast, South-west, South-east, and South-south.
Delta (MEND), The Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), the Jama’at al-Hlalus al-Sunah liddawati Walijahad, popularly known as ‘Boko Haram’, and the Niger Delta Resistant Movement (NDRM), all of which have negatively impacted the local population and their communities on different levels.

Nigeria has grappled with internal displacement and forced migration mostly due to conflict triggered by ethno-religious communal disputes, a civil war in 1967, and other man-made and natural disasters. Since 2013, the country has experienced an unprecedented amount of internal displacement due to the insurgency in the northeast. The country is currently placed as one of the top ten countries with the highest number of internally displaced persons due to conflict—more than in any other African country; ranking fifth with an estimated over 700,000 in 2015 alone.16

Brief Overview of Historical Trends and Current Scale of Internal Displacement in Nigeria

Forced migration and internal displacement in and into Nigeria is not a new phenomenon. In the last 50 years of independence, the highest recorded numbers of incidences of Internal Displacement have been triggered by violent conflict. The first incidence can be traced back to the civil war, also known as the Biafran War, from 1967-1970.17 Although it is difficult to determine the exact number of people displaced during this period due to conflicting figures and unreliable data, several sources have estimated over 2 million people were either displaced or in need of humanitarian assistance within and across the borders during the war.18


17 After a political war following a military coup d’état in 1966 and the assassination of the then premier, Sir Ahmadu Bello. The people of southeastern Nigeria, principally the Ibo tribe, headed by Lt. Col. Ojukwu, declared secession of the former Eastern Region from the Federal Government and called it “The Republic of Biafra”. This secession was declared illegal by the central government and triggered a civil war that lasted about 30 months.

18 Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy, Greenhill, K.M. Cornell

The International Committee of the Red Cross in its 1969 International Review declared the provision of foodstuffs and medical supplies to 850,000 people, many of them children.19 From September to the end of October 1966, there ensued a mass movement of people; over one million displaced persons were evacuated from the north to the south during a period of one month alone.20 Another report on the International Communities Intervention in Biafra stated “the ICRC had 400 vehicles and various ships and aircraft, delivering over three million meals a week in Biafra”.21

In 1989, following the Liberian civil war, thousands of Liberian refugees were found stranded at the shores of the Nigerian sea port in Apapa Lagos. The then military government provided immediate protection to the population and relocated them to Oru Refugee Camp—a former Islamic Teachers College that was donated by the Government of Ogun state. The federal government went on to enact Decree No. 52, which brought about the setting up of the National Commission for Refugees (NCFR).22


22 Data from NCFRMI, December 2016.
Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Ghana.23

From 1996 to 1998 as the civil wars ended, the governments of Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leon, and UNHCR entered into a tripartite agreement that saw the voluntary repatriation of Liberian and Sierra-Leone refugees back to their countries. A multipartite agreement was signed between the Nigerian government, Liberia, Sierra-Leone, ECOWAS, and UNHCR in 2007 for the local integration of the remaining Liberian and Sierra-Leonean refugees in Nigeria.24

In 1991, the seat of government moved from Lagos to Abuja, following Decree No. 6 of 1976. The Federal Capital Territory was carved out of the states of present-day Nasarawa, Niger, and Kogi. The indigenous inhabitants, the Gbagis, lost their land and livelihoods to the development projects. Although the exact displacement figures for indigenous or resettled families in the FCT were not readily available, up to 300,000 indigenous inhabitants of 600 villages in Abuja were identified for resettlement within the FCT,25 giving rise to several satellite towns such as Kubwa, Dei-Dei, and Wasa, Apo, and Galuwyi/Shere. The resettlement of the indigenous people did not go without its challenges and controversy, in some case compelling the state government to take forceful measures.26 Today, many of the communities lack sufficient basic social amenities, such as primary and secondary schools, access roads, electricity, a water supply, or health centers.27

The majority of inter-communal/ inter-ethnic clashes that have led to displacement have taken place in Taraba, Plateau, Nasarawa, and Benue states between 2000 and 2002 and have centred on the issues of land, boundaries, and indigenes/settlers.28 Other specific examples include Kaduna, in the north central area in the 1990s, which escalated in 2000. By 2002, more than 30,000 people were displaced during four days of another religious riot in Kaduna. The 2000 violence caused large-scale population displacement, leading to a sharp segregation of communities in some areas. Other examples of communal clashes include the disputed results in the Plateau State elections led to inter-communal unrest in 2008, tensions primarily reflected resentment between the indigenous (Christian) minority and settlers from the Hausa-speaking Muslim north.29

Between 2003 and 2008, the National Commission for Refugees estimated at least 3.2 million people were displaced due to ethnic and religious conflict, from and within various states in the country.30

In August 2008, Nigeria ceded the Bakassi Peninsula to its neighbour, the Republic of Cameroon, following many years of dispute and an intervention from the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in October 2002. An estimated 400,000-755,000 people were forced to move across the border to Cross Rivers and Akwa-Ibom states in the Niger Delta region.31 Many were left landless, homeless, and cut off from their means of livelihood for years.32 There are approximately 100,000 people that are yet to be resettled according to state authorities.

Thousands are also displaced annually as a result of environmental degradation and natural disasters, including flooding in the north central and northwest areas, erosion in the southeast, and oil spillage and development projects in the south-south Niger Delta region.33

In 2010 alone the Nigerian Red Cross Society in a

23 Ibid.
24 http://www.unhcr.org/49e479ca22.pdf
26 SWP-Studie
27 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
32 Ibid.

Causes, Dynamics, and Consequences of Internal Displacement in Ethiopia
April 2017
vulnerability analysis identified about 5,000 vulnerable families that were most affected by the floods in specific parts of the country. In its 2013 Annual report, it stated that "heavy rains between July and October 2012, led to Nigeria’s worst flooding in 40 years affecting more than 7 million people in 33 out of 36 states." The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) reported 363 deaths as a result of the flooding. The affected states identified in the report include: Borno, Cross River, Ebonyi, Nassarawa, Bauchi, Gombe, Katsina, and Kebbi states in August; and Taraba, Benue, Niger, Kaduna and Kano in September; before affecting Delta and Bayelsa states in September and October.

Communal disputes within neighbouring communities have also in some cases led to violence and displacement. Episodes of inter-communal violence include clashes linked to electoral violence, which, according to the NCRFMI, has forced more than 65,000 people to flee their homes between April 2011 and January 2012.

From 2010 to 2011, NEMA registered over 80 IDP settlements in 26 states across the six geopolitical zones. Over 350,000 people were displaced due to Natural disasters, communal and ethno-religious clashes, and electoral violence. Most of the settlements identified have since been cleared.

Displacement due to clashes between nomadic herdsmen and rural farmers in some parts of the country, particularly where large expanses of farmland has eaten up into traditional grazing routes of pastoralists, has created tension and violent clashes between communities. Renewed clashes over land between ethnic Tivs and nomadic Fulanis in Edo and Benue states also led to the displacement of an estimated 15,000 people since March 2012.

In 2012, a survey on youth in the country, the NBS reported forced migration within the country as being on the rise with people, particularly the youth, moving in response to inequitable distribution of resources, services, and opportunities or to escape violence, natural disasters, or increasing occurrences of extreme weather conditions. In the same report it estimates that “most (48.5 per cent) of Nigerian youths’ movement in selected states are tied to family reasons while a sizeable proportion (22.9 per cent) of them moved in search for job opportunities. Only a few (2.6 per cent) stated their movement was due to conflict and civil unrest". Other reasons for forced migration amongst youth include: civil unrest, education (9.2 per cent), and employment (4.8 per cent).

The highest recorded number in the last decade, however, has been due to the insurgency in the northeast part of the country, where a spate of violent attacks since 2009 has left well over two million people displaced within and across the borders to neighbouring countries, especially over the past three years. The insurgency, which emerged from a tiny group of extremists that

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34 NRCS 2013 Annual report.
35 Interview with Deputy Director, NEMA.
36 Interview with IDP Department, NCFRMI.

Figure 1. Youths’ Movement at National Level by Reason for Movement

Source 1: NBS/Ministry of Youth 2012
challenged the Nigerian state in the early 2000s without success re-emerged with the leadership of Mohammed Yusuf, who had returned from self-imposed exile in Saudi Arabia and proselytised in Borno until 2009. The movement turned openly violent, adopting terrorist tactics including targeted assassinations, suicide bombings, hostage taking, and outright attacks on local communities and villages in the rural parts of the region.

Figure 2- Percentage of IDPs in Nigeria by State

As of October 2016, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in collaboration with National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) in its 12th round of Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) programme estimated the total number of Internally Displaced Persons at 2,155,618 across 13 states in Nigeria. As of December 2016, the DTM Round 13 Report estimated 1,770,444 IDPs in the northeast alone.

The country is also host to a number of refugees and asylum seekers— in 2015, a total of 828 refugees and 1,325 asylum seekers were registered by the Refugee Status Determination (RSD) Unit under the Department of Refugee and Migrant Affairs, NCFRMI. Countries of origin include: Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Lebanon, Mali, Palestine, Syria, Sudan, and Togo. As of November 2016, a total of 187 refugees and asylum seekers were registered from August–September.

41 Ibid.
43 The IOM began implementing its DTM programme in July 2014.
44 The northeast is comprised of six states: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe.
45 Interview with Head of Unit, Refugee Status Determination (RSD) Unit under the Department of Refugee and Migrant Affairs, NCFRMI.

Source 2 – NEMA 2016
Main Causes and Patterns of Internal Displacement in Nigeria

Along with refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) are considered some the world’s most vulnerable people. Unlike refugees, however, IDPs are defined as those who have not crossed an international border but have remained inside their home countries. Furthermore, the African Union Kampala Convention on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa defines internal displacement as: “the involuntary or forced movement, evacuation or relocation of persons or groups of persons within internationally recognized state borders”.

The overall causes of internal displacement and forced migration in Nigeria, given the historical trends, are multifaceted with a number of drivers that are responsible for their complexity. Causes of displacement can overall be grouped into two main categories, natural disasters and man-made, which are usually linked to conflict and violence.

In a briefing paper on ‘understanding the root causes of displacement’ the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IMDC) in its bid for all stakeholders to better understand the notion of internal displacement and speak the same language, attempted to provide conceptual clarity about what constitutes root causes and drivers, and how they relate to proximate causes or triggers. Drivers are defined as: distant underlying structural factors that combine to enable a crisis to erupt. Synonyms are: root cause, push factor, stressor. Triggers are defined as the more visible events in the wider environment that threaten people’s security.

The table below aims to provide a categorisation of drivers and triggers of displacement and forced migration using the definitions above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drivers</th>
<th>Triggers</th>
<th>Consequences</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Man-made</strong></td>
<td><strong>Conflict and Violence</strong></td>
<td>Over 2.5 million displaced from 1967-to date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political Drivers</strong> (including poor urban planning and weak governance &amp; corruption)</td>
<td>- Civil War/Biafra&lt;br&gt;- Electoral violence&lt;br&gt;- Insurgency in the northeast&lt;br&gt;- Inter-communal violence&lt;br&gt;- Protracted displacement&lt;br&gt;- Infrastructural development&lt;br&gt;- Bakassi</td>
<td>Over 100,000 displaced and some resettled from Cameroon to Nigeria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46 Understanding the root causes of displacement, IMDC 2015.
47 Availability and reliability of data is, however, weak, as formal structures for tracking and registration are recent and have many gaps including weak institutional capacity.

Table 1. Drivers and Triggers of Displacement
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drivers</th>
<th>Triggers</th>
<th>Consequences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Man-made</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political Drivers</strong></td>
<td>- Civil War/Biafra - Electoral violence - Insurgency in the northeast - Inter-communal violence - Protracted displacement - Infrastructural development - Bakassi</td>
<td>Over 2.5 million displaced from 1967-to date Over 100,000 displaced and some resettled from Cameroon to Nigeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Drivers</strong></td>
<td>- Urban Migration - Migration across borders, ethno-religious &amp; inter-communal clashes - Criminality leading to rural banditry including cattle rustling</td>
<td>Figures for this kind of forced migration and displacement are difficult to determine—inter-communal tensions have in some cases led to large-scale violence. Forced migration, particularly amongst youth due to social drivers, is on the rise and elaborated on in the text below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic Drivers</strong></td>
<td>- Some forced migration but mostly voluntary in search of better opportunities - Farmer-herder clashes</td>
<td>Figures are difficult to determine or monitor, as this is usually voluntary and there is no existing platform for measurement. The period is also difficult to determine, as economic migration amongst communities has always taken place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental Drivers</strong></td>
<td>- Oil spillage in the Niger Delta - Agro-pastoral clashes</td>
<td>Approximately 10,000 displaced in the Niger Delta region where oil was discovered in the early 60s. Environmental degradation has taken place since then.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Natural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental Drivers</strong></td>
<td>- Flooding, erosion, and desertification</td>
<td>Over 1 million displaced due to erosion and desertification since 2009, according to the NEMA. Displacement and forced migration has been taking place in the LCBC region for decades with the shrinking of Lake Chad.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Legal and Policy Framework Pertaining to Internal Displacement in Nigeria

Legal, policy, and institutional frameworks can be broken down into international, regional/sub-regional, national, and state/local government levels. The table below identifies some of the relevant frameworks and structures currently in place.\[^{49}\]

*Table 2. Frameworks and Institutional Arrangements*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>International</th>
<th>Regional/Sub-Regional</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>State/Local Government</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\[^1\] This section, particularly for international and regional sections, is indicative and not exhaustive, with a focus on the national policy and institutional arrangements.
Regional Frameworks


Nigeria, as a member of the African Union, was among the first countries to sign the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on 31 August 1982 and ratify it on 22 June 1983. The charter has been domesticated as the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights as Cap.10 LFN 1990 or Cap. A9 LFN 2004.50

Rights outlined in articles 2-24 of the African Charter include the rights to education, housing/shelter, health, food, employment, social security, adequate standard of living, safe environment, cultural life, and development. Nigeria has progressively been implementing the Charter through a number of legislative, policy, judicial, and institutional measures, including the National Human Rights Commission.


The 2009 AU Convention, also known as the Kampala Convention, was adopted on the foundation of the UN guiding principles on displacement, which were endorsed by West African states at the first Conference of West African States on Internal Displacement in Abuja in April, 2006. It entered into force in 2012, becoming the world’s first legally binding regional instrument to protect the rights of those uprooted.51 When the convention was ratified, it required that states adopt laws and policies or amend their legislation in line with its provisions.52

To date, 40 African states have signed the convention, and 25 have ratified it.53 Nigeria ratified the convention in April 2012 but is yet to domesticate it. The procedure for domestinating

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50 An international treaty entered into by the government of Nigeria does not become binding until enacted into law by the National Assembly. Before its enactment into law by the National Assembly, it has no such force of law as to make its provisions justiciable in our courts. This was the tenor of section 12 of the 1979 Constitution, now re-enacted in section 12 of the 1999 Constitution.

51 Kampala Convention: from ratification to domestication and operationalization, AU Workshop Report, December 2015.

52 Ibid.

53 https://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/treaties

SWP-Berlin

Causes, Dynamics, and Consequences of Internal Displacement in Ethiopia

April 2017
the Convention is that it is introduced to the National Assembly as an executive bill through the National Executive Council; then it will be debated and voted on separately by the lower and upper house and, if approved, will be sent to the legislatures of Nigeria’s 36 states. If the state legislatures pass it by at least a two-thirds majority, it is then taken back to the National Assembly for passing.54

A committee on IDPs was established in the Nigerian National Assembly in October 2015. The draft bill has currently passed two readings with the last being presented as a private bill driven by the Chairmen of both the House Committee on IDPs and the House Committee on Treaties and Conventions in July 2016. Since then, there has not been much progress, despite advocacy from MPs and CSOs addressed to the relevant authorities including the minister of justice.55

National-/State-level Frameworks


The Nigerian Constitution came into force on May 29, 1999. It provides the framework for the administration of both the Federal Government of Nigeria as well as the states, and its provisions have binding force on all authorities and persons throughout the country. The constitution states the obligation of the state to ensure the promotion of the security and welfare of all the people; and outlines citizens’ rights as: the rights to life, human dignity, personal liberty, privacy, and family life, a fair hearing, freedoms of religion, expression, assembly, association, movement, from non-discrimination, and to acquire and own immovable property.

b) The National Human Rights Commission57

Established by the NHRC, Act Cap.N46 Vol.11 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004, the Commission is mandated to promote and protect human rights and to ensure discharge of Nigeria’s human rights obligations. This is in line with the resolution of the UN General Assembly, which enjoins all member states to establish national human rights institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights. The Commission provides services to victims of human rights violations but does not have the power to make binding decisions in response to complaints. However, it plays a valuable role in human rights protection and oversight of administrative behaviour by providing a viable forum for the investigation and resolution of human rights complaints brought before it.58 The NHRC has been active in condemning human rights violations of displaced persons.

c) The National Commission for Refugees, Migrants, and Internally Displaced Persons (NCFRMI)59

Established by Decree 52 of 1989 now Cap. N21, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004 (NCFRMI Act), the Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons is the coordinating agency of all migration-related issues in Nigeria. Apart from its operation role in providing protection and assistance to refugees and internally displaced persons, it also provides the lead for conducting activities relating to the assisted voluntary return and reintegration (AVRR) for Nigerians who may be in irregular situations abroad and who may have indicated their interest to return home.60

The Commission’s mandate was expanded on by the federal government through an executive order to cover issues relating to internally displaced persons (IDPs) and the coordination of migration and development in 2002 and 2009, respectively. This expansion has been contentious, as the bill to repeal the NCFR Act of 2000 to extend its mandate to IDPs, stateless persons, and migrants was never passed and therefore is yet to acquire the legal approval required. The Commission has, however, since then changed

54 Chairman, Committee on IDPs, National Assembly.
55 Interview with A. Sanusi, CSO activist, December 2016.
57 http://www.nigeriarights.gov.ng/
59 http://www.ncfrmi.gov.ng/
60 Presentation of NCFRMI by the Federal Commissioner.
its name and is working towards the appropriate legislative amendment.\textsuperscript{61} Despite efforts to coordinate some activities, there has been some tension regarding the overlapping of mandates between NCFRMI and NEMA over the past few years. Coordination efforts have, however, improved recently with the change in leadership.\textsuperscript{62}

d) National Policy on Internal Displacement in Nigeria\textsuperscript{63}

In 2003, the National Commission for Refugees pushed for the development of a national policy on internal displacement. A presidential committee was set up to draft a national policy that would enhance the prevention of internal displacement, and propose best practices for the management of internally displaced persons, including the protection of their human rights and the need to mitigate their suffering once displacement has occurred.\textsuperscript{64} The draft Policy outlines roles and responsibilities for the federal, state, and local governments, as well as other stakeholders in the civil society, and national and international actors. In addition, it educates people about their rights and obligations before, during, and after displacement.\textsuperscript{65}

The policy, which has been revised twice— in 2009 and 2012—has remained a “draft” policy, as it is yet to be adopted by the legislature. The main challenge here seems to also be linked to the process of domestication of the Kampala Convention, with the overlap of mandates and a lack of clear leadership on which agency owns the process. The issue is currently being revisited by the new leadership of the NCFRMI and the parliamentary committee on IDPs within a technical working group being set up by the NCFRMI.

e) National Migration Policy (NMP) to the Government of Nigeria

The policy was developed by a technical working group (TWG) on migration and development chaired by the NCFRMI with technical support from International Organization for Migration (IOM) funded under the European Union 10th EDF. It was validated at a stakeholder conference in June 25 2013 and approved by the Federal Executive Council on May 13 2015. The policy provides the legal framework for monitoring and regulating internal and international migration, collection, and dissemination of migration data, diaspora mobilization, border management, decent treatment of migrants, internally displaced persons (IDPs), asylum seekers, and the role of civil society in migration management in order to ensure a more efficient management of migration in Nigeria.\textsuperscript{66}

f) The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA)\textsuperscript{67}

Established via Act 12, as amended by Act 50 of 1999, to manage disasters in Nigeria.\textsuperscript{68} NEMA's mandate is to address disaster-related issues, coordinate responses to all emergencies, and provide relief through the establishment of concrete structures and measures.\textsuperscript{69} A chairman, who is supported by several directors at the top management level, heads the agency. NEMA’s activities are guided by a number of plans and frameworks including: The National Contingency Plan, Search, & Rescue and Epidemic Evacuation Plan, National Disaster Management Framework (NDMF), Emergency Response Standard Operating Procedures.\textsuperscript{70} The NDMF is the current framework used to manage internal displacement due to disaster or conflict. NEMA operates a 24/7 situation room that monitors and provides relevant information in the case of disasters. When a disaster happens, the Zonal Coordinator or State Emergency Management Agencies

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{62} A new government took over in May 2015, and a new Commissioner was appointed to head the NCFRMI.
\textsuperscript{63} http://infopointmigration.org.ng/wp-content/uploads/NATIONAL-IDP-POLICY.pdf
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{66} http://nigeria.iom.int/government-nigeria-adopts-national-migration-policy-action-plan-iom-support
\textsuperscript{67} http://nema.gov.ng/
\textsuperscript{68} http://www.icnl.org/research/library/files/Nigeria/NATIONAL-EMERGENCY.pdf
\textsuperscript{69} www.nema.gov.ng
\textsuperscript{70} Available at: http://nema.gov.ng/download-documentations/
SWP-Berlin
Causes, Dynamics, and Consequences of Internal Displacement in Ethiopia
April 2017

(SEMA) provide the required information to the headquarters. Required assistance is then provided, depending on the situation, including humanitarian assistance and rebuilding. NEMA and SEMA have so far been leading management and humanitarian support activities for internally displaced persons as well as search and rescue missions in disaster situations in Nigeria, and have provided some assistance to displaced persons across the borders of neighboring countries in the northeast.

g) State Emergency Management Agencies

Part III of the 1999 NEMA Act focuses on the establishment of state emergency management committees for each state of the federation which shall be headed by the governor of the state, and include a number of cross-cutting services, including the State Ministry of Women and Social Welfare, the State Ministry of Health, the State environmental protection Agency, the Police Force, the Security and Civil Defence Corps and the Nigerian Red Cross Society. The state chairman is appointed and paid by the governor of the state and may make rules regulating its own proceedings. The state is responsible for notifying NEMA of any natural or other disasters occurring in the state, responding to any disaster within the state, and carrying out disaster management activities within the state. To date, not all 36 states of the federation have established SEMAs. Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe (BAY) have established and functioning state agencies, particularly working with IDPs. The SEMAs in the BAY states, where displacement is highest, have been active in taking a key role managing the humanitarian crisis in their respective states as well as in return and resettlement.

h) Nigerian Red Cross Society (NRCS)

The Nigerian Red Cross Act and the General Conventions Acts of 1960 established the NRCS as a Voluntary Aid Society, auxiliary to the public authorities. The Nigerian Red Cross Society became an independent national society in February 1961 following the official recognition by the President of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent, making Nigeria the 86th member nation of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Committee in Prague in September, 1961. In 2010 alone, the Nigerian Red Cross Society in a vulnerability analysis identified about 5,000 vulnerable families that were most affected by the floods in specific parts of the country. It also reported that heavy rains, between July and October 2012, led to Nigeria’s worst flooding in 40 years, affecting over seven million people in 33 out of 36 states. The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) reported 363 deaths as a result of the flooding. The NRCS has been involved in camp management and providing support, including provision of basic health care in several IDP camps and settlements in partnership with NEMA/SEMA and other international organisations, particularly Doctors without Borders.

i) Ministry of Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (MRRR), Borno State

In addition to SEMA, the Borno State government in 2015 set up the Ministry of Reconstruction, Rehabilitation, and Resettlement, headed by a commissioner, with the mandate to coordinate the facilitation of the return of displaced persons from the post-Boko Haram insurgency to their communities, rebuild destroyed homes and public buildings, and support the restoration of IDPs’ livelihoods. The Ministry was actively involved in the recovery and peace building assessment (RPBA) carried out by the EU/UN/World Bank in early 2016 and is currently in the process of setting up an administrative and management structure for recovery and peace building in line with recommendations for post-conflict reconstruction of the assessment. It has been involved in the reconstruction of infrastructure in LGAs declared safe for return in the state. To date, Borno is the only state to have set up a designated ministry dedicated to manage the crisis and internal displacement in

72 http://www.redcrossnigeria.org/history.html
73 Ladan, M.T., National Framework for the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria, April 2013.
74 Nigerian Red Cross Society 2013 Annual Report.
75 In 2015, the Government of Nigeria requested assistance from the EU, the UN, and the World Bank to carry out an assessment of the needs associated with peace building and crisis recovery in the northeast. A Recovery and Peace Building Assessment was launched in January 2016.
the state. Other states have set up committees with representation from existing agencies and line ministries but management is principally left to the SEMAs in collaboration with other stakeholders, such as the NRCS, local, and international NGOs, and individuals. Details of state arrangements are further elaborated on in section four of the report.

The findings above reflect that there are adequate provisions for policy frameworks and relevant institutional arrangements to manage IDPs in Nigeria. However, in reality, the policies remain mostly on paper, as the policy frameworks specific to IDPs have not been domesticated and are therefore not legally binding. Efforts to manage IDPs therefore remain ad hoc, superficial, and with a focus on relief as opposed to addressing deeper issues, such as assistance and rights of the displaced.

In addition, with the lack of clear mandates, which has led to overlaps, and the waste of much-needed resources, weak coordination, and synergy between the relevant institutions and bodies—specifically NEMA and NCFRMI—it is difficult to determine or address real issues related to the protection of IDPs. The entire process of domestication has been hindered by the conflicting mandates and the lack of proper coordination mechanisms.

While the process of domestication of the Kampala Convention is still ongoing—there is currently a private member bill in parliament, and the executive is working towards sending in a bill as well. How this will play out eventually will depend on stakeholder involvement at all stages including a public hearing—the NCFRMI is also in the process of finalizing modalities to hold a meeting of the technical working group (TWG), which is the first step towards validating and sending the draft policy to FEC for adoption and also addressing the issues of coordination, policy, and mandates.

Situation Analysis

Brief Overview of Public Attitudes on Internal Displacement in Nigeria

Nigeria is ethnically very diverse as a country, with the three major groups being the Hausas in the north, the Yorubas in the southwest, and the Igbos in the southeast. This categorization, however, does not reflect the true nature of the country’s demographics, as the country currently has over 200 recognised ethnic groups. Ethnicity and religion play a major role in the socio-political and socio-economic make-up of the country.

The issue of internal displacement, although having existed for several years, was only brought to the fore with the crisis in the northeast due to the sheer number of people affected. A national poll carried out by NOIPolls, in partnership with the Social Welfare Network Initiative and Africare, in 2015, seeking to “measure the awareness and knowledge of Nigerians on cases of IDPs and the factors mostly responsible for the displacement of persons in the country, as well as gauge the support of Nigerians on a law that protects the rights of IDPs in Nigeria, revealed that terrorist attacks (75 percent) as the leading factor responsible for the displacement of persons in Nigeria”.

76 Interview with A. Erumah, CISLAC.
77 Interview, Commissioner, NCFRMI.


SWP-Berlin
Causes, Dynamics, and Consequences of Internal Displacement in Ethiopia
April 2017
The causes of displacement, particularly those linked to communal clashes and ethno-religious violence, tend to be the most sensitive in terms of sentiments and perceptions. Communal clashes, such as the ones currently taking place in southern Kaduna between nomadic Fulani herdsmen and the native farmers, which have already lasted months, have claimed hundreds of lives. The Catholic Church in the region has also stated that 1,422 houses, 16 Churches, 19 shops, and one primary school were destroyed in Kafanchan and Chikun LGAs between October, 2016 and early January, 2017. Over 2,000 people have been displaced from neighboring villages and are taking refuge in a school compound run by a pastor in the area.\(^{79}\)

In Logo, continuous clashes between farmers and herdsmen in the LGA of Benue state has led to the killing of 100 displaced persons—mostly women, children, and the elderly in 2016 while taking refuge in camps located at Ukura, Gafa, Per, and Tse-Gusa at Ukembiragghi Twarev Ward—an attack described as one of the bloodiest on Benue communities by the suspected herdsmen.\(^{80}\)

Another attack in Agatu LGA in the state was one of the most publicized attacks in 2016, where there was huge public outcry and a call to bring the attacks in the region to an end. The continuous crisis has led to the displacement of over 7,000 people with homes, farms, and barns being completely destroyed.\(^{81}\)

The clashes between rural farming communities, cattle rustlers, and nomadic herdsmen have been retaliatory, creating a cycle of violence with countless innocent victims. Displacement of such communities having been haphazardly handled in the past without any long-term, sustainable solutions has created an environment of continued tension and risks of recurrences of violence. Communities affected by this type of violence are forced to move out of their homes out of fear or, in some cases when their villages are destroyed, to neighbouring villages and public buildings such as schools. This, however, does not guarantee security, as in some cases, further attacks take place in their places of refuge.

The Boko Haram insurgency has, over the years, created a series of mixed opinions from the general public, ranging from fear and indiffer-


\(^{82}\) Ibid.
ence to anger and genuine concern, with an outpouring of support for people affected by the crisis. Movements such as the #BringBackOurGirls has garnered both local and international attention to the kidnapping of over 200 female students from the Government Secondary School in the town of Chibok in Borno State on the night of 14–15 April 2014. The kidnappings were claimed by Boko Haram. Although some 50 girls managed to escape and a few were recently rescued, the majority still remain in captivity. The movement, which started with a series of email conversations and then a demonstration on April 30, 2014, has now been running its campaign for over two years. This has raised a significant amount of awareness about the situation in the northeast and the plight of IDPs. It has attracted some criticism—being labeled as a political movement—but for the most part, has made immense headway in awareness raising and garnering public sympathy.

Perceptions within host communities are, however, mixed depending on where the IDPs are located and where they are from. For example, in Kusheri, Bulabulin, a settlement located behind the CBN quarters in Maiduguri, Borno, over 7,000 IDPs have settled in the area with over 2,000 displaced persons in Kusheri alone. Each settlement has a district head, and people who facilitate the coordination of the displaced people and foster cooperation amongst them. Kusheri is sprinkled with pockets of huts built with hay, zinc sheets, and some tents set up by INGOs. There is a borehole, which supplies water for the entire area, using solar energy for pumping. The IDPs who have settled in Kusheri come from several local governments, including Damboa, Bulabulin, Mulai, and Konduga.

“When these people first came to this place from dambua, all they had with them was the clothes on their backs. They walked from Bulabulin of Damboa all the way to Maiduguri when the insurgents attacked their villages.

Before I gave them a place to stay, I first made sure that they were clean and not members of Boko Haram. I first contacted the security forces and informed the community elders of their presence in the neighbourhood. I then had them registered and provided them with a space of about 50sqm per family on vacant land to build makeshift homes from zinc and whatever else they can find to build a roof over their heads.

The first settlers that came were about 300 hundred families, most of them farmers, and firewood and charcoal sellers. We’ve received help from many individuals, NGOs, and other organisations. The IDPs are principally from Bama, Konduga, and a few other places. We currently have about seven thousand IDPs in Kusheri. The government used to come and take them to the official camps, but most refused to go because they said they appreciate how they are living here and they don’t need any camps. They have been well received by the community and we all try to help them with what we have”.

- Interview with the Bulama of Kusheri, Adam Bukar, November 2016

Although the majority of displaced persons are currently displaced within the northeast zone, mostly moving from rural areas to state capitals, IDPs have also moved to other states throughout the country, including the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). In the FCT, most settlements are in areas that are also inhabited by locals.

In Waru Municipal area within the FCT, a group of IDPs, mostly from Gwoza LGA in Borno, state started settling since the end of 2013. The district head, Ibrahim Sarki, considered to be a compassionate man, initially provided space for the IDPs to settle within people’s homes and, in some cases, allowed them to build makeshift homes, which are little more than shacks. In the beginning, they supported the displaced persons, but as the numbers grew and awareness was raised, the community started to receive support. Sarki says that they regularly receive visits from various groups and local authorities providing relief material for the displaced. In some cases Sarki oversees the distribution of relief material himself. The community also has a small clinic for its inhabitants, and medical supplies are provided directly to the clinic, to which the IDPs and locals have access. Many of the IDPs have
been able to find small jobs and income-earning activities and are able to rent their own spaces. Over the past three years, many have now settled permanently into the community. Today, the community hosts over 3,000 IDPs. In Pegi village and Abuja housing estate, in Kuje Area in the FCT, there have been over 400 IDPs displaced since 2014, when their community was attacked. They have received sympathy from the local community and many have settled in rented homes in the area. Being a homogenous community, they are well organised and have a good support system. Although they receive regular support from various organisations, including the local authorities such as FEMA, they continue to face challenges, particularly of income earning, healthcare, and education for their children. From time to time, there is also some tension in the area because it hosts a prison where some suspected insurgents have been kept. Large gatherings and congregations in the area have therefore been banned.

Awareness has also been raised through the activities of local NGOs working directly with displaced communities. Several initiatives, such as the IDP support project, consisting of a network of local NGOs collaborating to support displaced persons in the FCT, have raised awareness through advocacy, fund-raising activities, and donations to the people and communities hosting them. In Borno State, local CSOs working in various thematic areas have set up awareness campaigns.

Figure 4: Displaced Children Lined Up for Distribution in Jambutu, Jimeta. Adamawa State (Photo credits: Mohammed Aliyu)

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83 Interview with Ibrahim Sarki, district head of Waru.  
84 Interview Gapani Yanga, focal point for Chibok IDP Community in Abuja.  
85 Interview with Hajiya Dijatu Balla, Proprietress of Nadi Internationa, Yola.
up the Network for Civil Society Organization Borno State (NECSOB) with the objective of coordinating activities related to IDPs within the state. In Adamawa State, the Adamawa Peace Initiative (API) coordinated by the American University in Nigeria (AUN) focuses on peace building, humanitarian relief, and raising awareness in conjunction with local leaders.

Socio-economic Characteristics and Core Needs of IDPs and Host Communities

The conflict has gravely affected traditional economic activities, particularly agriculture and trading, severely crippling the local economies and increasing the vulnerability of entire populations. The displaced communities, being mostly rural, were forced to abandon their farms and livestock, which in many cases were taken over by the insurgents. The situation has significantly increased food insecurity levels and has created beggars from communities which hitherto were completely independent and, in some cases, even considered wealthy in terms of land and livestock ownership. In addition to livelihoods, basic food and non-food items still remain the highest priority for IDPs, followed by WASH, and primary health services. Education is less of a priority for most of those interviewed. Most rural communities do not prioritise education, particularly modern education. Being a predominantly Muslim region, priority is given to Islamic religious education.

Living conditions in the camps and in the informal settlements are difficult and, in most cases, deplorable, mostly due to the lack of adequate infrastructure to cater to the populations’ needs. There are also security challenges in addition to a limited supply of basic food and non-food items, health facilities, education, and livelihood opportunities. Although the local authorities, particularly SEMA, provide some food and relief material, conditions in the camps, particularly informal ones, are far from ideal. In an interview with Vanguard Newspaper, a community leader displaced in Benue state lamented the conditions in Otukpo:

“We sleep on bare floor since we don’t have mattress or mats. It is quite a difficult situation, as we are exposed to mosquitoes and all kinds of insects and reptiles during the day and at night. The absence of medical officers at the crowded camp is also a disturbing factor, and you can see that the entire camp is not suitable for human habitation.”

- Elder Sani Echioda, an indigene of Ayila, 2016

Displaced persons in host communities have mostly settled in locations that have little or no basic services, such as water, electricity, or primary health and education services. Income earning opportunities are also very difficult, as most are rural farmers with no access to land or cash, nor do they possess alternative skills to earn a decent living.

The most vulnerable groups identified are women and children, which form the majority of the population of IDPs. This presents a number of challenges associated with camps, informal settlements, and host communities. One of the major findings is the exposure to dangers of sexual harassment and violence. In October 2016, Human Rights Watch (HRW) reported that 66 percent of 400 displaced people in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe States said that camp officials sexually abuse the displaced women and girls.

The issues of human rights violations and sexual abuse of IDPs, particularly younger, vulnerable IDPs, was confirmed through a survey carried out in the several formal and informal camps in the northeast where about 7% of IDPs indicated that they know someone who had been sexually abused on the camp. The IDPs confirmed that abuse was perpetrated by camp officials (66%),

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members of host communities (28%), and elders (6%).

Women and children, particularly young girls that have been abducted and returned, are viewed with distrust and considered tainted. A study carried out by International Alert and UNICEF in collaboration with local actors noted that many of the returnees face stigmatisation, marginalisation, and rejection by family and community members due to social and cultural norms related to sexual violence.

“As these victims of conflict reach internally displaced person (IDP) camps in Maiduguri Metropolitan Council (MMC) or attempt to return to their villages of origin, many of them are suffering from acute mental distress resulting from sexual, psychological, and physical violence suffered in captivity. Yet, a significant proportion of them still face stigma and rejection from their communities.”


With peace slowly returning to the region, there has been a general decrease in the number of IDPs, as people slowly return to their communities. However, the scale of damage in returning areas is immense and new humanitarian challenges are emerging. Returning families still face security risks, economic disruption, and limited access to food, water, and sanitation, shelter, and health services. There are also reports of land mines and improvised explosive devices in certain areas of return.

The following section will look at the state of displacement in the country with a focus on the northeast states of Borno, Adamawa, and Yobe, where the highest number of displacement occurs, as well as Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory.

Figure 5 – Changes in IDP Figures in Northeast Nigeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Round 12 Total (October 2016)</th>
<th>Round 13 Total (November 2016)</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADAMAWA</td>
<td>170,070</td>
<td>152,618</td>
<td>17,452</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAUCHI</td>
<td>58,955</td>
<td>57,114</td>
<td>1,841</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BORNO</td>
<td>1,392,927</td>
<td>1,370,880</td>
<td>22,047</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOMBE</td>
<td>28,296</td>
<td>28,980</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TARABA</td>
<td>47,587</td>
<td>48,583</td>
<td>996</td>
<td>↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOBE</td>
<td>124,706</td>
<td>112,269</td>
<td>12,437</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,822,541</td>
<td>1,770,444</td>
<td>52,097</td>
<td>↓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


90 “Bad Blood” 2016.

Displacement in Northeast Nigeria

Northeast Nigeria consists of six states, namely: Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba, and Yobe. Social and economic indicators are one of the lowest in the region when compared to other parts of the country.

Northeast Nigeria

“The total population was projected at 23.6 million in 2012, which represents about 14 per cent of the national population. The majority of the people of the northeast region are peasant farmers, with a large number also engaged in livestock rearing and fishing. The principal crops in the region include sorghum, maize, millet, wheat, cotton, cowpeas, groundnuts, cassava, yam, and sweet potatoes. The region is the most important livestock producing area of the country, especially in the production of cattle, sheep, and goats. The region is richly endowed with many solid minerals, including gypsum, kaolin, and limestone”.

- The Northeast States Transformation Strategy (NESTS)

In 2009, when conflict erupted in the northeast due to the insurgency, millions of people from the region were displaced in and around the country, leading to what the ICRC president in his first visit to Nigeria described as one of the worst humanitarian crises in the world. He urged the world to come to the support of the population. At the height of the insurgency, according to NEMA, the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) rose to well over two million with over 170,000 Nigerians as refugees in surrounding countries. Thousands of people have also been killed and, in some cases, entire communities have been wiped out, forcing survivors to flee with nothing but their traumatised lives. An estimated nine million people, according to the PCNI, have been directly or indirectly affected.

NEMA, in collaboration with the IOM, has estimated registered figures of internally displaced persons from the region at 1,707,444—the latest figures, as of December 2016.

Out of these, the state of Borno, followed by Adamawa, then Yobe (BAY states), are most affected by the insurgency and currently host the largest number of internally displaced persons who are mostly from Borno State. In January 2016, a Recovery and Peace Building Assessment (RPBA) for the northeast was launched, with the support of the World Bank, European Union, and the United Nations, in collaboration with the federal and state governments. The assessment estimated infrastructure damage at US$ 9.2 billion and accumulated output losses of US$ 8.3 billion. Two-thirds of the damages, which is the equivalent of US$ 5.9 billion, is in Borno, the most affected State. The poor social and economic conditions not only in the state, but the region as a whole, have been cited as major contributors to the insurgency.

Borno

Displacement in Borno State is the highest in the country, resulting from the insurgency in the region. The bulk of the population displaced is located in Maiduguri, the state capital. According to the 2006 population census, Maiduguri has a population of 521,492 people, with an annual growth rate of 2.8%. In 2016, the population was estimated at almost three million due to a continuous stream of displaced communities. This influx has put enormous pressure on the already weak and limited infrastructure and social services in the state capital, creating an additional set of challenges that may further aggravate the situation, if it is not adequately managed.

The state government, in a bid to address the multiple issues triggered by the insurgency, has set up a specific agency, the Ministry of Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (MRRR), headed by a commissioner, to coordinate

93 Ibrahim et al. 2015.
95 Ibid.
96 Micro-level conflict analysis in five states of northeastern Nigeria, Search for Common Ground with the funding of the World Bank, January 2015.
and manage the return of IDPs to their communities and the restoration of their livelihoods. The Ministry was actively involved in the recovery and peacebuilding assessment (RPBA)\(^98\) and has been rebuilding communities in LGAs declared safe for return by the Nigerian military.

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<th>Borno State</th>
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<td><strong>No. of LGAs affected</strong></td>
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<td><strong>No. of IDPs</strong></td>
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Over two-thirds of the 27 Local Government Areas (LGAs) in the state were affected by the insurgency. These include 10 in Northern Borno Senatorial District; namely, Kaga, Magumeri, Gubio, Nganzai, Monguno, Kukawa, Mobbar, Guzamala, Abadam, and Marte. Affected LGAs in Borno Central Senatorial Districts are: Kala-Balge, Ngala, Dikwa, Mafa, Bama, Konduga, and parts of Jere and Maiduguri, the state capital. The most-hit LGAs in Southern Borno Senatorial District are: Gwoza, Dambo’a, Askira/Uba, Chibok, Hawul, and Shani, while Biu, Kwaya-Kusar, and Bayo experienced light attacks with hundreds of deaths recorded and destruction of properties. Twenty-two of 27 LGAs were under the control of insurgents at some given time while eight were under complete control and are the worst affected.\(^9\)

There are currently a total number of eleven official camps registered by the State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA) in Borno, with the majority of them located in Maiduguri, the state capital. As of December 2016, the Borno State Emergency Management Agency, BOSEMA, reported the total number of IDPs registered in these camps as at 111, 388, a mere less than 10% of the displaced population in the Maiduguri Metropolitan Council (MMC), with the majority of displaced families living in host communities. A total of 428,077 IDPs are reported to be living in the liberated LGAs, while a total of 41,335 have returned to 6 LGAs.\(^99\)

Many displaced communities are independent farmers, and therefore find the urban environment very difficult. The pressure on host communities in Maiduguri, in particular, has heightened the risk to social cohesion. Most of the interventions taking place are not extended to those in the host communities.

As the majority, at least 90% of IDPs in Borno, live in host communities, mostly in open spaces or makeshift shelters, giving rise to a number of informal settlements, limited resources have become overstretched, creating additional difficulties in already poor communities. The risks involved include competition for limited resources, including income-earning opportunities, which have led, in some cases, to tension and friction.

The risks are further increased by the presence of the Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF),\(^100\) a group of young, armed volunteers made up of local youth who, on the one hand, have carried out commendable work in supporting the security personnel in identifying and combatting the insurgents, but, on the other hand, have become an authority in their own right. There have been several incidences of CJTFs competing for food and non-food items during distributions in host communities, as well as reports of sexual exploitation and abuse of young women and girls in both formal and informal camps.\(^101\)

Adamawa

Directly bordering Borno from the south, Adamawa is the second-hardest hit with the insurgency, after Borno. The current estimated population of 152,618 IDPs is about 10% of the total number in the region.\(^102\) Most of the IDPs in Adamawa are actually from Borno State. The 2016 RPBA estimated US$660—$27.5, $37.5 and $594.6 million for peace building and social cohesion, economic recovery, and infrastructure

\(^98\) In 2015 the government of Nigeria requested assistance from the EU, the UN, and the World Bank to carry out an assessment of the needs associated with peace building and crisis recovery in the northeast. A Recovery and Peace Building Assessment was launched in January 2016.

\(^99\) See Annex 2.

\(^100\) The state confirmed 40000 CJTF have been mobilized to date.

\(^101\) Ibid.

and social services, respectively—to recover and stabilize the affected communities of the state.

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<th>Adamawa State</th>
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<td>No. of LGAs affected</td>
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<td>No. of IDPs</td>
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The Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Michika, Madagali, Mubi North, Mubi South, Maiha, Hong, and Gombi were attacked and occupied. Mubi North, Mubi South, Michika, and Madagali were occupied by the insurgents for several months from late 2014 through 2015. There are currently no LGAs under occupation, but sporadic attacks, including bombs and suicide bombers, still occur in some areas, including in the state capital of Yola.

Humanitarian response and recovery efforts are coordinated and implemented by the Adamawa State Emergency Management Agency (ADSEMA). The Agency’s board is headed by the state deputy governor and consists of relevant line ministries as well as the Nigerian Red Cross.

The height of displacement in the state occurred between 2014-2015, with the highest recorded number being 163,559 IDPs, of which less than 10% lived in camps or camp-like sites. The Adamawa state government identified a total of 10 IDP camp sites, accommodating IDPs from 2014 located in four local government areas namely: Fufore (1), Girei (3), Yola North (1), and Yola South (5). As of May 2016, the state government has reported the closure of six of these; namely, Bekaji, Kwanan Waya, Girei 1 and 2, Yola campus of Federal Polytechnic Mubi, and EYN Church, as the majority had returned to their respective towns and villages as of December 2016.

Yobe State

Yobe State, located in the northeast, was carved out of Borno State in 1991. It is a principally rural agrarian state with most of its population engaging in small-scale subsistence farming. It has a relatively small and weak economy, which contributes to about 0.42% to the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Poverty levels in the state are high, leading to elevated child, infant, and maternal mortality rates. Education levels are also low, with one of the worst results for high school performance in the country.

All displacement in the state is due to the insurgency, which has had a negative impact on the already weak social economic and political structure of the state. In 2015, the Yobe State governor stated they had spent an estimated over $33 million of much-needed funds for social services for dealing with insecurity and other problems caused by the insurgency since 2011.

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<th>Yobe State</th>
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<td>No. of LGAs affected</td>
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<td>No. of IDPs</td>
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Key LGAs affected by the conflict in terms of destruction of infrastructure, ongoing insecurity, and mass movement of the population are Gulani, Gujba, Yunusari, Geidam, Damaturu, Fika, and Potiskum. About 70% of IDPs are from the state, while the remaining 30% are from Borno. DTM reported 13,037 IDPs from Yobe State were reported to be in the neighbouring Gombe state, and 3,875 in Bauchi. The hardest-hit LGAs were Gulani and Gujba, which were declared secure for return in May 2016. Displaced populations from the two LGAs have started returning. There are currently no locations in Yobe under the insurgents’ control, but the risk of sporadic attacks from remnants still remains.

The state government set up a Committee for Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Integrating of IDPs, which is chaired by the Deputy Governor and the Yobe State Emergency Management Agency (YOSEMA), as the secretariat. It advises on coordination and distribution of humanitarian aid for displaced persons, camp management, and resettlement of IDPs. The Committee’s ToR covers improving conditions in camps; coordination and distribution of humanitarian aid;

105 Yobe Draft Strategic Plan of Action, 2016.
106 http://icirnigeria.org/insecurity-has-cost-yobe-over-$10-billion-gaidam/
determining the number of displaced people; the state of social and private infrastructure in Yobe State; and advising on the financing of resettlement and inter-governmental and development partner coordination.\(^{107}\)

The committee has been responsible for providing support to IDPs it coordinates with other stakeholders working in the area and is currently facilitating the resettlement of the remaining IDPs in the state. According to the state, this arrangement being ad hoc, it plans to reorganise it into an advisory board/steering committee (SC), comprised of comprise of representatives from the concerned ministries, including the Ministry of Justice, Finance, Works and Power, Health, Women Affairs, Education, Agriculture and the Environment, Housing and Land, Water Resources, and Local Government. Composition will also include the speaker of the House of Assembly, the Representative of the Traditional Leaders, and the Women, Physically Challenged, Youth and Civil Society Organisations.\(^{108}\)

The priority, based on discussions with key stakeholders for the state, is on addressing the safe and voluntary return of IDPs as well as overall support for their resettlement in their communities. Priority requirements are: security, food/shelter, water, schools, healthcare facilities, and livelihoods.\(^{109}\)

Social protection schemes being rolled out in the state with support from the federal government include: conditional cash transfers, support to cooperatives, and empowerment programmes for women and youth, including employment for graduates. The table provided in Annex 1 shows key humanitarian agencies delivering assistance by sector as of June 2016.

As of March 2015, there were a total of eight IDP settlements recorded; namely: Pompomari, Bukan Ali Elkanemi, Kukareta, Nagabrawa, Kasaisa, Fugari, Mohd Gombe’s Farm, and Abbari Ybc. Only two official IDP camps—Bukar Ali and Pompomari IDP camp in Damaturu—and three informal settlements were identified as of the time of this report. The Bukar Ali camp has just recently been closed down with continued plans for facilitating return and resettlement.

**Federal Capital Territory**

Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory, was set up in 1976 through Decree No. 6 of 1976 from parts of the states of Nasarawa, Niger, and Kogi. It has been the seat of government, officially relocated from Lagos, since December 1991. The population at the time was estimated at 500,000 within its entire 8,000 square kilometres.\(^{110}\) Population figures are currently at two million in central Abuja and an additional four million around satellite towns.

There are no formal IDP camps in the FCT, but the FCT Emergency Agency (FEMA) has identified 21 settlements\(^{111}\) while a total of 40 were identified through local NGOs networks working with IDPs in the state.\(^{112}\) In addition to people displaced due to the conflict in the northeast, the IDP population in the FCT is also comprised of people from the north central fleeing from political and religious violence and communal clashes. IDPs in and around the Abuja area are more skeptical about returning to their homes than those interviewed in the states.

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<tr>
<th>Abuja, Federal Capital Territory (FCT)</th>
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<td>There are no formal camps, i.e., established by the state or federal government in Abuja; however, the sheer number of displaced persons has forced populations to settle in informal and host communities, mostly in the outskirts of the city.</td>
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<th>No. of LGAs affected</th>
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<td>40 IDP settlements were identified in the FCT and environs. Over 20,000 IDPs have been</td>
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\(^{107}\) Interview by SSA with the Governor of Yobe State and the Draft of the SPA.

\(^{108}\) Ibid.

\(^{109}\) Interview with chairman of YOSEMA.

\(^{110}\) www.fcda.gov.ng


\(^{112}\) IDP support network, comprised of several NGOs, including Likeminds Project, 1Umah, ICICE-Care, FREE, Adopt-acamp, SSSC Foundation, and others.

Causes, Dynamics, and Consequences of Internal Displacement in Ethiopia

April 2017
Many of the displaced persons particularly in the FCT have managed to carve out a reasonable living for themselves and their families. Some local integration has taken place as people find jobs, are supported by various empowerment programmes, settle with extended family members, and in some cases get married. Basic needs remain a high priority.

Future Perspectives of Current IDPs

Alternatives to return have been the natural integration of some IDPs, who have been able to resettle with the support of family, friends, or initiatives by non-state actors, particularly local CSOs/NGOs and some international donor projects focusing on empowerment and livelihoods activities. These IDPs afterwards find work, and marriage, thereby building resilience. This, however, constitutes a small number, as most IDPs interviewed would prefer to return to their homes once the environment is conducive enough.

A recent study carried out by UNDP on livelihoods and economic recovery revealed the complexities and impact for the livelihoods of urban and rural households in the region. The LGAs sampled exhibited similarities in terms of living conditions, skills, and assets that limit their options in regard to coping mechanisms, and found it necessary to link livelihoods and economic recovery (LER) interventions to be properly synergized with the ongoing humanitarian actions.\textsuperscript{113}

\begin{table}[h]
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identified. The number of IDPs per camp identified were between 10 households (approximately 50-60 people to over 4,000 in Wasa) \hline
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Reconstruction, Return, and Resettlement

In Borno State, the 27 LGAs are classified according to the prevailing security situation as: (i) safe; (ii) medium, i.e., risks of attacks still remain; and (iii) unsafe. The first category of less volatile/vulnerable LGAs from the security viewpoint are: Bama, Kaga, Konduga, Mafa, and Gwoza to MMC and Jere where reconstruction of destroyed infrastructure has already commenced and work has started.

The MRRR has also confirmed that it is currently working in about 15 LGAs that have been certified as safe areas for return by the military. Indeed, the situation is far from being uniform. For example, in Bama, only 10% of the population is left behind, whereas in Marte 70% of the population has been displaced. People are still living in villages, even in insecure LGAs. Plans to start in Mobbar, Marte, and Kala/Balge are also underway.

It should also be noted that infrastructure in the LGAs has always been very limited. At an average, only ten villages per LGAs were benefitting from some sort of infrastructure before the insurgency. The approach being taken by the MRRR is to return people to the LGA centres at an initial stage once the military declare these areas safe for return. The second stage is to facilitate return to their villages. Return is voluntary in consultation with community elders and traditional leaders. MRRR states that this is voluntary and based on agreement signed with the local leaders. This has already been made the case with Mafa, Konduga, and Bama leaders. The resettlement of the displaced population is planned to take place in several stages, as follows:

- The military command will certify that areas are safe for the return of the displaced population;
- Basic social services will be rehabilitated (LGA buildings, health, education, and water) in the safe areas, including police stations;

\textsuperscript{113} UNDP Livelihoods and Economic Recovery Assessment 2016.
LC and LGA staff will return to resume their functions. Security will be provided by police;

IDPs will be first resettled in the LGA’s headquarters, in order to decongest Maiduguri. The displaced population will be accommodated in public buildings, state housing estate, vacant houses, or temporary IDPs camps;

The army will secure the main state roads. The security of the villages will be organized by clustering the villages around main LGAs headquarters;

Finally, the displaced population will be redeployed to their villages, when the situation permits.\textsuperscript{114}

\textbf{Adamawa state,} with an initial 11 camp sites identified two years ago, currently has only three remaining camps hosting IDPs; these are: Malkohi, Damare (NYSC Camp), and Fufote. A committee headed by the state commissioner for information is currently working on facilitating the return of IDPs in the remaining camps. The approach according the secretary to the state government is in three tiers.

1. Identification of IDPs and LGA of origin. The state government has determined that less than 5% of the remaining IDPs are actually from the state. They are working in consultation with the Borno State government to facilitate return of IDPs to Borno.

2. Visits to the 21 LGAs and secure resettlement areas, particularly for the women. As most women have lost the heads of their families and traditionally are not land-title holders, they are unable to return and pick up where they left off. The state government is therefore in the process of identifying land that can be allocated to them as part of the resettlement process. Immediate actions include providing fertilizer and seeds for them to be able to farm in the immediate to short-term; rebuilding destroyed homes; facilitating construction where there was none; rehabilitating other infrastructure; and providing skills, development, and training to returnees.


In Adamawa there have been incidences of IDPs from Gombi and Hong returning to IDP camps from their LGAs due to reported concerns about insecurity as well as dependency of handouts from the camps. The state government only confirmed incidences of UXOs in Michiki and Madagali LGAs.\textsuperscript{115}

In \textbf{Yobe State,} the state authorities plan to completely resettle all IDPs within the next few months.\textsuperscript{116} The state authorities provided resettlement packages and building materials to returnees to reconstruct their homes in destroyed villages. Return was voluntary without any recorded incidences of tension or opposition, as most IDPs were willing to return.\textsuperscript{117}

Communities displaced in the \textbf{FCT,} particularly young men, are not ready to return particularly because of trauma suffered and the feeling that their communities are still insecure. In addition, most livelihoods have been destroyed and some of the displaced people have been able to find other economic opportunities.

The displaced populations for the most part experience high rates of poverty and limited access to social and health services. Finding a job and reintegrating into the economy, where there already is a staggeringly high unemployment rate, is particularly difficult for a person from a minority ethnic group.

The approach taken by the authorities to facilitate return by providing ‘return kits’ is

\textsuperscript{114} Notes from Interview with Commissioner Ministry of RRR, Borno State.

\textsuperscript{115} Interview with Secretary to Adamawa State Government.

\textsuperscript{116} \url{http://theeagleonline.com.ng/boko-haram-collaborative-efforts-speed-up-resettlement-of-idps-in-yobe/}

\textsuperscript{117} Interview with Special Advisor to Governor, December 2016.
encouraging, as most of these people are unable to fund their return or the reconstruction of their homes.

Mapping of State and Non-state Actors Involved in Addressing the Plight of IDPs

The weak coordination between the donor community, governmental agencies, and the IDPs themselves has led to the creation of several sector working groups coordinated by an Inter-Sector Working Group (ISWG) to promote sectoral response and coordination. There exist various sub-sector working groups, such as the Protection Sector Working Group, the WASH Sector Working Group, the Education in Emergency Working Group, and the Nutrition in Emergency Working Group. All working groups work with the various relevant line ministries. Development actors have constituted a Humanitarian Country Team (HCT) to provide strategic leadership, policy development, and engagement with the Federal Government of Nigeria. This team meets under the leadership of the Resident Coordinator of the UN.

A number of both state and non-state actors also play a key role in addressing the plight of internally displaced persons, particularly from the northeast. These include international development partners, bilateral partners, international non-governmental organisations, civil society organisations, local non-governmental organisations, charities, and private sector actors.

Key Governance Challenges Connected to Internal Displacement

Despite Nigeria being a signatory to the Kampala Convention and other international instruments, this has not been adequately reflected in national policy and strategies because most of these policies and strategies have either not been adopted into national legislation and/ or suffer from poor implementation. In the absence of a policy framework on internal displacement in Nigeria, the response to the plight of IDPs has remained largely fragmented and uncoordinated; and the response to the root causes of internal displacement has been very poor and ineffective. On the federal level, the recently inaugurated Presidential Committee on the North-East Initiatives (PCNI) was set up to coordinate existing initiatives, strategies, and stakeholders in order to ensure a concerted action to support the northeast. The Committee recently launched ‘The Buhari Plan’ which is Marshal Plan for the northeast recovery. The Victim Support Fund (VSF), the Safe School Initiative (SSI), and the Presidential Initiative for the North-East (PINE) were all set up to address issues concerning IDPs in the northeast.

In addition to these, there are also a number of federal and state agencies, such as the National Commission for Refugees, the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), the State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA), and the Ministry for Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Resettlement in Borno State, responsible for managing the various aspects of the crisis. A variety of legal documents and national strategy papers from various federal agencies are available, all of which address the needs of IDPs in the country from different perspectives and mandates. Despite the plethora of overlapping agencies, strategies, mandates, and policies, there is poor coordination and a multiplication and duplication of efforts and inadequate resources allocated to actions required.

The lack of a clear policy or legal framework has also created tense relationships between government agencies with a weak system of accountability, particularly at the state level. There have been allegations of corruption by the authorities operating camps and those disbursing aid. The weak coordination between the donor community, governmental agencies, and the IDPs themselves has also led to support being


119 Interview Deputy Chair, PCNI.

120 http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/10/reps-cry-foul-as-sgf-lawal-allegedly-used-n270m-to-clear-grass-at-idps-camps/
inconsistent with ad hoc interventions. In addition, the approach towards addressing displacement so far appears to be heavily focused on short-term humanitarian aid and less on development-oriented, longer-term solutions, which could have serious implications for stability and security. This is of particular concern for the current situation in Nigeria, as the majority of displacement in the country is caused by conflict, mostly violent, which has socio-political and socio-economic implications. Displaced populations are, first of all, highly vulnerable, but can also pose a potential threat to the host communities: both the host population and the environment.

Looking ahead

The link between displacement and conflict in Nigeria is evident and has strong underlying development deficits. The effective management of displacement is a critical factor in the enhancement of human development and the reduction of conflict, disasters, poverty and insecurity. Although displacement in Nigeria has been happening for a long time, it has only recently been brought to the fore with the crisis in the northeast due to the massive numbers, forcing both local and international actors to think differently and take measures towards addressing it in a sustainable manner.

The protection of IDPs in the country ultimately requires seeking durable solutions to address the challenges they face. The existing institutional arrangements, although struggling to manage the situation, particularly in the short-term, are hindered by current policy deficits and the lack of a specific framework to adequately address the situation or cover medium to longer-term requirements for IDPs. The multiplication of actors, overlapping of responsibilities, lack of clear mandates, and lack of effective coordination among the agencies of government responsible for implementation further aggravate a fragile situation.

Despite efforts being made both at the federal level with the inauguration of the PCNI, the setting up of a technical working group by the new commissioner, NCFRMI, the Inter-Sector Working Group (ISWG), and the Humanitarian Country Team (HCT), political, administrative, and regulatory gaps still exist.

Recommendations for More Inclusive Development Programming

In order to more effectively address the plight of IDPs and seek durable solutions to internal displacement and forced migration, interventions should be addressed in such a way that it is not prolonged and in situations where return is not possible due to extreme insecurity or environmental destruction, and alternative solutions are found. It is critical to find short, medium, and long-term solutions to development deficits and to end dependence on humanitarian assistance by creating an enabling environment for the displaced to live in dignity as contributors to their host communities by fostering self-reliance.

A number of factors would therefore need to be addressed, including targeting the underlying drivers of displacement. Assistance should be centred on social inclusion, education, youth employment, empowerment, natural resource management, investment in infrastructure, and environmental protection. This requires engagement from the Nigerian authorities, civil society, governments of neighbouring countries, and the international community. More specifically, issues that must be addressed include the following:

Humanitarian Assistance

Despite the enormous efforts made so far, the country continues to face a humanitarian challenge of colossal magnitude. Humanitarian needs, including food and non-food items, shelter, and primary health care, need to be addressed and supported. Humanitarian relief efforts should go hand-in-hand with short- to medium-term development efforts, particularly in the host communities in order to mitigate the negative impact on both populations.

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121 A development Approach to Migration and Displacement, UNDP, December 2015.
Recommendations for German and European Policy and Interventions

Ensure efforts are coordinated and address short-term needs while clearly linking efforts to medium- to long-term development programming. The focus should be on quality rather than quantity. Efforts should leverage on existing efforts, such as the Inter-Sector Working Group (ISWG) and the Humanitarian Country Team (HCT) to ensure better coordination of support and funding to avoid overlaps and wastages. There should be emphasis placed on humanitarian assistance being short-term and measures put in place to avoid dependency. Minimal donor branding will also reduce the dependency syndrome.

Security, Stabilization, and Peace Building

Ensuring security and stability of the environments that populations are displaced from is the first step towards facilitating return and resettlement. This is a prerequisite whether populations are displaced due to conflict or natural disasters. Mechanisms to check declarations from the military or other relevant responsible institutions is necessary to ensure that people are not being forced to return to areas that are not safe. Efforts to ensure this require a certification mechanism to be established by the authorities and monitoring by civil society and the international community through their own mechanisms. This is more difficult for conflict-prone areas but achievable through the establishment of strong coordination mechanisms involving existing actors.

Recommendations for German and European Policy and Interventions

Work with civil society organisations, particularly those working in the area of peacebuilding, early warning, and advocacy, particularly of human rights. Collaboration with regional bodies, such as ECOWAS and the Lake Chad Basin Commission, to ensure continuity and stability could be explored for a broader perspective. A level of flexibility will be required, as security situations are dynamic and ever-evolving. Efforts should also aim at strengthening social cohesion and peacebuilding efforts through inclusive programming.

Recovery, Rehabilitation, and Resettlement

The three most affected states have made significant progress in facilitating the return of IDPs. More progress has been achieved in Yobe and Adamawa states, as the displaced populations are much smaller than those in Borno. In addition to ensuring security, efforts to rehabilitate and reconstruct destroyed infrastructure and restore basic services, such as water, sanitation, healthcare, and education, on the one hand, and the re-establishment of security and governance structures, on the other, is crucial for return. Programming must consider this as fundamental to ensuring early recovery while seeking durable solutions.

Recommendations for German and European Policy and Interventions

There must be support for the safe, voluntary, dignified return and resettlement of displaced populations through specific and targeted programming and local integration through projects targeted at the strengthening of resilience of communities and expansion of basic services, such as water, sanitation, education, and health facilities. Efforts that focus on providing IDPs with assistance to re-establish their livelihoods should go hand-in-hand with the humanitarian response efforts. Communities that used to be trade hubs, such as Bama and Banki in Borno State, will need programmes that focus on trade facilitation of products originating from the areas to national, regional, and global markets. Interventions should also involve the affected populations—when communities feel they are rebuilding their lives, they are more committed. They should be encouraged to participate in rebuilding destroyed infrastructure, establishing local markets, etc. Involvement ensures encouragement and breaks the dependency syndrome.

Human Rights and Protection

Although responsibility for assisting and protecting IDPs lies first and foremost with the state and national authorities, the situation is more complex when dealing with intra-state violent conflict. The lack of a clear policy framework for IDPs further complicates the situation. Despite the existence of frameworks to
address human rights issues, there are fundamental gaps to address IDPs, in particular. The lack of a national policy on internal displacement hinders efforts to restore basic human rights effectively. Those affected need, in addition to the provision of basic human rights, a framework that enable them to address other issues, particularly where displacement due to conflict is concerned. In the insurgency-affected areas, for example, issues of transitional justice, truth, and reconciliation must be addressed, as this leaves open the risk for recurring conflict if there is no closure.

Recommendations for German and European Policy and Interventions
The existence of international policy documents, such as the UN guiding principles and the Kampala Convention, should be leveraged upon. The elaboration on the draft of the National Policy Framework on IDPs is also a step in the right direction. Interventions can support the fast-tracking of the framework's adoption, dissemination, and application. Training can be provided to agencies responsible, such as the NCFRMI, as well as CSOs and NGOs working the sector. Support can be provided to raise awareness of IDP rights and child protection issues under domestic law and to strengthen civil society's ability to hold government to account where feasible. Robust monitoring and reporting systems should also be put in place to ensure human rights abuses, including gender-based violence (GBV), are reported and addressed. In addition, interventions should focus on strengthening linkages between humanitarian and human rights actors to ensure not only better monitoring but also more effective responses to assistance and the protection needs of IDPs. Strengthening systems for transitional justice can support reconciliation and violence prevention efforts.

Health, Wellbeing, and Psycho-social Support
Besides primary and secondary healthcare, a factor often overlooked, underplayed, and linked to basic healthcare efforts is the support to psycho-social support. Most IDPs, no matter their age or gender, have undergone some trauma, and being displaced could have effects on the physical, social, emotional, and general wellbe-

of a person. Some are able to adjust, while the majority are affected in one way or another, particularly in conflict situations. This aspect has been grossly underplayed with the focus being more on material and reconstruction efforts. The risk of not effectively addressing trauma, particularly where conflict exposes people to unimaginable atrocities, is the risk of these traumas resurfacing and manifesting in different forms. This could feed into a vicious cycle that could have a negative impact on the society.

Recommendations for German and European Policy and Interventions
Interventions should support the provision of specialized services to vulnerable groups—both IDPs and those in host communities—through the development of strategies to protect and promote the psychosocial wellbeing of internally displaced and other affected populations. This should not only leverage off of existing care systems, which in most cases are not accessible to these vulnerable groups, but also efforts should focus on building the capacity of health workers and as community leaders to promote supportive community structures and a sense of normalcy. One way to do so would be partnering with specialized agencies and strengthening referral systems through the establishment of adequate mental health centers. Interventions should also be sensitive to the cultural norms, age, gender, and social backgrounds of the communities.

Education and Social and Economic Development—Life Skills and Vocational Training
Agenda 2030 for sustainable development identifies SDG 4 as education: "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all". Education also cuts across health, growth and employment, sustainable consumption and production, and climate change. UNESCO, in its 2030 education brief, identified Nigeria as one of the countries affected by protracted conflict that has disrupted education for children. This is true particularly of the northeast, where the conflict has disrupted education of not only the displaced but also, in the case of Borno, every public school in all 27

122 http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/education/
LGAs. Schools were completely shut down between March 2014 and September 2016, as most IDPs were initially hosted in school compounds. The reopening of schools was postponed several times while IDPs in school compounds were being relocated and renovated. This has had a crucial impact on the school systems, setting children and adolescents back by two years.

Recommendations for German and European Policy and Interventions
Support for enhancing quality education for all will assist in improving the social and economic wellbeing of communities. Efforts, such as the Safe Schools Initiative (SSI), already supported by Germany and the EU, and similar type initiatives, especially linked to education in emergency and promoting peace education, are a fundamental part of humanitarian assistance. Efforts should therefore focus on ‘building back better’ with the intention of breaching the gaps in both quantity and quality that existed before. Any assistance provided should work through existing structures and expanding infrastructure to accommodate the growing population.

Finance
None of the above can be achieved without targeted and adequate financing. In addition the various programmes, efforts should be targeted specifically at the requirements of addressing displacement. Although a financing mechanism has been established through the Victims Support Fund, this structure is restricted, as it only covers the northeast without a specific structure to support the management of protracted displacement. In addition, efforts are ad-hoc and short term while medium- to long-term solutions are needed.

Recommendations for German and European Policy and Interventions
Although financing is a cross-cutting issue that is a prerequisite for achieving recommendations 1-6, targeted financing and financing mechanisms that are not specific to a particular region, but towards IDPs as a whole could be supported to ensure availability in emergency situations. A pool fund type of arrangement or funding mechanism with participation from other donors as well as the Nigerian government specific to thematic areas could be considered.

Collaboration with Government
Lastly, and in order to effectively address the recommendations above, partnering with the government is key. The national government has primary responsibility for its citizens but it must focus on improving the institutional arrangements to effectively respond to the assistance and protection needs of IDPs. It must also ensure the existence of relevant policy frameworks on a national level by:

a. Reactivating the discussion on the National Policy Framework on IDPs
b. Clarifying the mandates of relevant governmental agencies working in the area in order to seek durable solutions
c. Defining a framework for coordination in order to strengthen stakeholders’ coordination and management efforts and also to develop a framework for coordination at the grassroots, NGO/CSO, and Governmental levels—build capacity for better coordination and networking
d. Amplify responsibility of policy makers/legislators

In order to ensure development cooperation can address some of the governance deficits, programming should focus on supporting processes on not only the national but also on the local, state levels to ensure sustainability.

In conclusion, all policy and interventions must incorporate and link humanitarian with development efforts while strengthening governance programs at all levels.
## Annexes

### Annex 1: Yobe State key humanitarian agencies delivering assistance by sector (June 2016)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Agencies with ongoing projects with LGA indicated</th>
<th>Agencies with planned projects with LGA indicated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Recovery and Livelihoods</td>
<td>Action Against Hunger (Potiskum)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Education Crisis Response (Bade, Damaturu, Fika, Nguru, Potiskum)</td>
<td>Action Aid (Geidam, Potiskum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNICEF (Bade, Damaturu, Fika, Nguru, Potiskum)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Security</td>
<td>COOPI (Fika, Damaturu, Potiskum, Geidam, Yunusari)</td>
<td>FAO (Geidam, Yunusari)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Action Against Hunger (Damaturu, Potiskum, Fune, Bade and Fika)</td>
<td>CRS (Bursari, Karasuwa, Jakusko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WFP (Damaturu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>State Ministry of Health (Bade, Bursari, Damaturu, Fika, Fune, Geidam, Gujba, Gulani, Jakusko, Nangere, Karasuwa, Potiskum, Tarmua, Machina)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State Primary Health Care Development Agency (Bade, Bursari, Damaturu, Fika, Fune, Geidam, Gujba, Gulani, Jakusko, Nangere, Karasuwa, Potiskum, Tarmua, Machina, Yunusari)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNICEF (all LGAs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WHO (all LGAs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutrition</td>
<td>Action Against Hunger (Damaturu, Fika, Fune, Machina, Potiskum, Yunusari)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COOPI (Damatutu, Fika, Potiskum)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MSF (Jakusko)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State Ministry of Health (Bade, Bursari, Damaturu, Fika, Fune, Geidam, Jakusko, Machina, Nguru, Potiskum, Yunusari)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State Primary Health Care Development Agency (Bade, Bursari, Damaturu, Fika, Fune, Geidam, Jakusko, Machina, Nguru, Potiskum, Yunusari)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNICEF (Bade, Bursari, Damaturu, Fika, Fune, Geidam, Jakusko, Machina, Nguru, Potiskum, Yunusari)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection</td>
<td>COOPI (Damatutu, Fika, Potiskum)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nigerian Bar Association (Damatutu)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nigerian Red Cross (Damatutu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>State Ministry for Women’s Affairs (Damatutu, Gujba, Potiskum)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SEMA (Damatutu)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State Ministry for Youth, Social Support and Community Development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNICEF (Damatutu, Potiskum)</td>
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<td>UNHCR (Damatutu, Potiskum)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>UNFPA</td>
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<td>Shelter/NFI</td>
<td>CRS (Bursari)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Water, Sanitation and Hygiene</td>
<td>Action Against Hunger (Damatutu, Fune)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PHC (Damatutu, Fune, Potiskum)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MSF (Damatutu, Fune)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry of Water Resources (Fune)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Agency (Damatutu, Fune, Potiskum)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SEMA (Damatutu), &amp; UNICEF</td>
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## Annex 2: IDPs in MMC Official Camps / Liberated LGAs and Returnees (December 2016)

### IDPs living in camps in Maiduguri Metropolis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAMP</th>
<th>M/A</th>
<th>F/A</th>
<th>C/B</th>
<th>C/G</th>
<th>P/W</th>
<th>L/M</th>
<th>S/C</th>
<th>U/C</th>
<th>OPHN</th>
<th>DIS/A</th>
<th>N/D</th>
<th>DTH</th>
<th>C/T</th>
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<td>Bakasi</td>
<td>4,007</td>
<td>6,115</td>
<td>5,097</td>
<td>5,989</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>2,805</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21,208</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dalori I (FTC)</td>
<td>3,224</td>
<td>5,930</td>
<td>5,285</td>
<td>7,896</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Dalori II (KOFA)</td>
<td>1,535</td>
<td>3,085</td>
<td>2,036</td>
<td>3,465</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>1,134</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>10,121</td>
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<tr>
<td>EYN/CAN SEC.</td>
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<td>2,584</td>
<td>1,443</td>
<td>1,899</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>7,497</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farm Centre</td>
<td>1,910</td>
<td>3,831</td>
<td>3,812</td>
<td>4,310</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13,863</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goni Kachallari</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>1,281</td>
<td>1,052</td>
<td>1,208</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>Gubio</td>
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<td>3,639</td>
<td>3,184</td>
<td>3,935</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>1,430</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12,731</td>
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<td>Madinatu</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mogcolis</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,335</td>
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<tr>
<td>NYSC</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>1,207</td>
<td>1,586</td>
<td>1,759</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5,297</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teacher’s Village</td>
<td>1,059</td>
<td>1,137</td>
<td>1,737</td>
<td>1,950</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>18,618</td>
<td>30,236</td>
<td>27,252</td>
<td>35,132</td>
<td>2,191</td>
<td>7,246</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td>1,022</td>
<td>2,392</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>13</td>
<td><strong>111,388</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### IDPs living in liberated areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOWN</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dikwa LGA</td>
<td>67,042 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bama LGA</td>
<td>9,434 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konduga LGA</td>
<td>13,098 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lassa town</td>
<td>5,521 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damboa LGA/ Sabon Gari</td>
<td>52,363 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banki town</td>
<td>17,220 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bensheikh Kaga LGA</td>
<td>3,129 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngala LGA</td>
<td>71,705 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross Kauwa</td>
<td>5,973 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baga town</td>
<td>6,778 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nganzai LGA</td>
<td>2,082 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biu LGA</td>
<td>6,011 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwoza LGA</td>
<td>34,733 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izge town</td>
<td>7,002 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulka town</td>
<td>9,252 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalabalge</td>
<td>31,012 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monguno Town</td>
<td>67,779 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mafa LG</td>
<td>12,517 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damasak</td>
<td>5,652 IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>428,077 IDPs</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Returnees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREAS OF RETURN</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Konduga LGA</td>
<td>7,279 Returnees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mafa LGA</td>
<td>12,517 Returnees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dikwa LGA</td>
<td>1,936 Returnees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngala LGA</td>
<td>1,200 Returnees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damasak</td>
<td>5,652 Returnees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross Kauwa</td>
<td>5,973 Returnees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baga town</td>
<td>6,778 Returnees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>41,335 Returnees</strong></td>
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